

Creole Languages in a World-Wide Perspective

SUSANNE MICHAELIS

Max-Planck-Institut für evolutionäre Anthropologie & Universität Gießen
Class 2, 24 August 2010

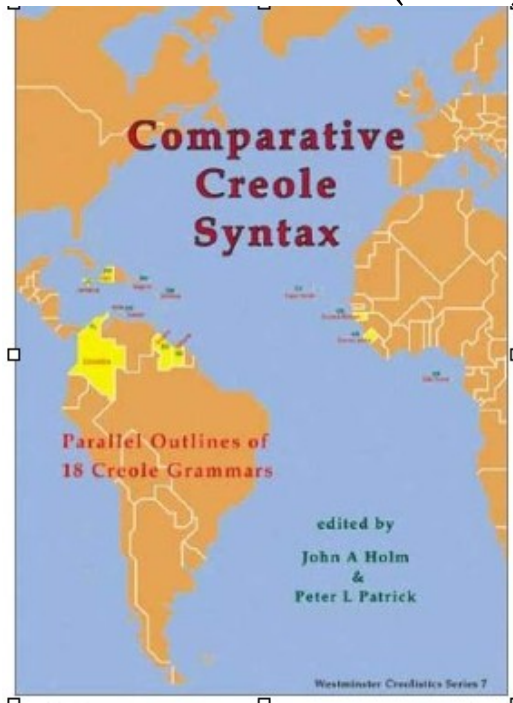
1. Towards a systematic comparison of pidgin and creole language structures

- Creole studies have seen various ambitious attempts at explaining the grammatical features of creole languages (substrates, superstrates, and universal principles)
- BUT: many of these claims were often based on a relatively small amount of merely suggestive data of only one or a few languages (e.g. Bickerton 1981, Chaudenson 1990); even McWhorter (1998, 2001) does not base his claims on a solid systematic database.

Some earlier comparative creole studies, e.g.

- Ivens Ferraz (1987) for Portuguese-based creoles
- Goodman (1964) for French-based creoles
- Hancock (1987) for Atlantic English-based creoles
- Baker (1993) for Pacific English-based pidgins/creoles

Holm & Patrick (2007), *Comparative creole syntax* (London: Battlebridge)



- the first collaborative project: 18 creole languages are described with respect to a questionnaire of 97 morphosyntactic features
- limited to morphosyntax, to 18 languages, and to a book publication without automatic search options
- no summarizing tables for all creoles, no synopses
- features are Atlantic-biased
- some mixing of synchronic and diachronic features, e.g. 8.5 Subordinator from superstrate 'that'; 15.3 Definite article (from superstrate deictic)

2. The *APiCS* project

- large-scale collaborative project gathering grammatical information on 75 pidgin, creole and mixed languages, for 120 grammatical features plus phonological segments and some 25 sociolinguistic features
- each language is the responsibility of a single author (or small author team)

- the four editors (Susanne Michaelis, Philippe Maurer, Martin Haspelmath, Magnus Huber) put the data together and publish them in three forms:
- a printed atlas with 140 maps showing the geographical distribution of features (structural, phonological, sociolinguistic)
- publication of an easily searchable electronic version (freely available online)
- 3 survey volumes of survey chapters giving a concise outline of the structures and sociohistorical profiles of these languages.
- the data were gathered by means of a very detailed, technically sophisticated questionnaire (using FileMaker Pro software)
- authors come from many different countries, and include both leading specialists and junior linguists
- the project setup was discussed in detail in a series of workshops in Leipzig and at a number of creolist conferences (Gießen, Amsterdam, Cayenne, and

elsewhere)

For more information and questionnaire download,
see <http://apics-online.info>

3. The final *APiCS* questionnaire (released in 2008)

Main layout, here for feature 9 ("Position of Definite Article in the Noun Phrase"):

APiCS Main | Main layout | IPA chart | Feature maps | Haitian Creole | Dominique Fattier | go | set lang | Help | Examples | Segments | Feature tallies | References | Contributor/s > | go | Print Layout

9 < sort Position of Definite Article in the Noun Phrase

General comments on value assignment

WALS No.

