Nominal Architecture in Jamaican Creole[1]

Abstract

This work identifies distributional and interpretative properties of functional morphology in the nominal domain of Jamaican Creole (JC) and, in the spirit of cartographic research (Cinque 2002, Rizzi 2004, Belletti 2004), develops an analysis for these manifestations of DP in the form of a detailed structural map. The JC data is seen to provide support for a syntactic map composed of several hierarchically organized functional projections, generally overtly realizing either their specifier or their head (Chomsky & Lasnik 1977, Koopman 1993, Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti 1998). Finally, building on both the nominal architecture and the last resort phenomenon of doubly filling the identified projections with morphological material in both head and specifier positions, we propose an analysis for default past, completive readings in Creole 'bare sentences' (Dechaine 1991).

Keywords: Jamaican Creole, Syntax, Nominals, Cartography, Bare Sentences

1.   Introduction : Scope of the work

This work identifies distributional and interpretative properties of functional morphology in the nominal domain of Jamaican Creole (JC) and, in the spirit of cartographic research (Cinque 2002, Rizzi 2004, Belletti 2004), develops an analysis for these manifestations of DP in the form of a detailed structural map. The JC data is seen to provide support for a syntactic map composed of several hierarchically organized functional projections, generally overtly realizing either their specifier or their head. In light of this, we consider an account in terms of the last resort phenomenon of doubly filling the identified projections with morphological material in both head and specifier positions, an approach already considered for other languages (Chomsky & Lasnik 1977, Koopman 1993, Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti 1998).

Finally, building on both the nominal architecture and the general tendency to avoid filling both head and specifier positions, we propose an analysis for default past, completive readings in Creole 'bare sentences' (Dechaine 1991).

The discussion commences in section 2 with a brief outline of the theoretical framework. With this in mind, we turn to the JC data (section 3) to consider a wide array of functional layers, such as Determiner Phrase, K(Case) Phrase, Demonstrative Phrase, Quantifier Phrase(s), Ordinal and Cardinal Phrases, Classifier Phrase and the zone dedicated to Adjectivals. The overall order of these projections as upheld by the investigation of JC is sketched in section 3.10. Section 4 explores the relevance of the identified nominal architecture for telicity effects in Creole 'bare sentences'. Section 5 is the conclusion.

2.   Mapping the extended projection of nominals

Much recent syntactic theory upholds that "there exists an 'fseq' - a sequence of functional projections - such that the output of merge must respect fseq" (Starke 2004:256). The cartographic endeavor is to identify this sequence of functional projections precisely, in terms of their content, number and order (Cinque & Rizzi 2008, Shlonsky 2010). With respect to the nominal domain, it has long been shown that the lexical core, namely the N(oun)P(hrase), is augmented with a series of functional layers encoding grammatical properties (Abney 1987, Szabolcsi 1987), just as is the case for the VP in the clause.

Amongst the elements that can occupy these functional layers above NP are demonstratives, numerals and adjectives. Of their 24 mathematically possible orders, only 14 are attested in the languages of the world (Greenberg 1963). Clearly the aim of syntactic theory is to generate the possible sequences while ruling out the impossible ones. Cinque (2005) proposes that the postulation of a unique base order is crucial in order to obtain this goal. More precisely, if the elements are merged in the order: Dem(onstrative) > Num(eral) > A(djective) > N(oun) then when any or all of the items demonstrative, numeral, and descriptive adjective precede the noun, they must occur in that order (1), while when they follow the noun, the order must be either the same (2) or the exact opposite (3) :

(1)   Dem > Num > A > N

(2)   N > Dem > Num > A

(3)   N > A > Num > Dem

The sequences attested in natural language therefore either correspond to this base structure directly (1), or are derived by movement of the noun or noun phrase, a movement which which subsequently carries elements along (3) or not (2), operations independently admitted by syntactic theory. Any subversion of the base order is thus triggered by nominal movement (which may cease in intermediate positions along the way yielding additional possible sequences). Crucially no reversal of the base order can be obtained if the noun remains in-situ, hence the result that a sequence such as (4) is unattested:

(4)   * A > Num > Dem > N

Therefore the postulation of a fixed underlying 'map' of the functional projections hosting demonstratives, numerals and adjectives has the merit of allowing the generation of various sequences while ruling out the unattested ones.

Many more elements to those discussed above make up the 'extended' nominal domain (in the sense of Grimshaw 1991) and have been extensively discussed in various works to date (e.g. Ritter 1991; Cinque 1994; Scott 2002; Shlonsky 2004, Aboh 2004, Borer 2005, Laenzlinger 2005, Cinque 2010, 2011). Putting together the partially attested orders in these investigations, the map yielded is arguably articulated along the lines of (5)[2]:

(5)   [K(Case)P[DeterminerP [QuantifierP [OrdinalP [CardinalP [NumberP [AP:
        Subjective.CommentP [SizeP [LengthP [HeightP [SpeedP [WidthP [WeightP [ShapeP
        [ColorP [Nationality/OriginP [ClassifierP [NounP]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]

The cartographic perspective to syntactic structure upholds that this rich and uniform overall hierarchy is constant across languages. More specifically, it makes the strong claim that Universal Grammar does not allow variation with respect to the number, type and hierarchy

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[2] For reasons of space, various details which are not relevant for the issues discussed in this work are omitted. The interested reader is referred to the publications cited.

of functional projections across languages (see e.g. Cinque 1999: v). Of course much cross-linguistic research is still necessary to test the validity of this hypothesis. In the next section, we will explore to what extent justification for the nominal architecture in (5) is provided by JC as well as how the data from this language provides insight into developing this architecture further.

3. The structure of nominals in Jamaican Creole

JC is an Atlantic English-lexified creole spoken by approximately three million people in the island of Jamaica. It co-exists with a Jamaican version of Standard English, also known as Standard Jamaican English (SJE). The resulting linguistic situation is a fluid one, where speakers oscillate along a linguistic continuum from one of these speech forms to the other (DeCamp 1971). Although SJE may differ from Standard English in terms of pronunciation or lexis, it is not classifiable as a Creole (Sand 1999). Indeed JC differs from SJE in many additional respects, including syntax (Bailey 1966, Durrleman 2008, a.o.), although to a greater extent or lesser extent depending on where a speaker is situated along the linguistic continuum. Thus the farther removed a variety is from SJE, the more 'basilectal' it is. In this section, we focus mainly on the basilect, although at times it will become insightful to consider properties existing in mesolectal varieties[3]. We now turn to exploring the syntax of nominals and developing a map of their extended projection in JC.

3.1. D(eterminer) P(hrase)

Definite expressions have referents that are identifiable (Lyons 1999) so that the entity denoted by these is familiar to both speaker and hearer. Put differently, the occurrence of definite descriptions is governed by The Familiarity Condition (Heim 1982), while indefinite descriptions are subject to a Novelty Condition, meaning that they occur when their referent is being introduced. In light of this, consider the data in (6) from JC[4]:

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[3] It is worth noting that some authors opt to encompass all speech forms in Jamaican Creole, so both basilectal and mesolectal, under another term : Jamaican Patwa (see Bobyleva 2011).
[4] The orthography of the Jamaica Language Unit, based on Cassidy (1961) is applied to the Creole examples, except when these are taken from the literature, in which case I leave the author's orthography.

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(6)   *Im put Ø rokstuon pon yu glaas tiebl an   *Ø/ di   rokstuon brok   *Ø / di   tiebl*

         3sg put Ø rock   on 2sg glass table and *Ø/ the   rock   break *Ø/the   table

         'S/he put a/some rock/s on your glass table and the rock/s broke the table'

If arguments are DPs (Longobardi 1994, 2000) then the indefinite object *rokstuon* above is introduced with a null determiner. Once the referent is familiar, the definite determiner *di* is used. However upon closer inspection familiarity alone does not suffice to justify the use of this element:

(7)   ***Son*** *wel at tidie, iihn*?

         Sun well hot today, eh

         '**The sun** is very hot today, isn't it?'

So it appears that the use of definite *di* is specified for anaphoric reference. We will discuss non-anaphoric nominals such as illustrated in (7) in the next section (3.2). Leaving this aside now, we propose the following representation based on the data in (6), with *di* or the null determiner inserted in D° as shown below:

(8)   **DP**

Spec   D'

      D [+Definite]   … NP
            Di
      D [-Definite]
            Ø
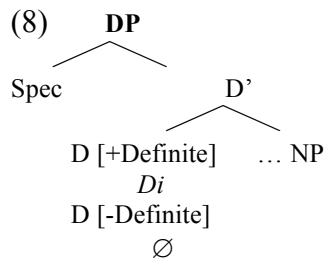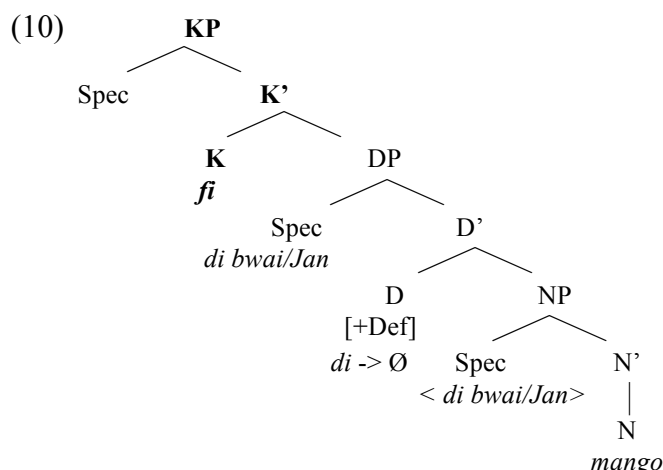
3.2   K(Case) Projection

In JC, Genitive case is expressed via the optional use of *fi* preceding the possessor, as in (9):

(9)   (***Fi****) di bwai/Jan   mango*

         For the boy/John mango

         'The boy's/John's mango'

In (9) we see that the optional genitive marker *fi* is realized before all other material in the DP. A structural analysis for (9) is provided in (10):

5

(10)

```
                    KP
                   /  \
               Spec    K'
                      /  \
                    K     DP
                    fi   /  \
                     Spec    D'
                di bwai/Jan  /  \
                           D     NP
                        [+Def]   /  \
                        di -> Ø  Spec   N'
                              < di bwai/Jan >  |
                                               N
                                             mango
```

In this analysis, the head associated with genitive, K°, is realized by *fi*. If case features are checked in a specifier-head configuration with the JC *fi*-element in K°, then this checking must be delayed until LF given the ungrammaticality of the following[5]:

(11)   *[Spec,KP **Jan**   [K° *fi* [*mango*]]]
                John   'fi'   mangoe

Instead, the movement that occurs before spell-out is that of the possessor *di bwai/Jan* evoked above, which goes from its thematic position [Spec,NP] to [Spec,DP]. This movement is motivated by the necessity to check its referential feature (Longobardi 1994). Such a derivation predicts that material may be inserted in between the possessor and the possessed, which is what we see in (12) with the intervening adjective *priti*:

(12)   *Fi Jan priti pikni*
        'John's pretty child'

As a result of the movement of the possessor, the DP projection has an overt specifier, and its head, D°, remains covert. The syntactic reflex of languages to avoid simultaneously realizing both specifier and head positions was initially noted first for the CP projection by Chomsky & Lasnik (1977) in the form of the Doubly Filled Comp Filter, and subsequently extended to the DP domain by Koopman (1993). The Principle of Lexical Insertion proposed by Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti (1998) captures the fact that all functional projections may realize either

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[5] Cross-linguistic variation is then accounted for in terms of when checking takes place. Contrary to that observed in JC, checking in English is visibly not delayed, resulting in the grammaticality of a sequence such as (11): 'John's mango'.

