Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Palackého v Olomouci

Katedra anglistiky a amerikanistiky

Case Distinctions in Jamaican Creole

(Master's Thesis)

2020 **Bc. Renata Novotná**

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Rozlišení pádu v jamajské kreolštině

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Autor: Renata Novotná

Studijní obor: Anglická filologie

Vedoucí práce: Jeffrey Keith Parrott, Ph.D.

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Prohlašuji, že jsem tuto diplomovou práci vypracovala samostatně a uvedla úplný seznam citované a použité literatury.

V Olomouci dne Podpis…….

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Jeffrey Keith Parrott, Ph.D. for his valuable advice, patient guidance, and encouragement through the process of writing this thesis without which I would not be able to finish it.

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Abstract

The aim of this Master's Thesis is a syntactic description of case distinctions and behavior of personal pronouns in Jamaican Creole, a language spoken by native Jamaican inhabitants on the island of Jamaica. A brief description of creole languages, their sociolinguistic background and variation are presented, followed by the outline of the theoretical framework of Distributed Morphology, which is adopted and applied throughout the analysis of distinctions of case in Jamaican personal pronouns. The main focus is put upon the issue of pronominal case in Jamaican Creole, which is contrasted with case on personal pronouns in Modern English and a selected Atlantic Creole language.

Key words: Jamaican Creole, Distributed Morphology, Case, Morphological Merger, Variation, Syntactic computations, Morphosyntactic features, Personal pronouns

Anotace

Cílem této magisterské práce je syntaktický popis rozlišení pádu a chování osobních zájmen v jamajské kreolštině, což je jazyk mluvený rodilými obyvateli na ostrově Jamajka. Nejdříve je předložen stručný popis kreolských jazyků, jejich sociolingvistické pozadí a variace a následně je nastíněn teoretický koncept distribuované morfologie, který je osvojený a aplikovaný v průběhu analýzy pádového rozlišení jamajských osobních zájmen. Hlavní pozornost je zaměřena na problematiku pádu osobních zájmen vyskytujících se v jamajské kreolštině, která jsou porovnávána s pádem osobních zájmen vyskytujících se v moderní angličtině a vybranou kreolštinou z atlantské skupiny jazyků.

Klíčová slova: jamajská kreolština, distribuovaná morfologie, pád, morfologické sloučení, variace, syntaktické kalkulace, morfosyntaktické rysy, osobní zájmena

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1 Introduction

This thesis deals with case distinctions of personal pronouns in Jamaican Creole applying a theoretical framework of Distributed Morphology, which is compared with personal pronouns in Modern English. Jamaican personal pronouns seem to lack case in the grammatical system, which will be analyzed as to what are the possible ways to be so.

The second chapter introduces creole languages in general and outlines some characteristics of Jamaican Creole which is a native language of the inhabitants of Jamaica, whose lexifying language is English and which is considered to be a continuum with rural varieties on one end and urban varieties on the other end. What is found between these ends it a middle variety referred to as mesolect, which it what this thesis focuses on. The third chapter relates to the first one in that it presents a notion of variation, which is important to bear in mind while dealing with creoles in general and within a creole as well since variation is a pervading phenomenon.

Chapter 4 explains the basic tenets of the theoretical framework of Distributed Morphology which successively exemplifies each module of the architecture of grammar and its peculiarities. This framework underlies the overall point of view and the analyses of the subject matter of this thesis.

Chapter 5 looks closer at the phenomenon of case and identifies case-assigners of nominative and accusative case. Using many examples to precisely identify the case-assigning heads, it is demonstrated that accusative case is assigned by verbs or prepositions and nominative case is assigned by a functional head of tense. Morphosyntax of English personal pronouns is presented in this chapter as well as the notion of feature dependencies, which are demonstrated by checking operations. This chapter is concluded by an example of a formation of an English sentence.

Chapter 6 analyzes examples of sentences containing Jamaican personal pronouns in different syntactic positions, which reveal that there seems to be no pronominal variation in Jamaican Creole. An assumed paradigm of Jamaican personal pronouns follows along with two hypotheses as to how to account for the findings.

The first hypothesis suggests that the findings be dealt with from a sociolinguistic point of view and argues for a language contact perspective and acquisition of the pronominal exponents in a later stage. From the point of view of Distributed Morphology, these exponents do not compete for insertion and are social variants.

The second hypothesis argues for a slightly altered syntactic structure of Jamaican nominal constituents, which do not contain an additional case phrase resulting in no pronominal variation. Whenever some variation occurs, the case phrase is present in the syntactic structure.

The thesis is summarized by a discussion on the proposed hypotheses, the findings in Jamaican Creole, and shortcomings of these hypotheses. Alternative approaches to deal with case on personal pronouns in Jamaican Creole are suggested.

2 Overview of creoles

This chapter introduces and describes the notion of creole and sketches its sociolinguistic background.

2.1 Definition of creoles

There seems to be no unanimous consensus among linguists and scholars as to the origin and development of creole languages. What they are likely to agree on, however, is the fact that a creole has evolved from another language (or, strictly speaking, languages, since it is usually more languages that a creole is formed by) adopting and modifying some of its features and vocabulary to the creole's requirements. This language is then referred to as a lexifier of the creole. As DeCamp (1968: 30) clarifies, creoles can be related to some major European languages which then, at least lexically, determine the creoles. Instances of such languages are French, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, and, as is the case for Jamaican, English. Jamaican Creole (JC) is, then, said to be an English-based creole.

Mufwene (2015: 136) refers to Hall's (1962, 1966) approach to creoles, wherein he argues that creoles became native languages of pidgin descendants, who used a more complex and stable structure of the language, which often polarizes linguists and creolists who do not find this approach substantiated. What is usually agreed upon, however, is that pidgins are not considered native languages, while creoles mostly are (DeCamp 1968: 31).

2.2 Sociolinguistic background

Historically, creoles were an outcome of the need to communicate among non-European slaves, whose original languages came into contact in plantation settlement colonies, which were established mainly by Europeans. Thus, a particular creole became a lingua franca of a particular settlement colony. Examples of such creoles, among many others, are: Haitian, Mauritian (with their lexifier being French), Guyanese, Hawaiian, and, most importantly for this thesis, Jamaican (with English being the lexifier of the above listed creoles) (Mufwene 2015: 134).

In his paper, Patrick (2002: 1) explains that the milieu where creoles and their concomitants are located or confined to (and, as a matter of fact, any speech occurring naturally), and which is a locus of analysts' interest, is called a speech community. As is often the case with terminology, speech community is no exception as to what linguists' definition of this phenomenon is.

Creole people are sometimes referred to as colonial vernaculars as this term indicates that there is a variety within the creole itself, depending on in which area the creole people live. This phenomenon of creole diversification is called a creole continuum, which poses a range of how much or how little the creole diverges from its lexifier, with a basilect being a variety of the creole the furthest away from the lexifier and acrolect the closest to it. The intermediate variety of the creole is, then, a mesolect. As Mufwene (2015: 134) points out, it is basilectal varieties, rather than acrolects, which have been considered as creoles by linguists, where basilects are the least complex and reminiscing of the lexifier.

Some of the creole languages are said to have undergone yet another type of change resulting in a variety, which expands beyond the spectrum of creole continuum. Some creolists and linguists thus consider JC a post-creole language, which does not fit in the continuum scope due to a process known as decreolization, whereby the creole itself loses its peculiar features (foreign to the lexifier/s) and becomes even closer to the lexifying language/s (DeCamp 1968: 42-48, Holm 2000: 9-10).

Among other linguists, Mufwene (2015: 135) is not a proponent of the theory that creoles developed from pidgins because of their geographical distribution (seemingly, creoles emerged in plantation settlement colonies, whereas pidgins in trade colonies). For the opposite view of the theory, he refers to Siegel (2008) and Bakker (2009), who are proponents of creoles being developed from pidgins.

The term creole, as Mufwene (2015: 134) mentions, often bears a pejorative connotation as it seems to be looked at as an inferior language to the language it has been lexified by. Even native speakers of such creole, for instance Jamaicans, may look down on one another based on where on the creole continuum a particular person's language belongs. Moreover, the different variants of creole may be mutually unintelligible, mainly due to Jamaica's geographical factors, which often isolate

individual settlements and prevent them from everyday contact with one another. It is, thus, not impossible to hear of creole, especially a basilect, as a ”broken language” since it may diverge significantly from its “superior” lexifier. Such expressions may, surprisingly, also be heard from scholars in Jamaica, especially teachers, who demonize their own native language and try to inculcate students with the idea that JC is a lesser and malformed distortion of Standard English (DeCamp 1968: 41).

What was a reality in the colonial times, and still may be in some instances and areas in Jamaica today, was that, as a general rule, inhabitants (strictly speaking, slaves) living in the rural areas spoke a basilectal creole, whereas the ones living closer to or in the city spoke an acrolectal creole. Mufwene (2015: 137) states, however, that former slaves, after slavery was abolished in 1834, brought creole to the city rather than creole having been evolved there, as was the case for plantations and farms in rural areas of not only Jamaica but around the whole Atlantic Ocean.

3 Variation

This chapter characterizes the notion of variation and presents different types of variation.

3.1 Characteristic and types of variation

There are two distinct types of variation: inter-individual and intra-individual variation. The former type of variation accounts for the differences between individuals of different communities, whereas the latter type occurs between individuals within a single community. Different sources, such as language users and language use, play an important role in accounting for the variation. Sociolinguistic factors (connected to language users) like age, gender, social background and status, ethnicity, geography, etc., are crucial to what extent the variation takes place as well as linguistic context (connected to language use), which also determines the form of the variation.

Intra-individual variation, also termed 'Labovian variation,' 'inherent variation,' or 'sociolinguistic variation' can be considered as different ways to express the same thing with the same semantics (Labov 2008: 2). To put it differently, individuals within one community use diverse means and forms to convey the same grammatical configurations. A definition of intra-individual variation in morphosyntax, borrowed from Parrott (2009: 3), is given in (1) below:

(1) Intra-individual variation in morphosyntax (Parrott 2009: 3)
   a. (Populations of) individuals use variant morphosyntactic forms;
   b. The variant forms appear in the same morphosyntactic environment (variants are not allomorphs in complementary distribution);
   c. The variant forms do not express different lexical or truth-conditional semantics, nor different morphosyntactic functions.

At first glance, intra-individual variation might be mistaken for contextual allomorphy (discussed in more detail in Section 4.1.3.2) by virtue of both of these phenomena expressing the same meaning using different forms. Following (1b), contextual

allomorphs are in complementary distribution, whereas the variant forms are not: they can occur in the same morphosyntactic context and are not determined by that. As Adger (2006: 1-2) puts it, variation that is not specified by context can also be called variability, while rule-based allomorphy, which is deterministic, is called Variation in Exponence, with each exponent depending on a set of rules and specific context.

As the sociolinguistic aspect is not a primary focus of this thesis, it will not be further elaborated here, however, the phenomenon of variation seemed necessary and important to briefly touch on since the description of the behavior of case (distinctions) in JC would not be complete without it.

4 Theoretical framework

This chapter introduces the framework of Distributed Morphology (DM) that is applied to analyzing JC in this thesis, and elucidates the core terminology and operations (along with some examples) within such theory in which the proposed analysis of JC case behavior is grounded.

4.1 Distributed Morphology

The framework of Distributed Morphology is an expansion of the Minimalist Program (MP) developed by Noam Chomsky in 1993 and is arguably considered a controversial non-lexicalist theory which provokes strong disagreements among linguists as it proposes an alternative to established theories of grammar, mainly by arguing that there is no Lexicon, strictly speaking, in the Lexicalist sense of word (Marantz 1997: 201), and presenting an architecture of grammar with only one system, syntax, instead of two in the perspective of Lexicalism,[1] that stays behind generating both the word and phrase structure (Embick & Noyer 2005: 2). Lexicon, as Marantz (1997: 201-202) explains, is a storage place for building blocks that are subsequently manipulated by processes in syntax. Moreover, some of these basic elements are said to be combined by certain processes within Lexicon itself, which then might enter into syntax operations as already complex, special "words" with a special meaning.

It was in the year 1993, when Morris Halle and Alec Marantz introduced Distributed Morphology framework which is devoid of lexicalist beliefs. The appellation of the theory indicates that it contains several, strictly speaking, three discrete lists or modules, substituting the Lexicon, which are not unified as is the case with Lexicon, but non-computational and distributed along the word-formation, syntactic processes, and operations involved in the derivation of Phonological Factor/Form (PF) and Logical Factor/Form (LF) interface levels related to sound (or,

[1] From the Lexicalist point of view, there is a clear split between morphology and syntax and the relation between the two is not transparent - Lexicalists do not relate special "words" and syntactic objects in terms of their structure and composition (Embick & Noyer 2005: 1-2).

more precisely, form) and meaning, respectively (more information about PF and LF is found in Section 4.1.3).

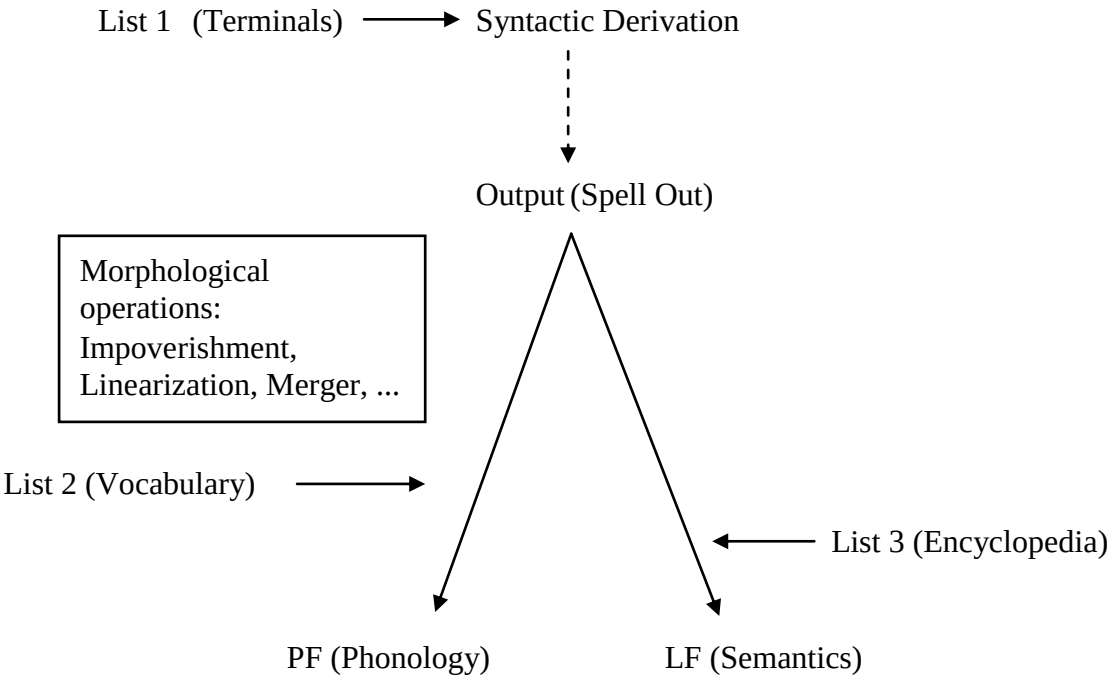
DM employs syntactic operations called Merge and Move (as does MP) which are the computations generating word-formations and structures that undergo further processes in PF and LF. Embick & Noyer (2005) state that the morphological aspect is present both in syntax itself and PF, and is not confined to only one place, thus the term Distributed Morphology. DM thus presents a theoretical framework of the interaction between syntax and morphology and their effects on grammar.

