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HUU-FA THESIS DAT?: A Syntactic Analysis of Possessive Jamaican Creole Possessive WH-
elements

by

Toni A. Foster

A master's thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Linguistics in partial fulfillment of the
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Graduate Faculty in Linguistics in satisfaction of the
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Abstract

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by

Toni Foster

Advisor: Professor Marcel den Dikken

This thesis discusses the differences between the Jamaican Creole expressions *huu-fa* and *fi-huu*. Jamaican Creole is a language that was born from a combination of the lexifier language English and the substrate language Twi, therefore it is reasonable to check whether the features of JC were derived from these languages. The distribution of *huu-fa* and *fi-huu* resembles the distribution of English *whose*. *Fi-huu* and *huu-fa* are WH-elements that show possession, similar to the English word *whose*. They are made of a WH-pronoun and a form of the preposition *fi* “for”. Both terms differ in internal structure, and distribution. The difference between *huu-fa* and *fi-huu* will be dissected in terms of substrate and superstrate influences as well as the elements involved in their formation. Ultimately, this thesis states that the internal structure of the PP *huu-fa* prevents it from appearing adnominally.

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I would also like to take a paragraph to mention that my mother asked to read this over before I submitted it because she is a master editor. However, I did not have the chance to give it to her because that meant I would have to give her a draft fairly early. She is a busy woman after all. And THAT would mean that I wouldn't have that time to make major changes myself because they would render her edits unusable. This is a formal apology that will be preserved forever in the CUNY dissertation and thesis archives. Marva Craig, you are amazing and I appreciate your efforts. I always do. Maybe I could have found a way to give this to you to read over, but as you know hind-sight is 20/20. And yes, I read it backwards to check for any grammatical errors. That is probably the best advice you have ever given me. I love you, mommy.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	iv
Acknowledgements.....	v
List of Figures.....	vii
1. Introduction.....	1
2. History of Jamaican Creole.....	1
3. The Substrate and The Superstrate.....	3
4. An Overview of Jamaican Creole.....	5
4.1 Dialects of Jamaican Creole.....	5
4.2 Case and Syncretism.....	6
5. Introducing <i>fi-huu</i> and <i>huu-fa</i>	9
5.1 Distribution of <i>Fi-huu</i> and <i>huu-fa</i>	9
5.2 Relativizers.....	10
5.3 Swiping.....	13
6. WH-Elements.....	18
6.1 Interrogative WH-elements in JC.....	18
6.2 Interrogative WH-elements in Twi.....	21
7. <i>Fi</i> and <i>Fa</i>	22
7.1 Distribution of <i>fi</i>	22
7.2 <i>Fi</i> compared to <i>fa</i>	24
7.3 Categorization of <i>fi</i> and <i>fa</i>	26
8. The difference between <i>huu-fa</i> and <i>fi-huu</i>	29
8.1 Relevant features of <i>huu-fa</i> and <i>fi-huu</i>	29
8.2 Key difference between <i>huu-fa</i> and <i>fi-huu</i>	31
8.3 The KP and the PP.....	31
9. Conclusion.....	39
Bibliography.....	40

List of Figures

Figure 1: Pronouns in JC

Figure 2: Pronouns in Twi

1. Introduction

Jamaican Creole (JC) is a contact language with a fully developed phonology, lexicon and syntax, derived from English, the superstrate, and a number of West African substrate languages. It began as a pidgin formed from trade and slavery in Jamaica. The West Africans were brought to Jamaica, which required them to communicate with the English speaking population and one another, resulting in the genesis of a language that resembled English. The resulting language had a noticeably different lexicon and syntax from English, which was due to influence from West African languages (Bryan 2004). Over time, the pidgin became a creole and the standardized first language of the people of Jamaica. The lexical and syntactic features of JC can be traced back to the effects of the substrate and superstrate.

This paper will address use and structure of the WH-elements, *fi-huu*, and *huu-fa* in JC. *Fi-huu* and *huu-fa* are two words that have a meaning similar to that of the English *whose*. I will begin with a brief history of JC in order to explain the formation of the language and significance of the substrate and the superstrate. This will be followed by a discussion of salient features of JC, some of which will need to be discussed in more detail than others in order to further the exploration of *fi-huu* and *huu-fa*. These features will then be discussed in comparison to those found in English and Twi.

2. History of Jamaican Creole

JC is the primary language of 20 million people who are native to the island of Jamaica. The roots of JC began with the enslavement of individuals from the Gold Coast of Africa. Prior to the arrival of Europeans and African slaves to Jamaica in 1655, Jamaica was inhabited by the

Arawaks, the native tribe of Jamaica. The Spanish, led by Columbus, came to Jamaica and enslaved the Arawaks in an attempt to colonize Jamaica. Due to an epidemic in about 1520, the majority of the Arawaks were extinguished before the arrival of African slaves and Europeans from the British Isles, but not without their influence on Spanish speakers' language. For example, the name Jamaica came from the Arawak word Xaymaca [zay-MA-ka] which meant "land of wood and water." Other than the aforementioned example Arawak had no major impact on JC.

The Spanish began to import West African slaves. By this time there was competition between the European colonies that were also bringing slaves from West Africa. There were less than one hundred Arawaks left on Jamaica and significantly more West Africans. The West African slaves were taken from tribes all along the Gold Coast and indiscriminately mixed when they were brought to Jamaica. The mixing led to slaves being placed with others that may not have spoken the same language. By this time, the Spanish population had decreased dramatically and continued to do so by the hand of the incoming Europeans. Because of the decrease in the Arawak and Spanish population, there was very little influence on the formation of JC outside the names of a few foods and towns. It was important that the West African slaves were able to communicate with one another as well as the Europeans (Lalla & d'Costa 1990). The contact between the African and European languages resulted in the formation of JC. This language was maintained by the Jamaican Maroons, who were rebel Africans who became independent from England (Patrick 2006).

3. The Substrate and the Superstrate

As demonstrated by the history, JC has a very complex etymology. Though many languages passed through Jamaica, Spanish, Arawak, and other languages left little to no impact on JC. The roots are traced back to African Languages from the Kwa language family. Ewe and Akan are two of the more relevant languages in the creation of JC. Twi is a dialect of Akan (Kobele & Torrence 2006). Many authors that have discussed the etymology of JC (Cassidy 1966, Lawton 1968, Justus 1978, Patrick 2004) have isolated Twi to be possibly the most identifiable substrate language in the creation of JC. Cassidy (1966) identified many JC loan words that came from Twi. For example, the JC word /bɔɔɔɔ/ “idiot” is a loan word from the Twi word /bɔɔbɔɔ/ meaning “sluggish.”

