On the Non-Universality of Functional Projections and the Effects on Parametrized Variation: Evidence from Creoles

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1 Introduction

In this paper, I address three crucial issues in the realm of universals and parametrized variation: Are functional projections universal? If they are not (as Iatridou (1990), Ouhalla (1991) and Speas (1991) first proposed), how do natural languages such as Creoles develop them? Finally, if a set of Creoles develop inflection (such as Tense inflection), what are the syntactic effects and can parametrized variation be predicted between the Creoles with inflectional verbal morphology (Capeverdean Creole & Lousiana Creole for instance) and those without?

Chomsky (1993) attempted to reduce parametric variations (such as overt V-raising or lack thereof) to morphological properties. In this sense, his approach is compatible with that of Pollock (1989), Vikner (1995), Rohrbacher (1993), and Roberts (1993). Furthermore, he assumed that LF is irrelevant in detecting variations in languages, as distinct properties may be detected only at PF. In other words, if parametric differences among languages such as raised phrases or phrases in-situ are not detectable at LF, one has to rely on morphological properties that are reflected at PF. So, languages with V-raising, like French, and those without V-raising, like English, are not distinguishable at LF. From the perspective of learnability, the child has to rely on the detectable properties at PF (morphological properties) to set the parameters of a given language correctly.

On this issue, this paper will demonstrate how in the process of developing inflectional morphology and functional projections, Creoles instantiate specific morpho-syntactic constraints which shed a new light on crucial typological distinction: Creoles which develop inflection, develop V-raising, whereas Creoles without tense inflection do not display verb movement. The examination of V-features or V properties in Creoles will lead to new conclusions in terms of their verbal categorization. Furthermore, we may say that there is a clear split between Creole languages with regard to V-raising, as this correlates with other properties that have been taken to indicate the Split Infl Parameter, following Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998) (henceforth, B&T). More precisely, I will argue that some Creoles are set with the Split Infl Parameter (as they give evidence of additional Spec positions), whereas others are not.

Additionally, while syntacticians have been mostly preoccupied with the syntactic effects of the loss of verbal morphology (as with the English language), the reverse focus of this paper is to examine what happens when languages such as Creoles develop Tense inflection.

This paper is divided into 5 sections: In the first section, I will introduce the underlying theoretical assumptions upon which this paper is based, following Iatridou (1990), Ouhalla (1991) and B&T (1998). In the second section, I will summarize Baptista (to appear) and will contrast Creole languages including Capeverdean, Guinea-Bissau Creole, Haitian, Chinook Jargon and Louisiana Creole. In the third part, I will show the points where my analysis joins and also contributes additional stipulations to B&T (1998) in the light of the behavior of Creole languages. In the fourth section, I will provide additional evidence for the existence of more specifier positions in the clausal architecture of some Creoles. Finally, in the fifth section, I will provide concluding remarks regarding the proposed theoretical analysis.

2 Theoretical Assumptions

In this section, I present the theoretical assumptions from three different sources upon which my analysis is based.

2.1 Iatridou (1990)

Iatridou (1990) is among the first scholars to challenge the belief that the data from one language in favor of a functional projection are sufficient to justify postulating the existence of the same functional categories in all languages. In other words, she questioned the universality of functional categories. She proposed instead that languages vary with respect to the functional categories they instantiate, and that evidence for the existence of specific functional categories will have to be found in each language separately.[1] This basic tenet will be at the core of the analysis we propose in this paper.

2.2 Ouhalla (1991)

Ouhalla's theory of parametrization assumed that parameters are associated with individual lexical items as part of the information specified in their lexical entries and that the set of lexical items with which parameters are

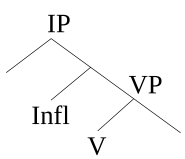
[1] She argues specifically that there is no AgrP in English or even French (contra Pollock (1989)), and proposes alternative analyses to account for the presence of verbs in a pre-adverbial position in languages like French among others and for the different word order (cf. Iatridou, 1990:563).

associated is in fact restricted to the class of inflectional, meaning functional categories. Within this framework, we will argue in this paper that Creoles with verbal inflection project extra functional categories accounting for specific word orders and syntactic constructions that are not found in Creoles without verbal inflection. In this respect, Ouhalla (1990: 8) argues that functional categories have idiosyncratic properties which differ from one language to another, and that crucially the selectional properties of functional categories differ along typological lines. In this paper, we will try to corroborate Ouhalla (1990:17) and Baker (1988) by demonstrating that the presence of an affixal category in a given construction triggers movement processes which rearrange the order of constituents and that such movement processes do not apply in languages endowed with non-affixal categories.