As Harley & Noyer (1999: 3) argue, it is due to Syntactic Hierarchical Structure All-the-Way-Down that the operations in this framework are syntactic, despite the morphology component taking place after syntax, which further manipulates structures which are essentially syntactic and thought of as discrete elements in the structure. An important part of DM is Late Insertion, where the phonological realization of the morphemes in the PF (discussed in Section 4.1.3) is delayed and not inserted until after syntax in a process called Spell-Out. Another crucial property of DM is Underspecification of Vocabulary Items (more detail in Section 4.1.3.3), which are not fully specified and are inserted whenever a more specific exponent is not accessible.

The structure of grammar (an inverted Y-model) and the aforementioned lists involved in the grammar (Marantz 1997, Embick & Noyer 2005, Bobaljik 2015) are represented in the diagram in (2) below:

4.1.1 The Structure of Grammar

(2) Structure of Grammar



The three separate and successive lists are accessed during different stages of the derivations which take place in the grammar. List 1, containing the primitives of syntax, represents a storage place of atomic Roots and sets of grammatical features, which enter into the computational system of syntax and are manipulated by it to create hierarchical structures. List 2 contains Vocabulary Items which provide terminal (most deeply embedded) nodes from the syntax with phonological features, and determine their phonological realization post-syntactically at PF. The final List 3, called Encyclopedia, stores special semantic information assigned to particular Roots that are subsequently semantically interpreted (Marantz 1997: 204, Embick & Noyer 2005: 9-10).

4.1.2 List 1: Syntactic Terminals

As Embick & Noyer (2005) clarify, the building blocks, strictly speaking, morphemes serving as terminal nodes, enter into the computational operations of syntax, Merge and Move, which derive syntactic structures. These terminal nodes consist of grammatical and phonological features, and are of two types: Abstract Morphemes and Roots as illustrated in (3).

(3) Terminals (Embick & Noyer 2005: 5)[2]

a. Abstract Morphemes: These nodes are comprised solely of grammatical features, i.e. non-phonetic, such as T[±Past] or Num[±pl].

b. Roots: These nodes are comprised of sets of phonological features, i.e. non-grammatical, such as items like √89, √766, or √567.

The difference between the two types of features above, Embick & Noyer (2005: 5-6) explain, is that abstract morphemes are language-universal, refer to functional categories, and are assigned phonetic features throughout the derivational processes in grammar as is illustrated in (2), whereas category-neutral Roots are language-specific and refer to lexical categories as they combine with functional heads, defining a certain category, where new Roots can be added as opposed to the former. The relation between the phonological representation of a Root and its meaning is arbitrarily assigned and language-specific. As Embick (2015: 41-43) outlines, Roots are labeled with identifying numerical indices in order to distinguish one Root from another when their phonological form is inserted.[3] An example of such a phenomenon is illustrated in a Vocabulary Item (4) below:

(4) √567 ↔ /bæŋk/

The realization of the Root which is eventually orthographically represented as *bank* is represented in the Vocabulary Item (4) with the phonological form /bæŋk/, making reference to the Root with a numerical index √567 when Vocabulary Insertion takes place (more on this topic is found in Section 4.1.3).

[2] For brevity, I adjusted the wording and length of the definition.

[3] Harley (2014: 226) argues that in the syntactic component of the structure of grammar, Roots are individuated and possess neither phonological features nor semantic information.

4.1.3 List 2: The Vocabulary

The PF in the structure of grammar is a level in which its operations are responsible for, beside other tasks, supplying information to the output of syntactic derivations in the form of Vocabulary Insertion (discussed below) as well as assigning a perceptual and articulatory form (which is language-specific) to the structures generated in syntax, which are ultimately realized in linear order as there is a need for grammar to be externalized (Embick & Noyer 2005: 4-10).

In order for the abstract morphemes to obtain phonological features, Embick & Noyer (2005: 7) further explain that a mechanism called Vocabulary Insertion (also called exponence) comes into play to secure this need. The list of Vocabulary comprises different abstract morphemes of the language that are called phonological exponents which are paired with specific information about the syntactic and morphological context, where each exponent is inserted. The result of each pairing is called a Vocabulary Item (5) which represents rules of exponence (or spell-out rules), with underspecification (see Section 4.1.3.3) being their property.

(5) Vocabulary Item

ABSTRACT MORPHEME	↔	PHONOLOGICAL FEATURE
Grammatical context	↔	Phonological exponent
[+pl]	↔	/-z/

As an example, (5) demonstrates that an inflectional nominal suffix /-z/ is a regular and the most common phonological exponent of the English plural (besides other instances mentioned below). The grammatical feature [+pl] is merged with a noun in syntax, which results in a terminal node to which the phonological exponent /-z/ is added.

4.1.3.1 The Subset Principle

Embick & Noyer (2005: 7) argue that because there can be a set of Vocabulary Items in List 2 that meet the specific conditions to be supplied and inserted to an abstract

morpheme,[4] the Vocabulary Items compete with each other for insertion at that morpheme. By controlling the application of Vocabulary Items, the Subset Principle (6) resolves the issue of competition for insertion.

(6) **Subset Principle**: The phonological exponent of a Vocabulary Item is inserted into a position if the item matches all or a subset of the features specified in that position. Insertion does not take place if the Vocabulary Item contains features not present in the morpheme. Where several Vocabulary Items meet the conditions for insertion, the item matching the greatest number of features specified in the terminal morpheme must be chosen. (Embick & Noyer 2005: 7, taken from Halle 1997)

4.1.3.2 Allomorphy

With that being said, there exist other phonological exponents of the English feature [+pl]. In the English language, in all plural environments there is only one abstract morpheme [+pl], however, depending on, and conditioned by, the Root which is in the local context of [+pl], the appearance of the phonological exponents of this abstract morpheme differs. It is this exponential differentiation and conditions in local context that give rise to what is called contextual allomorphy:

(7) Contextual Allomorphy (Embick & Noyer 2005: 8)[5]

a. [+pl] ↔ -en/{√OX, √CHILD, …}__

b. [+pl] ↔ -Ø/{√MOOSE, √FOOT, √DEER, …}__

c. [+pl] ↔ /-z/ /elsewhere

What the scheme (7) illustrates is several Vocabulary Items, one of which is shown in (5), and a set of Roots that are related to each contextual allomorph, which account for the additional condition that has been added to them. Hence the abstract morpheme in

[4] At any terminal, there may be inserted only one phonological exponent (Embick & Noyer 2005: 7).

[5] I added the elsewhere exponent (7c) and a Root √DEER in (7b).

(7a) is spelled out as a phonological exponent –en if its contextual environment is specified, for example, by √OX, in (7b) as –Ø in the context of, for example, √MOOSE, and (7c) as /-z/ (a default phonological exponent) whenever the contextual environment does not contain the condition in (7a) and (7b), or, strictly speaking, is not specified at all. The allomorphs in (7a-c) are thus in complementary distribution where, for example, (7b) cannot occur in the environment specified in (7a) and vice versa, since the contexts allowing for each allomorph differ. The particular exponent will be spelled out and attached behind the particular Root as a suffix, with '__' indicating the position for the exponent.

4.1.3.3 Underspecification

Having illustrated how Vocabulary Item insertion ideally works, it can and does so happen that a single phonological exponent be inserted into more than one separate terminal node, resulting in what is called a systematic, non-accidental, syncretism (Embick & Noyer 2005: 8-9). In an instance of such a syncretism, the phonological exponent, which is to be supplied to the terminal nodes, is underspecified regarding any given context, as opposed to the terminal nodes which are fully specified and contain the full set of grammatical features.

Halle & Marantz (1994: 278) argue that it is not uncommon for Vocabulary Items to be underspecified inasmuch as they are not mandatory to contain a complete bundle of features as the syntactic nodes into which they are to be inserted (recall The Subset Principle in (6)). The phonological exponents of the Vocabulary Items will still be inserted in a particular context, and serve their purpose, irrespective of the terminal nodes being fully specified and having more features than the Vocabulary Items as long as they contain features matching the ones at the nodes where they are to be inserted. To put it differently, more often than not, the features in the list of Syntactic Terminals are not matching the features in the list of Vocabulary one-to-one; rather, there are mismatches between morphosyntactic and morphophonological forms in the architecture of grammar.[6]

[6] For reasons of space, the subject matter of Underspecification will not be elaborated in this thesis.

4.1.4 Impoverishment

In the architecture of grammar, the syntactic structure would, ideally, be mirrored in the subsequent phonological forms, however, as Embick & Noyer (2005: 17) argue, there are a few operations prior to Spell-Out preventing the phonological forms from reflecting syntactic structures. One of the operations is Impoverishment coming into play after syntactic operations have taken place. The effect of such an operation is deletion of some features from morphosyntactic nodes in specific contexts, which constitute the input into Vocabulary Insertion, and thus any insertion of Vocabulary Item which requires that erased feature is impossible. This happens when "a category fails to exhibit the expected exponent but instead exhibits a default exponent" (Embick & Noyer 2005: 17), thereby creating a systematic syncretism (mentioned in Section 4.1.3) and neutralizing distinctions in surface forms.

As Harley and Noyer (1999: 6) argue, it is by virtue of the Universal Hierarchy of Features[7] that the less marked values of features are preserved in the neutralization context or, in other words, whenever the mechanism of Impoverishment occurs. It is because of Impoverishment that an identifying feature of a terminal node is deleted and a Vocabulary Item, which is less specified wins the competition for insertion, since the more specified Vocabulary Item[8] now contains an extra feature (or features) that has been deleted from the syntactic node.

To illustrate the feature-deleting mechanism of Impoverishment, Vocabulary Items for English auxiliary verb BE in present tense, will first be exemplified in (8) followed by the Impoverishment rule for BE in Modern English in (9), borrowed from Nevins & Parrott (2008: 10-11).

[7] The person feature is the highest in the Feature Hierarchy and dominates the number feature [±pl], which in turn dominates the gender feature (Harley & Noyer 1999: 6).

[8] Under normal circumstances, it is the more specified Vocabulary Item (with the same features or subset of features as the terminal node) that wins the competition for insertion in the node. Recall the Subset Principle (6) in Section 4.1.3.1.

(8) Vocabulary Items for [BE φ –past] (Nevins & Parrott 2008: 10)

a. [+auth –pl] ↔ /æm/

b. [–pl] ↔ /ɪz/

c. *elsewhere* ↔ /aɪ/

Example (8) presents Vocabulary Items for present-tense BE in English. If this was all there is to be said about the phonological exponents for BE, it would follow that with the 2sg personal pronoun *you*, the form of BE would be *is*, which is the very opposite of what the reality in Modern English is (i.e. *you are*). This is where the Impoverishment rule (9) comes into play to account for this phenomenon of no morphological distinction in the 2nd person for [±plural] features.

(9) Categorical [±pl] Impoverishment rule for English [φ ±past]
(Nevins & Parrott 2008: 11)
[±pl] → [Ø] / [+part –auth __]

As has been said above, Impoverishment rules apply post-syntactically, but before Vocabulary Insertion takes place. This way, the Impoverishment rule in (9) results in deletion of the features of number [±plural] on the tense (T) terminal node whenever this node also contains the features of person [+participant –author], standing for the personal pronoun *you*[9] (more detailed discussion about phi (φ)-features is found in Chapter 5). Therefore, the Vocabulary Item bearing a number feature that has just been deleted from the terminal node cannot be inserted in that node, so that it does not violate the Subset Principle (6). As a corollary of this operation, the elsewhere phonological exponent (8c) is inserted in the T terminal node and the form of BE with the 2sg pronoun in present tense is thus *are*.

[9] Phi-features of the English personal pronoun *you* are [+participant, –author, ±plural] (Nevins & Parrott 2008: 8).

4.1.5 List 3: The Encyclopedia

The third and last list found in DM and accessed by LF is Encyclopedia, representing a storage place of special information that assigns meanings to Vocabulary Items. The special and idiosyncratic meanings in a language, Harley & Noyer (1999: 4) argue, are called idioms, however, this term is not understood conventionally here: as a group of words creating a unit whose meaning is opaque and not the same as the meaning of the individual words. Idioms in DM rather refer to expressions (be it a single "word" or even its fragment), individual Roots in a given grammatical context, whose morphosyntactic structural description makes their meaning unpredictable. Encyclopedia therefore interprets meanings of expressions (Roots) in context, using extra-linguistic information found in this list.

To illustrate how Encyclopedia interprets syntactic structures, the interface instructions, at both PF and LF, are exemplified in (10) alongside each other in order to better construe the mechanism of interpreting root terminal nodes (which are provided by List 1) in various morphosyntactic contexts.

(10) Interface instructions for root node interpretation (Harley 2014: 244)[10]

PF instructions (Vocabulary)	LF instructions (Encyclopedia)
√243 ↔ /waip/	√243 ↔ "cloth" / [n [__]$_{\surd}$]
	√243 ↔ "destroy" / [v [[__]$_{\surd}$ [out]$_{p}$]]$_{vP}$
	√243 ↔ "clean" / [v [[__]$_{\surd}$ [down]$_{adv}$]]$_{vP}$
	{…other meanings in other contexts…}

What example (10) shows is how a root terminal node √243 from List 1 is eventually interpreted using semantic knowledge contained in List 3. The whole process requires the Root to enter the PF as well to obtain its phonological exponent employing List 2. There is only one set of instructions at PF that insert the phonological exponent /waip/ into the Root (which is orthographically represented as *wipe*), whereas there are multiple instructions at LF which ensure that the Root node is interpreted in

[10] The example (10) follows the pattern found in Harley (2014: 244), however, the choice of the Root is mine.

compliance with the given morphosyntactic contexts. Hence, when the Root is in the nominal morphosyntactic context, it is interpreted as a physical object acquiring the features of the nominal grammatical category. Similarly, when it is in the context of a verb (here followed by a preposition or adverb), its interpretation alters as well as the morphosyntactic features the Root now obtains. Consequently, as the environment (morphosyntactic context) of the root node changes, so does its interpretation.

