ADDITIVE AND ASSOCIATIVE PLURAL MARKING IN JAMIEKAN*

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In this paper we argue that the plural marker in Jamaican Creole (Jamiekan hereafter) is actually a group marker (Stewart 2011) and that it heads "high" number above DP. We show that this proposal allows us to derive the additive and associative meaning from the same structure (cf. Nakanishi & Ritter 2009 for Japanese). The analysis provides support for the idea that [proper] is a feature in D (Ghomeshi & Massam 2009) and that number on pronouns is not the same as nominal number (Ghomeshi & Massam 2018).

1. Introduction

Plural marking in Jamiekan is sensitive not only to definiteness but also to the proper/common distinction. The following examples show the relevant properties of the plural marker *dem*, which we will represent in boldface throughout the paper:

(1) a. Som likl maaga bwai out-a duo.
some little meager boy out door
'Some very thin little boys are outside.'

b. Di chrii likl maaga bwai **dem** out-a duo.
DET three little meagre boy PL out door
'Three very thin little boys are outside.'

c. Jan **dem** out-a duo.
John PL out door
'John and his friends/ associates are outside.'

In (1a) we see that plural meaning is not necessarily marked with an overt plural marker. In (1b) the plural marker *dem* appears on a definite nominal phrase and contributes additive meaning, i.e. it picks out a group of entities of the same type (this will be refined later). In (1c) the plural marker *dem* appears with a proper name and contributes associative meaning (Moravcsik 2003, Daniel & Moravcsik 2013, see also Durrleman-Tame 2008, Patrick 2004 for Jamiekan). The use of *dem* as an associative plural refers to a ranked group of people with the focal member identified, and the associates (usually family or close friends) implied. In this paper we will provide a unified analysis for these two uses of *dem*.

* We would like to thank the 2018 CLA audience at the University of Regina where we presented this work. Tasheney would also like to thank Dr. Michele Kennedy and other Jamaican friends and linguists whose perspective provided valuable insight. All errors are our own.

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2. Background on Jamiekan

Jamiekan is an English Lexified Creole Language and is the native language of over two million speakers living in Jamaica (but at least twice as much living in the diaspora). However, with the lexifier still being present in the same speech community, some varieties of the language more closely resemble English than others. This has resulted in the language situation being described as a Creole Contiuum (Decamp 1979), among other linguistic descriptions. The data in this paper fall at the mesolectal/basilectal end of the continuum but where reference to acrolectal varieties is relevant, we will make note.

In this section we provide a brief description of the Jamiekan nominal phrase in general and the lexeme *dem* in particular.

2.1 Order of elements in the nominal phrase

The order of elements in a nominal phrase in Jamiekan is: D Numeral (Adj)* N (*dem*) as shown in (2):

(2) di chrii likl shaat bwai **dem**.
DET three little short boy PL
'the three short little boys'

The above example shows that the determiner (*di*) is phrase-initial. More than one adjective can appear between the determiner and head noun, as illustrated above by the two adjectives *likl* and *shaat*. If a numeral is present in the nominal phrase, such as *chrii* in (2), it immediately follows the determiner. The presence of phrase-final *dem* gives a plural interpretation for the noun in a definite nominal phrase, and in its absence the noun is construed as singular. *Dem* does not appear in indefinite nominal phrases.

In possessive nominal phrases, underlined in (3a) and (3b) below, possessors precede possessed nouns in a juxtaposition structure and do not bear any special marking whether they are nominal or pronominal:[1]

(3) a. Tek op Jani bag aafa di doti grong.
take up Johnny bag off the dirty ground
'Pick up John's bag from the dirty ground.'

b. Tek op im bag aafa di doti grong.
take up 3.SG.M bag off the dirty ground
'Pick up his bag from the dirty ground.'

Demonstratives appear phrase-initially with a reinforcer that typically follows the head noun, as seen in examples (4a) and (4b). Both the demonstrative and the reinforcer are obligatory.

[1] There is also a possessive construction involving *fi*' for' that we put aside here.

(4) a. Da chaka-chaka ruum de afi saat out.
DEM untidy room RFR.DIST have.to sort out
'That untidy room needs to be sorted.'

b. Da chaka-chaka ruum ya afi saat out.
DEM untidy room RFR.PROX have.to sort out
'This untidy room needs to be sorted.'