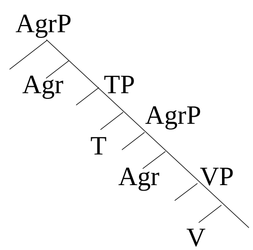
2.3 Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998)

Following works by Iatridou (1990), Speas (1991), Ouhalla (1991), Bobaljik (1995) and Thráinsson (1996), B&T (1998) make the following hypothesis: Assuming that the inventory of functional projections dominating VP is not universal (e.g., the presence of Agr-Phrases is a point of parametric variation), current assumptions about locality, predict obligatory verb raising in a language with Agr-Phrases, but obligatory V in situ in a simple IP-VP configuration. B & T (1998) predict a correlation with other morpho-syntactic phenomena reflecting the presence or absence of AgrPs, the other pieces of evidence being "extra" subject and object positions, transitive expletive constructions, multiple inflectional affixes, etc…
Consider the structural configurations in (1):

(1) a.



b.



With regard to the figures in (1), Thráinsson (1996:262) states:

(2) Languages that have a positive value for the SIP (Split Infl Parameter) have AgrS-P and TP as separate functional projections (1b). Languages with a negative value of the SIP are characterized by an unsplit IP (1a)).

The interaction of these assumptions entails that in languages with a simple, unsplit IP, the finite verb must not raise to Infl throughout the derivation. Furthermore, in languages with a split IP, the verb must raise out of the VP and into the IP complex.

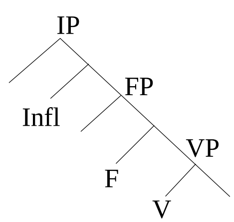
B&T's (1998:39) argument is based on the following three-fold assumption:

(3) a. The features of a projection are those of its head.
b. Movement occurs solely for the purposes of feature checking.
c. Features are checked in all and only local relations to a head viz., head-specifier, head complement, head-head (adjoined heads).

So, crucially, B&T (1998) maintain that all local relations are checking relations. Note that there is no motivation for subsequent (i.e. LF) movement of the verb to Infl, as in Chomsky (1991). The relevant features of both Infl and V are satisfied in situ; movement would therefore be superfluous and is, as a result, forbidden at any stage of the derivation.

Consider now the effects of introducing additional functional projections between IP and VP. In (4), B&T label this an abstract FP:

(4)



They assume that the features of Infl and V are such that they must enter into a checking relationship at some point in the derivation. In (4) though, VP is not in a local relation with Infl, hence the verb must raise to Infl to check features.

So, B & T proposed the Verb Position Diagnostic stated in (5):

(5) Verb Position Diagnostic (B&T 1998:43)
a. If the finite verb is in VP in simple non-V2 finite environments, then no functional heads intervene between IP and VP; moreover, there is no functional head dominating IP that has features to check with V(P).
b. If the finite verb raises out of the VP in simple non-V2, finite environments, then there must be at least two heads in the IP complex, the higher of that, at least, must have features to check with V(P).

There is a clear split within VO Germanic languages concerning the position of the finite verb.

On this issue, B &T (1998) argue that this is exactly what is expected for these languages on independent grounds, especially on the basis on verbal morphology and the syntax of argument positions. They contrast the case of Icelandic which displays V-raising in non-V2 environments, object shift and transitive expletives, to other Germanic languages like Swedish and Norwegian which do not exhibit such features. They show that postulating the Split Infl parameter helps predict additional Spec positions in one group of Germanic languages over another.[2]

In the next section, we will examine in a comparative way the behavior of various Creole verbal systems and show how postulating non universal functional projections may correctly predict different syntactic constructions among them.