JC is a tonal language with three relative tone levels: a rising tone, a falling tone, and a mid-level tone. The tones are used to communicate lexical and phonological differences between words. The JC lexical items /kjànjó/ “can go” and /kjànjò/ “can’t go” are segmentally the same. The tones, however, distinguish the two. /kjànjó/ has two rising tones while /kjànjò/ has a rising tone and the falling tone. The differentiation between the two words lies in the tones (Lawton 1968). Most Kwa languages, including Twi, use tones. Twi has two tone levels: a high tone and a low tone. These tones are used to differentiate between lexical items as well. In Twi, the segmental word *bɔ* has two different meanings depending on the tones that are applied. *Bɔ̀*, with a falling tone, means “to be firmly stuck on.” *Bɔ́*, with a rising tone, means “to hit.” English is not a tonal language. Changes in tone are used to express emotion, or ask a question, but not to convey lexical information as Twi and JC do (Christaller 1875).

Twí and JC share other features, such as reduplication. In Twí, reduplication can indicate a lexical difference. Almost all verbs can be reduplicated. Many adjectives can also be reduplicated or only occur in a reduplicated form (Christaller 1875). JC uses reduplication in the same manner (Gooden 2003). The distinction of gender between both languages is also very limited. Gender in Twí can be shown through using different lexical items (e.g. “the male of animals” *oníní*; “the female of animals” *obérè*). The pronouns only demonstrate a change in number but not in gender. Human gender are expressed with the word *ono*. Similarly in English, gender can be differentiated through names of proper and common nouns. In JC a female cow would be referred to as *cow*, and a bull would be referred to as *bull-cow* (Durrleman 2005). In the basilectal and mesolectal form of JC, there is no pronoun differentiation for gender. English shares the lack of phonological distinction for sex. Instead there are separate words that are used to describe people and animals. However, English does have a distinction for gender in pronouns.

JC derives many features from English and Twí. The large number of commonalities these languages share with JC indicate that they will also help provide explanations to the etymology of specific features of JC. Since English is the superstrate language and the lexifier language, the majority of the features in JC stem from English. English and Twí have been identified as the most important languages in the construction of JC, therefore, comparisons between the two will help to define the etymology, lexicon and syntax of JC (Bryan 2004, Cassidy 1966, Cassidy 1982, Lalla & d’Costa 1990, Russel 1868).

4. An Overview Of Jamaican Creole

4.1 *Dialects of Jamaican Creole*

JC, among other creoles, has a gradual scale of dialects. In order to provide labels of these forms of the language, Alleyne (1989) created the terms “basilect,” “mesolect,” and “acrolect.” The basilect has a lexicon and grammar that is closest to the original pidgin. The acrolect is closest to the superstrate in terms of structure and lexicon. The mesolect, however, is the hardest part of the scale to identify. This form of the creole is in between the basilect and the acrolect. It varies from being very similar to the basilect, to being considered the acrolect. It often has elements of English structure, but Creole grammar. For example, the mesolect oftentimes lacks morphological noun-verb agreement, as the basilect always does, but has English forms and inflections. Examples (1a) and (1b), are always acceptable in the basilect, occasionally in the mesolect, but are never acceptable in the acrolect. (1a) and (1b) do not have morphological noun-verb agreement. Features such as tense are demonstrated through the addition of other lexical items.

(1) a. Im ron.
3.sg run
“He runs.”

b. Im did ron.
3.sg [PAST] run
“He ran.”

The choices of inflections used may vary by speaker (Patrick 1999). In JC, the acrolect is seen as the local standard, but is not available to all speakers of JC. Speakers of the acrolect and speakers of Standard English are mutually intelligible. Winford (1994) dubbed this scale a “creole

continuum,” meaning there are some forms of this creole that are very similar to the superstrate language of the creole and some that are much farther. DeCamp (1961) called this scale a “post-creole continuum.” This term is used to identify the change of creole forms as they move towards the more socioeconomically advantageous form of a language. This paper will focus on features that always occur in the basilect and sometimes occur in forms of the mesolect of JC. The acrolect will not be considered because it does not have a significant differentiation from English with the exception of phonetics.

4.2 Case and Syncretism

JC has no morphological case. The nouns and pronouns remain the same when used in Nominative (NOM) and Accusative (ACC) case. In sentence (1a) *I*, is the first person singular (1-sg) pronoun. It is the subject of the sentence and bears (NOM) case. *Him*, the third person singular pronoun, is the object of the sentence and bears accusative (ACC) case. In (1b), the 1-sg pronoun in the object position appears as *me*, a 1-sg-ACC pronoun. *He* is the NOM form of the 3-sg pronoun. (2) demonstrates the same examples in JC. The pronouns in (2a) and (2b) are the same though they are used in different positions. When indicating possession, in (3) and (5), JC adds *fi* before the pronouns. The WH-pronoun *huu* may also be preceded by *fi*, but it can also be followed by *fa*. The difference between *fi* and *fa* will be addressed later in the paper.

- (2) (a) I saw him.
 (b) He saw me.

(3) (a) Mi see im.
 1.sg saw him.
 “I saw him.”

(b) Im see mi.
 3sg saw 1.sg.
 “He saw me.”

(4) Im no gi me im ring.
 3sg Neg give 1sg 3sg ring. (Bailey 1962)
 “He did not give me his ring.”

(5) Huu-fa/fi-huu wallet dat?
 Whose wallet that
 “Whose wallet is that?”

(6) A fi mi wallet.
 FOC POSS 1.sg wallet.
 “It is my wallet.”

form	NOM	ACC	GEN
1.sg	mi	mi	(fi) mi
2.sg	yu	yu	(fi) yu
3.sg (m/f/neuter)	im/ar/i*	im/ar/i*	(fi) im/ar/i*
1.pl	wi	wi	(fi) wi
2.pl	unu	unu	(fi) unu
3.pl	dem	dem	(fi) dem
Wh [+person]	huu	huu	huu-fa/(fi) huu

Figure 1: Pronouns in JC

*The basilect, mesolect, and acrolect contain the pronoun *im* as a human pronoun and sometimes *i* as a non-human pronoun.

Only the farther end of the spectrum, closer to the end of the mesolect and all of the acrolect contain a gender differentiation (*im* for male and *ar* for female).

JC gives the appearance of case syncretism across all pronouns. Harley (2006) defined a syncretism as the event “when different combinations of morphosyntactic feature values are represented by the same form.” One lexical item is able to realize multiple binary feature bundles (e.g. [+sg] [+past]). JC does not have morphological case and there is no agreement with verbs. The feature bundles do not generate different pronouns except for the difference in number and person. This makes it difficult to tell whether or not *huu-fa* and *fi-huu* are truly genitive pronouns or case-marked Wh-Elements. *Huu-fa* is a WH pronoun with a form of *fi* to the right as opposed to the left like *fi-huu* or the other pronouns. *Fi* and *fa* are added to the pronouns in order to demonstrate possession, just as “’s” is added to the end of English nouns to demonstrate possession. English and Twi differentiate case of pronouns through morphological differences in lexical items. In English, pronouns are segmentally different. In Twi, most of the pronouns are segmentally the same, but through the addition of tones, they indicate case. Twi does have some case syncretism. For example, in Twi, 1.sg.NOM (mé) and 1.sg.ACC (mè) share the same lexical entry, but have with different tones. The 1.pl pronouns and WH[+person] pronoun all share the same lexical entry and tone.