The contrast between the proximal and distal reading is marked by the reinforcer *ya* 'here' or *de* 'there,' which follow the head noun. It is also possible for the reinforcer to follow the demonstrative with an optional copy after the head noun. In these cases the demonstrative pronouns more closely resemble English *this* and *that* in terms of their pronunciation:[2]

(5) a. Dat de chaka-chaka ruum (de) afi saat out.
DEM RFR.DIST untidy room (RFR.DIST) have.to sort out
'That untidy room needs to be sorted.'

b. Dis ya chaka-chaka ruum (ya) afi saat out.
DEM RFR.PROX untidy room (RFR.PROX) have.to sort out
'This untidy room needs to be sorted.'

It is likely that the above constructions are more emphatic, as observed by Cassidy (1961). According to Cassidy, who is the initial developer of the Jamiekan writing system, 'dis(h) ya wan ya', marked by the locative 'ya' was likely borne out of emphatic speech but later became the general expression. It therefore could be the case that it is being reinterpreted as emphatic with or without the copy.

Thus far we have looked at singular demonstratives: *da, dat* and *dis.* The plural counterpart is *dem.* Its use as a plural demonstrative is just one of the many functions it serves which we turn to in the next section.

2.2 The many functions of *dem* in Jamiekan

2.2.1 *Dem* as pronoun

One of the main uses of *dem* is as a third person plural pronoun. Pronouns in Jamiekan inflect for person and number, as shown in the table below:

(6) Pronouns in Jamiekan

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	*mi*	*wi*
2	*yu*	*unu*
3	*im/shii/it*	***dem***

[2] Durrleman-Tame (2008) claims that *dis N* and *dat N* are possible in Jamiekan. However, we find these to be more acrolectal in nature, that is, constructions that are closer to English. In basilectal varieties *dis* and *dat* are possible without a following noun. In these cases, the reinforcers can optionally appear.

Jamiekan pronouns do not inflect for case, so *dem* can appear as a subject, direct object, object of a preposition or possessive pronoun:

(7) a. **Dem** a nyam-an-lef. **Subject**
3PL COP eat-and-leave
'They are people who eat and then go.'

b. Maas Juo lik **dem**. **Object**
Mr. Joe strike 3PL
'Mr. Joe struck them.'

c. mi a go wid **dem** a maakit. **Object of Preposition**
1SG ASP go with 3PL COP market
'I am going with them to the market.'

d. Dem tek op **dem** bag (an) gaan. **Possessive Pronoun**
3PL take up 3PL bag and gone
'They took up their bags and left.'

2.2.2 *Dem* as a demonstrative

In addition to being the third person plural pronoun, *dem* can function as the plural demonstrative. In section 2.1 we introduced the structure *da-N-ya* or *da-N-de* as well as *dis ya-N-(ya)* or *dat de-N-(de)* to convey the counterparts to English 'this-N' and 'that-N' respectively. If the head noun is plural, *dem* must be used instead as the following examples show:[3]

(8) a. **Dem** ruum ya chaka-chaka.
DEM room RFR.PROX untidy
'These rooms are untidy.'

b. **Dem** ya ruum (ya) chaka-chaka.
DEM RFR.PROX room (RFR.PROX) untidy
'These rooms are untidy.'

Like singular *da, dem* is used to express both proximal and distal deictic information in plural deictic constructions, with the reinforcers *ya* and *de* marking the difference.

[3] *dem (ya/de)-N* is also possible, but only when the nominal phrase functions as a topic, in which case it is following by a pause and resumed by another instance of *dem.*

2.2.3 *Dem* in similative plural constructions

In addition to the associative plural construction, Jamiekan also has a similative plural[4] (Daniel and Moravcsik 2013). Both types of construction refer to non-homogenous groups, however, where associative plurals pick out people associated with the referent of the proper noun, similative plurals pick out nominals that are related in type to the head noun. In this sense, similative plurals function like general extenders (*and stuff, and whatnot*, see Overstreet and Yule 1997, Overstreet 1999, Chesire 2007, for example). The similative plural construction involves *dem*+N+*de/ya*, where the noun is one of a small set like *sitn* or *sinting* 'things' or *sopm* 'something'. While associative plurals are only possible with proper nouns, similative plurals are possible with both inanimate and animate common nouns:

(9)	Taiga	an	dem	sitn	de	(	kil	piipl	evridie	)
	tiger	and	3PL	things	there		kill	people	every day	
	'Tigers and such (kill people every day).'									