To conclude this chapter, the tenets of the theoretical framework of Distributed Morphology are roughly as follows:[11] DM does not work with the traditional notion of Lexicon, which stores all the terminals, features, and information in one place as opposed to the three separate lists distributed throughout the architecture of grammar and accessed at different stages of derivations. All the structures are fundamentally syntactic despite certain morphological operations in the Phonological Form of the grammar, which only modify the output of the syntax, thus the term Syntax-All-the-Way-Down. Syntax has access to the first list of Syntactic Terminals which are the building blocks for syntactic structures, which are then spelled out into the PF and LF interface. As mentioned above, morphological operations (e.g. Impoverishment) take place in PF and the second list of Vocabulary comes into play at this stage in order to insert particular exponents into the output of syntax. In LF, the third and final list of Encyclopedia is accessed, which provides the syntactic structures with semantic knowledge entailing interpretation.

[11] The summary of DM is a brief recapitulation of the theory and is by no means exhaustive, however, serves the present purposes.

5 Case in Modern English

This chapter introduces and demonstrates the property of case in Modern English, briefly illustrates morphosyntax of English personal pronouns in particular, and sketches the relationship between features.

5.1 The property of case

When constructing sentences, there is a phenomenon which allows speakers to produce grammatical or ungrammatical sentences whether it is applied or fails to be applied, respectively. The phenomenon in question is case,[12] which functions as a restriction mechanism in syntax so that the outcome of the computations is eventually a grammatical sentence. To put it differently, case expresses grammatical information which helps to yield well-formed sentences in terms of nominal constituents, especially pronouns, being assigned the correct form and occupying the correct position in a sentence.

Following Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2015: 83), there are two distinct cases[13] on English pronouns,[14] namely nominative (NOM) and accusative (ACC), and neither of the cases can appear in the same syntactic position. Each case is a property of nominal

[12] Case is not the only restriction in syntax, which ensures that the outcome of the computations be grammatically acceptable. For the present purposes, however, other restrictions will not be addressed in this thesis. For an easy-to-understand discussion of other restrictions like, for example, Theta theory, see among many others Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2015), Adger (2002).

[13] These two cases in Modern English are the remnants of four cases recognized in Old English, with dative and genitive being the other two (Koeneman & Zeijlstra 2015: 84). Following Adger (2002: 36), however, there is a third case that can be assigned to pronouns in Modern English, namely genitive, but it will not be further discussed here for purposes of space. For more information about this topic, see for example, Adger (2002).

[14] The attention is paid solely to English pronouns since English nouns do not exhibit case distinctions as is demonstrated below:
(i) A cat killed a rat.
(ii) A rat killed a cat.
In example (i), *a cat* is in a position where the property of nominative case is assigned and *a rat* where accusative case is assigned, whereas *a cat* in (ii) is in a position of accusative case and *a rat* of nominative case. And yet all of the nouns in (i-ii) have the same form regardless of the syntactic position they appear in. This, however, does not have to mean that nouns do not enter in a case-assigning relationship with the respective case assigners – nouns simply do not overtly show case distinctions as pronouns do. There is much to be said about case on English nouns, however, for reasons of space and purpose of the thesis, there will be no further discussion dedicated to this topic.

constituents which have their own distinct case assigners, strictly speaking, case-assigning syntactic heads (see Sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2), for they cannot appear in the same syntactic environment.

As a starting point, example (11) demonstrates that nominative and accusative case forms of personal pronouns cannot be used interchangeably.

(11) a. She loves him.
b. *Her loves he.
c. *She loves he.
d. *Her loves him.

As can be seen above, only (11a) is grammatical, where both personal pronouns were assigned the correct case form, that is to say, NOM and ACC were assigned to *she* and *him*, respectively. (11b) is ungrammatical because the case forms of the pronouns are in the wrong syntactic environment (i.e. ACC in the environment of the NOM and vice versa). Although one of the pronouns in (11c-d) is assigned the correct form in the correct position, it still is not enough to yield a grammatical sentence since the other pronouns fail to exhibit the correct case form.

5.1.1 Assigners of accusative case

As has been mentioned in the Section above, both ACC and NOM have different case-assigning syntactic heads. As Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2015: 84) argue, there are two case-assigners of ACC to personal pronouns, which are demonstrated in example (12) below:

(12) a. Renata loves him.
b. *Renata loves he.
c. Renata's love of him.
d. Renata's love *(of) him.
e. *Renata's love of he.

The personal pronoun *him* in example (12a) and (12c) has correctly been assigned ACC case form when this (a nominal constituent) is merged with a verb phrase (VP) or prepositional phrase (PP), respectively, as opposed to (12b) and (12e) where the

incorrect NOM case form of the personal pronoun *he* results in an ungrammatical sentence. In case of (12d), the personal pronoun *him* is in the correct form, however, the sentence is ungrammatical if the preposition *of* is omitted and merged with a noun phrase (NP),[15] meaning that love as a noun cannot assign ACC or, for that matter, any case at all. What can be concluded, then, is that verbs (Vs)[16] and prepositions (Ps) are ACC case-assigners with their direct objects as complements (12a) and (12c), having the property of ACC case.

Another piece of evidence that Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2015: 85) provide is that a direct object (DO) that is assigned ACC by the V, which it is merged with, has to be in close proximity to its case-assigner, otherwise an ungrammatical sentence will be yielded as is seen in example (13), which is borrowed from Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2015: 85).

(13) a. John very often believes him.
b. *John believes very often him.
c. John believes him very often.

What example (13) shows is that the verb *believe*s takes the personal pronoun *him* as its complement NP, creating a syntactic dependency of this DO *him* on its case-assigner *believes*. The ungrammaticality of (13b) is due to the interfering adverbial phrase (AdvP) *very often*, which prevents the V and its DO from being next to each other. If, however, the DO of the V is not an NP but a PP, the V *believes* can be further apart from the PP as opposed to NP, since the case-assigner of the personal pronoun *him* now is a P, as the borrowed example (14) from Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2015: 85) demonstrates.

[15] All noun phrases (NPs) are dominated by a functional projection of a functional head D (determiner), which results in all NPs being determiner phrases (DPs) as Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2015: 99-103) argue. The same principle holds for VPs, which are also dominated by a functional projection as will be seen in Section 5.2.2.1. For the time being, the term NP is adopted for the sake of uniformity with the source for this part of the thesis, however, the term DP will be used in other Sections and/or Chapters interchangeably with NP.

[16] In Sections 5.2.2.1 and 5.2.2.2, it will become clearer that it is, in fact, the functional head "little" *v*, not the V itself, which is the ACC case-assigner, dominating the VP.

(14) a. John very often believes in him.
b. John believes very often in him.
c. John believes in him very often.
d. *John believes in very often him.

Here, it is only in (14d) where the AdvP intervenes in the case-assigning relationship between the ACC case-assigner P and its DO, the personal pronoun *him*, yielding an ungrammatical sentence. In (14a-c) the proximity of the V *believes* and the pronoun *him* does not need to be maintained because the V is not the case-assigner of *him*, as was the case in (13), but the P *in* is.

5.1.2 The assigner of nominative case

In terms of the nominative case-assigner, it is not so straightforward to identify, as holds true for the accusative case-assigners. Following the reasoning of Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2015: 88-96), it is syntactic heads that are able to assign case, however, NOM case-assigner does not seem to be present in the surface structure of a sentence as can be seen in example (11a), repeated here for convenience as (15).

(15) She loves him.

There are two nominal arguments in (15), namely personal pronouns *she* and *him*, which are assigned NOM and ACC, respectively. The sentence is grammatically acceptable, and therefore the case-assigners of both NOM and ACC must be present. To rule out the option of the head of the VP being the NOM case-assigner, consider the following example (16).

(16) She very deeply loves him.

What can be seen in (16) is that the verb *loves* cannot be the case-assigner of NOM of the personal pronoun *she* because the AdvP can easily enter between them without disrupting their relationship, for there is no case-assigning relationship in the first

place. The V *loves*, then, only assigns ACC to its DO where no AdvP can enter between them as was shown in (13). Another example supports the claim that verbs do not assign NOM, as demonstrated in (17).

(17) a. He wanted [her to love him].
b. *He wanted [she to love him].

There are cases where the subject of a clause does not necessarily appear in NOM, which holds true for the embedded non-finite clause in (17a). Here, the subject of the embedded clause is assigned ACC, whereas the NOM case form of this subject of the embedded clause in (17b) results in its ungrammaticality, hence it cannot be the V *love* that assigns NOM to subjects.

As Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2015: 89) elaborate, the verb *loves* in (15) and the embedded verb *love* in (17) are not exactly the same. What they do not have in common is the same value of the property of finiteness [Fin±], strictly speaking, the embedded verb in (17) is non-finite [Fin-]. This fact implies that NOM can only be assigned to the nominal argument if the feature [Fin+] is present and it should be impossible for non-finite verbs (i.e. infinitives and participles) to assign NOM to the subject as is demonstrated in examples (18-20), which are borrowed from Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2015: 89).

(18) a. I saw[her leave the building].
b. *I saw [she leave the building].

(19) a. I saw [her leaving the building].
b. *I saw [she leaving the building].

(20) a. They found [her killed by a tiger].
b. *They found [she killed by a tiger].

Lexical verbs, such as the ones in examples (18-20) all have the property of [Fin±], and thus they are finite [Fin+] in some cases and non-finite [Fin-] in others. There is another class of verbs that have the feature [Fin+], namely modal verbs (e.g. must, can, may), which enables them to assign NOM to their subject. One of the differences between lexical and modal verbs is that modal verbs[17] never appear in non-finite forms as opposed to lexical verbs, which is illustrated in (21) and (22) below (Koeneman & Zeijlstra 2015: 89-90):

(21) a. *I expected [her to may leave soon].
b. *I expected [her to can do this].
c. *I expected [her to must leave soon].

(22) a. *He has mayed (to) leave for Paris.
b. *I have canned (to) leave early.
c. *I regret musting (to) leave early.

What examples (21) and (22) show is that modal verbs are marked for tense (T) due to the positive value of the property of finiteness, strictly speaking, because they are finite [Fin+], therefore they cannot appear in infinitival or participle forms, which are non-finite [Fin-].

5.1.2.1 NOM-assigning syntactic head in the hierarchy

To be able to see exactly which syntactic head is responsible for assigning NOM, it is necessary to look at the structure of a clause with a modal and lexical verb (and ultimately a finite lexical verb by itself).

[17] Modal verbs carry an inherent property of [Fin+], which may seem counterintuitive because they are never marked for agreement with their subjects that are 3rd person singular (Koeneman & Zeijlstra 2015: 89-90).
(i) She may come today. (ii) *She mays come today.
(iii) He can go home. (iv) *He cans go home.
(v) She must do her homework. (vi) *She musts do her homework.
Modal verbs are, however, marked for tense which makes them finite and able to assign NOM. There is much more to say about modal verbs but for reasons of space, there will be no further elaboration of this topic.

As Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2015: 91) argue, there can only be one lexical verb in a clause as well as one modal verb, however, both the lexical and modal verb can co-occur next to each other yielding a perfectly grammatical sentence. This means that there must be two separate positions in a clause for modal and lexical verbs, or in other words, lexical and modal verbs do not compete with each other for the same position, and thus they are not in complementary distribution. On the other hand, there can never co-occur two lexical or two modal verbs in one clause because they all compete with the verbs within the same group to fill the same position. Example (23) illustrates the complementary distribution of the above mentioned types of verbs.

(23) a. I can speak Jamaican.
b. *I can speak understand Jamaican.
c. *I might can understand Jamaican.

The only grammatical sentence is (23a) because the modal verb *can* and lexical verb *speak* are not in complementary distribution as opposed to (23b), where two lexical verbs *speak* and *understand* are trying to occupy the same position in the structure. (23c) is also ungrammatical since now it is two modal verbs trying to occupy one position.

There is another type of verbs that are in complementary distribution with modal verbs, namely finite forms of auxiliary verbs *have* and *be* as shown in (24) (Koeneman & Zeijlstra 2015: 92).

(24) a. She has learned Jamaican.
b. They are studying Jamaican.
c. Renata was admitted to Jamaica.

Auxiliary verbs, as well as modal verbs, occupy a different position from lexical verbs and are marked for [Fin±]. As opposed to lexical verbs, Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2015: 92-93) state, the position of auxiliary and modal verbs precedes the negation marker *not* (25).

(25) a. She was not admitted to Jamaica.
b. She has not learned Jamaican.
c. She may not come today.
d. *She speaks not Jamaican.
e. *She understands not Jamaican.

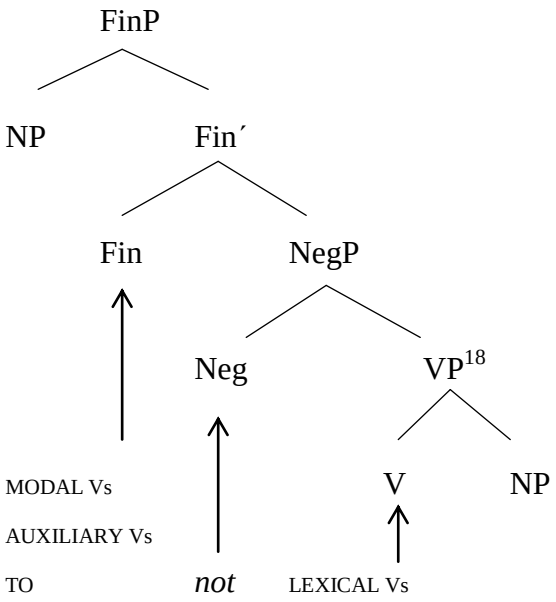
The negation marker *not* proves that lexical verbs have different position from modal and auxiliary verbs in the structure due to the ordering of the verbs around the marker *not* in (25).

What can also be found in the same position as modal or auxiliary verbs is an infinitive marker *to* as was seen in example (17). Therefore, *to*-infinitive marker, modal and auxiliary verbs are in complementary distribution since they all compete for one and the same position as shown in (26).

(26) a. *I can to understand Jamaican.
b. *They are must studying Jamaican.
c. *She can was admitted to Jamaica.

Having illustrated the complementary distribution of the infinitive marker *to*, modal and auxiliary verbs, it can be concluded that they all are marked for finiteness [Fin±] and can reside in one position as opposed to lexical verbs, as is demonstrated in example (27) and taken from Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2015: 93-96).