In JC, there is no tone change within pronouns, but there is also no change in lexical entries, which is different for both languages. There is almost no change within the pronouns with the exception of *fi-huu* and *huu-fa*. All of the pronouns do not change with the exception of adding *fi/fa* to them in order to indicate possession. All pronouns, including *fi-huu* react the same way when *fi* is added, but *huu-fa* does not. This leads to more questions about the structure and environment of *huu-fa* and *fi-huu*.

form	NOM	ACC	GEN
1.sg	mé	mè	mé mè
2.sg	wó	wò	wó wò
3.sg (person/neuter)	ònó/ènó	ònó/ènó	né nè
1.pl	yéń	yéń	yéń yèń
2.pl	mó	mò	mó mò
3.pl	wón	wòn	wón wòn
Wh [+person]	hwán	hwán	hwán

Figure 2: Pronouns in Twi (Christaller 1875) (Kobele & Torrence (2006)

5. Introducing *fi-huu* and *huu-fa*

5.1 Distribution of *Fi-huu* and *Huu-fa*

Fi-huu and *huu-fa* are the two possessive interrogative pronouns in JC. Their distribution resembles, but does not exactly replicate, that of the English pronoun *whose*. Both JC pronouns can appear as adnominal and predicative WH-elements. *Huu-fa* and *fi-huu* can oftentimes be used interchangeably, as shown in examples (7)-(9). Both can also be used as relativizers. These relative clauses can be used to describe human (10) and non-human (11) subjects.

- (7) Huu-fa/fi-huu bag dat.
 Whose bag that
 “Whose book is that?”

- (8) Dat bag a fi-huu.
That bag is whose
That bag is whose?
- (9) Dat bag a huu-fa
That bag is whose
“That bag is whose?”
- (10) Di man huu-fa/fi-huu book mi find de ya.
The man whose book 1.sg found is here.
“The man, whose book I found, is here.”
- (11) Di door huu-fa/fi-huu key gone lock
The door whose key is gone locked.
“The door, whose key is gone, is locked.”

Huu-fa and *fi-huu* share nearly the same distribution as the English *whose* as shown in (12). *Whose* can appear adnominally, predicatively, and as a relativizer for human and non-human subjects. Since English is the lexifier language of JC, it is understandable that they share such similar features. This raises the question of how *fi-huu* and *huu-fa* are different from the English *whose* and what they share in common with English and Twi.

- (12) a. Whose bag is that?
b. That bag is whose?
c. The man, whose bag is missing, is here.
d. The door, whose key is gone, is locked.

5.2 Relativizers

There are three types of relativizers in JC: overt, null, and resumptive. The overt relative markers, exemplified in (13) are *a*, *we*, *wa*, *huu-fa*, and *dat* (Patrick 2004).

(13) a. A im a wena mek noise (Patrick 2004)
FOC 3.sg REL was making noise.
“It was him that was making noise.”

b. Wi have wan place weh we call Atom Hole (Patrick 2004)
1.pl have a place REL 1.pl call Atom Hole
“We have a place that we call Atom Hole.”

c. Mi gone a di store wa de pan Farmers Boulevard.
1.sg went to the store REL is on Farmers Boulevard.
“I went to the store that is on Farmers Boulevard.”

d. Mi fren huu-fa hat biini biini live ova deh suh
1.sg friend whose hat very small live over there
“My friend whose hat is very small lives over there.”

e. Di dog dat teef mi dinnah gan.
Di dog that steal 1.sg dinner gone.
“The dog that stole my dinner is gone.”

Relativizer *huu-fa* is found in the basilectal JC. Patrick (2004) states that relativizer *huu-fa* (and presumably *fi-huu*), cannot alternate with a null environment, (e.g. (17)). For example, in (14a-b), *huu-fa* cannot be replaced by a null relativizer, but in (14c-d), relativizers such as *dat* can. They are obligatory in their environment. English *whose* has a similar requirement when used as a relativizer. As illustrated in (15b), similar to the JC sentence in (14b) *whose* cannot be

omitted without sacrificing grammaticality. Twi has a relative clause marker *áà* (Saah 2010). This clause marker is mandatory for any relative clauses. There is no variety in these relative markers. It is used to mark the beginning of a relative clause while other information is within the relative clause as in (16). The structure of JC relative clauses (e.g. (14)) is very far removed from that of Twi and more related to that of English.

- (14) a. Di biebi huu-fa head big drop pan di floor.
 The baby whose head big drop on the floor.
 “The baby, whose head is big, fell on the floor.”

- b. *Di biebi ____ head big drop pan di floor.
 *The baby ____ head big drop on the floor
 “The baby head is big fell on the floor.”

- c. Mi hav wan donkey dat me call Miss Hattie.
 1.sg have a donkey that 1.sg call Miss Hattie
 “I have a donkey that I call Miss Hattie.”

- d. Mi hav wan donkey ____ me call Miss Hattie
 1.sg have wan donkey ____ 1.sg call Miss Hattie.
 “I have a donkey I call Miss Hattie.”

- (15) a. The man, whose hat was red, hid in the bushes.
 b. *The man, hat was red, hid in the bushes.
 c. I have the book that I read yesterday.
 d. I have the bok I read yesterday.

- (16) Maamé nó áà papá no tó-ɔ n' aduané má-a abofrá nó...
 Woman DEF REL man DEF buy-PAST 3sg.poss food give-PAST child DEF
 The woman whose food the man bought for the child... (Saah 2010)

- (17) Yu hav wan sinting niem Ruolin Kyaf. (Patrick 2004)
 You have a something name Rolling Calf.
 “You have something named Rolling Calf”

5.3 *Swiping*

Swiping could be a possible solution that explains the difference between *huu-fa* and *fi-huu*. The concept of “swiping,” created by Merchant (2000), is a type of argument inversion created to account for sluicing and P-WH inversion in, but not limited to, Northern Germanic languages. The sentences in (18) demonstrate sluicing. They are grammatical regardless of whether or not the phrase in parentheses is present. (19) demonstrates swiping in steps. In (19a), the VP “he was shouting” is sluiced, resulting in the second sentence of (19a). The sluicing is then following by a P-WH inversion at Spell-Out. This type of syntactic movement occurs after Spell-Out. The same process occurs in both sentences of (19). Because of its strong lexical and syntactic roots in English, which is a Germanic language, JC could potentially be considered a part of that group. In order for a language to permit swiping, it must allow WH-movement, and preposition stranding and sluicing. Swiping only occurs after sluicing with a certain type of WH-phrase. Swiping is possible with the English words *who*, *what*, *when*, and *where*. Swiping only occurs in environments where prepositions select WH-elements.

- (18) a. Jack bought something, but I don't know what (he bought).
 b. Beth was here, but you'll never guess who else (was here). (Merchant 2000)

- (19) a. He was shouting, but it was impossible to tell at who he was shouting.
 He was shouting, but it was impossible to tell at who ~~he was shouting~~.
 He was shouting, but it was impossible to tell who at.
- b. She bought lunch, but goodness knows for who he bought it.
 She bought lunch, but goodness knows for who ~~she bought it~~.
 She bought lunch, but goodness knows for who.