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the specifier or the head, but that in some languages both may be realized: "A Functional Projection must be visible at all levels of representation: by (a) making the Spec visible and/or (b) making the head visible". That conditions (a) and (b) may be disjoint or conjoint allows for the flexibility attested in natural language[6]. I propose that here the two are disjoint, so the realization of an overt D° is a last resort procedure.

This reasoning is relevant for other instances of definite readings in the absence of *di*. Recall that in the previous section, we discussed the anaphoric function of referring back to something already introduced in discourse. This was seen to be typically associated with definite articles and explained as a feature of JC *di*. However it is worth noting that there is a nonanaphoric function involving assumed general knowledge (rather than the preceding discourse), for example in cases of nominals designating entities with unique reference, and this function is often associated with definite articles. Interestingly, this particular function may be realized without an overt *di* in JC, as we saw in (7), repeated here for convenience:

(7)   ***Son*** *wel at tidie, iihn*?

        Sun well hot today, eh

        '**The sun** is very hot today, isn't it?'

If an overt specifier can suffice to render the projection visible, as seen for possessives (example 12), it becomes conceivable that non-anaphoric definite readings such as illustrated in (7) are yielded by movement of the complement of D° to [Spec,DP]. Just like for possessives and proper names, such material in the specifier of DP suffices to license a definite reading in the absence of *di*. Note that this approach predicts a complementary distribution between possessives and non-anaphoric definites such as the uniquely referring entities discussed here. Indeed according to the present analysis, both elements are situated in [Spec,DP]. The prediction is borne out given that *Im son* can only mean 'his son' and not '*his sun'. We come back to this issue in section 4.2 where we show the movement argued for here, namely of non-anaphoric definites to [Spec,DP], has a further interpretative impact.

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[6] As a concise illustration of the point, consider Standard English which disallows both the specifier of DP to be filled with a demonstrative and its head to be filled with an article, while in Greek both must be filled, hence the demonstrative and article occur together. The interested reader is referred to the work cited above for additional details.

More specifically, we will see that it plays a role in computing the aspectual and temporal readings of Creole 'bare sentences'.

So far we have mapped out the elements targeting KP and DP in JC. Continuing our discussion of elements merged high in the nominal hierarchy, we now turn to demonstratives.

3.3   Dem(onstrative) P(hrase)

Demonstratives *dis*, *da(t)*, and *dem* in JC are often, although not obligatorily, accompanied by a deictic element: *ya* (proximal) and *de* (distal), through space or time. Following Bernstein (1997), we will refer to these deictic markers as 'reinforcers'. Cassidy (1961:55) describes the occurrence of reinforcers as follows:

> "Jamaican demonstratives are generally as in Standard English elsewhere, but the folk speech often adds *ya* (here) – compare *this-here* and *them-there* of substandard English and American. (…) No doubt these combinations were at first emphatic but later became generalised: '*Dish-ya* one *ya*,' 'Put *dis-ya* rope 'pon you,' meaning simply *this* ; '*Dem-ya* a hog plum,' meaning *these* are hog plums; so *dat-de* and *dem-de* for *that* and *those*. (…) They are pronounced /ya, de/. **All forms are also used without *ya* or *de*, except when contrasted"**.

As such, the use of reinforcers is optional in that the absence of these elements does not yield ungrammaticality, although their presence is associated with a specific semantics, namely they yield deictic, contrastive meanings. Illustrations are given below:

(13)   a.   *Dis (-ya)   pikni*
               Dem reinforcer child
               'This child (here)'

        b.   *Da(t)-(de)   pikni*
               Dem reinforce child
               'That child (there)'

(14)   *Dem-(de/ya)   pikni*

            Dem-reinforcer child

            'Those/These children (here/there)'

Demonstratives must precede the noun and its modifiers, while the accompanying contrastive reinforcers can either precede or follow this material:

(15)   ***Dis-(ya)***   *krievn pikni**(-ya)***

            Dem-(reinforcer) greedy   child   (reinforcer)

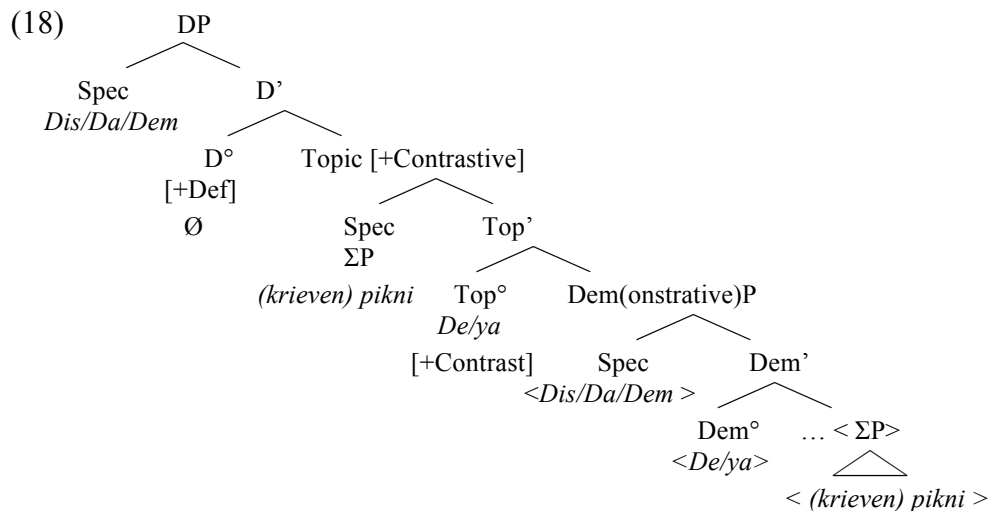   'This greedy child (here)'

The pattern which obtains is given in (16), where ΣP stands for the noun and its modifiers:

(16)   a.   DEM – ΣP - Reinforcer

       b.   DEM –   Reinforcer   - ΣP

The order in (16a) is found in French (17a) and the order in (16b) is attested in non-Standard English (17b):

(17)   a.   Ce grand garcon-ci

       b.   This here big guy

The analysis proposed to account for these facts is given in (18):

(18)   DP
      ┌──────┴──────┐
    Spec   D'
  Dis/Da/Dem ┌───┴────┐
              D°   Topic [+Contrastive]
            [+Def]   ┌────┴────┐
              Ø   Spec   Top'
                     ΣP   ┌──┴──────────┐
              (krieven) pikni Top°   Dem(onstrative)P
                            De/ya   ┌───┴────┐
                          [+Contrast] Spec   Dem'
                                    <Dis/Da/Dem> ┌──┴──┐
                                              Dem°   … < ΣP>
                                            <De/ya>   △
                                                  < (krieven) pikni >

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According to this approach, the demonstrative and its accompanying deictic reinforcer, whose (optional) realization is parasitic on the demonstrative, are merged in a dedicated functional projection, DemonstrativeP[7]. This projection is situated quite high up in the D-system, consistent with recent comparative studies (Cinque 2005)[8]. The demonstrative then undergoes movement to [Spec,DP] to check its referential feature. As such it is in complementary distribution with other elements that target this position, such as possessors[9]. Along the lines of that proposed for the left-periphery (Rizzi 1997, 2004), I propose that there is a TopicP within the nominal domain. In these constructions what is being referred to is salient in the discourse therefore the noun and its modifiers move together to [Spec,TopP] in these instances. The different orders attested in (16) are the result of whether or not this movement takes place before Spell-Out. The reinforcer, which is both deictic and contrastive in JC (Cassidy 1961, Durrleman 2008 building on Patrick 2004[10]), checks its features in the contrastive topic head[11]. That a reinforcer heads a Topic projection is not surprising given that it reinforces the status of the constituent in its specifier as an entity familiar to both speaker and hearer via the discourse. The fact that it is optionally realized is typical of elements in Top° of the left periphery (Rizzi 1997, 2004; Aboh 2004) and also follows from the general pattern of this language to abide by a 'doubly filled XP filter'.

The sequence arrived at so far is as follows:

(19)   KP > DP > **TopP** Contrastive **> DemP** (…) NP

We now turn our attention to those elements realizing the subsequent functional projection in the hierarchy in (5), namely quantifiers.

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[7] The idea a of merging the demonstrative in the same FP as the deicitic is also present in Ihsane (2003) and Brugè (2002), although the former proposes a different ordering, while the latter, adopts the order sketched here but expresses this constituent as a complex predicate.

[8] Recall discussion in section 2 of recent work by Cinque (2005). The relevant point is that of the 24 mathematically possible orders of Demonstrative-Numeral-Adjective-Noun, only 14 are attested in language, a fact that can be captured by an analysis of demonstratives being merged very high in the nominal domain, followed by numerals and then descriptive adjectives.

[9] Along the lines of non-anaphoric definites discussed in section 3.2, which are also situated in [Spec,DP].

[10] Patrick (2004) provides data such as *da ting ya* translated as 'this thing', just as for *dis ting-ya*, suggesting that what determines the proximal (or distal) reading is crucially the reinforcer and not the demonstrative. This is even more evident with the plural demonstrative, *dem,* which is invariant in form.

[11] Ihsane (2003) also discusses the role of reinforcing particles (e.g. in French) for the contrasting of referents.