(27)



Words that are marked for finiteness[19] and carry the feature [Fin±] are heads of the phrase FinP, therefore can project [Fin±] to the phrase. Whenever the head of the FinP carries the feature [Fin+] and not [Fin-], it can assign NOM to the subject.

If there is no modal or auxiliary verb in a sentence like the one in (15), it is the inflectional agreement marker *-s* of the 3rd person singular that makes the lexical verb *love* finite (i.e. is marked for tense T[-past]), however, the marker *-s* cannot originate in the V position since V is not able to assign NOM as has been demonstrated above. Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2015: 94) give evidence for the agreement marker originating in T and not V position, based on *-s* being in complementary distribution with all other elements competing for the same T position as is shown in example (28) below:

[18] Later in this Chapter it will be necessary to revise the structure of VP and add another layer in the hierarchy, with a functional head "little" *v*.

[19] The functional head (Fin) which is marked for finiteness [Fin±] will from now on be referred to as a functional head T having the feature [Fin±] with [Fin+] resulting in T[±past], since tense is what it expresses in the first place and moreover, it is more convenient and widely accepted, especially when drawing syntactic trees. Therefore, the functional head of the finite phrase is T, projecting its features onto the TP and the intermediate, bar (´), level is T´. Thus, any time T is marked for tense [±past], it carries the finite feature [Fin+]. Whenever the *to*-infinitive marker appears in the head T, it is still marked for finiteness, however, it is valued negatively [Fin-].

(28) a. *She can speaks Jamaican.

b. *He wanted her to learns Jamaican.

c. *She has learns Jamaican.

What example (28) shows is that the infinitive marker *to* carrying [Fin-], modal verbs and auxiliary verbs carrying [Fin+] never co-occur with lexical verbs, which are marked by the agreement marker *-s* when the subject is 3rd person singular, because they all compete for the position in the functional head T.

Another piece of evidence for the agreement marker originating in T position presented by Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2015: 95) is shown in example (29).

(29) a. *She speaks not Jamaican.

b. *She not speaks Jamaican.

In (29), there is another head present, namely Neg, as can be seen in the tree structure in (27). This head is intervening between the lexical verb *speak* and the agreement marker *-s* originating in T, which prevents *-s* from becoming a part of the verb *speak* to create *speaks*.[20] The agreement marker, however, cannot stay on its own and needs a head to attach to. "Instead of using *-s* as the Fin-head, it uses an empty […] verb *do*, and in the 3rd person singular the form is *does*" (Koeneman & Zeijlstra 2015: 95).

5.1.3 The Case Filter

As has been demonstrated in Sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2, nominal arguments must be assigned either nominative or accusative case, based on which position in the hierarchical structure they occupy and which syntactic heads assign the correct case to them. If there is an argument in a sentence that fails to be assigned either of the cases, the sentence is ungrammatical. These criteria of case-assignment are summarized in (30) below:

[20] How the inflectional agreement marker *-s*, and, for that matter, other tense markers originating in T position, becomes a part of a verb will be addressed later in this Chapter.

(30) The Case Filter (Koeneman & Zeijlstra 2015: 96)

Every nominal argument must be assigned either nominative or accusative case. Nominative case is assigned by the head of FinP if that carries the feature [Finite]; accusative case is assigned by the head of VP (i.e. the feature [V]) or the head of PP (i.e. the feature [P]). A sentence in which not every nominal argument has been assigned case is ungrammatical.

5.2 Feature dependency

In the architecture of grammar, it is in syntax where features are combined and dealt with before being assigned any form (in PF) and interpretation (in LF), which ultimately yields the desired outcome of a sentence. To put it differently, every "word" in a sentence can be broken down to features, which are stored in List 1 (see Section 4.1.2) and accessed by syntax. There are features that contribute to semantic interpretation and are semantically active, and those that do not contribute to semantic interpretation and are semantically inactive, depending on the grammatical category they are on (e.g. subject and verb). These features are interpretable [F] and uninterpretable [*u*F], respectively, and both of them are in a relationship depending on each other (Adger 2002, Koeneman & Zeijlstra 2015). A simplified example (31) demonstrates this relationship on the person and number agreement between subject and verb.

(31) She love -s him.
[3SG] [u3SG]

In order for the sentence to be grammatical, there needs to be an interpretable feature that has its counterpart to match and check off, namely an uninterpretable feature. The [*u*3SG] on the agreement marker *-s* does not affect the semantic interpretation as

[3SG] on the personal pronoun does,[21] however, it is mandatory to be present in order to satisfy the binary relationship of feature checking and agreement (more information is in Section 5.2.2).

5.2.1 Morphosyntax of English personal pronouns

As Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2015: 113) argue, personal pronouns always carry a set of features that together create one feature which contains several values, i.e. number and person. These features are called φ-features by Chomsky (1995) and are inherent to pronouns and always interpretable, e.g. [φ:3rd,SG], as opposed to verbs, strictly speaking, the functional head T, which carry uninterpretable φ-features with the same values. To analyze English personal pronouns, Adger (2006: 4) presents three features (32), which are crucial for distinguishing the pronouns.

(32) [singular:±]; [participant:±]; [addressee:±] (Adger 2006: 4)

The number of the pronoun is marked by the feature [singular:±] that is valued as either positive [singular:+] entailing that there is only one person involved, or negative [singular:-] resulting in there being more than one person, thus plural. The person of the pronoun is marked by both the feature [participant:±] and [addressee:±], where the former states whether the pronoun refers to the participant of the utterance [participant:+] or not [participant:-], and the latter states the difference between the speaker [addressee:-] and addressee [addressee:+]. Adger (2006: 4) states that whenever a pronoun is marked by the feature [participant:+], it is also specified for [addressee] "since there are no pronominal forms in English which do not distinguish between speaker and addressee," which results in restriction of feature co-occurrence (33).

[21] The fact that the form of the verb is *loves* due to the agreement with its subject does not contribute to the meaning of the sentence, as the form *love* of the verb would not either, despite the sentence being ungrammatical (**She love him*.). It is the interpretable feature on the subject *she* that matters in terms of semantics.

(33) Feature Co-occurrence Restriction (Adger 2006: 4)

A lexical item is specified for [participant:+] iff it has a specification for [addressee].

As a result of (33), the third person pronoun can never have a specification for [addressee] because it is specified for [participant:-] and not [participant:+] as can be seen in the paradigm (34) below:

(34) φ-Features Paradigm of English Personal Pronouns (Adger 2006: 12)

[singular:+, participant:+, addressee:-] I (AM)	[singular:-, participant:+, addressee:-] WE (ARE)
[singular:+, participant:+, addressee:+] YOU (ARE)	[singular:-, participant:+, addressee:+] YOU (ARE)
[singular:+, participant:-] HE/SHE/IT (IS)	[singular:-, participant:-] THEY (ARE)

5.2.2 Case features and agreement

As has been illustrated in Section 5.1, English pronouns are assigned either nominative or accusative case, whose forms are presented in (35).

(35) NOM and ACC Forms for English Personal Pronouns (Adger 2002: 36)

	Singular		Plural
NOM	ACC	NOM	ACC
I	me	we	us
you	you	you	you
he	him	they	them
she	her	they	them
it	it	they	them

Case features are syntactic features, whose task is to control which syntactic position the pronouns appear in as well as to control their form; therefore, case is an uninterpretable feature [*u*case:][22] carried by both the case assigner and case assignee, needing to be checked as other uninterpretable features, since it does not reveal any semantic information about the pronouns.

Section 5.2 briefly touched upon the notion of feature checking (feature dependencies) and agreement, where interpretable and uninterpretable features have to be in one another's vicinity in order to yield a grammatical outcome. In other words, [F] and [*u*F] have to be local to each other. As has been said in Section 5.1, NOM is assigned to a subject by a syntactic head T that is finite, and thus it follows that T carries a feature [*u*case:NOM]; and ACC is assigned to a direct object by a syntactic head V or P carrying a feature [*u*case:ACC], thus the nominal constituents need to be in the proximity of the features of their assigners, despite the fact that the nominal constituents do not yet carry those exact same features themselves. Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2015: 115-116) point out that in order to satisfy the proximity of interpretable features, for example [Fin+], [V], and uninterpretable features, for example [uFin+], [uV], the constituents dependent on the syntactic heads for their

[22] This is a slightly different approach from the one proposed by Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2015), who argue for a different case feature terminology. They favor visualization of the case-assigning relationship by the assigner carrying an interpretable feature, e.g. [V], and the assignee an uninterpretable counterpart, i.e. [*u*V], as was indicated in Section 5.1.3 in (30). Majority of this thesis will adopt Adger's (2002) way of labeling case features for the sake of uniformity.

case carry the uninterpretable counterparts.[23] With that being said, case assignment is nothing more than an agreement relationship between features with one depending on another, which is formulated in (36), taken from Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2015: 128).

(36) An uninterpretable feature [*u*F] must be c-commanded by a matching interpretable feature [F] in the same clause; otherwise the sentence is ungrammatical.

A relationship between [F] and [*u*F] is that of a c-command (37), where the [*u*F] is checked by a c-commanding [F], which is marked by a strikethrough (i.e. [~~*u*F~~]), and once checked, it has to be eliminated in order to satisfy the Full Interpretation (38).

(37) C-command (Koeneman & Zeijlstra 2015: 125)
A c-commands B if and only if the position that immediately dominates A also dominates B.

(38) Full Interpretation (Adger 2002: 66)
The structure to which the semantic interface rules apply contains no uninterpretable features.

In addition, each syntactic head that carries interpretable features is valued and the uninterpretable counterpart of the same features on another constituent is without a value until it has been checked off and, at the same time, valued by this operation. The example in (39) represents the checking by valuing operation, borrowed from Adger (2002: 135).

[23] Remember that Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2015) exploit different terminology for assigning case, which is the reason for the claim above. However, case features do not contribute to semantic information and are, therefore, all uninterpretable [ucase:] no matter what constituent they are a part of. For this reason, the nominative case assigner T carries an uninterpretable nominative case feature [ucase:NOM] as well as the DP constituent, waiting to be assigned nominative case [ucase:] by T. It is because of T being finite [Fin+] that the DP is assigned NOM, and thus the matching counterpart to [Fin+] on T is [*u*Fin+] on the DP.

(39) Agree: (Adger 2002: 135)

In a configuration

X[F:val] … Y[*u*F:]

where … represents c-command, then F checks and values *u*F, resulting in:

X[F:val] … Y[~~*u*F:val~~]

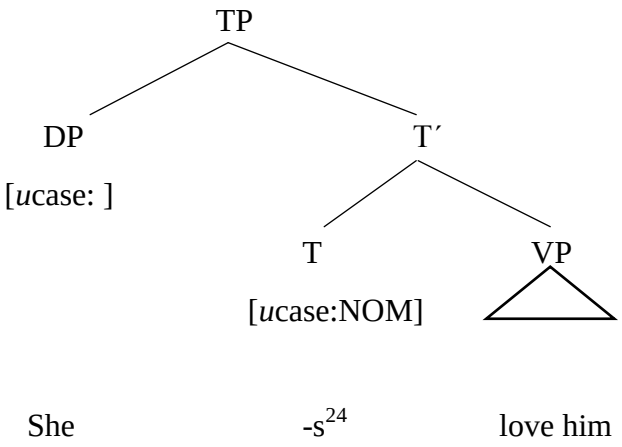
This checking by valuing operation (also called Agree) holds true for case-assigning relationship as well despite case being an uninterpretable feature. As is argued by Adger (2002: 136-137), however, if the features are categorial and do not require any value, they enter into a locality relationship called Sisterhood (which is a subcategory of c-command), where the [F] checks the [~~*u*F~~], or the [~~*u*F~~] checks/is checked by another matching [~~*u*F~~] as will be seen in the next section. Since case features are uninterpretable on both ends, the rule in (36) and (39) seems to fail to be observed in this matter, however, there still is an unvalued uninterpretable case feature [*u*case:] on, for example, the DP, which is c-commanded and waiting to be valued by the valued uninterpretable case feature [*u*case:ACC] on V. As will be explored in the next Section, this relationship is analogous to [*u*case:NOM] on T and [*u*case:] on its DP as well.

Because uninterpretable features only matter to syntax and do not contribute to the semantic interpretation, once checked, they need to be deleted by syntax prior to application of semantic interface rules (LF), otherwise the interpretation would not be complete.

5.2.2.1 NOM case feature checking

The feature checking poses certain issues in terms of nominative case, which will be addressed in this Section. Consider the sentence *She loves him* and the simplified syntactic tree in (40).

(40)



In the tree in (40), the structure of VP is left opaque on purpose for reasons of space, however, it will be analyzed in Section 5.2.2.3 when addressing checking of ACC. The pronoun *she* is in its correct nominative form, which it is supposed to receive from the syntactic head T but the uninterpretable feature [*u*case:] on this DP remains unchecked and unvalued because it is not c-commanded by, but c-commands, the uninterpretable valued feature [*u*case:NOM] on T, and thus breaches all the rules in (36), (38), and (39), although the sentence is completely grammatical.

As Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2015: 151-157) argue, this surface structure of the sentence is a result of a syntactic operation Move/Remerge, which moves the DP from its original lower position[25] within vP[26] after its [*u*case:] has been checked and valued

[24] The tense affix *-s* in the tree in (40) is purposely temporarily left in its original position before addressing Lowering of the affix onto the verb in Section 5.2.2.3.

[25] The VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis assumes that all nominative subjects originate in a lower position within VP, where their [*u*case:] is checked and valued, and then they can be remerged into their surface position within TP, where their [φ:3,SG] checks the [*u*φ:3,SG] on T (Koeneman & Zeijlstra 2015: 151-157).