JC does not meet these requirements for swiping. It allows some preposition stranding, but in more restricted environments than English. Sentences can end with prepositions such as *fa*, *tu*, and *from*, as shown in (20). The question asked in (21) could potentially have two answers: *fi-huu* and *huu-fa*, but only one of these answers is acceptable. This is likely to be caused by the limitations on the distribution of *huu-fa*. *Fi-huu* in (21aA) means “for who,” not the possessive “whose.” (21bA) can only be interpreted as possessive. The structure of *huu-fa* does not allow it to mean “who for.” It can only appear as a possessive structure and not as a prepositional structure. This will be further discussed in Section 8.3.

- (20) a. Wa yu do dat fa?
 What 2.sg do that for
 “What are you doing that for?”
- b. A huu yu give di pen tu?
 FOC who 2.sg give the pen to
 “Who did you give the pen to?”
- c. Mi nuh no weh im de come from.
 1.sg NEG know what 3.sg PROG come from.
 “I don’t know what he is coming from.”

(21) a. Q: Im buy some bammy.
 3.sg buy some bammy¹
 “He bought some bammy.”

A: Fi huu?
 For who
 “For who?”

b. Q: Im buy some bammy.
 3.sg buy some bammy
 “He bought some bammy.”

A: *Huu-fa?
 ???

Twí does not allow WH-slucing. Sentences such as (22a) are ungrammatical because the predicate of the clause was sluiced. The sentence would be grammatical if it was written as (20b). In JC, the WH-slucing is questionable. The grammaticality is not questionable if the clause remains a part of the sentence. In English (23c-d), both sentences would be grammatical. The grammaticality of sluicing in JC is different from both Twí and English.

(22) a. *Kofi bɔɔ obi na me-nim hena
 *Kofi hit someone and 1.sg-know who (Larson 2013)
 “Kofi hit someone and I know who.”

¹ Bammy is a Jamaican flat bread made from grated cassava root.

b. Kofi bɔɔ obi na me-nim no
 Kofi hit someone and 1.sg-know 3.sg
 “Kofi hit someone and I know him.”

(Larson 2013)

(23) a. ? Im tek sinting but mi nuh know (a) wa.
 ? 3.sg take something but 1.sg NEG know (FOC) what
 “He took something but I don’t know what.”

b. Im tek sinting but mi nuh know a wa im tek
 3.sg take something but 1.sg NEG know (FOC) what 3sg. take
 He took something, but I don’t know what he took.

c. He took something but I don’t know what.
 d. He took something but I don’t know what he took.

The limitations on preposition stranding in JC are more restricted than those on English. English allows sentences such as “I don’t know where he is coming from” and “Water is dripping, but I don’t know where from.” JC only allows the former of those sentences due to the fact that *from* is a preposition that can be stranded, shown in (24a-b). (24c) is grammatical in JC. As previously stated, swiping requires sluicing of the VP phrase followed by P-WH inversion. Sluicing is allowed, but the inversion is ungrammatical. This may happen for two reasons. Firstly, JC does not allow swiping with nearly all WH-elements. In order for the sentence to be grammatically correct, the clause following a WH-element cannot be deleted. Secondly, *fi-huu* is a very different WH-element from *wah* or *wen*. It is composed of two elements, a WH-element and a preposition, that have separate requirements and allowances of their own. *Fi-huu* has a possessive feature making it similar to the English whose. *Fi* and *huu* must be pronounced together to create the possessive meaning.

- (24) a. *Wata deh drop but mi nuh nuo weh from.
 *Water PROG drip but 1.sg NEG know where from.
 “Water is dripping but I don’t know where from.”
- b. Wata deh drop but mi nu nuo weh it de drip from.
 Wata PROG drip but 1.sg NEG know where it PROG drip from.
 “Water is dripping, but I don’t know where it is dripping from.”
- c. Wata deh drop but mi nu nuo from weh.
 Water PROG drip but 1.sg NEG know from where.
 “Water is dripping but I don’t know from where.”

Secondly, *huu-fa* and *fi-huu* can be treated as separate elements in a prepositional environment. *Huu-fa* and *fi-huu* are WH-elements that require obligatory pied-piping. Moving *fa* away from *huu* in *huu-fa*, or *fi* away from *huu* in *fi-huu* would create a different semantic meaning in the sentence. (25a) and (25b) do not share the same semantic meaning, though they are both acceptable sentences. (25c) could have two different meanings (i.e. asking who that hat is for or who it already belongs to). (25d), however, is also an unacceptable sentence. *Fi-huu* and *huu-fa* are not the exact same word because they both are used differently. These examples have shown that the formation of JC questions and WH-elements resembles that of English, but the two are not the same.

- (25) a. Huu-fa hat dat?
 Whose hat that
 “Whose hat is that?”

b. Huu dat hat fa?

Who that hat for

“Who is that hat for?”

c. Dat hat a fi-huu?

That hat COP for who?

“That hat is for whom?”

d. *Huu dat hat fi?

*Who that hat for?

“Who is that hat for?”

6. WH-Elements

6.1 Interrogative WH-elements in JC

The interrogative WH-elements in JC are *huu* (who), *wa* (what), *wen* (when), *weh* (where), and *ou* (how). The equivalent of “why” JC can be *wa mek* (26f) or *ou* (26g), which is essentially “what made.” Some speakers may use *wai* (why), due to effects of the acrolect and Standard English on the languages. *Huu-fa* and *fi-huu* are also WH-elements, but they are used differently from the interrogative WH-elements.

The interrogative WH-elements can have an optional particle attached to them, *a*. In (26a-c), a focus element, *a* appears before the WH-elements. It can appear before any and all WH-elements. Focus elements help to pinpoint particular types of information in a sentence (Durrleman and Shlonsky 2012). In JC, the speaker adds *a* before a noun or verb in order to add focus to that lexical item. *A*, is not mandatory for grammaticality, nor does it affect the meaning or grammaticality of the sentence. Other than the *fi* in *fi-huu*, *a*, is the only item that can precede a

WH-element. This is another feature that makes *fi-huu* unique. It is the only WH-element that can be preceded by a lexical item that is in the same phrase.

(26) a. (A) Huu liv inna dis house?
(FOC)Who live inside this house
“Who lives in this house?”

b. (A) Wa di kyat look like?
FOC What the cat look like
“What does the cat look like?”

c. (A) Wen di bus come?
FOC When the bus come
“When does the bus come?”

d. Weh mi key deh?
Where 1.sg key is
“Where are my keys?”

e. Ou yu do?
How you do
“How do you do?/How are you?”

f. Wa mek yu gwan suh?
What make you go on so
“Why do you behave that way?”

g. Ou yu gwan suh?
How you go on so
“Why do you behave that way?”