3 The Case of Creoles

3.1 A General Introduction

As a rule, Creole languages display a lack or at most minimal verbal inflectional morphology, which would naturally lead us to predict that their clausal architecture would be of the English type, meaning that they would not be set with the Split Infl Parameter. On this matter, I address in this section the following issues: Given that Creoles display different positions for anterior markers, and that a few Creoles even develop inflection (meaning Tense inflection, cf. Table 3 in Appendix), it is worth considering the syntactic effects of those various positions. Furthermore, we will investigate if parametrized variation can be predicted between the Creoles with inflectional verbal morphology (Capeverdean Creole and Louisiana Creole for instance) and those without. In summary, I try to show that the position of anterior markers may be symptomatic of a different clausal architecture for the Creoles under investigation. At the theoretical level, I argue that Creoles with inflectional tense markers may have additional heads and specifiers in their clausal structure accounting for uncommon syntactic constructions (in the realm of Creole languages) such as V-raising, subject-verb inversion and post-Neg subjects. In other words, I explore a constellation of uncommon syntactic constructions that I correlate with the presence of an inflectional

[2] For reasons of space, I refer the reader to B&T (1998:48-54) for specific examples of V-raising, object shift and transitive expletives in Icelandic.

anterior marker. As a result, different types of clausal architectures may be generated.

Furthermore, while the syntactic effects of the loss of verbal morphology (as with the English language) have been widely studied, the reverse effects of morphological development and its syntactic ramifications have been granted scarce attention. This is a gap that this paper attempts to bridge.

On this issue, I summarize in the next section Baptista (to appear) where I give evidence of V-raising correlated to the distribution of anterior markers in various Creoles. I show that the affixal nature of Tense in some Creoles do have syntactic effects on word order. More precisely, I will discuss the absence of Tense inflection in Haitian, Chinook Jargon and Guinea-Bissau, and show how the behavior of verbs in those languages can be contrasted to that of verbs in Capeverdean and Louisiana Creoles (cf. Tables 1 and 2 in Appendix).

3.2 A Summary of Baptista (to appear)

In this section, I briefly summarize Baptista (to appear) where I show evidence of V-raising in Capeverdean Creole and contrast this to verbal behavior in a variety of other Creoles, may they be European or non-European based. I apply the traditional diagnostics for V-raising: A verb found in a pre-Neg position, or before floating quantifiers and VP internal adverbs is believed to have moved to such a position.

The Creoles under consideration are Capeverdean, Haitian, Guinea-Bissau Creole, Louisiana Creole and Chinook-Jargon.

3.2.1 The Case of Capeverdean Creole

Here, I examine the position of verbs with regard to the negative marker *ka* and pay particularly attention to the copula-like morpheme *e*, which is the only Capeverdean verb (it is more like a light verb or copular pronoun) that is found in a pre-Neg position. I also examine the position of the verb with regard to adverbs and floating quantifiers.

At this point, it is worth emphasizing that Capeverdean is exceptionally endowed with a Tense inflection, a feature highly unusual in the realm of Creole languages. If the past tense morpheme *–ba* is suffixed to stative verbs, it expresses simple Past, and if it is suffixed to nonstative verbs, it expresses past-before-past. A bare nonstative verb expresses a simple Past and a bare stative verb expresses the Present Tense.

3.2.1.1 The Position of Verbs Vis-à-Vis ka

When expressing sentential negation, Capeverdean *ka* must precede the main verb, as shown in (6).

(6) a. João **ka** staba na kaza.
João Neg was in house
'João was not at home.'
b.*João staba **ka** na kaza.
João was Neg at home

There is, however, one interesting exception to this generalization: Whereas all verbs follow Negation, the copula *e* generally appears in a pre-Neg position, as shown in the next subsection.