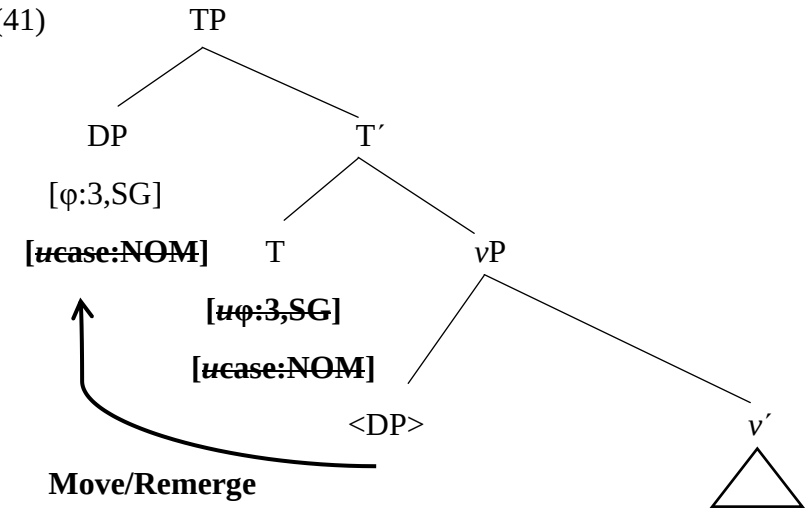
[26] Adopting Adger's (2002: 109-117) reasoning, there is a tight relationship between phrase structure and the structure of the assigned Theta(θ)-roles, stemming from UTAH (the Uniformity of θ-Assignment Hypothesis), which is stated below:

(i) UTAH: Identical thematic relationships between predicates and their arguments are represented syntactically by identical structural relationships at Merge. (Adger 2002: 110)

This hypothesis ensures that there is a specific position for each θ-role in the structure directly reflecting the structure based on the subcategorization of the verb. Therefore, in the phrase structure there is another head present, namely "little" causative *v*, projecting a *v´* and a *v*P, which is necessary to account for ditransitive predicates, and according to Hierarchy of Projections (Adger 2002: 108), *v* always takes VP as its complement with Agent θ-role in the specifier of *v*P. To maintain the Hierarchy of Projections and UTAH, it is assumed that *v*P is always a present projection of *v* above a VP, with

by the [*u*case:NOM] on the NOM-assigning syntactic head T. The operation Move comes into play in order for the uninterpretable φ-features on T to be checked and valued by the interpretable counterpart on the moved DP, which is a part of TP now as is seen in (40). The original position of the DP and its movement into the specifier of TP in order for the uninterpretable feature on T to be checked is demonstrated in the structure (41) in bold.[27]

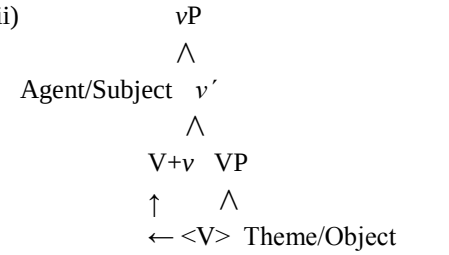
(41)



She -s love him

possible differences in the semantics of *v* and its VP complement. V then undergoes movement to *v* for feature checking and leaves a trace indicated by <pointed brackets> in its base position. It is, therefore, the "little" *v*, which is the ACC case-assigner. A tree of a transitive predicate incorporating *v* in its structure is illustrated below:

(ii)



For reasons of space and different purpose of this thesis, the subject matter of "little" *v* will be accepted as stated above and not discussed further. For more information about this topic, see for example Adger (2002).

[27] Note that Section 5.2.2.2 will provide a different motivation for moving the DP into the specifier of TP, which is adopted from Adger (2002). For reasons of space, the CP layer of syntactic structures is not accounted for in this thesis.

According to Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2015: 164-165), the motivation for the DP *she* to move from its original base position in the specifier of *v*P is the need for the [*u*φ:3,SG] feature on T to be checked by its interpretable counterpart, which is carried by the subject *she* as well as the object *him* (see Section 5.2.2.3), however, the closest possible constituent carrying this feature wins as is stated in (42).

(42) Minimal Link Condition (Koeneman & Zeijlstra 2015: 165)
When you need to remerge a constituent with some interpretable feature [F] to check off some uninterpretable feature [*u*F] on some other constituent, take the closest constituent with [F] that is c-commanded by the element with [*u*F].

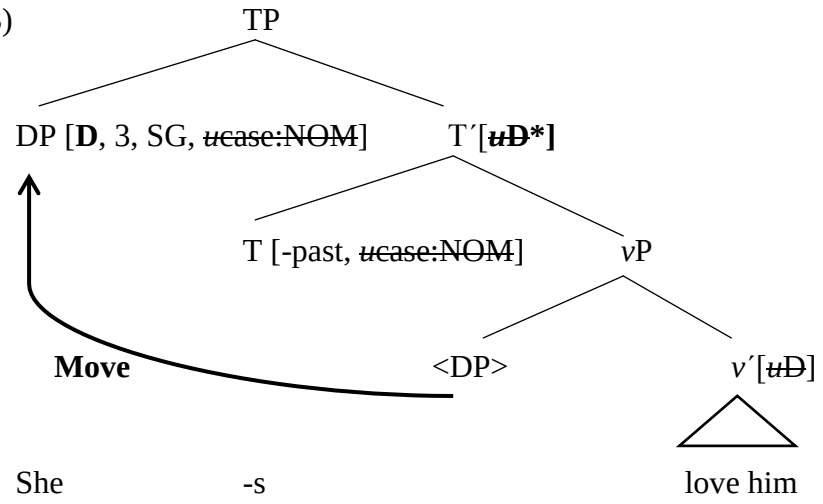
For this very reason, it will always be the closest nominal constituent to the NOM case-assigner T, which will undergo the syntactic operation Move/Remerge, not the next closest constituent despite carrying the same interpretable feature as the constituent in front of this one, because T only sees one constituent at a time and cannot see past it until it finds this constituent. And once the NOM case-assigner is able to identify the matching counterpart to its uninterpretable feature, there is no point in looking for another candidate with the same feature any longer since the movement of that closest constituent can now be executed.

5.2.2.2 NOM case feature checking revisited

For the sake of uniformity (and personal preference), it is important to mention another approach addressing the DP moving into the specifier of TP, which is adopted by Adger (2002: 175-177) and differs from the one adopted by Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2015). He proposes that the movement operation is motivated by feature strength [F*] (marked by an asterisk), strictly speaking, if there is a need for a feature to be checked by its counterpart, the strong feature is the one that is c-commanding the feature lower in the structure, triggering the weak feature to move higher up to be local to the strong feature under Agree. This motivation of the strong case feature on

T [*u*case:NOM*] is, however, ruled out,[28] and thus Adger (2002: 176-177) argues that there is another strong feature on T, which makes the DP in particular move into the specifier of TP. It is the strength of the EPP feature (Extended Projection Principle) carried by T and projected on T′, which selects a nominal constituent to fill TP's specifier, since English requires subjects to be overt, which is the reason for them to move and not reside in their base position. The EPP feature is notated as [*uD**], "however, this selectional feature […] is not associated with a thematic role, […] it is a purely formal *u*D feature" (Adger 2002: 176).[29] The movement of DP and feature agreement under these new conditions is illustrated in (43) below in bold:

(43)



In the syntactic tree in (43), in its base position, the DP checked the c-selectional feature [~~*u*D~~] on *v*, projected onto *v*′, since this is where the subject is assigned its Agent θ-role and *v* requires the presence of a noun. At the same time, the [*u*case:NOM] on the c-commanding T valued the case feature on DP. Once both of the uninterpretable features were checked [~~*u*case:NOM~~], the strength of the [*u*D*] feature on T, projected onto T′, triggered the movement of DP into TP's specifier to check the [~~*u*D~~*] to satisfy the need for overt subjects/EPP.

[28] Adger (2002: 175) demonstrates examples from Icelandic, which rule out the possibility of case feature strength being the motivation for movement of DP into its surface position. For reasons of space and relevance, the examples and further discussion will not be presented here.

[29] I changed the original *u*N feature into *u*D for the sake of uniformity.

5.2.2.3 ACC case feature checking

Accusative case seems to adhere to the rules for feature-checking in (36) and (39) and is less complicated than nominative case (i.e. involves no movement), since the [*u*case:ACC] on *v* or P, which are the ACC case-assigners, c-commands the [*u*case:] on the DP that has to receive ACC by having the [~~*u*case:ACC~~] valued and checked.

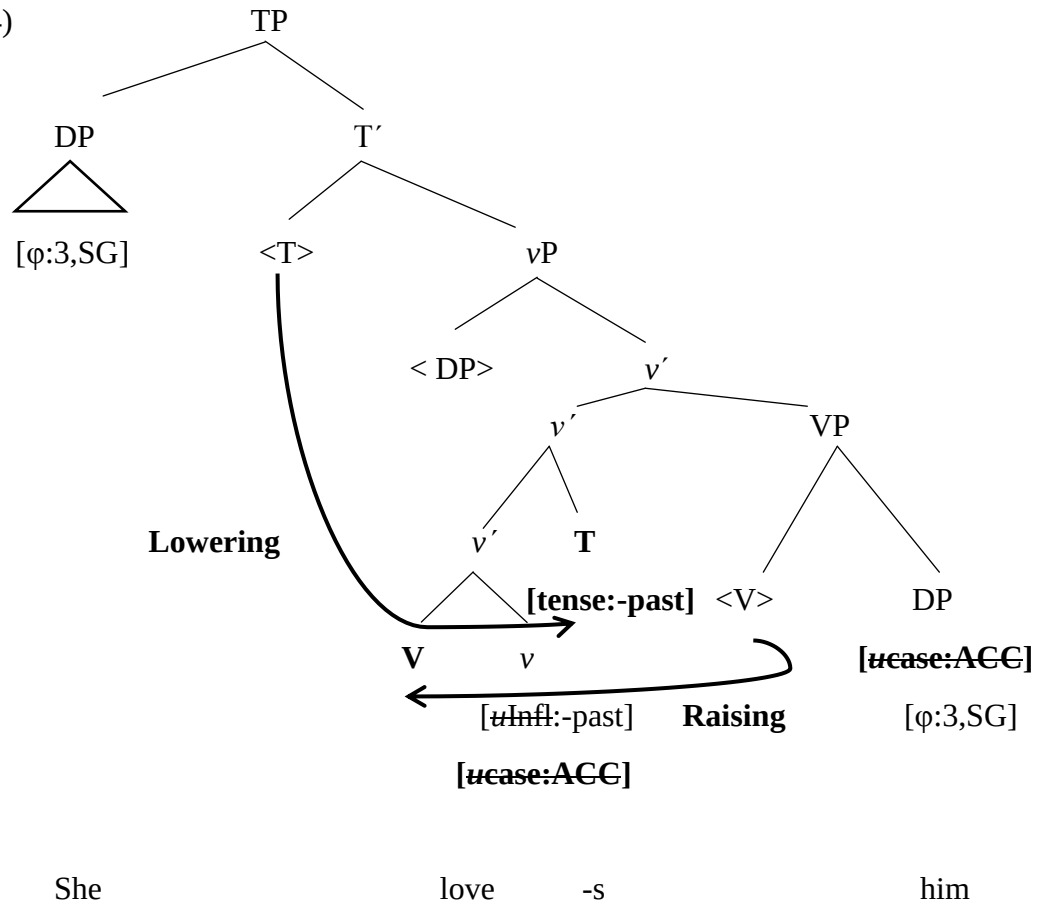
To briefly account for the not-yet-attached inflectional agreement marker -*s* on T in all the structures seen so far, Adger (2002: 135-137) proposes that "little" *v* carries an uninterpretable inflectional feature [*u*Infl:], which is waiting to be valued and checked by the interpretable tense feature on T. The V raises into *v* so that the morphological and semantic rules ensure that the pronunciation and interpretation of the -*s* suffix[30] of the lowered T, due to agreement and a weak feature on *v*, appears in its right form and position.[31]

An example of accusative case feature checking, V raising, and tense affix lowering is demonstrated in bold in a simplified syntactic tree in (44) below:

[30] At this point in the architecture of grammar, the suffix -*s* has not been inserted yet because the operations are still in the domain of syntax. Rather, the future -*s* is still in a form of a feature and will be inserted by morphophonological rules as an exponent once syntax is ready to pass its output on to morphology and PF.

[31] There is much information left out and the topic of subject-verb agreement is much more complex than can be captured here. The topic of this thesis, however, is not subject-verb agreement and for this reason, it is simplified and will not be further elaborated. For more information, see for example Adger (2002).

(44)



What is seen in (44) is that the uninterpretable ACC case feature carried by *v* agrees with and thus values the [~~*u*case:ACC~~] on the DP, which therefore receives the correct accusative case *him*. Next is the movement of V into *v*, where subsequently T´s features agree with *v´*s features and T lowers and adjoins *v*, which eventually results in pronunciation of *-s* on the verbal complex.

5.2.3 Formation of a sentence from syntax to articulation

Having described how case assignment works in several separate sections (where some of them were more simplified than others and different parts of the architecture of grammar were mixed together), the sentence *She loves him* from (15), which served as an example for the case analysis until now, will be used one more time in order to

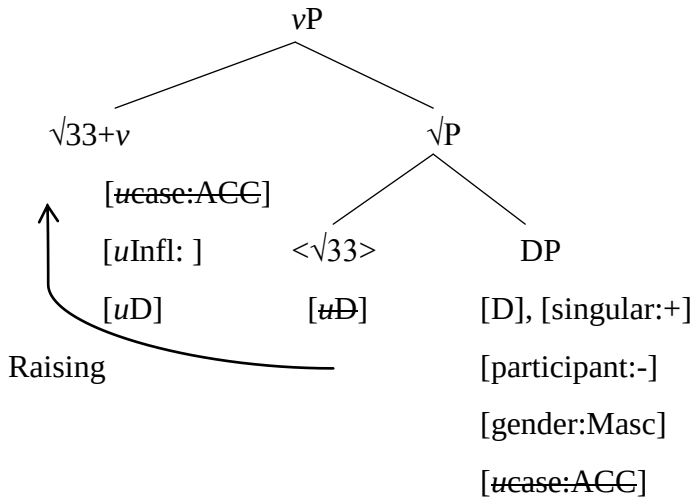
be described[32] in terms of its complete formation from Root and feature selection in the formative List of Terminals by syntax, through applying morphophonological rules, to being externalized and articulated by actual speakers.

The formation of the sentence *She loves him* starts off in the syntactic domain by the speaker deciding to choose Root √33[33] from List 1, which would be the equivalent of V in the syntactic tree, which is merged with a DP (resulting in √P/RootP) to satisfy and check the c-selectional feature [~~*u*D~~] on the Root (V). This is thanks to the inherent feature [D] on DP, which appears in the object position. It also carries the interpretable φ-features of number [singular:+] and person [participant:-] following the paradigm in (34) and adhering to the rule in (33), making addressee specification redundant. It also has a gender φ-feature [gender:Masc(uline)] as well as unvalued uninterpretable case feature [*u*case:]. Next, a functional head *v* merges with the √P creating a *v*P. The head *v* refers to a lexical category of verbs and thus √33 raises to *v* to create a verbal complex, leaving a <trace> behind. This functional head *v* carries a c-selectional feature [*u*D], an unvalued [*u*Infl:] and valued [*u*case:ACC] feature. The case feature agrees with the one on the DP, valuing and checking it. The syntactic computation and feature-manipulation up to this point is demonstrated in the structure in (45).