3.4   Q(uantifier) P(hrase) [+Universal]

As in Standard English, Jamaican Creole makes use of a universal quantifier *aal*[12]:

(20)   *Im   go tel **aal** fi im   fren   di   sus*

         3rd sg go tell all for POSS friend the gossip

         'S/he told all her/his friends the gossip.'

Given that this element precedes *fi* + possessive we situate it above KP as illustrated in (21):

(21)
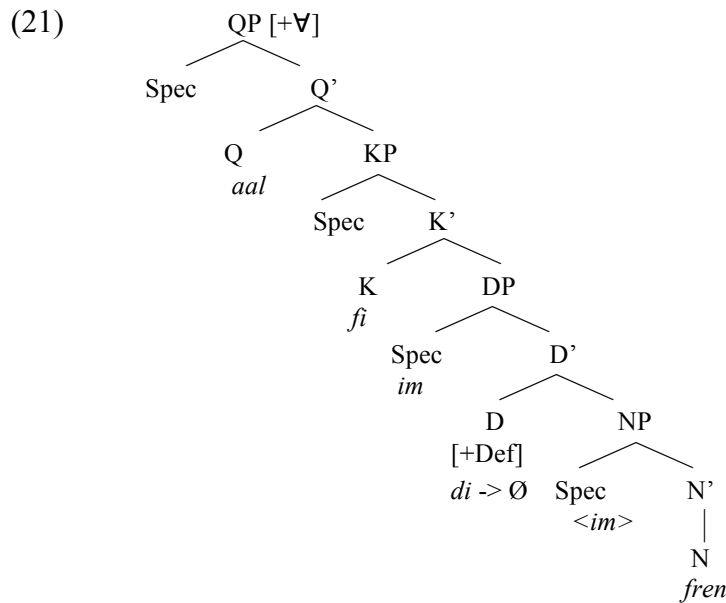
We compare the group denoting quantifier *aal* with distributive quantifiers in section 3.7. Before, however, we consider notions which prove useful for our discussion of distributivity, i.e. numeracy and number.

3.5   Ord(inal) and Card(inal) P(rojections)

In JC, numerals expressing ordinality and cardinality may co-occur once the former precedes the latter (22a), and these must follow the elements considered in the previous sections, namely possessors and the definite determiner (22b,c).

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[12] Sometimes the form *aal an aal* is found. Cassidy & LePage ([1967] 2002) note *aal an aal* to mean 'everything' and 'absolutely all' and provide the examples *In go tel aal an aal in fren* with the translation 'He went and told everyone of his friends'

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(22) a.   *Dat pikni wi win di* **fos chrii** *ries*

            Dem child will win the   first three race

            'That child will win the **first three** races'

    b.   *Dat   a   di* **wan**   *bwai mi no laik*

            Dem   equative the Num   boy 1sg not like

            'That is **the one (single) boy** I don't like'

    c.   *(fi) Jan* **fos**   **tuu** *gyal-pikni de a skuul*

            (for) John first two girl-child LOC at school

            'John's **first two** daughters are at school'

Like other nominal modifiers in the cartographic approach (Cinque 1994, 2002), these numerals are inserted in the specifier of dedicated functional projections as in (23):

(23)
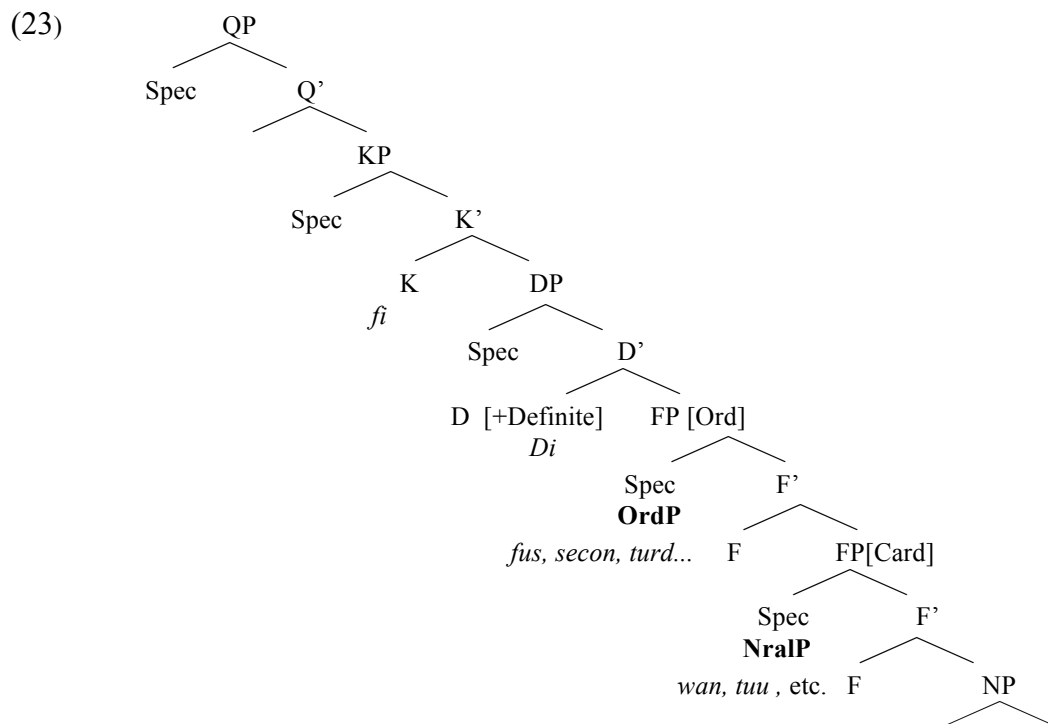
We return to these elements in section 3.9 where other adjectival modifiers are discussed. In the next section we continue our consideration of elements expressing quantity, more specifically those denoting singular and plural values.

3.6 Num(ber) P(hrase)

12

The projection responsible for encoding number (singular, plural) is referred to as NumP. A manifestation of NumP in JC appears to be *wan*. This element serves the function of yielding a singular, individuated reading as does its counterpart in Sranan which, according to Bruyn (2007:355) "does not seem to make the arguments in any sense more referential than the bare nouns (…) suggest(ing) that in such cases it is impossible to relate the occurrence of *wan* to anything other than the intentions of the speaker with regard to individuation". Examples from Jamaican follow:

(24)   a.   *Rom*

             'Rum'

      b.   *Wan rom*

             'A glass of rum'

Another element that arguably targets NumP is JC *som*. According to Stewart (2006:230) "*som* is categorized as a counter, housed in NumP along with the numerals and *wan*". Its function, like *wan*, is to indicate a set, however in the case of *som* the set contains more than one member. Using *som* therefore signals plurality (see also Kennedy 2012).[13]

An additional parallelism between *wan* (and other numerals) & *som* is that they both delimit the object spatially, and as a result trigger the delimiting of the event temporally, as seen below:

(25)   a.   *Jan jringk rom*   (Durrleman 2008)

             John drink rum

             'John **drinks** rum'

      b.   *Jan jringk **som** rom*

             John drink some rum

             'John **drank** some rum'

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[13] Note that this distinguishes *som* from its Standard English counterpart 'some', which may occur in non-plural contexts, as indicated by Stewart 2006: 87: *Som laiya win evri kies* translates as ''Some lawyers win every case.' and not as '*'Some lawyer wins every case.'

13

c.　　*Jan jringk **wan** rom*

　　　　John drink　　one rum

　　　　'John **drank** a glass of rum'

We return to a discussion of this in section 4.

Finally, *wan* and *som* also show similar scopal restrictions, further warranting a similar syntactic analysis:
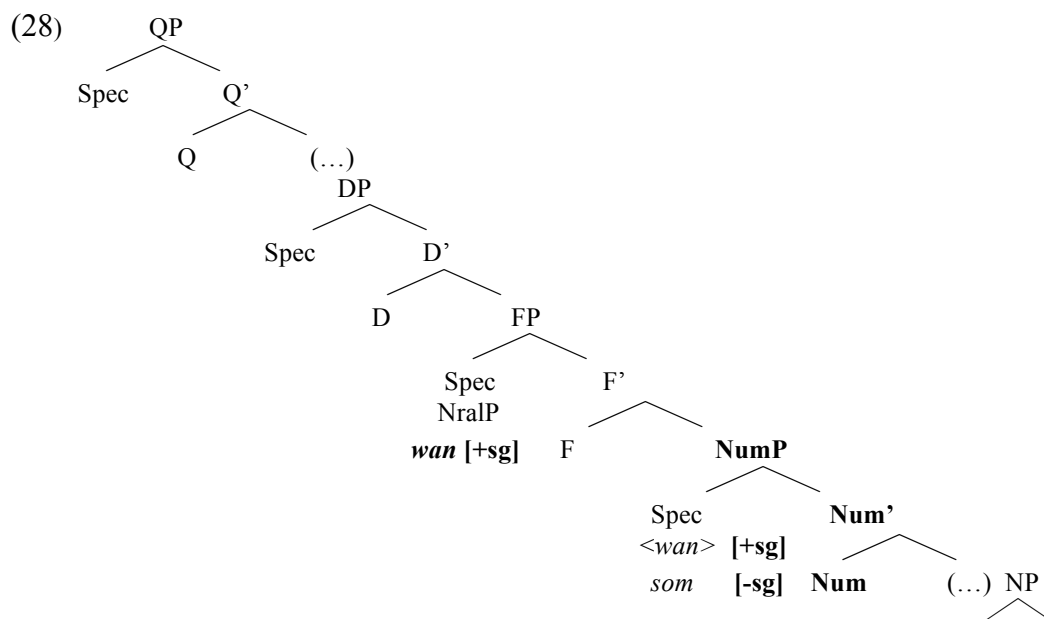
(26)　*Evri man lov wan uman*　　　　　　　　　　　　Stewart (2006:7)

　　　Every man love IND woman

　　a.　For every man that there is, there is a/one woman that he loves

　　b.　#There is a/one woman, and every man loves that woman

(27)　*Evri man lov som uman*

　　　Every man love *som* woman

　　a.　For every man that there is, there are some women that he loves

　　b.　#There are some women, and every man loves those women

The fact that the readings in (26b) and (27b) above are not felicitous in JC differentiate *wan* and *som* from their Standard English counterparts[14].