In the above example, the inaminate object *taiga* is the identified focus and *an dem sitn de* picks out salient features of this focal object and extends those features to the unmentioned objects that the phrase itself introduces. In so doing, these unidentified objects are placed within the same category as the identified object. So in this instance, *an dem sitn de* references animals related to tigers. If the unmentioned items were in close proximity then the reinforcer is *ya* instead of *de.*

2.2.4 *Dem* as plural marker

As mentioned in the introduction, *dem* can function as a plural marker. When used accordingly, it is phrase final:

(10)	Di	ruum	**dem**	tan	bad.
	DET	room	3PL	stay	badly
	'The rooms are unkempt.'				

In the above example, the absence of *dem* results in a singular reading. At the same time, not every construction requires *dem* in order to have a plural interpretation. We discuss number marking in Jamiekan in the next section.

2.3 Number marking in Jamiekan

Jamiekan has general number, meaning that it has bare nouns in argument positions that are 'outside the number system' (Corbett 2000:10). While the bare form does not commit the speaker to a number there may be a preferred interpretation depending on the sentence:

[4] We thank a CLA audience member for asking us about similative plurals. While the similative and the associative are not expressed via the same construction in Jamiekan, their linguistic expression can be similar or the same in other languages (cf. Mauri 2017 on *ad hoc* categories and the way they are expressed).

(11) a. *bare noun with preferred plural interpretation*
bwai iina di yaad.
boy in DET yard
'Boys are in the yard.'

b. *bare noun with preferred singular interpretation*
Im no gaan bai kyaar!
He EMPH gone buy car
'He has gone ahead (taken it upon himself) to go and purchase a car.' (and perhaps he shouldn`t have)

In examples (11a) and (11b), both plural and singular interpretations are available, but the plural is favoured in (11a) and the singular is favoured in (11b). There is no overt marking to indicate the difference and it is the context that guides the interpretation.

Nominals with overt numerals and quantifiers do not appear with plural marking:

(12) a. di likl bad-brok bwai **dem**
DET little ill-mannered boy 3PL
'the little misbehaving boys'

b. som/chrii likl bad-brok bwai (***dem**)
some/three little ill-mannered boy 3PL
'some/three little misbehaving boys'

Example (12a) is similar to example (2), in that both are referencing specific boys as indicated by the determiner *di.* In both instances *dem* is used to mark plurality. In (12b) however, the quantifier *som* and the numeral *chrii* already indicate that more than one boy is being referenced. The quantifier or numeral appears to be a sufficient indicator of plurality. In fact, it is ungrammatical to use *dem* with these elements. In this sense, Jamiekan patterns with languages like Kambera (an Austronesian language) and Basque in marking number only on definite nominals (Corbett 2001:278-9, see also Ghomeshi 2003 who discusses similar facts about plural marking in Persian).

3. Analysis

In this section we will present our analysis of *dem,* drawing on analyses of associative plural markers in other languages that posit a 'high' plural marker above DP. In doing this we will address the similarities and differences between our analysis and the one presented by Stewart (2011).

3.1 Stewart (2011)

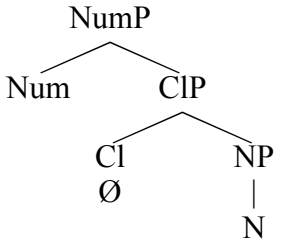
Stewart (2011) argues, contra Bailey (1966) and Mufwene (1986), that *dem* is not a plural marker or pluralizer in Jamiekan.[5] She notes, for instance, that it is not required for a plural

[5] She refers to Jamiekan as Jamaican Creole in her work and uses the abbreviation JC.

interpretation (see (11a) above), and that it does not appear with numerals, demonstratives or quantifiers. Unlike 'regular' plural markers, *dem* cannot appear without the definite determiner *di* and it yields an associative reading with proper names. [6]

Stewart builds her analysis on the idea that nouns in Jamiekan are 'set nouns' (Rijkhoff 2004) that can be individuated or counted in the syntax. This is done via two different projections: Cl(assifier)P and Num(ber)P, corresponding to Borer's (2005) Cl^{max} and $\#^{max}$, respectively.