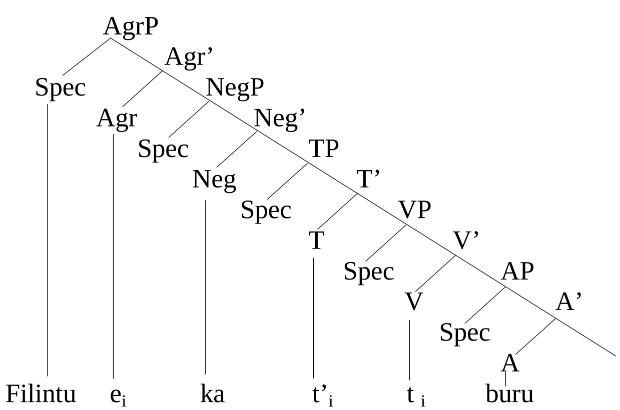
3.2.1.2 The Position of e Vis-à-Vis ka

The morpheme *e* is pre-Neg and allows the negative morpheme to immediately precede adjectival as in (7) and nominal predicates (cf. Baptista, 1997).

(7) a. Filintu e **ka** buru.
Filintu e Neg stupid
'Filintu is not stupid.'
b.*Filintu **ka** e buru.
Filintu Neg e stupid.

I propose the structure in (8) for the sentence in (7):

(8)



In summary, the copula *e* raises overtly from V^0-to-T^0 to Agr^0, landing in a pre-Neg position. On this issue, I give evidence in the next subsections that verbs can move overtly from V^0-to-T^0 at least past a certain class of adverbials and floating quantifiers.

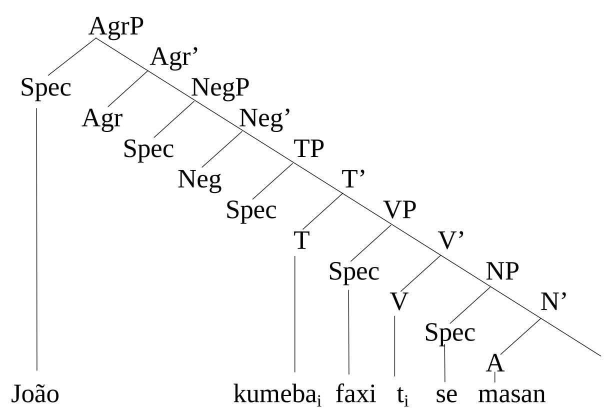
3.2.1.3 Capeverdean Verb Position With Regard to Adverbs

It is generally assumed that whether the finite verb is in V^0 or not can be determined from its position relative to a sentence-medial adverbial (i.e., an adverbial that follows the subject but precedes the complement of the verb). As shown in (9), the verb is found in a pre-adverbial position in Capeverdean Creole with this class of adverbs. As the verb precedes the adverbial, it means that it has left VP and moved from V to T^0 (at least and possibly all the way to Agr) to check Tense (and possibly Agr) features; If the verb followed the adverbial, it would still be in V^0.

(9) a. João kumeba **faxi** se masan.
João had eaten quickly his apple
'João had eaten his apple fast.'
b.*João **faxi** kumeba se masan.
João quickly had eaten his lesson
c.***Faxi** João kumeba se masan.
quickly João had eaten his apple
d.?João kumeba se masan **faxi**.
João had eaten his apple quickly

The medial adverbial is assumed to left-adjoin to VP, as illustrated in (10):

(10)



Let us now turn to some evidence from floating quantifiers which provide another diagnostic for verb movement.

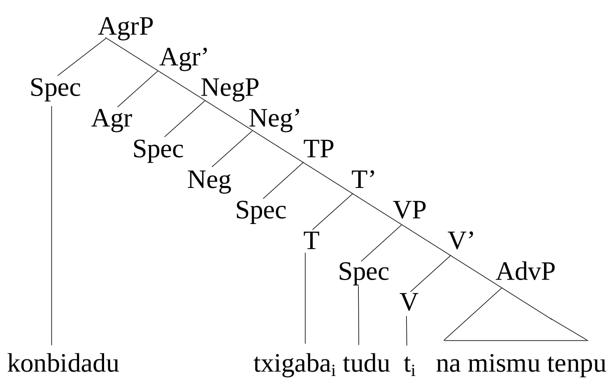
3.2.1.4 Quantifier Float in Capeverdean

Capeverdean displays the same type of quantifier float as French; hence, a floating quantifier may be postverbal, as in (11b), or preverbal, as in (11a). (11b) provides us with crucial evidence that the verb has moved to T^0 at least, given that the verb precedes the floating quantifier which has remained *in situ*.