As a result of these considerations, namely that these elements (i) encode number (ii) serve to delimit the noun they modify with respect to quantity, and (iii) evince low scope with respect to quantifiers, we propose the following schema:

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[14] It is often proposed in the literature that *wan* is the realization of the indefinite article in JC (Bailey 1966, Patrick 2004, Stewart 2006). However as seen in section 3.1, indefinite readings arise in instances when *wan* is absent. An analysis of *wan* as the indefinite article therefore implies that indefinite is encoded at times by null D, and at other times by *wan*. Another way of seeing things is that null D encodes indefinite across the board. As such, when *wan* is present, its role is not to encode indefinite but rather serves the function of marking number, as discussed here. A favourable result of this approach is that *wan* is not incompatible with the definite determiner : *Di wan rum kyaan mek im sik* 'The single glass of rum can't make him sick' versus *Wan rum kyaan mek im sik* 'A glass/One glass of rum can't make him sick'.

14

(28)

```
                    QP
                  /    \
              Spec      Q'
                      /    \
                    Q      (...)
                            DP
                          /    \
                      Spec      D'
                              /    \
                            D      FP
                                 /    \
                             Spec      F'
                             NralP    /    \
                          wan [+sg]  F      NumP
                                          /     \
                                      Spec       Num'
                                     <wan> [+sg]  /    \
                                      som   [-sg] Num   (...) NP
```

The exact ordering between the functional projection housing the numeral and that housing expressions of number (individuating/ singular, plural, etc) is not obvious given that numerals may encode both of these functions, and they are in complementary distribution with *som*, the other reasonable candidate for NumP in JC. Stewart (2006, 2011) inserts all this material in NumP, and as such a functional projection reserved for the merging of numerals in its specifier is less clear. However cross-linguistic studies suggest that when free morphemes express notions such as singular and plural, they generally come below numerals and numeral classifiers (see e.g. Dryer 1989, Svenonius 2008), suggesting that these are to be represented separately. Cases such as those found in JC where the same element serves to indicate individuation / a singular reading as well as to yield cardinality may be captured in terms of a movement of this element through the relevant syntactic positions where these notions are encoded, as shown in (23).
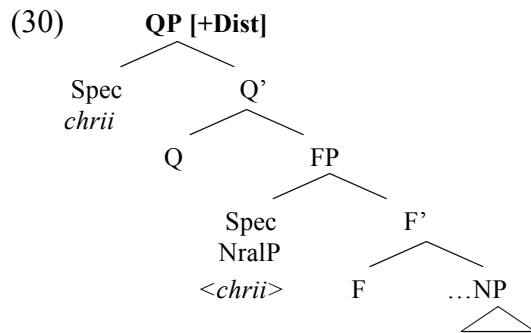
3.7 Q(uantifier) P(hrase) [+Distributive]

Numerals reduplicate in JC to yield a distributive reading, as illustrated in (29b).

(29) a.   *Im   gi   di   pikni-dem chrii   kuoknat*
            3sg   give   the   child- *dem* three   coconut
            'S/he gave the children (a total of) three coconuts'

b. *Im gi   di   pikni dem **chrii- chrii** kuoknat*

3sg give the child-*dem* three- three coconut

'S/he gave the children three coconuts **each'**

In the previous section, numerals are analyzed as being inserted in [Spec,NralP]. In the instance where they encode distributivity, they plausibly undergo movement to a higher position, [Spec,QP], where their distributive feature is checked:

(30)

```
        QP [+Dist]
        /    \
    Spec     Q'
    chrii   / \
          Q    FP
              /   \
          Spec     F'
          NralP   / \
         <chrii> F   ...NP
                     /\
                    /__\
```

If the lower copy is spelled out, the result is a reduplicated, distributive numeral found in JC. This would strike a parallelism with that found for predicate focus in JC[15]. However as we cannot insert material between the two occurrences of the numeral, we cannot determine for sure if this in not an instance of phonetic reduplication, a process that occurs elsewhere in the nominal domain (see section 3.9.2).

Another way of marking distributivity in this language is by using *evri*:

(31) a.   ***Evri** man kyari wan grip*?   (Stewart 2006: 219)

        Every man carry one suitcase

---

[15] Indeed this is reminiscent of verbal focus, which also involves movement to a quantificational projection (Durrleman 2005, 2008) and which also spells out the copy in the base position:

   (i)   *A   **nyam** im   **nyam** di mango (im neva dash i we)*
             FOC eat   3rd sg eat the mango (3rd sg never throw it away)
             'What s/he did was EAT the mango (s/he didn't throw it away)'

 It appears that the language opts to spell out the copies of operator movement, when the operator is not marked as such otherwise. So JC differentiates these from, for example, Wh Operators, which are inherently marked as such and do not spell out a copy:

   (ii)   A   wa im nyam <wa>?
             FOC what 3rd sg s/he eat
             'What did s/he eat?'

b.   *Ye. Dat is chii separet grip*

         Yes. That is three separate suitcase

         'Yes. That is three different suitcases.'

As opposed to numerals, *evri* is inserted directly in QP [+Dist] and does not undergo movement from a lower position. Hence there is no copy that could spell out and yield a reduplicated form.

Evri, like (reduplicated) numerals, occurs after the possessor (32) and the definite determiner (33), yielding the sequence in (34):

DP > *Evri*

(32)   *Dat-de*   *gyal a*   *wach* **im**   **evri** *muuv*

       Dem-deictic   girl [Prog] watch POSS every move

       'That girl is watching his every move'

(33)   ***Di evri** baal im buol, im lik di wikit*[16]   (Stewart 2006:243)

      DEF every ball 3s bowl, 3s hit DEF wikit

      'Every time he bowled the ball, he hit the wicket'

(34)   QP [+∀] > KP > DP > **QP[+Dist]** > NumP > FP$_{Nral}$P > (…) > NP

The postulation of two distinct QPs, one marked for universal and one for distributive, might seem surprising since universal and distributive have been argued to be different values of the same type of quantifier (see Beghelli 1999). We briefly discuss this here.

Interpretational differences between 'all' on the one hand and 'every' and 'each' on the other are not novel. For reasons of space we will not delve into a detailed discussion here, but we will provide an illustration of the inability of the former to enforce a distributive reading, distinguishing it from the latter as underlined by Beghelli & Stowell (1997):

---

[16] Stewart (2006 :243) explains that this sentence allows the quantification of *evri* over events under discussion, with "the definite *di* allowing the identification of the event, much in the same way that it allows a hearer to select the referent of a noun".

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(35)   *All the boys read a different book

(36)   Every boy read a different book

(37)   Each (of the) boy(s) read a different book

Interpretational characteristics of different QP types have been essentially captured in terms of their either taking scope in-situ or in different positions in the left periphery (depending on their features). In JC, a collective, universal reading is yielded by *aal* (section 3.4) which was already seen to be situated higher than DP (and even KP), while distributive readings discussed in this section have been seen to occur with markers situated lower than DP (reduplicated numerals, *evri*). In sum, interpretational distinctions are seen here to correspond to different distributional patterns.

Interestingly, the order proposed for the QPs within the nominal domain is reminiscent of that proposed for the left periphery of the clause by Beghelli & Stowell (1997). These authors argue in favour of the projections RefP and DistP, which correspond to group reference and distributive readings respectively. RefP occurs higher than CP while DistP is situated lower than CP:

(38)   a.   RefP (GQP) > CP > … DistP (DQP)   (Beghelli & Stowell 1997:76)

According to this approach, quantifiers move to check their corresponding features in these dedicated projections in the C-domain, with group denoting QPs (GQPs) undergoing movement to the specifier of the Ref(erence)P in instances of wide scope, group reference readings. These are the readings we propose apply with JC *aal*. As for distributive QPs (DQPs), these move to the specifier position of a Distributive-Universal projection, Dist(ributive)P. This corresponds to what we have with JC reduplicated numerals and *evri*. As such, the order of projections identified in the extended nominal domain strike a clear parallelisms between that proposed in (38a) for the left periphery of the clause, with the marker of collective, group readings merging higher than that of distributive readings in JC (38b).

(38)   b.   GQP (*aal*) > DP > … DistP (*evri*/ reduplicated numeral)

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Before closing, it is worth pointing out that English *every* was noted by Beghelli & Stowell (1997:98) to also potentially receive a non-distributive, universal construal in certain configurations. In these instances, it behaves similarly to 'all' and differently from 'each':

(39)   It took all the boys to lift the piano

(40)   It took every boy to lift the piano

(41)   *It took each boy to lift the piano

In JC, *evri* is also ambiguous between a distributive and a collective (non-distributive) reading. In fact, this occurs even in certain instances when its English lexifier counterpart resists a non-distributive reading: As noted by Stewart (2006), predicates such as *gather* or *look alike* demand a collective subject and are possible with JC *evri* but not with English *every*:

(41)   ***Evri** chochman gyada fi sovis a 10 aklak*   Stewart (2006:41)
       Every churchman gather for service at 10 o'clock
       'All churchmen gathered for service at 10 o'clock'"

(42)   *Evri man in dat de   haus   fieva*   Stewart (2006:49)
       Every man in that there house favour
       'All the men in that house look alike'.

(43)   *Every man gathered at the stroke of midnight   Gil (1995:309)

(44)   *Every one of those men look alike   Stewart (2006:49)

Crucially in these instances, we do not have *evri* occurring after elements situated in DP, as we had in (32) and (33). In such instances, we propose that *evri* is marked with a collective feature and is housed in the higher, group construal QP [+∀], with the one below DP being reserved for distributive readings.

The map established so far is as follows:

(45) **QP Universal** > KP > DP > TopP Contrastive > DemP > **QP Distributive** > NPOrd > FP Card > NumP > (…) NP

Hence the most deeply embedded functional projection considered until now is NumP. For memory, NumP is the projection par excellence for the assigning of quantity. However in order for this function to be accomplished, there must be an entity that is 'countable' by virtue of having being portioned out. We now turn our attention to the projection responsible for this function of portioning, a projection referred to as Cl(assifier)P which is situated very deep in the nominal architecture according to (5). The ClP projection, although generally argued to fulfill the function of division of stuff or 'individuation' (Borer 2005), has recently been claimed to also potentially encode inclusiveness, in particular in Jamaican Creole (Stewart 2006, Kennedy 2012).