(13)



Crucially for Stewart, individuation and counting are independent from one another. For instance, a Cl head can give a partitioned singular or plural reading for a mass noun like *mango,* when there is nothing in NumP as shown in (14b). Where the noun has a non-partitioned (mass) reading, as shown in (14c), it has no functional structure above it at all:

(14) a. Mi iit mango yeside
1SG eat mango yesterday
'I ate mangoes/mango yesterday.' [Stewart 2011:376.22]

b. Dem/i swiit, yu si!
3PL/3SG sweet 2SG see
'They were so sweet.' [Stewart 2011:376.23a]

c. Piis liiv uova iina di pliet!
piece leave over in DEF plate
'There is a piece remaining on the plate.' [Stewart 2011:376.23b]

In contrast, numerals heading Num can be interpreted as giving specification without individuation when there is no Cl head. Thus in (15), according to Stewart, a distributive reading whereby each man carried a different suitcase is not possible.

(15) Chrii man kyari wahn grip
three man carry IND suitcase
*'Three men each carried suitcase.'
'Three men (together) carried a (one large) suitcase.'[Stewart 2011:376.26]

[6]The one other fact about *dem* that she identifies as being atypical for a plural marker is that it is only available for third person referents, not first person or direct address (p. 269). However, in a footnote she cites Patrick (2004:229) as suggesting that this may be because of its diachronic connection to the third person plural pronoun, from which it has grammaticalized.

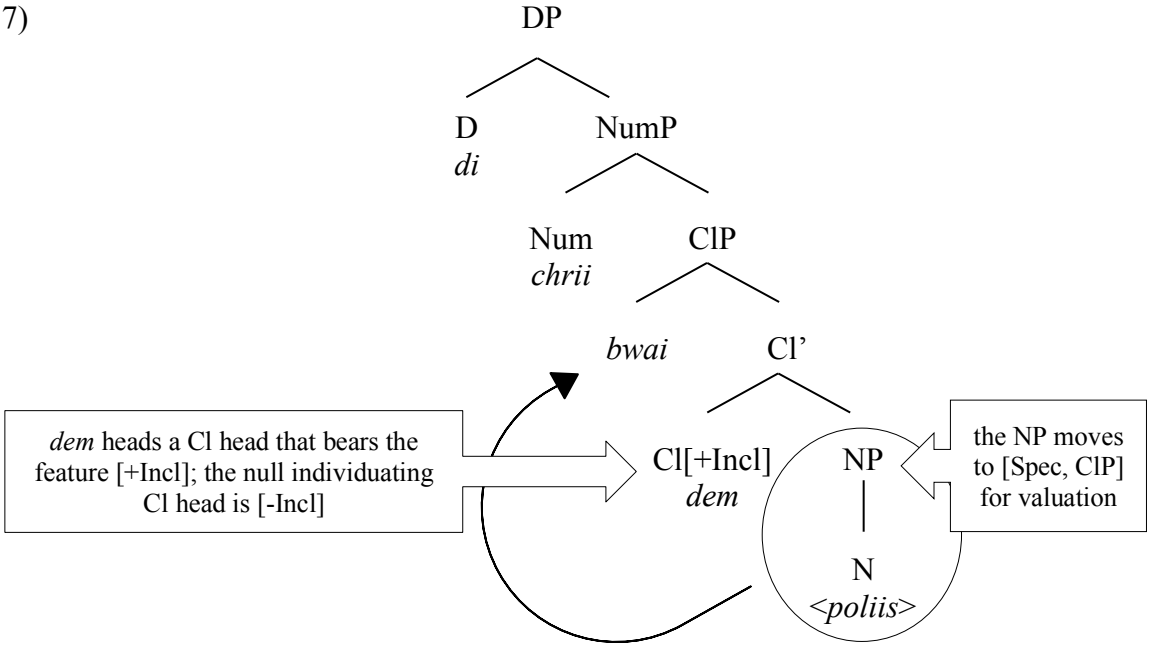
Stewart proposes that *dem* is in complementary distribution with the individuating Cl-head. Thus while (16a) below can, but need not, have an individuated interpretation where there are three killing events, (16b) represents one incident due to a group interpretation for the subject:

(16) a. Chrii bwai kil dem faada
three boy kill 3PL.POSS father
'Three boys killed their fathers.' [Stewart 2011:379.29]

b. Di chrii bwai **dem** kil dem faada.
DEF three boy INCL kill 3PL.POSS father
'The three boys (together) killed their father.' [Stewart 2011:379.30]

To summarize, Stewart proposes that *dem* is in complementary distribution with a null individuating head under Cl, and that ClP can occur independently of NumP. In order to derive the correct order of constituents within the nominal phrase, she proposes that the NP comprising the head noun and any adjectival modifiers, moves to the specifier of ClP for valuation. One remaining issue concerns the obligatory co-occurrence of *dem* with the definite determiner *di.* She attributes this to the semantics of *dem* which not only yields a group interpretation but also involves inclusiveness. Given that inclusiveness is one of the semantic features associated with definiteness (Lyons 1999) the connection between *dem* and *di* is semantic.