(11) a. **Tudu** konbidadu **txigaba** na mismu tenpu.
all guests had arrived in same time
'All the guests had arrived at the same time.'
b. Konbidadu **txigaba** **tudu** na mismu tenpu.
guests had arrived all in same time
'All the guests had arrived at the same time.'

The tree in (12) crucially shows that the verb has moved to T^0 at least (and possibly to Agr), past the quantifier. In this respect, floating quantifiers, just like VP-adjoined adverbs provide clear evidence of V-raising in Capeverdean Creole.

(12)



In summary, adverbials and floating quantifiers provide clear diagnostics for overt V-raising in Capeverdean. Interestingly, evidence for additional argument positions involving subject-verb inversion with nonclitics and full DPs and post-Neg subjects lead us to believe that there are more Spec positions than is usually expected in this type of languages. We will examine those constructions in section 4. Before we do, we will briefly compare the behavior of the Capeverdean verb to Haitian, Guinea-Bissau Creole, Louisiana Creole and Chinook Jargon.

3.2.2 The Case of Haitian Creole (DeGraff, 1996)

The syntax of the Haitian verb was described thoroughly in DeGraff (1996). In terms of agreement patterns, Haitian has no overt subject-verb agreement (DeGraff, 1996:11). Haitian has TMA markers that are all preverbal and, crucially, the language has no verbal suffixes. In the presence of VP-internal adverbials, the verb always remains in V^0, as is clearly shown in DeGraff (1996:17).

Consider the Haitian sentence in (13). The Haitian verb cannot raise past VP-adjoined adverbs, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (13b).

(13) a. Bouki te ap mal manje. (Haitian)
Bouki TMA TMA badly eat
'Bouki was eating badly.'
b.*Bouki te ap manje mal.
Bouki TMA TMA eat badly

The different verbal behavior between Capeverdean and Haitian would at first seem to be due to the Tense suffix *-ba* in Capeverdean, which is non-existent in Haitian. Haitian is endowed instead with a preverbal Tense marker, as shown in Table 2 in the Appendix.

3.2.3 The Case of Guinea-Bissau Creole

As described in Kihm (1994), Guinea-Bissau Creole does not have V-raising past Neg or VP internal adverbials, as shown in (14) and (15). It should be noted that Guinea-Bissau does have a postverbal unbound Tense marker, *ba* (cf. Table 2 in Appendix). However, the major difference between Capeverdean *–ba* and Guinea-Bissau Creole *ba* is that *–ba* is a verbal inflection found exclusively bound to verb stems in Capeverdean, whereas *ba* is a non-inflectional (unbound) Tense marker in Guinea-Bissau found not only after verbs, but also after adjectival and nominal predicates.

Let us examine the position of the Guinea-Bissau verb vis-à-vis Negation, VP-adverbials and floating quantifiers.

With regard to Negation,Guinea-Bissau *ka* behaves just like Capeverdean *ka*. When it modifies a verb, it always immediately precedes it, as shown in (14):

(14) Ze **ka** **riba** inda. (Guinea-Bissau Creole)
Ze Neg return yet
‘Ze has not returned yet.’ (Kihm, 1994:42)

In this sense, just as with Capeverdean ordinary verbs, *ka* cannot be used as a diagnosis for V-raising. A contrast between the two Creoles however, arises with respect to VP-adverbials. Indeed, as illustrated by the example in (15), the VP-adverbial *▯iw*, “a lot”, cannot occur in a preverbal position, as shown in (15b) (Kihm, personal communication):

(15) a. Jon ta **kiri** Eliza **▯iw**. (Guinea-Bissau Creole)
Jon TMA like Eliza a lot
‘Jon likes Eliza a lot.’
b.*Jon ta **kiri** **▯iw** Eliza.
Jon TMA likes a lot Eliza

The unbound nature of Guinea-Bissau *ba* leads us to predict that the Guinea-Bissau verb remains *in situ* and does not move past VP-internal adverbials, as it has no features to check in T^0. This prediction is however not borne out with regard to floating quantifiers. Indeed, the Guinea-Bissau Creole quantifier *tudu* can be stranded and the verb can raise past it, just as in the case of Capeverdean. This is shown in (16):

(16) a. Konbidadu **▯iga** **tudu** na mismu tenpu. (Guinea-Bissau Creole)
guests arrived all at same time
‘The guests arrived all at the same time.’
b. Konbidadu **tudu** **▯iga** na mismu tenpu.
guests all arrived at same time
‘The guests arrived all at the same time.’