3.8. Plurality, Inclusiveness and Individuation: Cl(assifier) P(hrase) and NumP

The post-nominal marker *dem* has often been analysed as the JC plural marker (Bailey 1966, Patrick 2007). It is homophonous with the 3rd person pronoun as well as with the plural demonstrative, already seen in the preceding section. This marker occurs post-nominally with definite nominals only:

(46) a. *di manggo-**dem** swiit*   (Bailey 1966: 27)

The mango – pl sweet

'The mangoes are sweet'

 b. **Manggo-dem swiit*

(47) *Mieri-**dem***

Mary –pl

'Mary and her friends/ associates'

Patrick (2007) notes that "Perhaps owing to incomplete grammaticalization, *-dem* can only occur on 3rd person pronouns, not in such direct-address constructions as English *You boys* (**Yu bwai-dem*)".

However the very status of *dem* as a plural marker is controversial. For one, plurality can be yielded in the absence of *dem*:

(48) Police shoot Starman inna dance… dem rain down **gunshot** pon him (Sistren 1986:192)

    Police shoot Starman in   dance   3pl rain down gunshot on 3sg

    'The police shot Starman in a dance… they rained down **gunshots** on him'

Stewart (2006, 2007, 2011) argues that the use of *dem* is not to mark plurality, but rather to imply inclusiveness. According to her, the data in (49b) implies one killing event, with the boys acting collaboratively, an interpretation which is not forced in (49a).

(49)   a.   *Chii bwai kil dem faada*   (Stewart 2006:204)

               Three boy kill 3pl father

               'Three boys killed their father.'
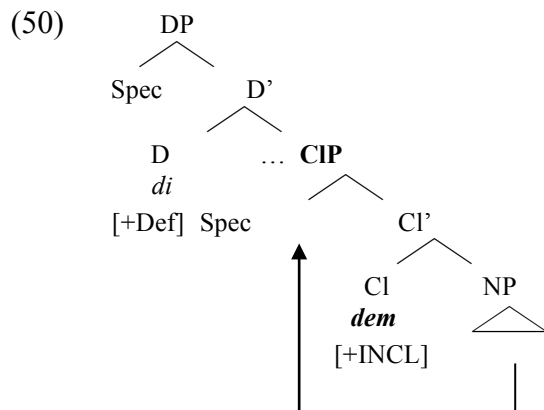

    b.   *Di chii bwai dem kil dem faada*[17]

               The three boy INCL kill 3 pl father

               'The three boys killed their father.'"

Stewart (2011) remarks that "the naturalness of the use of the plural with the JC definite *di* is easily explained when it is considered that inclusiveness is a feature of definiteness. (…) What this means is that in JC *di bwai dem* 'the boys', *dem* indicates that it is the totality of *bwai* which is under consideration. What is taking place, then, is that post-nominal *dem* marks a group reading. Its plural construal is a consequence of it being a marker of inclusiveness." As a result of this reasoning, *dem* [+Incl] is analyzed as being inserted in Cl(assifier)P, denoting a group reading and as such implying semantic plurality. The absence of this marker allows for a non-inclusive (partitioned) reading, in the spirit of Borer (2005) who also houses the dividing function under ClP[18]:

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[17] One reviewer asks whether the first instance of *dem* in this sentence is not a resumptive pronoun. This is clearly not the case, as is illustrated by the following, where the DP containing *dem* occurs in object position: *Da wikid Don-Man jos kil di chii bwai dem!* "That wicked gangster just killed the/those three boys'

[18] Note that this approach is not immediately reconcilable with that put forth in Mufwene (1981) where bare nouns are unpartitioned / non-individuated. Stewart (2006:102) explains that while the analysis offered by Mufwene cannot account for instances found in the data where the bare noun can yield an individuated reading, while her account can.

(50)

```
            DP
          /    \
       Spec     D'
              /    \
            D      ...  ClP
            di         /    \
          [+Def]    Spec     Cl'
                            /    \
                          Cl      NP
                         dem
                        [+INCL]
```

However Bobyleva (2011) points out various challenges for this approach. For example, she notes that the collective reading attributed to sentence (49b), with the boys acting *jointly* to kill their father, is not the unique reading available to her informants. This observation was already made in Durrleman (2008). Bobyleva (2011) also compares post-nominal –*s* and –*dem* marking in Jamaican speech (which she refers to as Jamaican Patwa, JP). Given that –*s* is housed in ClP (Borer 2005)[19], Bobyleva notes that "If Stewart's analysis was correct, we would expect *dem* to be in the complementary distribution with -*s* in JP. This expectation is, however, not borne out by the data. As shown in example (51) (…) the co-occurrence of -*s* and *dem* is perfectly grammatical.

(51)   Tell *you confederates dem*.   (Thelwell 1980: 368)[20]

    'Tell your confederates.' "

Bobyleva therefore adopts only part of the analysis in Stewart (2006, 2007, 2011), namely the idea that varieties of Jamaican Creole make use of a null classifier which is housed in ClP and accounts, for example, for data such as that given in (49a) where there is no collective reading for the sequence *chii bwai*. As such, the null classifier fulfills the function of the division of

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[19] That plural morphology and classifiers are housed in Cl(assifier)P is a widely held view since Borer (2005), who points out that these elements both fulfill a dividing function and are in complementary distribution. Interesting evidence for this comes from Persian (Gomeshi 2003) and Western Armenian (Bale & Khanjian 2008), languages with both classifiers and plural marking yet these elements are mutually exclusive.

[20] One reviewer points out that this may not be representative of JC because Michale Thelwell had moved from Jamaica to the U.S. 21 years before writing this text. However it is worth noting that Patrick (2009) studies a corpus of Jamaican speech and finds comparable data :

    *Some a di helper-**s**-**dem** in our area don't stop pon premises*

    'Some of the domestic workers in our area don't live on premises'.

He specifically underlines that speakers lower on the continuum use –*z* marking, suggesting that we cannot explain this uniquely in terms of code-switching to English. As such, my view is that any analysis of the grammatical system of these Creole speakers has to allow for the possible occurrence of –*s* as well.

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stuff, along the lines of Borer (2005). Bobyleva further proposes that this position may be filled by–*s* in Jamaican speech as in (51). This author does not adhere to the analysis of –*dem* as a marker inserted in ClP, a projection whose sole function is the partitioning out into atomic parts according to her view. ClP is projected to yield a division into countable units, or absent from the structure when the interpretation is non-individuated, as she illustrates with the following[21]:

(52) *We decide seh we haffi have pumpkin too* (Sistren 1986:9)

'We decided that we had to have **a pumpkin/pumpkins/some pumpkin** too'

If *dem* is not in ClP, the question then remains as to where to situate it? According to Bobyleva (2011), *dem* is situated in NumP. She explains this analysis by stating that "*dem* (…) realize(s) the quantity feature by marking the noun as a collective entity, which implies that the reference is made to more than one individual or individual parts". She claims that inserting *dem* in the head of NumP is also appealing because this projection is part of the nominal left periphery (see Aboh 2004) and therefore accounts well for other properties of *dem*, namely its interaction with definiteness and discourse prominence. Through XP-movement of the noun and its complement to [Spec,NumP], she derives data such as the following:

(53)   *A she haffi carry di box a liquor dem from downstairs*

'Is it her job to carry the boxes of liquor from downstairs?'/ 'It is she [who] has to carry the boxes of liquor from downstairs'. (Sistren 1986, from Patrick 2007: 143)

This account has many merits, although it is not immediately compatible with the insertion (at some point of the derivation) of cardinal numerals in NumP, which has been argued for in various works (Borer 2005, Stewart 2006, Durrleman 2008, amongst others) and which has been applied to JC in section 3.6 of this work. According to Bobyleva, however, numerals are simply part of the chunk that moves to [Spec,NumP].

---

[21] It is worth noting that this approach, like the one in Stewart (2006) also argues against a view of bare nouns such such as that put forth in Mufwene (1981) where the bare nouns are non-individuated. As ClP may be empty when it projects, this allows a bare noun to yield a partitioned reading.

Before concluding this section, I would like to propose another possible perspective on JC *dem*. In section 3.3, the demonstrative *dem* was discussed as an element merged high in the nominal architecture, namely in [Spec,DemP]. From this position it moves to [Spec,DP] to check its referential feature. The projection just above DemP, TopP, hosts an XP composed of the NP as well as its modifiers. The sort of sequence resulting from this analysis is the following:

(54)   ***Dem   wikid   pikni** kil dem faada*
         DEM wicked child kill their father
         'These/Those wicked children killed their father'

The question I would like to ask here is: What if, in certain instances, this demonstrative was not to move? The result would be ungrammatical:

(55)   ****Wikid pikni dem** kil dem faada*

However in certain languages, such as Spanish, this does occur, and there is a strategy to save the structure: that of inserting a definite article.

(56)   a.   Estos libros
                 DEM books
                 'These books'

(57)   b.   **Los** libros **estos**
                 Det books these
                 'These books'

Brugè (2002:19) explains the above alternation as follows:

> "A tentative proposal to account for the obligatory presence of the definite form of the article in D° (…) is to assume that only a definite feature is compatible with the feature the demonstrative is specified for. We will call this feature *Referential* feature (…). In this way, if the referential feature has to be selected inside the DP projection in order to enable the demonstrative movement at Logical Form, the insertion of an

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> indefinite article in D° would show that this requirement has not been satisfied; and this would give rise to a clash of features between the head and its specifier. The obligatory movement of the demonstrative to [Spec,DP] at LF would be blocked and the construction ruled out (…). By contrast, if the definite form of the article is inserted in D° for the reasons just mentioned, there would be no clash of features between the head and its specifier. As it is assumed, in fact, **referentiality implies definiteness**'.

If the post-nominal occurrence of *dem* is indeed that of the plural demonstrative, then its occurrence with a definite article follows and indeed it has been attested in other languages. Moreover, a plural demonstrative also implies a collective reading and interacts with discourse prominence, characteristics which have been observed for post-nominal *dem* in JC. Finally, we further account for the fact that post-nominal *dem* does not occur with the demonstrative *dem* (in any variety), a state of affairs which does not follow from an approach analyzing the two as distinct elements situated in different syntactic positions:

(58)   */?? *Dem pikni dem*

It has been often noted in the literature that this sort of sequence is not felicitous in JC: For example, Patrick (2004) found only one such occurrence in his entire data collection of 3,600 tokens. This restriction is not obviously ruled out by the syntactic analyses proposed to date, which attempt to account for this in terms of the 'non-redundant' nature of the system which avoids the expression of plurality when there are other specifiers of plural in the sequence. However examples such as the following are problematic for this reasoning, where the numeral *chii* is felicitous with *dem* despite its implying plurality:

(59)   *Di   chii   bwai dem kil dem faada*   (Stewart 2006:204)
        Three boy kill 3PL father
        'Three boys killed their father.'