(17)



In the next section we will present our analysis which differs primarily in the syntactic position of *dem*.

3.2 A unified analysis of additive and associative *dem*

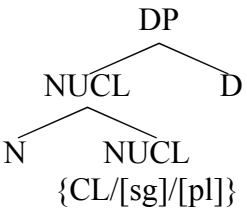
Our analysis starts with the associative meaning of *dem*. We note that recent analyses of associative plural markers posit a syntactic position for them above DP. For instance, Nakanishi & Ritter (2009) discuss *-tati,* an optional plural marker in Japanese that can have an associative or additive interpretation. In the following examples PN and CN stands for proper and common nouns, respectively:

(18) (a) PN-*tati*: ASSOCIATIVE
Mika-**tati**-ga sono biru-o torikakonda.
Mika-TATI-NOM that building-ACC surrounded
'Mika and her friends/family/classmates surrounded that building.'
[Nakanishi & Ritter 2009:1.1]

(b) CN-*tati*: ADDITIVE
Gakusei-**tati**-ga sono biru-o torikakonda.
student- TATI-NOM that building-ACC surrounded
'(The) students surrounded that building.' [Nakanishi & Ritter 2009:1.2]

They treat associative *-tati* as a group marker and note that while additive plural markers occur in NUCL (Borer 2005, this corresponds to Stewart's ClP), the syntactic category GROUP (GRP) appears above DP:

(19)



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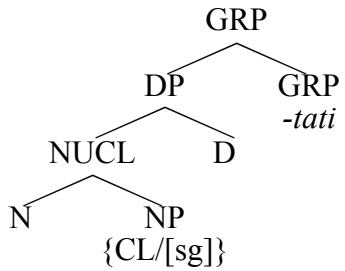


Under Nakanishi & Ritter's analysis *-tati* is always associative but receives a "pseudo-additive reading" when the nominal with which it occurs has descriptive properties (true of common nouns and 3rd person pronouns). Thus the interpretation is derived from the semantics of the nominal (see also Nakanishi & Tomioka 2004).

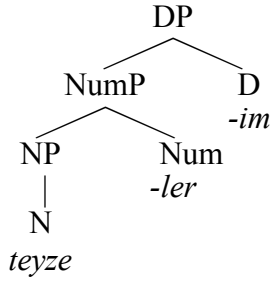
In a similar vein, Görgülü (2011) discusses Turkish in which the additive and associative plural is spelled out by the same morpheme:

(21) (a) Teyze-**ler**-im
aunt-PL-1SG
'my aunts'

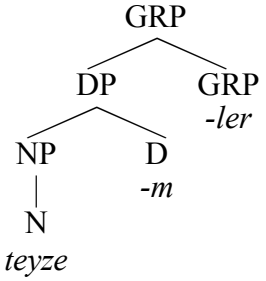
(b) Teyze-m-**ler**
aunt-1SG-PL
'my aunt and her family/friends/associates'
[Görgülü 2011:75.10]

Like Nakanishi & Ritter (2009), Görgülü generates the associative marker above DP as the head of a Group Phrase while the additive marker is the head of NumP:[7]

(22) ADDITIVE PLURAL

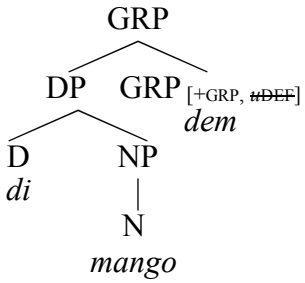


(23) ASSOCIATIVE PLURAL



Returning to Jamiekan we note that Stewart (2011) provides compelling arguments for *dem* being a group marker rather than a plural marker. We therefore suggest that it always heads a Group Phrase (GRP) above DP. We further propose that *dem* carries a [*u*DEF] feature in addition to being specified as [GRP] and as such selects a DP (which is headed by the definite determiner *di*).