The example in (16a) shows that the verb can raise past the quantifier *tudu* but also has the option of remaining *in situ*, as illustrated in (16b). The data in (16) challenges the predictions we had made about the Guinea-Bissau Creole verb not moving, as it does not have any feature to check in T^0. This leads us to two possible explanations, none of which I can support over the other at this point: A first assumption is that Guinea-Bissau Creole is in the process of developing more functional projections, but does not have yet as many specifier positions as Capeverdean Creole. A second explanation is that this Creole demonstrates what some scholars (cf. Sportiche (1988), Kayne (1975), Bobaljik (1995)) have tried to prove for some time, namely that floating quantifiers and VP-internal adverbials do not occupy the same position. This would explain why in Guinea-Bissau Creole, the verb may be found in a pre-quantifier position but not in a pre-adverbial position.

In the next section, we consider the verbal behavior of Louisiana Creole.

3.2.4 The Case of Louisiana Creole

As described in Rottet (1992), there is in mesolectal Lousiana Creole a morphosyntactic alternation between full and truncated verb stems which is absent in the basilectal varieties. More precisely, the alternation is ø versus *–e*. Hence, a verb like *mõzhe* "to eat", can alternate between the full stem *mõzhe* and the truncated stem *mõzh*. Rottet (1992), who draws most of his data from Neumann (1985, 1987), notes that only the short verb stems undergo verb movement, whereas the full verb stems do not. For instance, in negative constructions, Rottet observes that the long stem form does not move, hence remains in a post-Neg position, whereas the short stem form moves and appears in a pre-Neg position. This is illustrated in (17a) and (b) respectively:

(17) a. Na lõtõ mo **pa** **mõzhe** gratõ (Guinea-Bissau)
PRS for a long time I Neg eat cracklin
'I haven't eaten cracklin for a long time.'
b. Mo **mõzh pa** gratõ.
I eat Neg cracklin
'I don't eat cracklin.' (in Rottet (1992:277) from Neumann (1985:321))

Short and long verb stems also show a discrepancy with regard to NP adverbs, such as *zhame*, "never". Such adverbs must precede the long verb stem, as in (18), whereas they can occur before or after the short verb stem, as illustrated in (19):

(18) a. Mo (te, se, sa, …) **zhame zhõngle** õho sa. (Guinea-Bissau)
I (ANT, IRR, FUT) never think about that
'I never thought/would think/will have thought about that.'
b. Mo (pa) **zhame** (te,…) **zhõgle** õho sa.
I (Neg) never (ANT,…) think about that
'I never thought about that.'
(in Rottet (1992:267) from Neumann (1985:330))

(19) a. Mo **zhame marsh** ni-pje deor. (Guinea-Bissau)
I never walk barefoot outside
'I never walk barefoot outside.'

b. Mo **marsh** (pa) **zhame** ni-pje deor.
I walk (Neg) never barefoot outside
'I never walk barefoot outside.'
(in Rottet (1992:267) from Neumann (1985:330))

The examples in (18) and (19) show that the short verb stem moves past VP adverbials, whereas long verb stems do not. This leads us to the second important observation: The occurrence of verb stems in a pre-Neg position is an innovation in Louisiana Creole. Neumann makes this explicit (Neumann, 1987:20) and this is to be correlated to the emergence of short verb stems. Then the following question arises: How can we account for the different behavior between short and long verb stems? Rottet's analysis is that verb movement in the present tense occurs, due to the presence of a *null* tense inflection which is in T^0; and this morpheme is an affix and a trigger of V-raising (Rottet, 1992:278). The long stem in contrast does not have any inflectional morphology, hence have no affix in T^0 to act as a trigger for movement (Rottet, 1992:280). As a result, the long verb stem remains *in situ*.