We see here therefore that an approach whereby what is redundant with *dem* being used twice is that you encode plurality twice simply does not account for the facts, given that *dem* can occur with a numeral like *chii*, an element also encoding plurality. However could it be that

using an element with the same phonological form occurring twice is potentially the source of the problem? First of all, these elements do not occur one after the other, so it is not immediately obvious why their co-occurrence should violate any phonological redundancy constraint. Indeed, even when two homophonous elements occur one after the other, as long as they serve two different grammatical functions, they need not be redundant or incompatible in any way, as can be seen from the English example below:

(60) **That that** boy left is a shame

This clearly illustrates two instances of 'that' serving two different grammatical functions which are not mutually exclusive. It seems then that the only way where any appeal to redundancy can be applied to account for *dem* is if the *dem* used before and the one used after are actually one and the same element, which is precisely what we argue here. That is not what has been argued in other work which adheres to the view that before the noun it is a demonstrative, and after the noun it is a plural, or a non-individuating classifier.

Still, many questions remain with the approach considered here as well. One that immediately comes to mind is: why does this use of the plural demonstrative not occur with a reinforcer? One explanation is to admit that when the demonstrative stays in DemP, the reinforcer head is preferably omitted, along the lines of that observed for other projections considered here. Yet another question is: why is it only the plural form of the demonstrative in JC that would allow this alternation? I will leave this as a subject for future research.

In closing, we have adopted the analysis of ClP whose head fulfills the role of a divider, along the lines of Borer (2005). This is realized by a null classifier in JC (and *s* in JP) (Stewart 2006, 2007, 2011; Bobyleva 2011). This projection is present in the structure with individuated nominals only. This approach also has the advantage of explaining various interpretational possibilities of bare nouns in the language, namely that these are ambiguous between partitioned and non-partitioned readings (see example 52).

As for where to situate *dem*, the matter is far from settled, but further research will shed light onto its status as a post-nominal demonstrative or a different marker altogether, inserted under NumP. What is clear is that a non-singular reading results from its use, although crucially this

property is not exclusive to it, and is also attested with other markers inserted higher in the structure e.g. numerals higher than *wan* and the element *som*.[22]

The map arrived at thus far is as follows, with the projections most recently discussed in bold:

(61)   QP Universal > KP > DP > TopP Contrastive **> DemP >** (…) FPOrd > FPCard> **NumP > ClP** > NP

3.9 Adj(ectival) P(hrase)s

In this section we focus on adjectival modification. In the first part of the discussion (3.9.1), we observe that these modifiers occupy an articulate zone and determine the relevant ordering. In the second part (3.9.2) we consider the operation of adjectival focusing, which involves moving an adjective to the front of this zone (sometimes in a reduplicated form) and thus can give rise to a subversion of the base order.

3.9.1. A cartography of AdjPs

Attributive adjectives occur pre-nominally in JC, and can be combined once they respect a specific order. According to the cartographic view, the ordering of these adjectives is a consequence of the positioning of the functional projection with which each adjective is associated in the extended nominal architecture. Each of these projections is associated with specific semantic properties, explaining why when the same adjective appears to surface in two different positions, such as seen below, the meaning that it encodes is different in each case[23]:

(62)   *Di* **uol maaga** *tiif gaan wid mi mango-dem*
        The old thin thief gone with POSS mango-PL
        'The <u>nasty </u>thin thief has gone with my mangoes'   **Subjective Comment > Width**

---

[22] Note that non-singular meanings can be recovered in the absence of these overt markers if the context is sufficiently salient to allow this (see examples 48 and 52).
[23] Another cause for adjectives to surface in more than on position is discussed in the following section when we deal with adjectival focussing.

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(63)   *Di maaga **uol** tiif gaan wid   mi   mango-dem*

       The thin   old thief gone with POSS mango-PL

       'The thin old thief has gone with my mangoes'   **Width > Age**[24]

Here we consider adjectival combinations of two at a time, progressively mapping out their relative hierarchy, along the lines of Scott (2002). As already seen (section 3.5) during our discussion of numerals, ordinals occur before cardinals in the nominal architecture:

(64a)   Mi   did nuo im **fus tuu** girl fren-dem   (b)*/?? Mi did nuo im tuu fus girlfren-dem

       1 sg Past know 3sg first two girl-friend-DEM

       'I knew his first two girl-friends'

                                        Ordinal> Cardinal

As such we derive the order Ordinal > Cardinal. Now we see that adjectivals expressing subjective opinions occur below cardinals:

(65)   Di **chii bosi**   gyal jos kom   roun   ya

       Det three boast-y girl just come around here

       'The three show-off girls just arrived here'   **Cardinal > Subjective Comment**

In turn, adjectives referring to the property of size are hosted in a projection which is more deeply embedded than that hosting adjectives marked for subjectivity:

(66)   *Di **priti   likl** pikni swiit kyaan   don*

       The pretty little child sweet can[+Neg] finish

       'The pretty little child is immensely sweet'   **Subjective Comment > Size**[25]

---

[24] Thanks to one informant for pointing out that 'uol' here can refer to physical age or to the amount of time that the person has spent in thievery!

[25] One reviewer wonders if *likl* in current example (66) does not necessarily refer to size but could be 'endearing' as in "*wahn kyuut likl pikni*". S/he explains this example "means a [little child] who is cute, but (…) *Likl* here also has an endearing overtone". So the reviewer concludes that the reading associated with *likl* is not necessarily that of being small, and may indeed be one of endearment. However I would like to point out that the endearing reading here is surely not yielded by *likl* but by *kyuut*. Indeed to illustrate this, it suffices to substitute *kyuut* for *ruud* as in "*wahn ruud likl pikni*, "one rude little child*", an utterance which all will agree has no particularly endearing overtone at all, yet the child is still a small one, a reading then clearly associated with *likl*. One may then argue that it is the use of *pikni* that yields the (small) size meaning, rather than *likl*. However a substitution of *pikni* for *man* then becomes insightful, as in: "*wan ruud likl man*" which is unambiguously referring to a RUDE SMALL man while men are by no means necessarily small..

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Now we see that length is lower than size:

(67) Di **likl shaat** gyal tuu fiesti fi mi

The little short girl too rude for me

'The little short girl is too rude for'   **Size> Length**

The partial orders in (64) to (67) together imply the overall base order: **Cardinal> Ordinal> Subjective Comment > Size > Length**. The data in (68)-(70) develop the hierarchy further:

(68) *Dat   a   wan **lang hai** klif, iihn?*

That [equative] IND long high cliff, eh

'That's a long high cliff, isn't it?'   **Length > Height**

(69) *Di **shaat fat** pikni gi tu moch chobl*

Det short fat child give too much trouble

'The short fat child gives too much trouble'   **Height > Width**

(70) *Dat   a   wan **tin lait**   tuoto fi truu*

Det [equative] IND thin light toto for true

'That is truly a thin light toto (cake)'   **Width > Weight**

The relevant overall base order is thus: **Ordinal> Cardinal > Subjective Comment > Size > Length > Height > Width > Weight**. Now consider the exmples in (71)-(74):

(71) *Im   av wan **evi   uol** baal. Im se it   a   fi kyanon*

3rd sg have IND heavy old ball.3rd sg say it [equative] for cannon

'S/he has a heavy old ball. S/he says it's for a cannon'   **Weight > Age**

(72) We di **uol skwier** grievstuon yu did kip ina di shed?

Where Det old square gravestone 2nd sg [Past] keep in Det shed

'Where is the old square gravestone you used to keep in the shed?'

Age> Shape

(73)   *Di **roun brown** gyal luk kris*

Det round brown girl look good

'The curvy brown girl looks good'   **Shape > Colour**

(74)   *Di **wait inglish** bwai tuu nof*

Det white English boy too conceited

'The white English boy is too conceited'   **Colour > Nationality**

Combined with the preceding data, we arrive at the overall order in (75) which complies with Scott (2002)[26]:

(75)   **Cardinal > Ordinal > Subj.CommentP > SizeP > LengthP > HeightP > SpeedP > WidthP > WeightP > AgeP > ShapeP > ColorP > NationalityP > NP**

The relative order of Adjectives as compared to numerals is illustrated by the data below:

(76)   *Dem chrii **kriev(e)n** pikni (-de)   a   go   kil mi!*

3rd pl three greedy   child   [prog] [prosp]kill 2nd sg

'Those three greedy children are going to kill me!'

A summary of this hierarchy is given in (77), where Adj stands for the zone dedicated to adjectivals in the extended nominal projection:

(77)   Dem > Num > **Adj** > N

Given that nouns always follow these adjectival modifiers, we can conclude that noun movement to the head position of any intermediate FP [+Adj] does not occur in JC.

3.9.2. *Reduplication of adjectives: Adjectival Focus*

Adjectives in JC reduplicate to yield a focused reading:

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[26] Laenzlinger (2005) further groups these adjectives together on the basis of semantic meta-classes:
[QUANTIF Ordinal > Cardinal] >
[SPEAK-ORIENT Subject Comment > Evidential] >
[SCALAR PHYS PROP Size > Length > Height > Speed > Depth > Width] >
[MEASURE Weight > Temperature > Wetness > Age] >
[non-scalar phys. Prop Shape > Color > Nationality/Origin > Material]

(78)   *Hear de **foo-fool**   gal*   (Bennett 1993:4)

Hear Det Adj [+Foc] girl

'Listen to that exceedingly silly girl'

(79)   *Luk pon dem   tuu **priti-priti** pikni*

Look on those two pretty-pretty child

'Look at those two BEAUTIFUL children'

Only one adjective at a time may undergo reduplication:

(80)   **Di tuu   **fuu-   fuul** **priti-   priti**   gyal*

Det Num   Adj [+Foc] 1   Adj [+Foc]2   N

The focussed adjective must precede the others in a sequence. As a result the base order of adjectives outlined in the previous section may be disrupted. Compare (83a) which reflects the unmarked base order with (83b-d):