[32] There is still much more to say about Distributed Morphology and how sentences are created step by step. The formation of the sentence *She loves him* is by no means exhaustive and could be far more refined, however, for reasons of space, it should suffice for the present purposes.

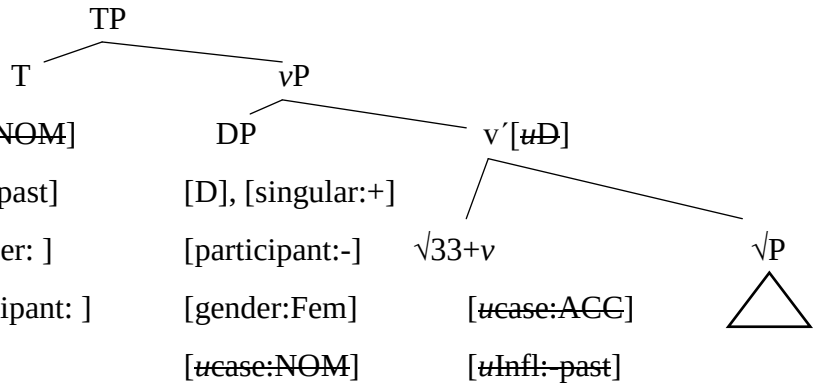
[33] Recall Section 4.1.2, which stated that Root numbers are chosen arbitrarily for the purpose of distinguishing one Root from another before they receive their form and meaning in PF and LF, respectively.

(45)



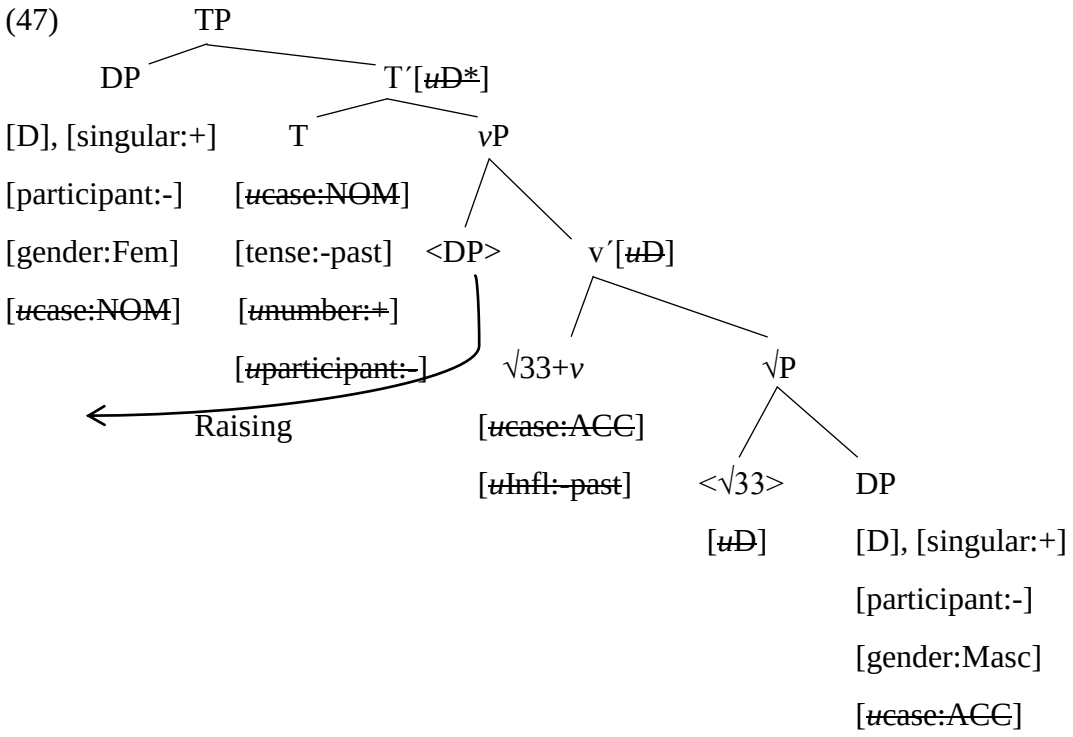
The next step is to check the [*u*D] on *v*, which projects this feature onto *v´*, and thus the now-merged DP appears in the specifier of *v*P, which is also the base position of the subject. This DP carries the same features as the one in (45), except for the gender feature, which is now [gender:Fem(inine)], and unvalued [*u*case:]. Next, the functional head T is merged with *v*P constituting TP. T carries [*u*case:NOM], agreeing with the DP's counterpart of this feature, unvalued φ-features [*u*number:] and [*u*participant:], EPP feature [*u*D*] and [tense:-past] feature, which agrees with the feature [*u*Infl:] on *v*. The structure in (46) demonstrates the above described operations.

(46)



Once the agreement between features takes place, the strength of the EPP feature comes into play. [*u*D*] projects onto T´, which requires its counterpart [D] to be local to it, i.e. be in a sisterhood relationship. Thus, the DP is forced to move into the

specifier of TP to check off [~~*u*D*~~] on T´ and, at the same time, value and check the uninterpretable φ-features on T under c-command. The movement of DP and feature-checking is demonstrated in (47) below:



The syntactic structure in (47) is what enters the interface domain of PF and LF. In other words, the morphology part of PF and PF itself, as well as LF can only see the structure in (47) when syntax has done its part in the grammar (recall the inverted Y-model in (2)). PF has access to List 2 of Vocabulary and spell-out rules (Vocabulary Items) for assigning all the terminal nodes the correct phonological exponents based on the feature combination created by syntax. LF has access to List 3 of Encyclopedia and semantic information to interpret the meaning of the output of syntax. Recall the rule in (38) and that LF does not see the uninterpretable features, which are deleted when checked, since they are not relevant for interpretation. The interface instructions for interpretation of (47) are illustrated in (48).

(48) a. PF instructions

[φ:3,SG,F], [NOM] ↔ /ʃi/

[*u*φ:3,SG], [-past] ↔ /-z/

√33+*v* ↔ /lʌv/

[φ:3,SG,M], [ACC] ↔ /hɪm/

b. LF instructions

√33+*v* ↔ "feel deep affection for someone" / [v [__]$_{\surd}$]$_{vP}$

On the left side of the arrow of the spell-out rules in (48a), there are feature bundles related to each terminal node that needs to be interpreted in terms of phonological exponents, which are on the right side of the arrow. In (48b), there is one set of LF instructions giving interpretation of the Root √33 in the morphosyntactic context of a verb, acquiring the features of the verbal category.

To prevent the sentence under analysis from being wrongly linearized and pronounced as **She -s love him*, a morphological movement, namely Lowering of T to *v´*, has to take place, as was mentioned in Section 5.2.2.3 and demonstrated in (44). As Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2015: 189-211) argue, movement downward the structure is a morphological merger as opposed to the movement upwards, which is a syntactic merger.

At this point, insertion of the interpreted features and linearization in PF can be executed as well as the semantic interpretation in LF and the sentence *She loves him* can by pronounced as was illustrated in (44).[34]

[34] The final syntactic tree will not be repeated here for reasons of redundancy since example (44) illustrates the same result.

6 Analysis of case on pronouns in Jamaican Creole

This chapter exemplifies variation of case on pronouns in Jamaican Creole, poses two hypotheses on how and why personal pronouns in JC behave differently than in Modern English and if JC has a case system at all.

6.1 Examples of pronoun variation in Jamaican Creole

Jamaican Creole (JC), also referred to as Patwa by locals,[35] is a creole whose lexifier is British English with influences of other languages, e.g. Spanish and some African languages such as Akan, Gbe, Igbo (Patrick 2014: 222). As has been mentioned in Chapter 2, JC is a spectrum and ranges from basilectal to acrolectal varieties with intra-individual variation. Jamaicans themselves often speak a certain variety without being aware of it, or refusing to be labeled and categorized. Besides JC, the official language in Jamaica is Standard Jamaican English (SJE) which is the acrolectal variety of British English with some minor grammatical alterations, intonation and prosody typical of JC.

For the sake of uniformity, the examples used in this Section and throughout this chapter are considered a mesolect with some overlaps and deviations indicative of acrolectal influence.[36] Other examples are attested by excerpts from lyrics by Jamaican singers, or are borrowed from works on JC by other linguists. The orthography of JC differs from source to source[37] and the aim here is to unify it, therefore the spelling will mostly resemble the actual pronunciation, in other words, will be based on phonology and mostly following Cassidy's (1961) orthography.[38]

[35] Patwa is a spelling of a literal pronunciation of patios, which comes from French and refers to any dialect or variation in speech as well as a "rough speech".

[36] The major source for attesting the presented examples and their grammatical acceptability is my dear fiancé and his family in Jamaica, who were brought up in the countryside speaking mostly in lower mesolect and then moved to the capital city of Kingston, where they acquired the mainstream acrolect, however, they retained their mesolect speech in the family and friend circle.

[37] See, among many others, Adams (1991), Cassidy (1961), Durrleman (2000, 2007, 2015), Patrick (1996, 2004).

[38] Since there are no official rules as to Jamaican orthography, many Jamaicans do not recognize Cassidy's (1961) system and their written expressions vary and are much individualized.

The structure of the examples provided below is as follows: first, there will be a sentence in JC, second, an approximate gloss of individual morphemes, and third, English translation. The abbreviations used for the glosses and which have not been encountered up to this point are: PROG (progressive), DET (determiner), MOD (modal), FUT (future), LOC (location), N (neuter), NEG (negation), PERF (perfective), COMPL (complementizer). The following set of examples (49-53) are taken from or inspired by Adams (1991: 20-47).

(49) Adams (1991: 20-32)

a. Mi a ded!
1_{SG} $_{PROG}$ die
'I am dying!'

b. Gi I[39] som, noh?
give 1_{SG} some no
'Won't you give me some?'

c. Yu fi go.
2_{SG} for_{MOD} go
'You should go.'

d. Tell wi di trut!
tell 1_{PL} $_{DET}$ truth
'Tell us the truth!'

e. Mek shi/(h)ar[40] gwaan!
make 3_{SG-F} go on
'Make her go on!'

f. Mi i gi yu.
1_{SG} $_{FUT}$ give 2_{SG}
'I will give you.'

(50) a. I deh ova deh suh.
3_{SG-N} $_{LOC}$ over there $_{LOC}$
'It is over there.'

b. Mi nuh like i(t).
1_{SG} $_{NEG}$ like 3_{SG-N}
'I don't like it.'

[39] As Adams (1991: 20-22) argues, the 1sg pronoun *I* (occurring both in subject and object position) is possible due to the rise of Rastafarian movement, which refers to unity and refuses the generally accepted form *mi*.

[40] Since the orthography of JC manifests the phonology, the *h* in what would otherwise be spelled as *har* is in brackets because Jamaican speech is typical of initial h-dropping. Similar phenomenon is seen in the pronoun *it* in (50b) where, from the phonological point of view, final t-deletion is observed in JC in some instances.

(51) Mi/I/Yu/Im/Shi/*Har/It/Wi//Unu/Dem a go.

$1_{SG}/1_{SG}/2_{SG}/3_{SG-M}/3_{SG-F}/*3_{SG-F-OF}/3_{SG}\text{-}_{N}/1_{PL}//2_{PL}/3_{PL}$ $_{PROG}$ go[41]

'I/You/He/She/It/We/You/They are/is going.'

(52) a. Unu[42] shooda en si im. (Adams 1991: 33)

2_{PL} should$_{PERF\ PAST}$ see 3_{SG-M}

'You should have seen him.'

b. Im nuh ivn si mi. (Adams 1991: 35)

3_{SG-M} $_{NEG}$ even see$_{PAST}$ 1_{SG}

'He didn't even see me.'

c. Mi neva tell im no lie! (Adams 1991: 35)

1_{SG} $_{PAST}$ tell 3_{SG-M} any lie

'I didn't tell him a lie!'

(53) a. Wa im en tell unu seh? (Adams 1991: 44)

what 3_{SG-M} $_{PAST}$ tell 2_{PL} $_{COMPL}$

'What did he tell you-all?'

b. A maanin mi a go tell shi seh wi tru. (Adams 1991: 44)

in morning 1_{SG} $_{PROG}$ go$_{FUT}$ tell 3_{SG-F} $_{COMPL}$ 1_{PL} through

'In the morning I'm going to tell her that we're through.'

c. Mek wi go, im too gravalicious. (Adams 1991: 47)

make 1_{PL} go 3_{SG-M} too greedy

'Let's go, he is too greedy.'

The next example (54) is an excerpt from a song *Stand Strong* on the album M16 Riddim (2019) by a Jamaican singer called Vybz Kartel.

[41] Adopting Parrott's (2017) terminology, SF (subject form) refers to the traditional term of nominative case (NOM) and OF (object/oblique form) to accusative case (ACC). For reasons of accuracy, this terminology will be used here from now on.

[42] *Unu* is mostly used in the countryside and sometimes used interchangeably with the English form of 2pl pronoun *you*, however, the usage of *unu* has still been attested in the mesolect and confirmed by the Jamaican informants.

(54) a. Cyaan mek Rome difeet wi now. (Vybz Kartel, Stand Strong, 2019, 0:54)

can$_{NEG}$ make Rome defeat 1$_{PL}$ now

'Cannot allow Rome to defeat us now.'

b. Wi dem a leach pon. (Vybz Kartel, Stand Strong, 2019, 1:48)

1$_{PL}$ 3$_{PL}$ PROG leech on

'It is us who they are leeching on.'

c. Dem a minority a wi large. (Vybz Kartel, Stand Strong, 2019, 1:54)

3$_{PL}$ PROG minority be 1$_{PL}$ large

'They are the minority and we are the majority.'

What can be concluded based on the examples (49-54), which were, furthermore, consulted with, and attested by, native speakers of JC, is that the personal pronouns in mesolectal JC do not exhibit much variation,[43] regardless of the syntactic position and environment they appear in, thus there seems to be no agreement in this regard. As Patrick (2003: 24) confirms, there is some variation in mesolectal JC in terms of case and gender distinctions, however, Jamaicans speaking in this variety of the language do not use the distinct forms consistently.

6.1.1 Pronominal paradigm in Jamaican Creole

Following Adams (1991: 20-24), the chart in (55) below demonstrates the assumed set of personal pronouns in mesolectal JC:

[43] One of the exceptions is (49b) where the Rastafarian version of the 1sg pronoun *I* is used, which is almost exclusively used by Rastafarians both in subject and object position in a sentence, not other Jamaican nationals unless they speak Standard Jamaican English, where the use and distribution of 1sg pronoun and all other pronouns, for that matter, are identical to Modern English. The examples in (49e) and (50), which are most likely due to influence of acrolect, show variation in the 3sg pronoun *shi/har* and *i/it* with some restrictions, which are addressed in (51) and later on in the Chapter.