Fi-huu and huu-fa can be preceded by *a*. (27a) and (27b) are the same sentence save for the fact that (27a) has a focus element and (27b) does not. Both (27c) and (27d) could also be appropriate answers for (27a) or (27b). There is no requirement for *a* to appear in either sentence. This is also demonstrated in the question/answer sequence in (28). (28Q) can be answered with either provided answer.

(27) a. A huu-fa dog dat?
 FOC whose dog that.
 “Whose dog is that?”

b. Huu-fa dog dat?
 Whose dog that.
 “Whose dog is that?”

c. A fi mi dog
 FOC POSS 1.sg dog
 “It is my dog.”

d. Fi mi dog
 POSS 1.sg dog
 “My dog”

(28) Q: Huu iit aaf di breadfruit.²
 Who eat off the breadfruit
 Who ate all of the breadfruit.

² Breadfruit is a fruit with a texture that resembles that of bread with a flavor similar to potato.

A: Nancy iit aaf di breadfruit
 Nancy eat all the breadfruit.
 “Nancy ate all of the breadfruit.”

A2: A Nancy iit aaf di breadfruit.
 FOC Nancy eat all the breadfruit.
 “It was Nancy who ate all of the breadfruit.”

6.2 Interrogative WH-elements in Twi

(29) lists the interrogative WH-elements in Twi. The interrogative WH-elements can be used adnominally and predicatively as shown in (30). When the WH-elements are fronted, there is an added focus element, *nà*. Twi has no word for *whose*, as exemplified by (31). Instead, there is a focus element that follows *hwáń* “who”. Both Twi and JC have focus elements, but unlike Twi, in JC, the focus element does not double as a possessive marker.

- (29) hwáń “who”
 ádéń “why”
 èhééfǎ “where” (Marfo & Bodomo 2005)
 èdéén “what”
 břebéń “when”

- (30) a. èhéfǎ ná wo’nyá-à sǎà sǎfòá firí-é?
 Where FOC 2.sg-get-COMPL that key come.out-COMPL
 “Where did you get that key from?”

- b. wo’nyá-à sǎà sǎfòá firí-í èhéfǎ?
 2SG-get-COMPL that key come.out-COMPL **where**
 “From where did you get that key?/ Where did you get that key from?”

- (31) a. Hwán nà sàà sàfòá nó yé né déá?
 Who FOC that key DET be his belong
 “Who does that key belong to?”
- b. Hwán nà nè sàfòá né nó
 Who FOC his key be 3SG.OBJ
 “Whose key is that?”

7. *Fi* and *Fa*

7.1 *Distribution of fi*

Fi is a lexical item in JC that is the counterpart to the English *for* and infinitival *to*.

Winford (1985) describes three functions of *fi*: a possessive marker (32); a preposition (33), and a modal auxiliary (34).

- (32) A fi mi house.
 FOC POSS 1.sg house.
 “It’s my house.”

- (33) a. Wi staat gann fi riif
 1pl. start go PREP reef
 “ We started to go to the reef.” (Winford 1985)

- b. dem a fait fi wi
 3.pl PREP fight for 1pl.
 “ They are fighting for us.” (Winford 1985)

- (34) Yu fi siev yu moni.
 2sg AUX save 2sg money. (Winford 1985)
 “You should save your money.”

Desiderative verbs are verbs that express a desire to do an act. JC has three types of desiderative verbs that can be followed with *fi* as an infinitive. Class A desiderative verbs as shown in (35) allow a *fi* complement only if the subject is coreferential with the matrix. Class B verbs have optional coreferentiality. Sentence (36) would be grammatical and maintain the same meaning regardless of whether or not *fi* was present. Class C verbs have a complement subject that is a non-overt controlled PRO in (37) (Winford 1985).

- (35) Mi trai fi stan op.
 1.sg try INF stand up
 “I tried to stand up.”

- (36) Jan waan fi mek money.
 John want INF make money
 “John wants to make money.”

- (37) Mi aks im fi dringk wata.
 1.sg ask 3.sg INF drink water
 “I asked him to drink water.”

Winford (1985) suggests that JC *fi* may be traced from the Twi word *fi* which also has more than one function. Twi *fi* serves as a directional (38a) preposition and a location (38b). JC *fi* can be used as a directional preposition as shown in (38a). In Ewe, another Kwa language, *fe* is

also used as a possessive marker, shown in (38c). These features are reinforced in JC. The function of *fī* and *fā* are drawn from a combination of English *for* and Twi and Ewe *fī* and *fē*.

- (38) a. Ɛsɛ sɛ Kristoni twe ne ho fi wiase no ho.
 Deserve that Christian pull 3.sg.NOM self from world him self
 “A Christian should keep separate from the world.”
- b. Mefĩ Ghana
 1.sg DIR Ghana (Schadeberg 1985)
 “I am from Ghana.”
- c. dàdà fé ámì
 mother POSS oil (Schadeberg 1985)
 “Mother’s oil”

7.2 *Fi compared to fa*

Through the article, Winford has minimal mention of *fa* (referred to as *fu*). The distinction between *fi* and *fa* is the key to differentiating *fi-huu* and *huu-fa*. Durrleman (2008) states that *fa* licenses a WH-trace and *fi* does not. There is a change in the form of the preposition depending on whether it is followed by an overt object or a WH-trace. If it is followed by an overt object, the final sound is /i/, and if it is followed by WH-trace, the final sound is /a/. Similarly, in Dutch, *mee* “with”, can be used as a predicate, but *met* cannot be used in that manner, as shown in (39). In (39c), *met* changes to *mee* when PP extraction takes place, stranding the P. The /t/ in *met* changes to an /e/ prior to after the PP extraction and preposition stranding (Blom & Booij 2003).

(39) a. Jan is ook *met/mee
 John is also with (Blom & Booij 2003)
 “John has joined.”

b. hij gaat met zijn vrouw naar Canada.
 He goes with his wife to Canada. (Wikibooks.org)
 “He goes to Canada with his wife.”

c. De vrouw waar hij mee/*met naar Canada gaat.
 The woman where he with to Canada goes
 “The woman with whom he goes to Canada.”

(40) and (41) show the distinction between *fi/fa* complements. (40a) contains the correct usage of *fi*. *Fi* c-commands by *mi faada*, the overt object. (40b), *fi* c-commands a WH-trace, but it has not changed to *fa*. In (41a), *Huu* leaves behind a WH-trace, which is then c-commanded by *fi*, causing *fi* to become *fa*. In (41b), there is no WH-element, but *fa* is present, making the sentence ungrammatical. I hypothesize that *fi* is the underlying form of *fa*. Before any movement takes place, the phrase appears as *fi-huu*. If the WH-pronoun moves, leaving a trace, *fi* becomes *fa*. If *fa* is present without a WH-trace to c-command, the sentence is ungrammatical. The distinctions between these two words are the key to the difference between the use of *huu-fa* and *fi-huu*.

(40) a. Di mango a fi mi faada.
 The mango is POSS 1.sg father
 “The mango is my father’s.”

b. *Huu di mango fi t_{WH} ?

Who the mango for

“Who is the mango for?”

