

## Questions in Creoles: implications for the cartographic approach

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This paper discusses the general process of question formation in creoles from two perspectives. From a theoretical and typological perspective, it focuses on the Clausal Typing Hypothesis (CTH: Cheng 1997), the relationship between focus and questions (Horvath 1986), as well as the question whether the filler-gap dependency in questions is the result of actual movement (Adger & Ramchand 2005). The other perspective is comparative. The leading question here is whether there is a clustering effect: (i) which properties of question formation are uniform across creoles?; (ii) what variation do we find between creoles, and to what extent is this variation determined by the influence of superstrate and/or substrate languages on the ensuing creole? We show that creoles do not form a homogeneous typological class in this domain, and propose an analysis of questions as Focus-constructions, in terms of a base-generated bi-clausal analysis.

The CTH accommodates the correlation between the availability of question particles and wh-in-situ, and states that the clause type of a sentence is determined in overt syntax. Creoles form polarity questions either by Q-particles or by rising intonation. If rising intonation is a reflex of a Q-morpheme (Cheng & Rooryck 2000, Aboh 2004), the prediction is that creoles are wh-in-situ languages. Creole languages are then problematic for the CTH, since question words occur left-peripheral in them. The correlation is saved, however, if the preposing of question words is due to Focus-movement. In most creoles questions and Focus-constructions are formed via cleft constructions. Thus, it can be argued that creoles do not exhibit wh-movement but Focus-movement.

There are two types of analysis for Focus-constructions: (i) mono-clausal FocusP-analysis; (ii) bi-clausal cleft-analysis. The strict correlation between Focus and Wh-constructions is one of the cornerstones of the cartographic approach to the left periphery (Rizzi 1997). In this approach Wh and Focus target the same position, i.e. the specifier position of FocP. The following creole languages have been analyzed in this framework: Saramaccan (Aboh 2006), Papiamentu (Kouwenberg & Lefebvre 2007), and Jamaican Creole (Durrelman-Tame 2005), all arguing for a mono-clausal analysis. The main evidence concerns the distributional properties of topical and focal elements in the left periphery. The same distribution is also found in Haitian (Fauchois 1982, Manfredi 1993). At the same time, however, it has been argued that se-clefts are bi-clausal in Haitian (Lumsden 1990 and Manfredi 1993 for syntactic evidence, and Anand & Hacquard 2005 for semantic evidence). New data from Jamaican Creole (syntactic and semantic in nature) shows that clefts in this language are bi-clausal as well. This indicates that the distributional evidence is not sufficient enough to establish a mono-clausal analysis. A second problem concerns the position of the Focus marker. In the FocP analysis the expected position would be after the focused phrase. This is the case for Saramaccan, but not for Papiamentu, Jamaican Creole and Haitian. Therefore, we argue for a bi-clausal analysis.

As to the question whether the relation between the clefted element and the gap is created by movement, Adger & Ramchand (2005) argue that "apparent" wh-dependencies can arise from either a movement or a base-generation strategy, where *AGREE* establishes the syntactic connection in the latter case. Crucial diagnostics are not "locality" effects, but "identity" effects. Absence of identity effects have been observed in the following creole languages (Papiamentu: Muysken 1977, Dijkhoff 1983; Sao Tomense: Hagemeyer 2000, Cape Verdean: Veenstra & den Besten 1995). We take this to be evidence for an analysis in terms of base-generation.

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