

Table of contents

 <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.127.toc>

Pages v–viii of

The Syntax of Jamaican Creole: A cartographic perspective

Stephanie Durrleman

[Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today, 127]

2008. xii, 190 pp.

© John Benjamins Publishing Company

This electronic file may not be altered in any way. For any reuse of this material written permission should be obtained from the publishers or through the Copyright Clearance Center (for USA: www.copyright.com).

For further information, please contact rights@benjamins.nl or consult our website at benjamins.com/rights

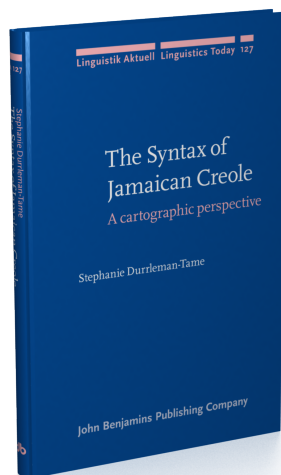


Table of contents

Acknowledgements	ix
Preface	
0.1 A Tribute to Miss Lou (1919–2006)	xi
 CHAPTER 1	
Introduction	1
1.1 The Jamaican continuum	1
1.2 Motivation for the present study	6
1.3 Orthography	10
1.4 Pidgin versus Creole	10
1.5 Theoretical framework	13
1.6 Organization of the book	14
 CHAPTER 2	
IP – The articulation of inflection in Jamaican Creole	19
2.1 Introduction	19
2.2 The architecture of the clause	19
2.2.1 The split-infl hypothesis	19
2.2.2 Cinque (1999)	20
2.2.2.1 A hierarchy of adverbial classes	20
2.2.2.2 Bound functional morphemes	22
2.2.2.3 Free functional morphemes	23
2.3 The articulation of inflection in JC	24
2.3.1 The preverbal markers	25
2.3.2 Modals	26
2.3.2.1 Mod(al) 1	26
2.3.2.2 Mod(al)s 2 & 3	27
2.3.3 Tense	28
2.3.3.1 Past tense	28
2.3.3.2 Future tense	29
2.3.4 Modals, tense and aspect	30
2.3.4.1 Mod1, T and Asp	30
2.3.4.2 Mod 2 & 3 and T	30

2.3.5	Asp(ect) markers	32
2.3.5.1	Progressive aspect	33
2.3.5.2	Prospective aspect	33
2.3.5.3	Retrospective aspect	34
2.3.5.4	Completive aspect and anterior	34
2.3.5.5	Continuative and frequentative aspects	39
2.4	Overall order for TMA markers in JC	41
2.5	Theoretical issues	41
2.5.1	Completive aspect in JC and Fongbè: An SVC approach	41
2.5.2	Completive aspect in JC and Fongbè: VP-movement	44
2.5.2.1	Problem for the VP-movement analysis	53
2.5.3	Multiple base generation of Anterior tense	54
2.5.4	Movement of (extensions of) VP across anterior	55
2.6	Overt functional structure of JC: Evidence for the framework in Cinque (1999)	58
2.7	Conclusion	59

CHAPTER 3

CP – The left periphery in Jamaican Creole

61

3.1	Introduction	61
3.1.1	Theoretical background: Split-CP (Rizzi 1997)	61
3.2	JC topicalization	66
3.2.1	Topicalization in main clauses	66
3.2.2	Topicalization in embedded clauses	67
3.2.3	The Nature of TopP	68
3.2.4	<i>De</i>	70
3.3	JC focus	74
3.3.1	Focussing in main clauses	74
3.3.2	Focussing in embedded clauses	77
3.3.3	The nature of [Spec, FocP] in JC	77
3.4	JC wh-questions	83
3.5	Identifying Force ^o and Fin ^o in JC	89
3.5.1	Force ^o	90
3.5.1.1	<i>se</i>	90
3.5.1.2	Additional evidence for ForceP	98
3.5.2	Fin ^o	99
3.6	The relative orders of topic, focus and wh-constituents in JC	100
3.7	The status of <i>a</i>	101
3.7.1	Progressive <i>a</i>	102
3.7.2	Prepositional <i>a</i>	102

3.7.3	Determiner <i>a</i>	103
3.7.4	Equative <i>a</i>	104
3.7.4.1	Focus/Interrogative <i>a</i> as equative <i>a</i>	104
3.7.4.2	Why focus/interrogative <i>a</i> cannot be analysed as equative <i>a</i>	106
3.7.5	A structural analysis of Foc/Wh <i>a</i> in JC	114
3.8	Conclusion	120

CHAPTER 4

DP – JC nominals and their extended projection	123
4.0	Introduction 123
4.1	The framework: Functional structure in the DP 123
4.2	The extended projection of nominals in JC 127
4.2.1	D(eterminer) P(rojection) 127
4.2.1.1	[+ Def] 127
4.2.1.2	[–Def] 127
4.2.2	K(ase) P(rojection) 128
4.2.3	N(ume)ral P(rojection) 131
4.2.3.1	<i>Wan</i> 131
4.2.4	Num(ber)P: <i>Som</i> 133
4.2.5	Q(uantifier) P(hrase) 136
4.2.5.1	Reduplication of numerals: Distributive 136
4.2.5.2	<i>Evri</i> 138
4.2.5.2.1	Distributive <i>evri</i> 138
4.2.5.2.2	Collective <i>evri</i> 138
4.2.5.3	Reduplication of adjectives: Adjectival Focus 141
4.2.6	Dem(onstrative) P(hrase) 144
4.2.6.1	Demonstratives and articles 144
4.2.6.2	Demonstratives and deictics 146
4.2.6.3	Demonstratives and accompanying deictics in JC – an analysis 149
4.2.7	Plurality and inclusiveness: Cl(assifier) P(hrase) 154
4.2.8	Adj(ectival) P(hrase) 159
4.2.8.1	A cartography of AdjPs 159
4.2.8.2	JC adjectives 161
4.3	Nominal structure and telicity 162
4.3.1	Nominal marking and temporal interpretations 163
4.3.1.1	Direct objects and tense 163
4.3.2	Previous accounts 166

4.3.2.1	Tenny (1987): Grammaticalizing aspect and affectedness	166
4.3.2.2	Fitzpatrick (2005): The factative effect	170
4.3.3	Nominal structure and telicity effects in JC: An account	174
4.4	Conclusion	176
CHAPTER 5		
	Conclusion	179
	References	181
	Index of names	187
	Index of subjects	189