(41) a. Huu di mango fa t_{WH} ?

Who the mango for

“Who is the mango for?”

b. *Di mango a fa mi faada.

The mango is for 1.sg father.

“The mango is for my father.”

7.3 Categorization of *fi* and *fa*

Another issue that needs to be addressed with *fi* and *fa* is categorization. Both words can be used in a variety of environments similar to the English *to*, and *for*. In (42a) *to* can be placed under a T-head when it is filling the role of an infinitival and modifying a verb. It can also appear under a P-head as in (42b) when modifying a noun. *For* is used similarly. It can be considered a complementizer as in (43a) or a preposition in (43b).

(42) a. I want [_T to [eat fish]]

b. I went [_{PP} to [the park]]

(43) a. [_{CP} For [him to dance]] would be beautiful

b. I need a rose [_{PP} for [my vase]]

To and *for* have a unified categorization although they have two separate but similar uses (Emonds 1985). They are both prepositions, but can be inserted under other heads. I propose a similar categorization for *fi* and *fa*. Both words are prepositions as shown in examples (44a-b),

but can be placed under K-heads as shown in (44c-d) shows *fi* as a possessive marker. In (44), *fi* is followed by a pronoun, (a) and (b) do not have the same usage as (c) and (d). (44a-b) show *fi* being used as a preposition are a preposition. The brother got mango for someone. It is not necessarily in their possession. In (44c-d), *fi* is a possessive marker. The brother has taken someone's mango which was once in their possession. Both instances of *fi* are different. I propose that *fi* is a preposition that can occur under a K head.

- (44) a. Mi breda get mango **fi** **mi**.
 1.sg brother get mango for me
 “My brother got mango for me.”
- b. Mi breda get mango **fi** **huu**?
 1.sg brother get mango for who
 “My brother got mango for who?”
- c. Mi breda tek **fi** **mi** mango.
 1.sg brother take POSS 1.sg mango.
 “My brother took my mango.”
- d. Mi breda tek **fi-huu** mango?
 1.sg brother take whose mango
 “My brother took whose mango?”

Svenonius (2008) discussed the use of a K-head to explain case distribution in English PPs. A K-head is a syntactic head that case-marks objects. K is always present, but is not always overt. In (45), the K *of* is a case element that provides genitive case for *the house*.

(45) ...[PP [P outside[_{KP} [_K of [_{DP} the house]]]]]

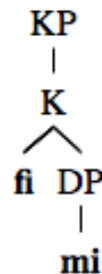
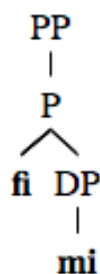
(Svenonius 2008)

I propose that *fi* is a preposition that can appear as a P-head when acting as a preposition and as a K-head when showing possession. This requires the existence of a unique prenominal preposition. This feature would be unique as it is not found in English or Twi.

The K-head shows the difference between *fi mi* as a possessive phrase and *fi mi* as a possessive phrase. (46a) shows the preposition version of *fi* which does not give any case to the DP, which would be glossed as “for me.” When *fi* is a K element as in (46b), it does case-mark to *mi* and would be glossed as “mine.” P-head *fi* does not case-mark overt objects. This is similar to the use of *for* of English. They both have a unified categorization of a preposition but can appear under other heads. These examples, however, only take non-WH pronouns into consideration. *Fa* was not discussed in this section because it only occurs when there is WH-element present. That will be covered in the next section. These two categories, P and K, will apply to the WH-phrases *huu-fa* and *fi-huu*. This system provides even more clarification for the difference between the two WH-pronouns.

(46) a.

b.



8. The difference between *huu-fa* and *fi-huu*

8.1 *Relevant features of huu-fa and fi-huu*

Through this paper, I have considered many different possibilities for the explanation of the difference between *huu-fa* and *fi-huu*. Thus far, I have discussed similarities between elements English and Twi that can explain the etymology of *huu-fa* and *fi-huu*. *Huu* combined with the preposition *fi* result in *huu-fa* or *fi-huu*, depending on the use of the word. Like Twi, WH-elements in JC can have an optional focus element as in (26a-c). Other than this optional focus element, there are no other elements (obligatory or optional) that can precede WH-elements. English allows sluicing and swiping, but since JC has more restrictions on sluicing that are similar to Twi and does not meet the requirements to be able to participate in swiping, swiping could not be a possible explanation for the occurrence of *huu-fa* as opposed to *fi-huu*. In (47), *huu-fa* and *fi-huu* are used adnominally and predicatively. It is acceptable for speakers of JC. Both words can also be used as relativizers for human and non-human nouns, as in (48).

- (47) (A) *Huu-fa/fi-huu* book dat.
FOC Whose book that
“Whose book is that?”

- (48) Di man *huu-fa/fi-huu* book mi find deh ya.
The man whose book 1.sg found is here.
“The man, whose book I found, is here.”

Di door *huu-fa/fi-huu* key gone lock
The door whose key is gone is locked.
“The door, whose key is gone, is locked.”

(49) and (50) show the environmental restrictions of *huu-fa* and *fi-huu*. (49a) and (50b) are acceptable, but (49b) and (50a) are not. As previously stated, Durrlemann (2008) hypothesized that “there is a change in prepositional form depending on if the preposition is followed by an overt object or a WH-trace.” What I take this to mean is that *fi* must c-command an overt object in order to be licensed, and *fa* must c-command a WH-trace.

(49) a. Dat book a fi-huu?
That book is whose?
“That book is whose?”

b. *Huu dat book fi?
*Who that book for
“Who is that book for?”

(50) a. Dat book a huu-fa?
That book is whose
“That book is whose.”

b. Huu dat book fa?
Who that book for
“Who is that book for?”

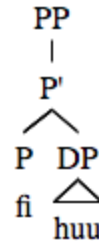
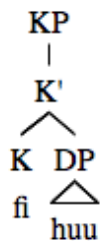
Huu-fa and *fi-huu* are made of separate syntactic features. *Fi-huu* and *huu-fa* seem to be grammatical in all 3 positions (adnominal WH-element, predicative WH-element, and relativizer) in which it can occur.

8.2 Key difference between *huu-fa* and *fi-huu*

As suggested in Section 7.3, *fi* and *fa* are prepositions that can fall under a P-head or a K-head depending on the requirement to mark case. (51) exemplifies the appearance of possessive *fi-huu* in a KP and a PP. Both structures are isomorphic. In (51a), *fi* case-marks to *huu* and creates a possessive element. In (51b), a prepositional phrase is not marked with possessive case, but does receive a theta role from the P *fi*. The KP only occurs inside of a DP (which will be showed in section 8.3). The difference between the two lies in their use within a sentence.

(51) a. KP *fi-huu*

b. PP *fi-huu*



8.3 The KP and the PP

One question still remains: what is the difference between KP *fi-huu/huu-fa* and PP *fi-huu/huu-fa*. The following examples demonstrate the prepositional and possessive uses of *huu-fa* and *fi-huu*. (52) shows the prepositional examples of *fi-huu* and *huu-fa* and (53) shows the possessive examples. The sentence in (52a) asks who the mango is for and the sentences in (53) ask who it belongs to. However, the structure of sentence (52b) is ungrammatical. This is a difference between the words *huu-fa* and *fi-huu*. Unlike *fi-huu*, *huu-fa* cannot mean “for who.”