(83a)   *Di **lang faas** fish*

'The **long fast** fish'   **Length > Speed**

(b)   *Di **faas-fass lang** fish vs.*   (c) **Di lang faas-fass fish*   (d) **Di faas lang faas fish*
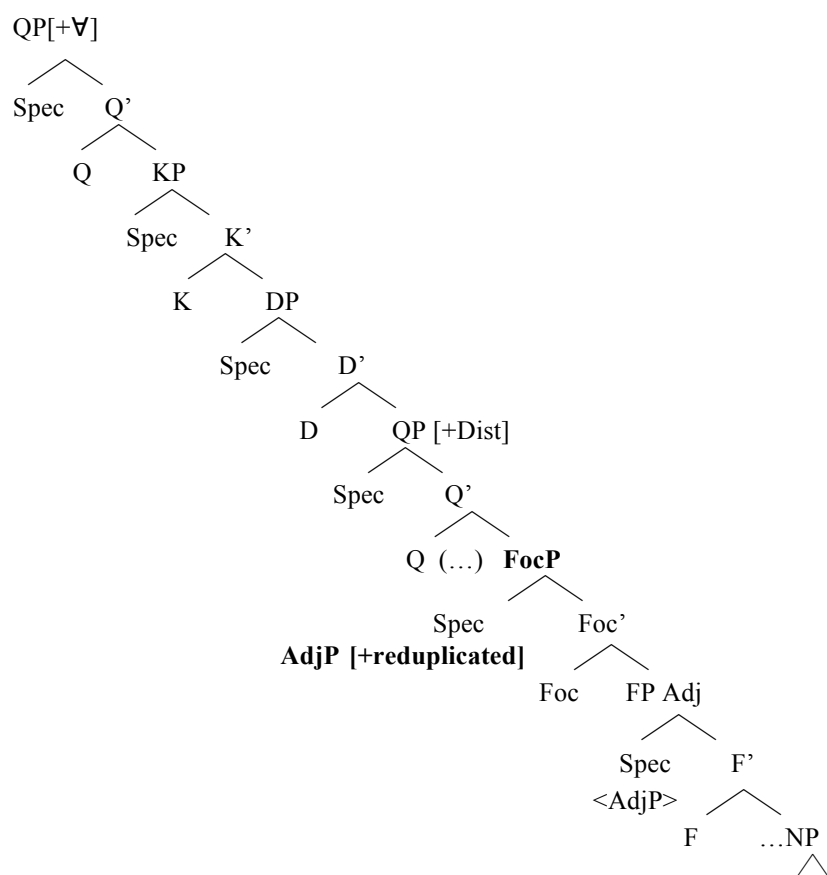
'The **FAST long** fish'

Here we see that the identified base order **Length > Speed** is subverted if the adjective denoting speed is focussed. To account for these facts, we situate the FocP [Adj] above other adjectival FPs, so that movement to this FocP allows for the resulting ordering that we observe: that is, with the intensified adjective preceding the others. Note that the entire reduplicated adjectival form targets FocP:

(84)   **Di faas lang <faas> chriela tun ova*

Det fast long <fast> trailer turn over

For this reason we cannot claim here that reduplication is the result of spelling out the base position of the adjective[27]. Here we are apparently dealing with a unit that yields an emphatic reading because of a phonological doubling that has occurred to the lexical base (see Gooden et al 2003, Durrleman 2008). Given this state of affairs, we propose the following structure:

(85)

```
QP[+∀]
 /\
Spec  Q'
     /\
    Q   KP
       /\
     Spec  K'
          /\
         K    DP
             /\
           Spec  D'
                /\
               D   QP [+Dist]
                  /\
                Spec  Q'
                     /\
                    Q (…)  FocP
                          /\
                        Spec   Foc'
                  AdjP [+reduplicated]  /\
                                      Foc   FP Adj
                                           /\
                                         Spec   F'
                                        <AdjP>  /\
                                               F   …NP
                                                   △
```

Movement of an adjectival to [Spec,FocP] yields a surface order that is different to the underlying one, with the reduplicated, focused adjectival preceding all the others[28].

---

[27] This strikes an interesting contrast with focal reduplication of adjectives in the clausal domain, where material occurs between the the fronted, focussed adjective and the one inside the clause:

(i)   A faas da kyar faas   (ii)   A tayad yu   tayad
         FOC fast Det car fast   FOC tired 2nd sg tired
         'The car is FAST'   'You're TIRED'.

[28] This section sketches adjectival focussing obtained through fronting and reduplicating the adjectival. Another option that is occasionally used is to front and apply considerable emphasis to the fronted adjective, without reduplicating it:

Di INGLISH blak man

Det English black man

'The English black man' (i.e. as opposed to the American black man).

Under the analysis proposed here, the subversion of the base order is once again possible because of movement to a dedicated position where focus is encoded.

3.10 Overall order of the extended nominal projection

To recall, we set out in section 2 to verify to what extent the JC data would prove compatible with the nominal architecture in (5), repeated here for convenience:

(5) [K(Case)P[DeterminerP [QuantifierP [OrdinalP [CardinalP [NumberP [AP: Subjective.CommentP [SizeP [LengthP [HeightP [SpeedP [WidthP [WeightP [ShapeP [ColorP [Nationality/OriginP [ClassifierP [NounP]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]

The data discussed in the preceding sections together yield the following overall nominal architecture in JC:

(86) QP [+∀] > KP [+Genitive] > DP [+Definite] > TopP [+Contrastive] > FP [+D-Linked] > QP [+Distributive] > FP [+Ordinal] > FP [+Cardinal] > NumP [+Number] > ClP [+Classifier] > FocusP [+Adj] > FP [+Adj] : Subj.CommentP > SizeP > LengthP > HeightP > SpeedP > WidthP > WeightP > AgeP > ShapeP > ColourP > NationalityP > NP

We therefore see that Jamaican Creole provides empirical evidence for an articulate array of functional projections in the D-system which is largely compatible with the basic architecture in (5). In addition, the meticulous consideration of the various functional elements in the preceding sections has allowed us to fine-tune the architecture further. Strikingly, we are able to observe that the core, lexical projection, NP, is progressively augmented first by numerous (Infl-like) modifiers and subsequently by discourse-related (Comp-like) material. As such we establish a clear parallelism between clausal and nominal domains. In the next section we briefly show how these two domains interact in Creole 'bare' sentences.

4. Nominal architecture and telicity effects

4.1. Covert Aspect and Tense

Here we turn to a discussion of the relevance of the nominal structure identified in the context 'bare sentences' (Dechaine 1991). Bare sentences are sentences with no Tense, Mood or Aspect marking. These occur in a number of Creole languages (see e.g. Haitian Creole, Saamaka, Trinidad Creole, etc.) and show a stative/ eventive divide regarding the default temporal readings that arise. To illustrate with JC, we see that, in an out-of-the-blue context, such sentences give rise to temporal and aspectual interpretations which vary depending on (i) properties of the verb and, crucially for us here, (ii) properties of the internal argument.

(87) a. *Di uman sel di mango*   'the woman **sold** the mango' (Patrick 2007:142)

      b. *Di uman sel mango*   'the woman **sells** mangoes'

      c. *Di uman sel wan mango*   'the woman **sold** a mango'

The non-stative, transitive verb *sel* yields a non-past reading with the bare object *mango* and a past reading with the objects *di mango* and *wan mango*. Given this state of affairs, Patrick (2007) notes that "Strikingly, NP specificity also affects the tense interpretation of bare, non-stative, transitive verbs". However upon closer inspection, we will see that more needs to be said both about the nature of the verb involved, as well as the characteristics of the nominal it selects.

First of all, the verb cannot be described solely in terms of 'bare, non-stative, transitive'. I will not delve into an in-depth discussion of verb classes here as my primary concern is to identify the section of nominal architecture that comes into play when computing telicity with certain verbs. Nevertheless it is worth pointing out that they form a class that is more subtle than 'non-stative, transitive', since there are many examples of these where the nominal architecture is not responsible for computing telicity, for example with verbs of achievement:

(88) *im fain guol*

      s/he find gold

      's/he found gold'

(89) *wi riich*

      We reach

      'We reached'

Unlike verbs of achievement (which do not mark duration), accomplishment verbs are affected by the amount of nominal material in their complement, for example whether or not a noun occurs with an article, as we saw in (87).

Regarding what characteristic of nominals yields the relevant telicity effects, contrary to what is noted in Patrick (2007), specificity does not appear to be the defining feature. Consider the following example:

(90)　　*Di　uman　sel　chrii mango*

　　　　Det woman sell three mango

　　　　'The woman sold three mangoes'

The nominal expression *chrii mango* above does not denote three specific mangoes. The default temporal and aspectual interpretation yielded, however, is still one of past, completive. Therefore specificity does not seem to be the crucial ingredient of an internal argument when computing these telic readings in JC. On the other hand, the internal argument does not have to be a bare noun as in (87b) in order to yield an atelic reading. The data below illustrates that a nominal modified by a (focussed) adjectival still renders a non-past reading:

(91)　　*Di　uman　sel　(big) big mango*

　　　　The woman sell (big) big mango

　　　　'The woman sells (really) big mangoes'

The question here is then: In bare sentences, what part of the nominal architecture identified thus far renders the internal argument quantized (see e.g. Verkuyl 1972)**,** so that it delimits the event (in the sense of Tenny 1987), yielding a default [+Past/+Completive] interpretation? More specifically, what projections must be overtly realized in such a nominal so as to qualify it as [+specified quantity] and measure out the VP containing it, such that once it is *completely* affected by the action described, the event is complete?

The generalization appears to be that with accomplishment headed VPs (as discussed in Krifka 1998), an internal argument that is modified higher than FocAdjP will be specified for

quantity and give rise to the telicity effects under consideration[29]. This is similar to the proposal in Borer (2005) where the crucial feature Quantity is encoded on ClP and #P. Here we are working with a more articulate map and draw on the data in (92) to illustrate that all the material higher than the adjectival zone in our map triggers the telicity effects under consideration:

(92)   *Jan   nyam **aal/ im/ di /dem   / dis / som / chrii   bredfruut (-dem)***
        John eat   all/ his/the/their or these/ this /some/three   breadfruit
        'John **has eaten/ ate** his/the/this/some/three breadfruit(s) (up)'

Note that the zone higher than the adjectival layer is not an arbitrary point in the nominal domain. Shlonsky (2004) notes a difference in DP-internal NP-movement along the following lines: "Whereas attributive adjectives must appear to the right of the noun in Hebrew and in practically all varieties of Arabic, other functional material such as numerals, demonstratives, quantifiers, etc., is either exclusively pre-nominal (like the definite determiner) or is subject to dialectal variation as to its position relative to the head noun". In other words, the NP in these languages must precede the adjectival layer, but only optionally precedes other modifiers. It is the structure that hosts these higher modifiers that I observe to be responsible for triggering the JC telicity effects under discussion.