(55) Paradigm for Personal Pronouns in JC

	Singular:+	Singular:-
participant:+ addressee:-	mi (I/me)	wi (we/us)
participant:+ addressee:+	yu (you)	unu (you all)
participant:-	im (he/him) shi (she/her) ar (her) i (it)	dem (they/them)

Due to the coexistence of JC and SJE, it is almost impossible, or rather inevitable, for these varieties not to be influenced by one another. In the case of the pronominal forms with the features [singular:+, participant:-] in (55), there seems to be more variants arguably depending on how much the speaker is influenced by SJE. As Adams (1991: 20) states, the 3sg pronoun *im*[44] can still in basilectal JC represent the English *he/him/she/her/it* regardless of gender, however, it is more common nowadays for *im* to refer to *he/him*.[45] As for *shi*, it can refer to English *she/her* but those speakers who have *ar* in their inventory of pronouns, it only refers to the OF (object form) *her*, not the SF (subject form) *she* (see Section 6.3).

6.2 Hypotheses

As has been demonstrated in examples (49-54) in Section 6.1, JC does not seem to exhibit pronominal variation in different morphosyntactic (Case) environments. To put it differently, there seems to be no SF or OF distinctions in pronouns as opposed to Modern English, and the pronominal forms can be used interchangeably either as SF or OF (unless the speaker acquired the few variant forms from SJE). This is

[44] Patrick (2004) argues that *im* is the default form of personal pronouns in JC lacking case and gender distinctions.

[45] The native speakers, with who I consulted all the JC sentences and examples, were not unanimous as to whether or not *im* can refer to all the forms of the pronouns with the feature [singular:+, participant:-] despite Adams' (1991) findings.

indicative of there being no case on pronouns (or nouns, for that matter) in JC whatsoever.

The task now is to hypothesize about what the cause for this issue is, or in other words, why is it that JC does not exhibit case? The first hypothesis is based on language contact and acquisition, and since Jamaican language is an English-based creole influenced by some West African substrate languages, it might have never acquired the case system with pronominal distinctions found in English, and therefore, the phonological exponents may not be available for insertion to pronouns in JC because there are no case features in the inventory to begin with. When there is some variation, the phonological exponents are learned later on.

The second hypothesis is one which suggests that the syntactic structure of JC be fundamentally the same as the one of English and, for that matter, languages in general, not stemming only from its lexifier and substrate languages, albeit some kind of influence is hardly refutable. The syntactic structure of JC, however, seems to be modified by dispensing with a certain functional phrase, namely a case phrase (CaseP), which would otherwise, if present, be able to spell out distinct pronominal case forms.[46]

6.3 The hypothesis of contact languages

This hypothesis is grounded in sociolinguistic and sociohistorical context, and language contact, which impinged the evolution of JC arguably resulting in the lack of pronominal case. As Mufwene (1990: 2) argues, substrate (or subordinate) language/s influenced the superstrate (or superior) language in contact situations in a way that (some) features of the substrate language/s transferred to the superstrate language and helped to form a creole. Language-contact situations play a major role in the hypothesis since different situations may require adopting or dismissing certain grammatical features from different languages, so it is implausible that the features would be adopted solely from one language. On that note, Mufwene (1990: 11) further states that there is likely a competition among the substrate features to be

[46] I will adopt a stance that CaseP is present in cases when some of the pronouns show variation if they are in the inventory of the speakers who consciously choose to pronounce them (see Sections 6.1 and 6.3).

incorporated into the target language, which is based on how much or how little the features in a particular language-contact situation are marked, with the unmarked features being the winner for their simplicity of use. This, however, does not have to mean that what is unmarked in one situation and language will also be unmarked in another - it can well be marked.

In the period of the slave trade boom in Jamaica in the 18th century, most slaves were transported there from the Gold Coast and Southern Nigeria in West Africa,[47] with languages spoken in these British colonies belonging to the Niger-Congo language family (Cassidy 1961: 17). The interaction between the masters and the slaves as well as among the slaves brought from different regions forced the slaves to communicate by means of a combination of their native languages and the language of their masters.[48] "Thus, not only was a lot of English grammar ungained, but a lot of African grammar was unkept: such were the inevitable terms of the compromise" (Cassidy 1961: 50).

At the same time, however, some of the African grammar was kept since Cassidy (1961: 54) states that the personal pronoun [singular:+, participant:+, addressee:-] *mi* in JC is analogous to the pronoun *me* and its uses in the Twi language, which presumably influenced the choice of *mi* over the English *I* and the (non)distinctions of this pronoun in SF and OF. Another piece of evidence comes from the Ibo/Igbo language of Nigeria, where the pronoun [singular:-, participant:+, addressee:+] *unu* is the parallel for the one in JC.

As a result of language contact, it might be possible that the West-African slaves brought to Jamaica recognized certain similarities in their languages, which they retained and then dispensed with some of what was dissimilar in the English grammar, e.g. case, because they were able to comprehend one another and the masters as well as be understood by them. Thus, implementing different forms of

[47] There are many more countries and areas in West Africa whose languages may have contributed to JC evolution (and many other creoles for that matter), however, it goes far beyond the scope of this thesis. For further information, see for example Parkvall (2000).

[48] The masters (plantation owners) were mostly from the British Isles, however, they themselves were likely to speak different varieties according to where in the country they came from. Therefore, some could be Englishmen, some Irishmen, Welshmen, or Scotts, which made it even more difficult and perplexing for the slaves to pick up the language (Cassidy 1961: 49).

pronouns might have seemed redundant since different syntax positions were enough to distinguish who or what they were referring to, using only one form of a pronoun.

In addition, it is not impossible that the slaves and/or later on Jamaican-born individuals might have acquired English pronominal forms. They might have had to learn 'new vocabulary' afterwards throughout generations so that there was only one allomorph for each pronominal as can be observed in nowadays JC,[49] and the reasons for acquiring this were driven socially.

The issue of pronominal forms in JC being different from the forms in English will be now accounted for through the lens of Distributed Morphology and its terminology. The 'new vocabulary' mentioned above refers to certain spell-out rules in the Vocabulary List accessed in PF (different from the rules of speakers of Modern English), where all pronominal feature combinations result in only one phonological exponent, which is able to appear in all case positions without any specification of contextual features.

Following Parrott's (2006: 183) hypothesis about Vocabulary Transparency (56), which he grounded on Emonds' (1986: 105-107) Morphological Transparency, it becomes clear that the case features were never present in the List of Vocabulary.

(56) Vocabulary Transparency (Parrott 2006: 183)

If some morphosyntactic feature F of a terminal node N is not morphologically transparent on N, then F is not contained in the morphosyntactic features of any Vocabulary Item for N.

Parrott (2006: 183-184) further proposes an analysis based on morphosyntactic Adjacency, where the Vocabulary Item specified for contextual features (recall the Subset Principle in (6)) wins the competition of insertion over the Vocabulary Item which is not specified for contextual features and is inserted by default. Because in JC there is almost no case variation of personal pronouns, there need not be any

[49] Note again that there is a certain degree of variation within mesolectal JC and the forms are not rigidly invariant since the scope of the mesolect in the continuum is vast and is most likely influenced by SJE.

specification for contextual features. Nevertheless, as has been mentioned above and in Section 6.1.1, JC exhibits a certain degree of variant forms of pronominals, mainly 3sg,fem and 1sg, due to the influence of SJE whose pronoun variation is almost identical to the variation in Modern English. This, then, implies that these particular forms sometimes occurring in mesolectal JC were arguably learned later on and thus added into the Vocabulary of Jamaicans only subsequently.

The subsequent acquisition of new Vocabulary Items for pronouns is what Parrott (2006: 184) calls Supplementary Vocabulary which do not compete for insertion (represented by a dashed line), and thus differ from allomorphy (see Section 4.1.3.2). The hypothetical Vocabulary Items for JC pronoun variants are illustrated in (57) below:

(57) Vocabulary for *shi/ar* pronoun in JC

[φ:3,SG,F] ↔ /ʌɪ/ / [v [__]$_{\surd}$]$_{vP}$

-.-

[φ:3,SG,F] ↔ /ʌɪ/ / v√__Adjacent

[φ:3,SG,F] elsewhere ↔ /ʃɪ/

If the pronoun *ar* is in a speaker's Vocabulary, this form is specified (marked) for the OF position right-adjacent to the categorial head *v* (i.e. *Im lov ar*. but **Ar lov im*.). If the speaker, however, has both forms of the pronoun available in their Vocabulary, then they can choose whether or not they will pronounce *ar* in the OF position (i.e. *Im lov ar/shi*).[50] Whenever *shi* is the only Vocabulary Item for the pronoun, it can be inserted in any position, SF and/or OF, since it is not specified for contextual features (i.e. *Shi lov im* and *Im lov shi*.) (58).[51]

[50] Again, the variation depends on social factors so the speaker whose pronoun inventory contains both *shi* and *ar* may choose to pronounce either of them depending on which form is more suitable for a certain situation, which was attested by the Jamaican informants.

[51] Patrick (2004) argues that *shi* does not occur for oblique cases in JC, contrary to the attested examples by the Jamaican informants involved in the analyses presented in this thesis.

(58) Vocabulary for *shi* pronoun in JC

[φ:3,SG,F] ↔ /ʃɪ/

As for the Rastafarian choice of the pronoun *I* (besides the same form occurring in SJE, which also influences mesolectal JC), it seems like the analysis would be identical to (57). Rastafarians deliberately chose *I* over *mi* to express unity with nature and other Rastafarians, and to separate themselves from the rest of Jamaicans who acquired and use the form of the pronoun *mi*.[52] Therefore, *mi* and *I* are both in the Vocabulary of Rastafarians with there being no competition for insertion between them since these forms are social variants.

6.3.1 Supportive evidence from another representative of Atlantic Creoles

To compare JC to at least one other Atlantic Creole and see how personal pronouns behave in another creole language, examples from a French-based Haitian Creole (HC) are considered in (59) below:

(59) Valdman (1988: 71, 81-82)

a. Li lave rad sal.
'S/he washes dirty clothing.'

b. Li jwenn mwen.
'S/he found me.'

c. Mwen pa moun katye-a.
'I'm not from this neighborhood.'

d. Yo tan nou.
'They waited for us.'

e. Nou vann yo.
'We sold them.'

f. Ou mèt kontynie mache toujou.
'You can keep on going.'

As is seen in (59), personal pronouns in HC do not seem to exhibit case in either position (SF or OF), which is analogous to JC and further supported by DeGraff (2007: 119) who argues that pronouns in Haitian are not marked for overt morphology

[52] Some of the Jamaican informants were Rastafarians who attested the conscious choice of *I* over *mi*.

in any syntactic position. For further information about HC, see among many others Valdman (1988), Lefebvre (2006), DeGraff (2007).

6.4 Altered syntactic structure

As has been mentioned several times, JC generally lacks distinct pronominal forms and, therefore, the intended information to be conveyed relies on syntactic system, not morphological inflection. The lack of case distinctions on personal pronouns is furthermore confirmed by the data collected from a survey by the Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures (APiCS) (Michaelis et al. 2013) classing JC as one of the 22 languages (out of 76 surveyed languages) which have neutral alignment of case marking of personal pronouns (Haspelmath 2013: Chapter 59).

Based on his findings, Snow (2017: 56-57) concludes that most creoles do not exhibit case inflection since it is not their indispensable core feature for the language-inherent need to convey grammatical information. Another way to establish grammatical relations is, as he (2017: 6-7, 14) argues, citing Dryer (2009b), via word order. He states that creoles in general seem to favor SVO word orders, which is the case for JC exhibiting almost exclusively this word order pattern confirmed by the survey data by APiCS with JC being one of the 61 languages out of 76, which exhibit SVO pattern (Huber 2013: Chapter 1).[53] He further elaborates that having a verb in between subject and object makes it easier to distinguish between the arguments without having to rely on case to differentiate subjects and objects, thus the word order itself is mostly sufficient for encoding the structural and syntactic information. This seems to hold true for JC where subjects precede the verb and objects follow it with no case distinctions (with some exceptions mentioned in Sections 6.1 and 6.3), which is coincident with the claim that where there is no case dimension in a creole to determine grammatical relations, SVO word order satisfies this universal requirement.

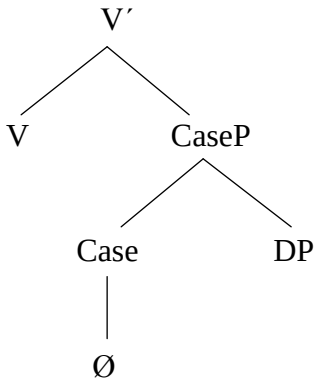
Another supportive claim is given by Weerman (2002: 302-303) who argues against Government and Binding theory by Chomsky (1981), which states that pronominal case distinctions of subject form and object form are always present in all

[53] Note that example (54b) shows what resembles SOV pattern, which is most likely a cleft sentence of what would otherwise be a sentence *Dem a leach pon wi* with the expected SVO word order.

languages (i.e. distinctions in abstract features of case), however, they may not be spelled out (overtly realized as morphological case) in particular languages under certain circumstances. The argument against the above mentioned approach is, according to Weerman (2002: 305), such that languages which have overt case morphology are syntactically different from the ones without overt case morphology and "if there is no form distinction, pronouns do not correspond to an entire subject or object DP, but rather to a part of the nominal projection" (Weerman 2002: 304). He further presents Emonds' (1985) and Hudson's (1995) stance, which assumes that there are language-specific rules to clarify which case form can be inserted into which environment.

In Weerman's (2002: 305) approach, referring to Neeleman & Weerman (1999), object DPs of languages which have morphological case carry functional information (i.e. case) in a so-called shell, which is important for interpreting the thematic relations between the predicate and its argument at LF if there are case distinctions. Whenever there are no case distinctions (paradigms) in a language the shell is devoid of the case functional information and the position is empty (60).[54]

(60) Objects in languages with no morphological case (Weerman 2002: 311)[55]



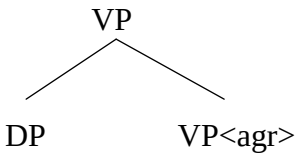
Weerman (2002: 305-306) further emphasizes and refers to Rizzi's (1990) 'Empty Category Principle'/ECP, which limits the distribution of objects with an empty

[54] Recall Chapter 5 where the approach to treating case in the syntactic structure was slightly different.