This can be explained by observing the internal structure of the sentence. This will be demonstrated in (56)-(60).

- (52) a. Dat mango a fi huu?
 That mango is for who?
 “That mango is for who?”
- b. *Dat mango a huu-fa?
 *That mango is who for
 *”That mango is who for?”
- (53) a. Dat mango a fi-huu?
 That mango is whose
 “That mango is whose?”
- b. Dat mango a huu-fa?
 That mango is whose
 “That mango is whose?”

Before delving into the structure of the trees, two items must be discussed: case and the relator phrase. JC has no morphological case marking, but the pronouns do have case features (as mentioned in section 4.2). According to the case filter proposed by Chomsky (1981), every overt DP is assigned case. The DPs containing *huu-fa* and *fi-huu* have their own case features. Both can receive NOM case or ACC case. T-heads and verbs can assign case to DPs. In JC, there can be sentences with no verbs such as (53). However, there is a T-head that can give case. Through Spec-Head Agreement, the features present in T require the DP containing NOM WH-elements to raise to Spec-TP. The relator phrase (RP) facilitates a semantic and syntactic connection

between the subject and the predicate, shown in (54) and (55). Anything can be a relator so long as it is between the Subject and predicate. The R is a functional head can assign case and theta roles. The relator will be used in these structures in order to connect the subject and predicate. (55) represents the RP structure for the sentence “This butterfly is big.” The subject is a DP located in Spec-RP and the copula is in the R head. (den Dikken 2006)

(54) [RP SUBJECT [R RELATOR [PREDICATE]]] (den Dikken 2006)

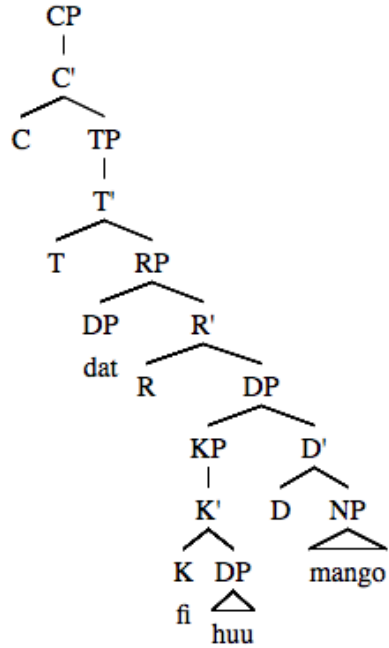
(55) [RP [DP *this butterfly*] [R=*be* [AP *big*]]] (den Dikken 2006)

(56) demonstrates the construction and movement involved in creating sentences with possessive phrases, specifically with *fi-huu*. Since these are possessed phrases, they involve K-heads rather than P heads. *Fi-huu* is a KP inside of a DP. In (58a), *fi* case-marks to *huu*. In (56b), the DP moves to Spec-CP. This sentence is completely grammatical. (57) is grammatical as well. Similar movement takes place in (56) and (57). The difference between the two is that the *huu* in *huu-fa* raises to Spec-KP before the entire DP raises up to Spec-CP.

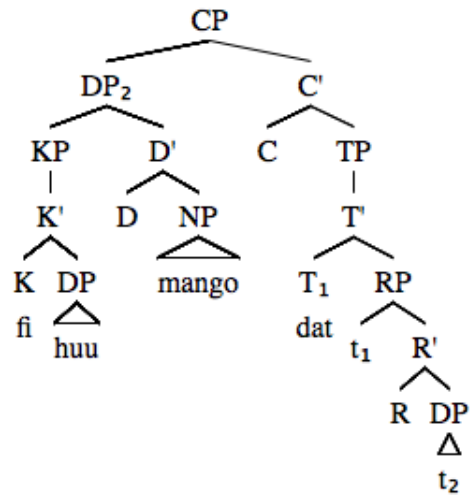
In the deep structure, (57a), the DP *huu-fa mango* contains a possessive element and the noun that it c-commands. *Huu* moves upward to Spec-KP, leaving behind a WH-trace (t_1). *Fi* becomes *fa* now that it is c-commanding the leftover WH-trace. Then, the DP containing the possessed phrase moves to Spec-CP and leaves behind a second trace. The DP that contains *huu-fa* must be assigned NOM case through Spec-Head Agreement.

- (56) Fi huu mango dat?
 Whose mango that
 “Whose mango is that?”

a.



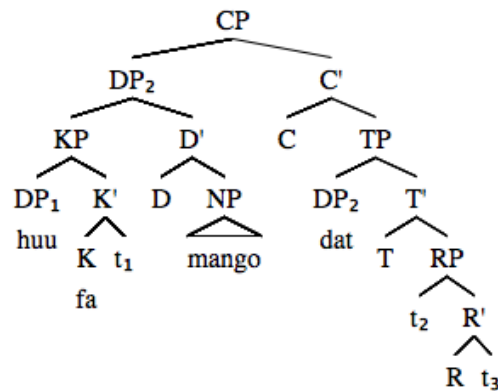
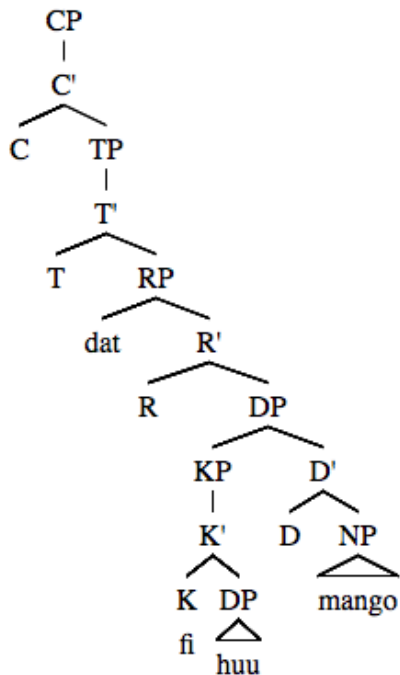
b.



(57) Huu-fa mango dat?
 Whose mango that
 “Whose mango is that?”

a.

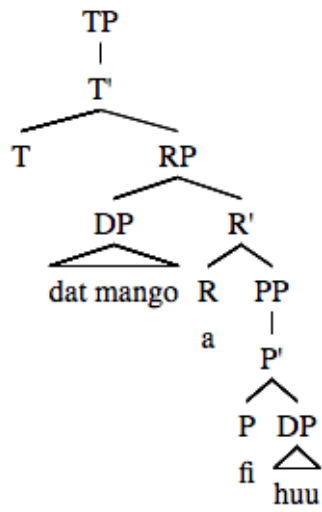
b.