The case of Louisiana Creole brings an interesting question to light. It is precisely the verb stem with no overt inflection that raises to T^0, as opposed to the long stem. Note indeed in the verb forms above that the final *e* in *mõzhe* can be considered an inflection, albeit an infinitival inflection. The infinitival nature of this inflection may be preventing the raising, as it denotes the lack of Tense on the verb. Rottet argues that a *null* affix or inflectional morpheme attracts the verb to T^0. This analysis is in sharp contrast with current assumptions that *overt* morphology triggers V-raising. I would argue that the symptoms of V-raising in Louisiana Creole in the absence of overt morphology demonstrates that V-raising is occurring not due to morphology but to structural properties of the language (i.e. Split IP). From a learnability perspective, it could be postulated that a mere contrast between an inflected verbal form and a non-inflected counterpart may be all the clue the child needs to trigger V-raising (Table 2 in the Appendix shows the distribution of Tense markers in Capeverdean and Louisiana Creoles).

3.2.5 The Case of Chinook Jargon (Vrzíc, 1997)

In this section, we examine a non Indo-European Creole, Chinook Jargon (henceforth JC), and see that in CJ, as in English, the verb typically follows VP-adverbs as in (20) below. This test suggests that the verb in CJ does not move out of VP, hence there is no overt verb movement.

(20) a. Shoset **ayak** **eskom** iht lain. (Chinook Jargon)
Josette quickly take one rein
'Josette quickly grabbed one of the reins.' (Vrzíc, 1997:4)
b.*Shoset **eskom ayak** iht lain.
Josette take quickly one rein

Vrzíc (1997) notes that CJ verb carries no overt morphological markings for either tense or agreement. Also there are no free functional morphemes comparable to the Tense Mood Aspect markers in other Creoles. Tense definition can depend on the context of discourse or be introduced by adverbs.

The brief comparison just made between the five Creoles, Capeverdean, Haitian, Guinea-Bissau Creole, Louisiana Creole and CJ shows the complexity of the situation. However, if we assume a Split IP for Capeverdean and Louisiana Creoles correlated to verbal inflection, this will correctly predict the ability of their verbs to raise, whereas a simple IP in Haitian, Chinook Jargon and possibly in Guinea-Bissau accounts for why the verbs in these latter Creoles remain *in-situ*.

In the next section, I consider further corroborating evidence from Capeverdean Creole for assuming a structural motivation for V-raising.

4 Further Evidence for the Split Infl Parameter

This section will focus on syntactic constructions in Capeverdean Creole which may be providing further evidence for a Split Infl Parameter for this particular Creole.

4.1 Inflectional Anterior Marker

The first piece of evidence was already introduced and resides in the inflectional verbal marker. If one assumes the structures suggested in (27), with a TP and an AgrP[3] as different functional projections, and if one assumes furthermore that the verb in the VP needs to check some features with the Agr-head, then it will have to move to T^0 at least to do so. For reasons of space, I refer the reader to the tree in (10), illustrating such movement. In the next section, we consider further evidence for additional spec positions.

[3] Note that Iatridou (1990) claims that AgrP is not necessary to account for those facts.

4.2 Additional Argument Positions

The structure proposed in (10) also helps predict that there may be two subject positions in Capeverdean. Indeed, if one assumes that Capeverdean has a split IP, one of the possible implications is that Capeverdean would have two subject positions (one in Spec AgrP and the other in Spec TP). This would account for uncommon syntactic constructions (in the realm of Creoles) such as subject verb inversion with full DPs and post-Neg subjects, as illustrated by the examples in (21) and (22).

Consider (21), where the subject and the verb have been inverted:

(21) Es ba konbida Nho Lobo un badju na Ilheu. **Ba kruja, ba ranha**,
they went invite Mr. Wolf a dance at Ilheu. Went owl, went spider,
ba korbu, ba otu pasu.
went crow, went other birds
'They went to invite Mr. Wolf to a dance at Ilheu. The owl went, the spider went, the crow went, the other birds went.' (Meintel, 1975:247)

Assuming that the verb has moved to Agr^0, the subject can be then argued to be in Spec-TP, a possible subject position, as has been proposed in Jonas and Bobaljik (1993). This is shown in the tree in (23) below. Note that to assume that the verb only has moved to T^0 would imply that the subject remains in Spec-VP, which is problematic, as it is a caseless position.