[55] This holds true for English (and Dutch) whose case system is a remnant of once rich case system even with noun distinctions. The remaining SF and OF distinctions on pronominals are a result of a syntactic asymmetry between the respective DPs as will be seen below (Weerman 2002).

position since an empty category is subject to licensing and needs to be head-governed. Therefore, subjects of finite clauses with a structure like (60) would violate the ECP, and thus cannot have the functional shell, which leaves them caseless. In order to capture the thematic relation between the predicate and its subject argument, a functional marker, which is a part of the predicate (agreement head-marks the VP as a predicate), comes into play (61).[56]

(61) Head marking/agreement marking of subjects (Weerman 2002: 311)



Following Weerman's (2002: 316-319) prediction, English (and Dutch) pronouns show distinct forms not because they reflect morphological case, which these languages do not even exhibit, but because there is an asymmetry between subjects and objects in syntax: objects are CasePs (with a feature [+CaseP]) and subjects are DPs (with a feature [-CaseP]). Personal pronouns do not exhibit obligatory subject-object distinctions in form, and thus they can correspond to either a DP or CaseP. That being said, when the output of syntax enters into the morphological domain to be spelled out, personal pronouns can have the same form in both subject and object position if their features which are reflected in the Vocabulary Item do not contain functional information about the case phrase. This also holds true for creoles despite their lexifiers showing pronominal distinctions in SF and OF, which is analogous to English and JC.

What can be concluded, then, is that the syntactic structure of Jamaican personal pronouns does not include the CaseP resulting in spell-out rules in PF having no distinct phonological exponents for the features of these pronominals, since the functional information is not included in these features (i.e. pronouns in JC do not spell out the entire phrase) or, strictly speaking, the feature [-CaseP] is present in the

[56] For a more elaborate discussion of head marking and dependency marking see Weerman (2002).

set of features for a particular pronoun. On the other hand, if there is variation in some pronominal forms (as was shown in Sections 6.1 and 6.3), the functional information included in the features reflects a presence of a CaseP, thus the spell-out rules are able to find a corresponding exponent to a set of features including [+CaseP], i.e. the entire phrase is spelled-out.

Situating the subject-matter into the dimension of markedness, Durrleman (2000: 224-225), referring to Jakobson (1971), states that in language, there are forms which compete with one another to become verbalized; these forms are either marked (more specific) or unmarked (default/elsewhere forms), with the former being less common as opposed to the latter. She further gives an example of a [singular:+] noun being unmarked (having no overt morphology, e.g. a book) and a [singular:-] noun being marked via overt morphology (e.g. books). This implies, as Lehmann (1989) also suggests, that markedness can be treated as intraparadigmatic (i.e. within a paradigm) choice of a speaker. Therefore, whenever there is pronominal case variation in JC, the [singular:+, participant:-] variant *ar*, then, is more specified (marked) than *shi* because it contains a marked feature [+CaseP] yielding a structure like (60), which is consequently restricted only to OF as was seen in examples (49e) and (50).

6.4.1 Formation of a Jamaican sentence

The hypothetical formation of a sentence in JC is very similar to the formation of an English sentence (see Section 5.2.3) with several exceptions addressed in the previous Section.[57] Repeating the entire process of a formation of a Jamaican sentence seems redundant here, however, several readjustments throughout that process reflecting the aforementioned differences need to be demonstrated.

The following sentence (62) can serve as an example of a typical distribution of personal pronouns in JC:

[57] One of the differences between Modern English and JC, which is not explored in this thesis, is that JC does not have subject-verb agreement.

(62) Im lov shi.[58]

The structure of the sentence in (62), especially of the pronominal arguments, does not radically differ from the one examined in Section 5.2.3 (although bear in mind that Weerman's (2002) approach slightly differs). Neither of the arguments includes an empty shell which would indicate a designated object syntactic position for the pronoun. In other words, the structure seen in (60) is not present, and therefore, there is no CaseP. The c-selectional features on V and *v* ensure that both DPs are generated in the same positions as was the case in English, however, there occurs no case assigning relationship. The DP movement out of the specifier of *v*P into the specifier of TP is retained and executed for the same reasons as in English (i.e. the strength of the EPP feature on T and JC requiring overt subjects).

What differs rather considerably are the spell-out rules in PF which are looking for the correct phonological exponents based on the feature combinations and received input of the assembled structure by syntax. (63) is what the hypothetical interface instructions for the sentence *Im lov shi* might look like.

(63) a. PF instructions

[φ:3,SG,M], [-CaseP] ↔ /ɪm/

[*u*φ:SG], [-past] ↔ /Ø/[59]

√33+*v* ↔ /lɒv/

[φ:3,SG,F], [-CaseP] ↔ /ʃɪ/

b. LF instructions

√33+*v* ↔ "feel deep affection for someone" / [v [__]$_{\sqrt{}}$]$_{vP}$

[58] That these [singular:+, participant:-] pronouns sometimes also have gender features is a trait of mesolectal JC, which seems like some speakers choose to do so under the assumed influence of SJE and some speakers will retain only the person and number distinctions with [singular:+, participant:-] *im* referring to the English *he/she/it* regardless of gender, which is due to the basilectal influence.

[59] Why there is a zero exponent to the T terminal node and why there is a missing feature in the bundle goes beyond the scope of this thesis. See Durrleman (2000), Patrick (1996, 2004) among many others.

The phonological exponents corresponding to the feature combinations in (63a) might be misleading since they resemble the English /hɪm/ and /ʃi/, which would be ungrammatical if they were inserted in the same environment as Jamaican /ɪm/ and /ʃɪ/. These exponents, however, are different and do not contain CaseP or, more precisely, contain the feature [-CaseP]. The pronominals also contain a gender feature, which the speakers deliberately chose to differentiate but they might well choose not to include gender features at all, which would result in the insertion of the same phonological exponent /ɪm/ for both pronominals.

When the interface instructions have been generated, the insertion of the phonological exponents and linearization will take place along with the semantic interpretation and the sentence *Im lov shi* is articulated.

6.5 Discussion

The approaches adopted in Chapter 6 certainly have their shortcomings and could be more elaborate and/or be dealt with differently. For example, what was not accounted for in this thesis is that JC seems to express genitive case, or, strictly speaking, possession on pronouns as well as nouns in two ways as is demonstrated in (64).

(64)	a.Fi im/Im yaad.	b. Fi di gyal yaad.	c. *Fi shi/shi yaad.
	for 3_{SG} yard	for $_{DET}$ girl yard	for 3_{SG} yard
	'His home.'	'The girl's home.'	'Her home.'

It would be worth analyzing these types of constructions and syntax of DPs overall to see how they behave compared to the English ones and to have a better understanding.

JC and its case issue could be analyzed from a point of view of markedness in more depth and see how all the φ-features impact each other and if it might be the case that the pronominal forms are syncretized as a result of Impoverishment. The pronominal paradigm, then, might contain two slots for each pronoun, which would make them morphologically distinct, however, the phonological form would not exhibit any distinctions (Weerman 2002).

From the evidence of Dutch personal pronouns, some of which do not show overt case distinctions, Weerman (2002: 330-334) concludes that it is a result of

syncretism and that there is a case dimension in the pronominal paradigm as a whole and not for each pronoun individually, even for pronouns which do not show different forms in different morphosyntactic environments. He further states that dimensions are in a hierarchical order and syncretism is more likely to occur when a dimension is higher in the hierarchy, thus case dimension counts as being one of the high dimensions.

7 Conclusion

The main focus of this thesis was to syntactically describe case distinctions of personal pronouns in mesolectal Jamaican Creole, which is an English-based creole in the Caribbean and belongs to the group of Atlantic/West Indies Creoles. The Jamaican personal pronouns were contrasted with personal pronouns in Modern English to analyze their behavior, which was supported by a piece of evidence from another Atlantic Creole.

A brief description of creole languages as well as their sociolinguistic background was given in order to become more familiar with the approximate genesis of creoles and what type of language Jamaican Creole is. Next, the notion of variation was presented, with emphasis on intra-individual variation, to be more specific, which accounts for expressing the same grammatical relations using different means among members of one community.

The subject matter was situated into the theoretical framework of Distributed Morphology, which was adopted and applied throughout the analysis of distinctions of case in Jamaican personal pronouns, which seem to lack the dimension of case altogether. Distributed Morphology was described in several Sections dedicated to each part of the structure of grammar. Syntax and its relationship to the List of Terminals were dealt with first, then the List of Vocabulary and processes in the Phonological Form of the grammar, and last the List of Encyclopedia and the Logical Form.

The following part of the thesis was dedicated to the phenomenon of case in Modern English analyzed through the lens of Distributed Morphology. With English personal pronouns exhibiting distinct case forms, the case-assigners for each case were identified and supported by selected examples. Within this part of the thesis, the notion of feature dependency was presented as well as the morphosyntax of English personal pronouns and their relationship with the respective case assigners. The formation of an English sentence constituted the summary of that part of the thesis.

A part with a closer look at mesolectal Jamaican Creole followed next. Examples of sentences containing Jamaican personal pronouns were presented from several sources, which were consulted with and attested by native Jamaicans who

speak in the mesolectal variety of the creole. Based on the examples and forms of the personal pronouns occurring in different syntactic positions, an assumed paradigm of personal pronouns was proposed followed by two hypotheses as to why they usually do not exhibit any form of variation as well as what causes the variation if it sometimes occurs.

The first hypothesis argued for sociolinguistic and sociohistorical approach where the genesis of Jamaican Creole grammar is rooted in language contact. To issue was situated into Distributed Morphology adopting Parrott's (2006) Vocabulary Transparency and it was claimed that if there is variation in Jamaican pronominal forms, they must have been learned later in life when the grammatical system has been established. Therefore the variant forms were treated as new exponents in the List of Vocabulary and depended solely on the speaker's choice.

The second hypothesis suggested that the syntactic structure of Jamaican Creole differs from the English structure only slightly, however, Jamaican Creole dispenses with a case phrase carrying functional information in both subject and object positions, which seems to be the reason why the form of the personal pronouns does not change. When there is a deliberate change in the form of the pronouns, the case phrase seems to be present.

In the last part of the thesis, suggestions for different approaches were given to the issue of presence or absence of case forms of personal pronouns in Jamaican Creole as well as acknowledgement of the shortcomings of the point of view adopted throughout the thesis.

8 Resumé

Hlavním cílem této práce je syntaktický popis rozlišení pádu osobních zájmen v mezolektu jamajské kreolštiny, což je jazyk vycházející z angličtiny, který se vyskytuje v Karibské oblasti a patří do skupiny atlantských jazyků neboli jazyků Západní Indie. Jamajská přídavná jména jsou porovnávána s osobními zájmeny vyskytující se v moderní angličtině, aby bylo možné analyzovat jejich chování, což je poté doloženo příklady z další vybrané kreolštiny atlantské skupiny jazyků.

Nejdříve je předložen stručný popis kreolských jazyků společně s jejich sociolingvistickým pozadím pro obeznámení se s přibližným vývojem kreolských jazyků obecně a typem jazyka, jímž jamajská kreolština je. Poté je představen pojem variací s důrazem na intra-individuální variace, které objasňují vyjádření stejných gramatických konfigurací prostřednictvím různých způsobů mezi příslušníky jedné komunity.

K tématu této práce je přistupováno z pohledu teoretického konceptu distribuované morfologie, jejíž postoj je osvojený a aplikovaný v průběhu analýzy pádového rozlišení jamajských osobních zájmen, která, jak se zdá, zcela postrádají aspekt pádu. Teorie distribuované morfologie je popsána v několika oddílech věnovaných každému modulu struktury generativní gramatiky. Nejdříve je představen modul syntaktický a jeho relace k lexikonu jednotek terminálních uzlů, poté lexikon morfologických forem a mechanismů v interpretačním modulu fonologickém a na závěr lexikon kořenů a jeho relace k interpretačnímu modulu sémantickému.

Další část práce je zaměřená na jev pádu v současné angličtině pohledem distribuované morfologie. Jelikož anglická osobní zájmena se projevují rozdílnými pádovými tvary, hlavy, které přidělují každý pád osobním zájmenům, jsou identifikovány a ilustrovány na podpůrných příkladech. Pojem gramatických rysů a jejich relační závislosti je představen v této části práce společně s morfosyntaxí anglických osobních zájmen a vztahu k hlavám, které jim přidělují příslušné pádové tvary. Závěrem této části je znázorněno utváření anglické věty od počátku po artikulaci.

Následující část práce se zabývá mezolektem jamajské kreolštiny více zblízka. Příklady vět s jamajskými osobními zájmeny jsou předloženy z několika zdrojů a

následně konzultovány s jamajskými rodilými mluvčími, kteří mají osvojenou variaci mezolektu jamajské kreolštiny. Na základě ilustrovaných příkladů a tvarů osobních zájmen, která se vyskytovala v různých syntaktických pozicích, je předložen předpokládaný model jamajských osobních zájmen s následnými hypotézami o tom, proč tato zájmena obvykle neprojevují variace svých tvarů a zároveň co jejich variaci způsobuje, pokud se někdy vyskytuje.

První hypotéza zastává sociolingvistickou a sociohistorickou perspektivu, kdy je původ a vývoj gramatického systému jamajské kreolštiny zakořeněný v kontaktu jazyků. Tato problematika je situována do rámce distribuované morfologie prostřednictvím Parrottovy (2006) transparentnosti forem a je tvrzeno, že pokud je variace zájmenných tvarů přítomna, je nejspíše způsobena osvojením těchto tvarů poté, co byl jamajský gramatický systém ustaven. Z tohoto důvodu jsou tyto varianty považovány za nové morfologické formy a závisí výhradně na volbě mluvčího, pokud se rozhodne je použít a má je ve svém lexikonu.

Druhá hypotéza navrhuje stanovisko, kdy syntaktická struktura jamajské kreolštiny a angličtiny se vzájemně liší pouze v tom, že jamajština ve své struktuře nemá syntaktickou frázi pádu na pozici podmětu, ani předmětu a která je nositelem gramatických rysů. Nepřítomnost této fráze se zdá být důvodem pro neměnnost tvaru osobních zájmen. Naopak, když mluvčí záměrně použije jiný tvar zájmena, syntaktická fráze pádu se zdá být přítomna.

V poslední části této práce jsou podány návrhy pro jiné přístupy k analýze problematiky přítomnosti či nepřítomnosti pádových tvarů osobních zájmen v jamajské kreolštině. Zároveň jsou přiznány slabiny a nedokonalosti zastávaného pohledu na danou problematiku analyzovanou v této práci.

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