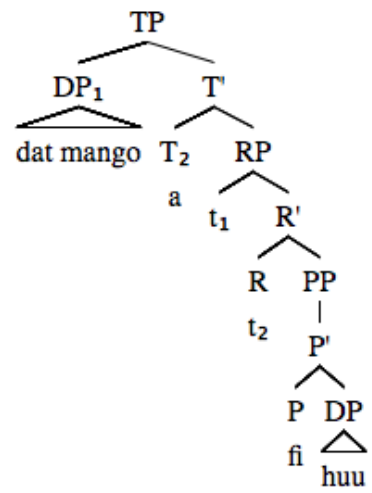
Sentence (58) demonstrates the PP *fi-huu*. The PP begins and remains in-situ. A base generates in R and raises to T, and *dat mango* base generates in Spec-RP and raises to Spec TP to receive NOM case. (59) is ungrammatical. It could be grammatical if *huu-fa* was within a KP in order to bring about the semantic meaning. In this case, however, *huu-fa* is in the PP. This is a problem because DP *huu* is still in Spec-PP. Spec-PP, an A'-position, is not a terminal landing-site. It can be used as an intermediate stopover position for successive-cyclic movement, but movement cannot end in Spec-PP. This makes the sentence ungrammatical and the structure impossible.

- (58) Dat mango a fi huu?
 That mango for who
 “Who is this mango for?”

a.



b.

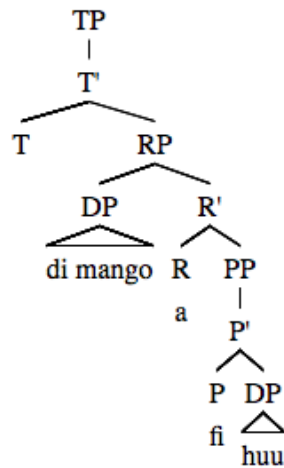


(59) * Di mango a huu-fa?

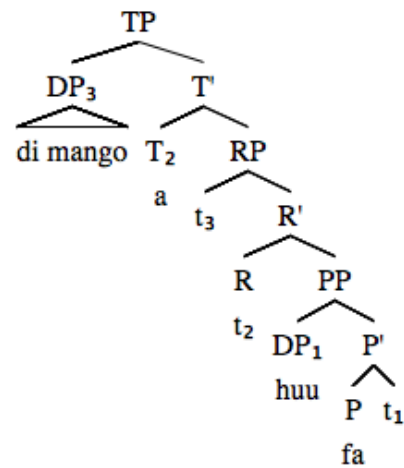
* the mango a ????

“The mango is ?????”

a.

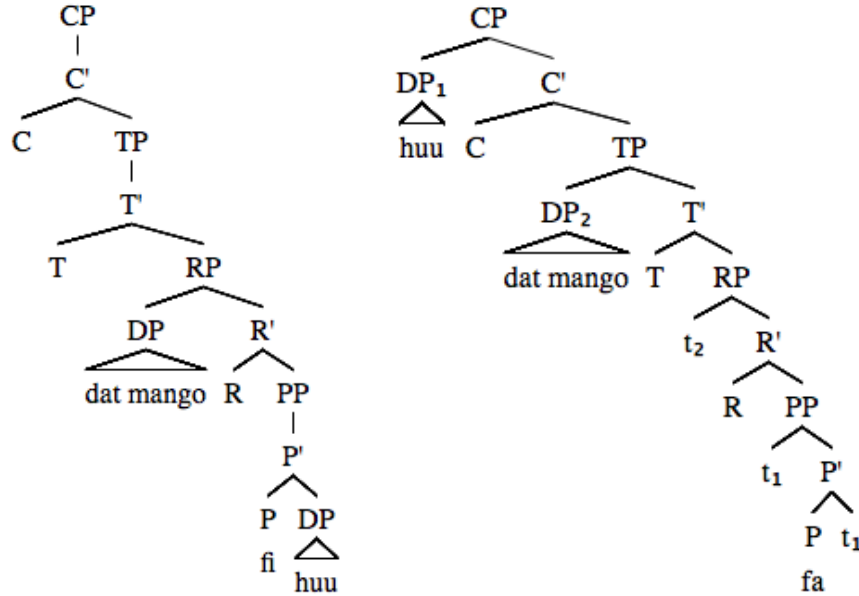


b.



Sentence (60) is grammatical. In the D-structure of this sentence, (60a), the PP is *fi-huu*. Then, in (60b) *huu* raises successive-cyclically to Spec CP. Instead of staying in Spec-PP, it raises all the way to the top, to Spec-CP. This sentence is grammatical. The difference between *huu-fa* and *fi-huu* is how they both react when they occur in PPs.

- (60) Huu dat mango fa?
 Who that mango for
 Who is that mango for?



Huu-fa is ungrammatical as a predicative PP, but is grammatical as a predicative PP, as shown in (57). In (57a), *huu* is base generated as a DP complement of K. It, then raises to Spec-KP, preceding *fa*. Spec-KP is an acceptable terminal node, allowing *huu* to remain there in S structure without causing the sentence to be ungrammatical. In order to achieve the proper order of elements, the *huu* in *huu-fa* must raise to the Spec of the phrase in which it resides. Spec PP and Spec KP have different allowances, which limits the appearance of *huu-fa*. Since the *huu* in *fi-huu* does not raise, to the Spec of its phrase, it does not raise any issues with grammaticality, regardless of whether the Spec is a terminal node.

9. Conclusion

Fi-huu and *huu-fa* are two interrogative WH-elements in JC that are very similar to one another but have intrinsic differences. Both words and the features of the words are derived from English and Twi, with a suggested link to Ewe. JC has interrogative WH-elements just as Twi and English do, but the difference lies in the fact that Twi does not have a word for *whose*, while English does. The structure of *fi-huu/huu-fa* are derived from a combination of effects from English, and the West African languages Twi and Ewe. In Twi, the lexical item *fi* has a dual use as a directional preposition and as a locative preposition, similar to JC. Ewe uses *fi* and *fa* to determine possession. Twi also has optional focus markers that can be used with WH-elements. JC has optional focus markers that are placed before WH-elements, but other than that, WH-elements in JC do not have any prenominal elements, let alone prenominal prepositions. The difference in distribution of the two words lies in the fact that *fi-huu* can be used predicatively in a prepositional phrase, but *huu-fa* cannot. The *huu* in *huu-fa* must move leftward in order to achieve the proper word order. When it raises to Spec-PP, it cannot remain there because Spec-PP is not a terminal node. *Fi-huu*, on the other hand, has less restrictions than *huu-fa* because *huu* in *fi-huu* remains as a complement to *fi*.

Exploring the substrate and superstrate languages of a creole create a foundation for the features found in that Creole. The features found in English (e.g. prepositions with alternate categorizations) and Twi (e.g. the function of the Twi word *fi*) help to create a background for the formation of JC. The conclusion of a KP and two forms of a possessive WH-pronoun is unique to JC, but this can occur in Creoles. They receive a strong influence from the substrate and superstrate languages, but sometimes stray away from the both of them and create unique features.

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