Select if no information available

Feature Source	Page/s
Dejean 1982	14
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

More lects

Lect

my default lect

Lect count

Custom field for database use

Revised (but still not final) data Multiple-choice feature numeric Example request


Values	Value annotation	Value Choice & Confidence >	True False	Relative importance	Please one example per value,
1 Definite article is preposed	Nicaraguan Creole <i>Di watch man woz de.</i> [ART.DEF watch man COP.PST DEM.LOC]	<input checked="" type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> go
2 Definite article is postposed	Kinubi <i>'jua 'de</i> [house=DET]	<input type="radio"/> <input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="text"/>	64 Very certain	<input type="text"/> go
3 Definite article is circumposed	Possibly Mauritian Creole <i>sa lakaz la</i> [DEF house DEF]	<input checked="" type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> go
4 The language has no definite article	Chinuk Wawa	<input type="radio"/> <input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> go

- For each of the 120 features, a set of between two and nine possible values has been formulated among which the contributors have to choose.
- For example, for Feature 9 "Position of Definite Article in the Noun Phrase" the four permitted values are:

1. Definite article is preposed
2. Definite article is postposed
3. Definite article is circumposed
4. The language has no definite article

- For those features where this makes sense, the contributors may choose several values.
- Since the different choices are often not equally important in terms of usage frequency, the contributors have the chance to indicate a quantitative weighting of the alternative possibilities.

- Example layout (15,240 glossed and translated examples)

		Examples		Main layout	IPA chart	References	Language name	<input type="text" value="Angolar"/>	Help	My file
		Print Layout	Segments	Examples	Contributor name	<input type="text" value="Maurer, Philippe"/>		Backup !	Batavia	
Example number	<input type="text" value="91"/>	Example Type	<input type="text" value="naturalistic spoken"/>	Example source (Author Year)	<input type="text" value="Maurer 1995"/>	go	Pages	<input type="text" value="162"/>	Audio file	Lir
Primary text	<input type="text" value="Anton alê tha futarô."/>									
Analyzed text	<input type="text"/>									
Gloss	<input type="text" value="then king COP thief"/>									Audio file name
Translation	<input type="text" value="Then it is the king who is the thief."/>									
Other translation	<input type="text" value="Alors, le voleur, c'est le roi."/>									
Comments	<input type="text"/>									
Related features										
Feature #	Feature Name		Typical example							
<input type="text" value="73"/>	<input type="text" value="Predicative Noun Phrases"/>	Main layout	<input type="text" value="Mary is a singer"/>							
<input type="text" value="76"/>	<input type="text" value="Predicative Noun Phrases and"/>	Main layout	<input type="text" value="(i) Mary is a singer; (ii) Mary is in town."/>							

4. The languages in *APiCS*

Ambon Malay	Creole	Hawai'i Creole	Creole
Angolar	Creole	Jamaican	Creole
Batavia Creole	Creole	Kinubi	Creole
Belizean Creole	Creole	Korlai	Creole
Berbice Dutch	Creole	Krio	Creole
Cape Verdean		Kriol	Creole
Creole of Brava	Creole	Louisiana Creole	Creole
Cape Verdean		Martinique Creole	Creole
Creole of Santiago	Creole	Mauritian Creole	Creole
Cape Verdean		Negerhollands	Creole
Creole of São		Nengee	Creole
Vicente	Creole	Nicaraguan Creole	
Cavite Chabacano	Creole	English	Creole
Creolese	Creole	Norf'k	Creole
Diu Indo-Portuguese	Creole	Palenquero	Creole
Early Sranan	Creole	Papia Kristang	Creole
Fa d'Ambô	Creole	Papiamentu	Creole
Guadeloupe Creole	Creole	Principense	Creole
Guinea-Bissau		Reunion Creole	Creole
Kriyol	Creole	San Andrés Creole	Creole
Gullah/Geechee	Creole	Santome	Creole
Guyanais	Creole	Saramaccan	Creole
Haitian Creole	Creole	Seychelles Creole	Creole