(24)



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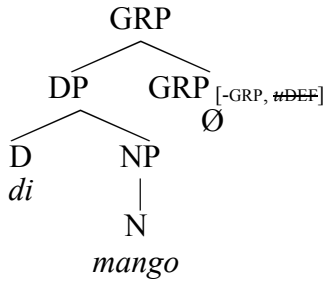


We represent GRP as being headed by a contrastive feature [+/- Grp]. This predicts that in the absence of *dem,* which is the spell out of [+Grp], the nominal phrase will be interpreted as being singular. Recall from example (14) above that the bare noun *mango* can be interpreted as singular, plural or mass. Crucially, in the context of the definite article *di*, *mango* can only be resumed by a singular pronoun suggesting that the presence of *dem* is contrastive:

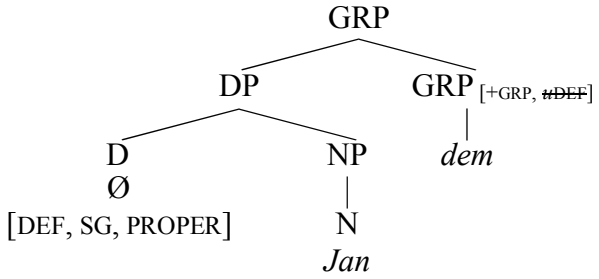
(26) (a) Mi iit di mango yeside
1SG eat DEF mango yesterday
'I ate the mango yesterday.'

[7]Another example of a high number marker comes from Mandarin *-men* which is contrastive on pronouns, but can also appear on animate nominals contributing a definite sense. Cowper & Hall (2012, 2014) analyze *-men* as a modifier on D.

(b) *Dem/i swiit, yu si!
*3PL/3SG sweet 2SG see
'*They/It was so sweet.'

We are now in a position to extend this analysis of *dem* as the head of GRP to its use as an associative marker with proper names. We follow Ghomeshi & Massam (2009) in assuming that proper names occur with a null D bearing the features [DEF, SG, PROPER]. Given that *dem* selects a DP, it can co-occur with a proper DP:

(27)



We derive the associative vs. additive reading from the combination of [+GRP], with the common vs. the proper determiner. In combination with a singular, definite, proper determiner, *dem* identifies a group of associates rather than a group of nouns of the same type. We note that when a name is used with a common rather than a proper determiner, *dem* is not associative:

(28) di Jan **dem** tingk se dem braita dan evribadi els
DEF John 3PL think REL 3PL brighter than everybody else
'The John's believe that they are smarter than everyone else.'

We have already noted that our analysis of *dem* as a group marker above DP is in line with recent proposals in the literature for associative markers in other languages. We also note here that connection between *dem* and the definite article *di* is expressed syntactically via a selection feature on *dem* rather than as a semantic association between Cl and D under Stewart's (2011) analysis. Another possible advantage of our analysis is that it does not require movement of the NP around the Cl-head. In fact, given that *dem* can be used as a pleonastic or resumptive pronoun with topicalized definite subjects (see (29)), we speculate that such a construction could be the source of the plural use of *dem*. Under this hypothesis, merging *dem* in a right-peripheral position would simply be a matter of reanalysis:[8]

(29) Di chrii bwai (**dem**) <pause> dem kil dem faada.
DEF three boy (3PL) 3PL kill 3PL father
'The three boys, they killed their father.' [adapted from Stewart 2011:379.30]

[8] There seems to be a difference in pronunciation between plural *dem* and *dem* as a subject pronoun, with the latter sounding more like *dehn* [dẽ]. This alternate pronunciation seems to be specific to subjects and is worthy of further exploration.

Our analysis does not address Stewart's (2011) claims about Jamiekan nouns as set nouns and the role of a functional head below Number Phrase (NumP) that serves to individuate those nouns. These claims are not incompatible with the idea that the head instantiating [+GRP] is above DP rather than a complement of NumP and are intriguing avenues to explore further.

4. Conclusion

In this paper we have presented two related uses of *dem* in Jamiekan, a multi-functional element. We have proposed that its function as a plural marker that obligatorily co-occurs with the definite article *di* and its use as an associative marker with proper names can be explained if in both cases it heads a Group Phrase above DP. Differences in its interpretation follow from the differences in the features of D. This analysis also lends support to the idea that number on pronouns is different (Ghomeshi & Massam 2018) given that plural first and second person pronouns in Jamiekan do not involve *dem*. Finally, we have speculated that the diachronic source for [+GRP] *dem* may have come from the use of *dem* as a pleonastic subject pronoun that follows a topicalized subject.

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