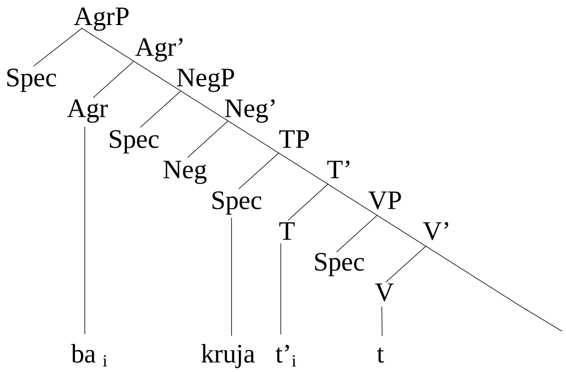
Furthermore, for the Imperative mood, the subject is obligatory found in the noncanonical post-Neg position, as illustrated by (22):

(22) a. Ka bu bai!
Neg you leave
'Don't leave!'
b.*Bu ka bai!
you Neg leave

Once again, to accommodate this word order, one needs to postulate that the pronominal subject is in Spec-TP and the verb in V, as there is no Tense features to be checked higher up in the tree.

So, the clausal architecture we would assume for Capeverdean Creole is as in (23):

(23)



Several subject positions are symptomatic of several types of positions to accommodate the distribution we have observed. To my knowledge, this is not an option available to other Creoles.

5 Concluding Remarks

To summarize, we have explored B&T (1998), who proposed that a structural account for V-raising is more explanatory than strength of features, as triggering V-movement. B&T's main assumption is that if there is an extra projection intervening between the V^0 and the head against which the V^0 has to check features, then the V^0 has to raise out of the VP. Otherwise, it does not. More precisely, they propose that separate and clearly separable tense and agreement markers count as evidence for the language learner for hypothesizing a Split IP, and different functional projections. Once one has more than one functional projection above the VP containing verbal features that the V needs to check, the V must raise out of the VP to do so. Otherwise, it does not have to raise, under Bobaljik and Thráinsson's theory. Their theory predicts that Haitian and CJ do not have V-raising because they have an IP structure. In contrast, Louisiana Creole and Capeverdean allow V-raising due to their Split IP, while Creoles such as Guinea-Bissau may still be in a stage of functional projection development.

Interestingly, B&T argued that the availability of extra subject positions is crucial to allow Transitive Expletive Constructions in Icelandic. I would like to add to such claim that extra positions may also result into different types of constructions involving not necessarily transitive expletives or object shift, but instead subject verb inversion and post Neg subjects, as illustrated by Capeverdean Creole.

Finally, in principle, B&T (1998:64) do not rule out the possibility that a language with poor verbal inflection may be endowed with a split IP (diagnosed with verb raising or extra argument positions). I hope to have shown that Creoles may instantiate just such a case. Crucially, from a learnability perspective, we could argue that a mere contrast between an inflected verbal form and a non-inflected counterpart may be all the clue the child needs to trigger V-raising in Creoles such as Capeverdean or Louisiana Creole.

Appendix

Creoles	V-Raising Past Neg	V-R past Adv.	V-R past F.Q	S-V inversion with full DPs	Post-Neg Subjects
CVC	Limited to *e*	+	+	+	+
Haitian	-	-	-	-	-
G-B	-	-	+	-	-
L-C	SF /*LF	SF/*LF	?	?	?
C-J	-	-	-	-	-

Table 1: V-raising in five creoles: A comparative analysis

(1) Stative verb+ba=Simple Past	Raising
Bare stem stative verb=Present	Raising
Nonstative verb+ba=Pluperfect	Raising
Bare nonstative=Simple Past	Raising
(2) Long form+e	No raising
Short form (null Tense affix)	Raising

Table 2: Distribution of Tense markers in Capeverdean and Louisiana Creoles[4]

∅	Pre-verbal Marker *te*	Post-verbal unbound *ba*	Post-verbal bound Marker *–ba/e*
CJ	Haitian	Guinea-Bissau Creole	Capeverdean Creole Louisiana Creole LF

Table 3: Anterior marker typol

[4] Inside the Table 2, (1) refers to the Capeverdean Case and (2) to the Louisiana Creole case.

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