Sranan	Creole
Sri Lanka	
Portuguese	Creole
Tayo	Creole
Ternate Chabacano	Creole
Trinidad English	
Creole	Creole
Vincentian Creole	Creole
Zamboanga	
Chabacano	Creole
Gurindji Kriol	Mixed
Ma'a/Mbugu	Mixed
Media Lengua	Mixed
Michif	Mixed
Chinese Pidgin	
English	Pidgin
Chinese Pidgin	
Russian	Pidgin
Chinuk Wawa	Pidgin
Eskimo Pidgin	Pidgin
Fanakalo	Pidgin
Pidgin Hawaiian	Pidgin
Pidgin Hindustani	Pidgin

Singapore Bazaar	
Malay	Pidgin
Yimas-Arafundi	
Pidgin	Pidgin
Bislama	Pidgincreole
Cameroon Pidgin	
English	Pidgincreole
Ghanaian Pidgin	
English	Pidgincreole
Juba Arabic	Pidgincreole
Kikongo-Kituba	Pidgincreole
Lingala	Pidgincreole
Nigerian Pidgin	Pidgincreole
Pichi	Pidgincreole
Sango	Pidgincreole
Tok Pisin	Pidgincreole
African American	
English	Semi-Creole
Afrikaans	Semi-Creole
Bahamian Creole	Semi-Creole
Singlish	Semi-Creole
Sri Lankan Malay	Semi-Creole

APiCS languages by world region

Juba Arabic	Africa-Central	English	(America)
Kikongo-Kituba	Africa-Central	Palenquero	Atlantic-New World
Kinubi	Africa-Central	Papiamentu	Atlantic-New World
Lingala	Africa-Central	San Andrés Creole	Atlantic-New World
Ma'a/Mbugu	Africa-Central	Saramaccan	Atlantic-New World
Sango	Africa-Central	Sranan	Atlantic-New World
Afrikaans	Africa-Southern	Trinidad English	
Fanakalo	Africa-Southern	Creole	Atlantic-New World
African American		Vincentian Creole	Atlantic-New World
English	Atlantic-New World	Angolar	Atlantic-West Africa
Bahamian Creole	Atlantic-New World	Cameroon Pidgin	
Belizean Creole	Atlantic-New World	English	Atlantic-West Africa
Berbice Dutch	Atlantic-New World	Cape Verdean	
Creolese	Atlantic-New World	Creole of Brava	Atlantic-West Africa
Early Sranan	Atlantic-New World	Cape Verdean	
Guadeloupe Creole	Atlantic-New World	Creole of Santiago	Atlantic-West Africa
Gullah/Geechee	Atlantic-New World	Cape Verdean	
Guyanais	Atlantic-New World	Creole of São	
Haitian Creole	Atlantic-New World	Vicente	Atlantic-West Africa
Jamaican	Atlantic-New World	Fa d'Ambô	Atlantic-West Africa
Louisiana Creole	Atlantic-New World	Ghanaian Pidgin	
Martinique Creole	Atlantic-New World	English	Atlantic-West Africa
Negerhollands	Atlantic-New World	Guinea-Bissau	
Nengee	Atlantic-New World	Kriyol	Atlantic-West Africa
Nicaraguan Creole	Atlantic-New World	Hawai'i Creole	Atlantic-West Africa

Krio	Atlantic-West Africa	Gurindji Kriol	Pacific/ Australia
Nigerian Pidgin	Atlantic-West Africa	Kriol	Pacific/ Australia
Pichi	Atlantic-West Africa	Norf'k	Pacific/ Australia
Principense	Atlantic-West Africa	Pidgin Hawaiian	Pacific/ Australia
Santome	Atlantic-West Africa	Pidgin Hindustani	Pacific/ Australia
Mauritian Creole	Indian Ocean-Islands	Tayo	Pacific/ Australia
Reunion Creole	Indian Ocean-Islands	Tok Pisin	Pacific/ Australia
Seychelles Creole	Indian Ocean-Islands	Yimas-Arafundi	
Diu Indo-Portuguese	Indian Ocean-South Asia	Pidgin	Pacific/ Australia
	Indian Ocean-South Asia	Chinese Pidgin	
Korlai	Asia	Russian	Russia
Sri Lanka Portuguese	Indian Ocean-South Asia	Ambon Malay	SE Asia
	Indian Ocean-South Asia	Batavia Creole	SE Asia
Sri Lankan Malay	Asia	Cavite Chabacano	SE Asia
Chinuk Wawa	North America	Papia Kristang	SE Asia
Eskimo Pidgin	North America	Singapore Bazaar	
Michif	North America	Malay	SE Asia
Bislama	Pacific/ Australia	Singlish	SE Asia
Chinese Pidgin		Ternate Chabacano	SE Asia
English	Pacific/ Australia	Zamboanga	
		Chabacano	SE Asia
		Media Lengua	South America