4.2.   Overt Completive Aspect in JC: don

In the previous section we discussed the relevant zone for triggering the reading where an accomplishment has reached its end point thanks to an internal argument measuring out the event, such that the event is complete. At this point it is interesting to note that there is a marker in JC which overtly encodes completive aspect: *don* (meaning 'finished'). It cannot combine with stative VPs unlike the homophonous anterior marker (meaning 'already'):

(93)   *Jan don nuo*
        *'John has finished knowing'/ 'John already knew'

---

[29] We have seen that achievement verbs select a complement specified for quantity which serves to measure out their process (along the lines of Krifka 1998, and for a more recent and in-depth discussion, Ramchand 2008). Exactly what must be structurally present in the extended nominal projection is of interest to us here. Moreover, as we will see in the next section, these are the verbs that combine felicitously with the completive marker *don*, but only when their complement is quantized.

An interesting property of the completive marker *don* is that it has the particularity of occasionally occurring in a post-VP configuration:

(94)   *Im nyam i **don***

          S/he eat it done

          'She finished eating it (up)'

This has been accounted for in terms of movement of the VP to [Spec,CompletiveP] (Durrleman 2000, 2001, 2008):

(95)   CompletiveAsp *don* > VP

The VP targeting [Spec,CompletiveAspP] cannot be [+Stative]. This follows from the observation that "states and the expression of aspect are naturally incompatible" (Lamiroy 1987: 284)[30]. Non-Stative VPs modified for completive must select a quantized internal argument:

(96)   **Im nyam (big) mango don*

          3sg eat   (big) mango done

(97)   *Jan   nyam **aal / im/ di/ dem   / dis / som/ chrii   bredfruut (-dem) don***

          John eat   all / his/ the/ their or those/ this / some/three   breadfruit (-*dem*) done

          'John **has eaten/ ate** all/his/the/this/some/three breadfruit(s) (up)'

The minimal amount of material that must be overtly realized on the internal argument of a VP combining *don* is reminiscent of that needed to trigger the telicity effects in JC bare sentences.

What about the case of certain bare nominals which were seen in section 2.2 to yield definite readings (see example 8 and related discussion)? Recall that this was accounted for in terms

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[30] Unless of course the stative verb in fact designates a change or state of inchoative reading.

of NP-movement the specifier of D to check its referential feature. In these cases null D is licensed because of overt material in [Spec,DP]. Such an analysis predicts that in these instances telicity effects will be triggered despite what otherwise appears to be a bare noun. In light of this, consider the examples below: In (100) *rabit* is used to refer to a particular rabbit*,* as in a storybook, hence somewhat like a proper name, while in (101) *rabit* is used as a genuine non-specific noun. The aspectual readings in these two contexts differ as predicted by this approach which postulates morphological material in (the specifier of) DP in (100) and no such material in (101):

(100)   Foks nyam Rabit?
        'Did fox eat Rabbit ?'
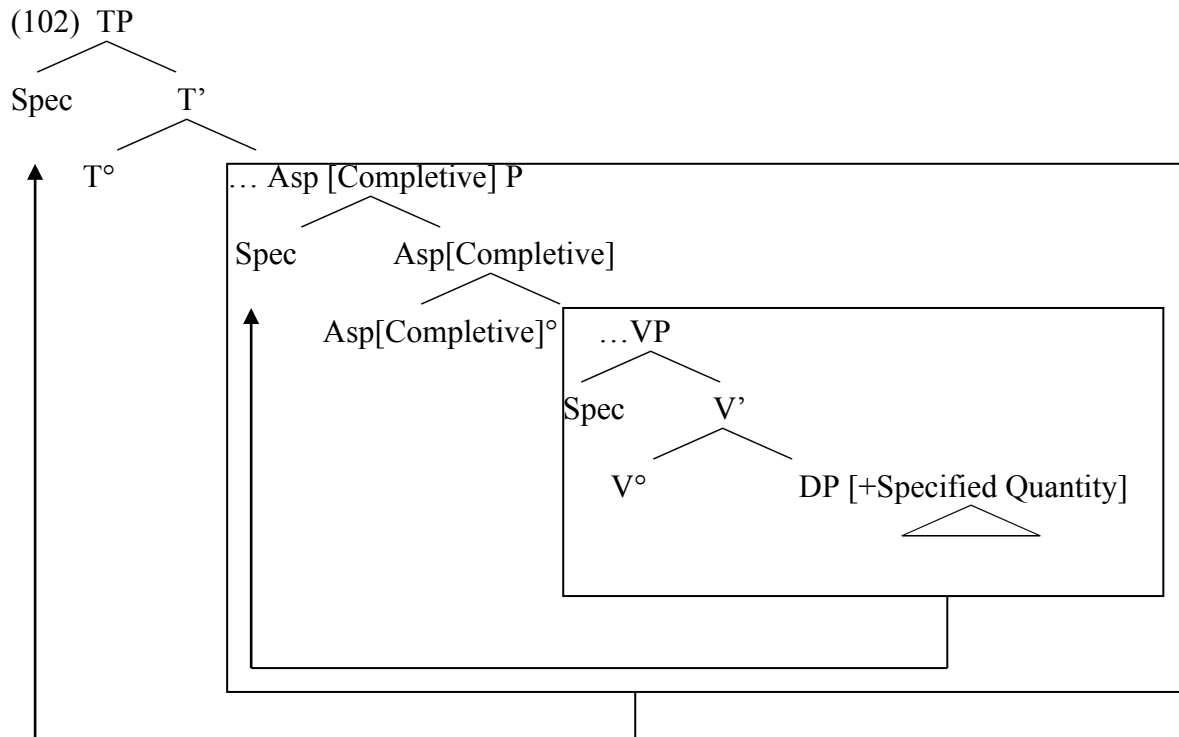
(101)   Foks nyam rabit ?
        'Do foxes eat rabbit(s) ?'

4.3.   Deriving null completive in JC

It is in fact unsurprising that there exists a parallelism between (i) the minimal amount of functional projections necessary in an internal argument of an accomplishment VP modified by completive *don* and (ii) the minimal amount of functional architecture needed to trigger telic readings in bare sentences. Telicity effects are intimately related to completive aspect: a situation can be described as telic if indeed there eventually comes a point when the action/event is *complete* (Comrie 1976:44). This occurs in the contexts examined here when the situation can be measured out precisely by the presence of an internal argument (as opposed to an external one) allowing for this completion to be reached.

We propose here that when movement to [Spec,CompletiveP] does occur, Completive° is no longer obligatorily realized, because realizing this head is a last resort phenomenon. When both specifier and head are realized we derive an emphatic interpretation of completive.

We can take things one step further, so as to explain the absence of overt T marking in these bare sentences. It is plausible that a snowballing-type movement occurs, targeting specifiers of AspCompletiveP and TP respectively and rendering their corresponding heads non-overt:

(102) TP

Spec   T'

     T°   … Asp [Completive] P

          Spec   Asp[Completive]

               Asp[Completive]°   …VP

                       Spec   V'

                         V°   DP [+Specified Quantity]

A question that the first movement in (102) may raise is how a property of the complement of V can affect the nature of the entire VP in [Spec,AspCompletive] in such a way that the empty Asp head is licensed. This strikes an analogy with what we have in certain cases of wh-movement. For example, in *To whom did you talk?* the crucial property for the specifier-head relation in CP is located on the complement of the constituent in the specifier (i.e. the wh-feature on *whom*, the complement of P) and this property seems to affect the entire constituent in the specifier position (through "feature percolation"). This specifier can then enter into a licensing configuration with the head C. In (102), it also seems to be the complement of the constituent in [Spec,AspCompletive] (i.e. the object DP) which determines the nature of the moved constituent (i.e. the VP) such that it can license something in the head position of this projection. Therefore in both cases, we have a complement that affects the nature of the projection of its head.

5.   Conclusion

The JC extended nominal projection yields a rich nominal architecture summarized in (103):

(103)   Quantifier Phrase _{Universal} > KP > DP > TopicP _{Contrastive} > Demonstrative Phrase >

Quantifier Phrase _{Distributive} > FP _{Ordinal} FP _{Cardinal} > NumberP _{Number} > ClassifierP

_{Individuation} > FocusP _{Adjectival} > FP _{Adjectival} > NP

Parellelisms between the DP and the clause are evident: both are composed of a lexical core where thematic requirements are met, both include an intermediary zone where modifiers are inserted, and both contain a higher domain where discursive properties are located.

JC bare sentences (like those in a variety of Creoles) give rise to certain temporal and aspectual effects: Past/Completive with non-stative, accomplishment VPs[31] selecting internal arguments lexicalizing the higher projections within this nominal architecture. Deletion of T° and CompletiveAsp° occurs once the eventive VP they select contains an object that is quantized and thus permits the measuring out of the event. Given that when Completive° is overtly realized with the marker *don*, the VP over which it takes scope can precede *don*, this suggests that movement to [Spec,CompletiveP] can occur and I would like to propose that possibly precisely because this option is available, then when such movement does occur, the Completive° is no longer obligatorily realized.

It is worth underlining that the syntactic mechanism where *either* the spec *or* the head suffices to render the projection visible has been proposed to obtain in other languages for the CP projection (Chomsky & Lasnik 1977), for the DP domain (Koopman 1991, 1993), and subsequently for functional projections in general (Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti 1998). Crucially, the latter authors allow flexibility to realize both positions, but it is a last resort mechanism. Here we discuss the relevance of this approach for various projections in JC, some found in the nominal domain and others in the clause, but it is by no means limited to the projections investigated in this paper. Instead it seems to be a pervasive characteristic of the Creole grammar being described here: indeed various other IP-related projections, as well as those that make up the C-system, show that once the specifiers are overtly realized in JC, the heads become potentially null. In contrast, when the Spec is empty the head is filled with a marker (Durrleman 2000, 2001, 2005, 2008).

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[31] see Krifka (1998)

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The JC data has then provided new empirical motivations for a rich functional map in the nominal domain. Overt morphological material was seen to lexically realize a number of projections argued for in independent works (both by cartographers and non-cartographers alike) as well as to suggest the existence of additional projections. We have also seen that structures where overt material is absent, namely Creole 'bare sentences', are also arguably structurally rich and more complex than they seem at first sight. We hope therefore to have contributed both to attaining a deeper understanding of JC nominal syntax, as well as to answering the central question of the cartographic enterprise: "What are the right structural maps for natural language syntax? Answers may differ, and very different maps may be, and have been, proposed, but the central question as such inevitably arises as a legitimate and central question for syntactic theory" (Cinque & Rizzi 2008).

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