5. First *APiCS* maps

Feature 1: Order of Subject, Object, and Verb

Feature 51: Unmarked stative and dynamic verbs

Feature 18: Politeness Distinctions in Second Person Pronouns

Feature 12: Position of Interrogative Phrases in Content Questions

References

- APiCS = Michaelis, Susanne & Maurer, Philippe & Haspelmath, Martin & Huber, Magnus (2012+), *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures (APiCS)*, Oxford: OUP.
- Baker, Philip (1993), "Australian influence on Melanesian Pidgin English", in: *Te Reo* 36, 367.
- Bickerton, Derek (1981), *Roots of Language*, Ann Arbor: Karoma.
- Chaudenson, Robert (1979), *Les créoles français*, Paris: Nathan.
- Chaudenson, Robert (1992), *Des îles, des hommes, des langues. Langues créoles – cultures créoles*, Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Goodman, Morris F. (1964), *A comparative study of creole French dialects*, Den Haag: Mouton.
- Hancock, Ian (1987), "A preliminary classification of the anglophone Atlantic Creoles with syntactic data from thirty-three representative dialects", in: Gilbert, Glenn G. (Hrsg.), *Pidgin and Creole Languages. Essays in Memory of John E. Reinicke*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 264-333.
- Holm, John & Patrick, Peter (Hrsg.) (2007), *Comparative Creole Syntax*, London: Battlebridge.
- Ivens Ferraz, Luíz (1987), "Portuguese Creoles of West Africa and Asia", in: Gilbert, Glenn G. (Hrsg.), *Pidgin and Creole Languages: Essays in Memory of John E. Reinecke*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 337-360.
- McWhorter, John (2001a), "The world's simplest grammars are creole grammars", in: *Linguistic Typology* 5, 125-166.
- McWhorter, John (2001b), "What people ask David Gil and why: Rejoinder to the replies", in: *Linguistic Typology* 5, 388-412.
- McWhorter, John (1998), "[Identifying the creole prototype: Vindicating a typological class](#)", *Language* 74 (4): 788-818.

Appendix

APiCS questionnaire by Feature number

- 1 Order of Subject, Object and Verb
- 2 Order of Possessor and Possessum
- 3 Order of Adjective and Noun
- 4 Order of Adposition and Noun Phrase
- 5 Order of Demonstrative and Noun
- 6 Order of Cardinal Numeral and Noun
- 7 Order of Relative Clause and Noun
- 8 Order of Degree Word and Adjective
- 9 Position of Definite Article in the Noun Phrase
- 10 Position of Indefinite Article in the Noun Phrase
- 11 Order of Adverb, Verb and Object: 'Often'
- 12 Position of Interrogative Phrases in Content Questions
- 61 Order of Recipient and Theme in Ditransitive Constructions
- 62 Expression of Pronominal Subjects
- 63 Expletive Subject in 'Seem' Construction
- 64 Expletive Subject of Existential Verb
- 65 Raining Constructions
- 66 Experiencer Constructions: 'Headache'
- 67 Experiencer Constructions: 'Like'
- 68 Experiencer Constructions: 'Fear'
- 69 Instrumental Expressions
- 70 Comitatives and Instrumentals
- 71 Noun Phrase Conjunction and

- 13 Gender Distinctions in Independent Personal Pronouns
- 14 Dual in Independent Personal Pronouns
- 15 Inclusive/Exclusive Distinction in Independent Personal Pronouns
- 16 Person Syncretism in Independent Personal Pronouns
- 17 Special Dependent Personal Pronouns
- 18 Politeness Distinctions in Second Person Pronouns
- 19 Interrogative Pronouns
- 20 Pronoun Conjunction
- 21 Indefinite Pronouns
- 22 Occurrence of Nominal Plural Markers
- 23 Expression of Nominal Plural Meaning
- 24 The Associative Plural
- 25 Nominal Plural Marker and 3rd Person Plural Pronoun
- 26 Functions of Reduplication
- 27 Anti-Dual of Paired Body Part Terms
- Comitative
- 72 Nominal and Verbal Conjunction
- 73 Predicative Noun Phrases
- 74 Predicative Adjectives
- 75 Predicative Locative Phrases
- 76 Predicative Noun Phrases and Predicative Locative Phrases
- 77 Predicative Possession
- 78 Existential Verb and Transitive Possession Verb
- 79 Motion-to and Motion-from
- 80 Going to Named Places
- 81 Coming from Named Places
- 82 Transitive Motion Verbs: 'Push'
- 83 Transitive Motion Verbs: 'Pull'
- 84 'Come' and 'Go' Serial Verb Constructions
- 85 'Take' Serial Verb Constructions
- 86 'Give' Serial Verb Constructions
- 87 Reflexive Constructions
- 88 Intensifiers and Reflexive

- 28 Definite Articles
 - 29 Indefinite Articles
 - 30 Generic Noun Phrases in Subject Function
 - 31 Cooccurrence of Demonstrative and Definite Article
 - 32 Pronominal and Adnominal Demonstratives
 - 33 Distance Contrasts in Demonstratives
 - 34 Distributive Numerals
 - 35 Ordinal Numerals
 - 36 Numeral Classifiers
 - 37 Marking of Pronominal Possessors
 - 38 Marking of Possessor Noun Phrases
 - 39 Independent Pronominal Possessor
 - 40 Gender Agreement of Adnominal Adjectives
 - 41 Comparative Adjective Marking
 - 42 Comparative Standard Marking
 - 43 Position of Tense, Mood and Aspect Markers in relation to the verb
- Pronouns
 - 89 Reciprocal and Reflexive Constructions
 - 90 Passive Constructions
 - 91 Applicative Constructions
 - 92 Subject Relative Clauses
 - 93 Direct Object Relative Clauses
 - 94 Instrument Relative Clauses
 - 95 Complementizer with Verbs of Speaking
 - 96 Complementizer with Verbs of Knowing
 - 97 'Want' Complement Subjects
 - 98 Complements of 'Think' and 'Want'
 - 99 Temporal Clause Verb Doubling
 - 100 Negative Morpheme Types
 - 101 Position of Standard Negation
 - 102 Negation and Indefinite Pronouns
 - 103 Polar Questions

- 44 Internal Order of Tense, Mood, and Aspect Markers
- 45 Tightness of Link between Past Marker and Verb
- 46 Tightness of Link between Progressive Marker and Verb
- 47 Uses of the Progressive Marker
- 48 Uses of the Habitual Marker
- 49 Tense-Aspect Systems
- 50 Negation and Tense-Aspect-Mood Marking
- 51 Unmarked Stative and Dynamic Verbs
- 52 Aspect Markers and Inchoative Meaning
- 53 Aspect Change in Verb Chains
- 54 Suppletion according to Tense and Aspect
- 55 Ability Verb and Epistemic Possibility
- 56 The Prohibitive
- 57 Marking of Patient Noun Phrases
- 58 Alignment of Case Marking of Full
- 104 Nominal Cleft Construction
- 105 Verb Doubling and Focus
- 106 Focus Particle 'Also'
- 107 Vocative Marker
- 108 Para-Linguistic Usages of Clicks
- 109 Pequeninho
- 110 Save
- 111 Tears
- 112 Hand and Arm
- 113 Finger and Toe
- 114 Body Hair and Feather
- 115 Hear and Smell
- 116 Green and Blue
- 117 Female and Male Animals
- 118 Syllable Onsets
- 119 Syllable Codas
- 120 Tone

Noun Phrases

- 59 Alignment of Case Marking of Pronouns
- 60 Ditransitive ('Give') Constructions