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Creole Languages in a World-Wide Perspective

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APiCS features in *WALS* (continued)

Feature 15: Inclusive/Exclusive Distinction in Independent Personal Pronouns

- question how independent personal pronouns express ‘we’-like concepts
- **inclusive** and **exclusive** pronouns differ in that
an **inclusive pronoun** necessarily includes reference to the addressee and means ‘we = I and you’; others can optionally be included;

an **exclusive pronoun** excludes the addressee from the reference, resulting in a meaning like 'I and some others, **but not you**'.

Kriol (E, Australia; Schultze-Berndt 2012)

(1) *Mindubala Namij kol-im dardaga.*

1DU.EXCL Namij call-TR plant.species

'Namij and I (in our language, Ngarinyman) call it dardaga (an edible plant).'

(2) *Yunmi labda go bek la im.*

1DU.INCL OBLIG go back LOC 3SG

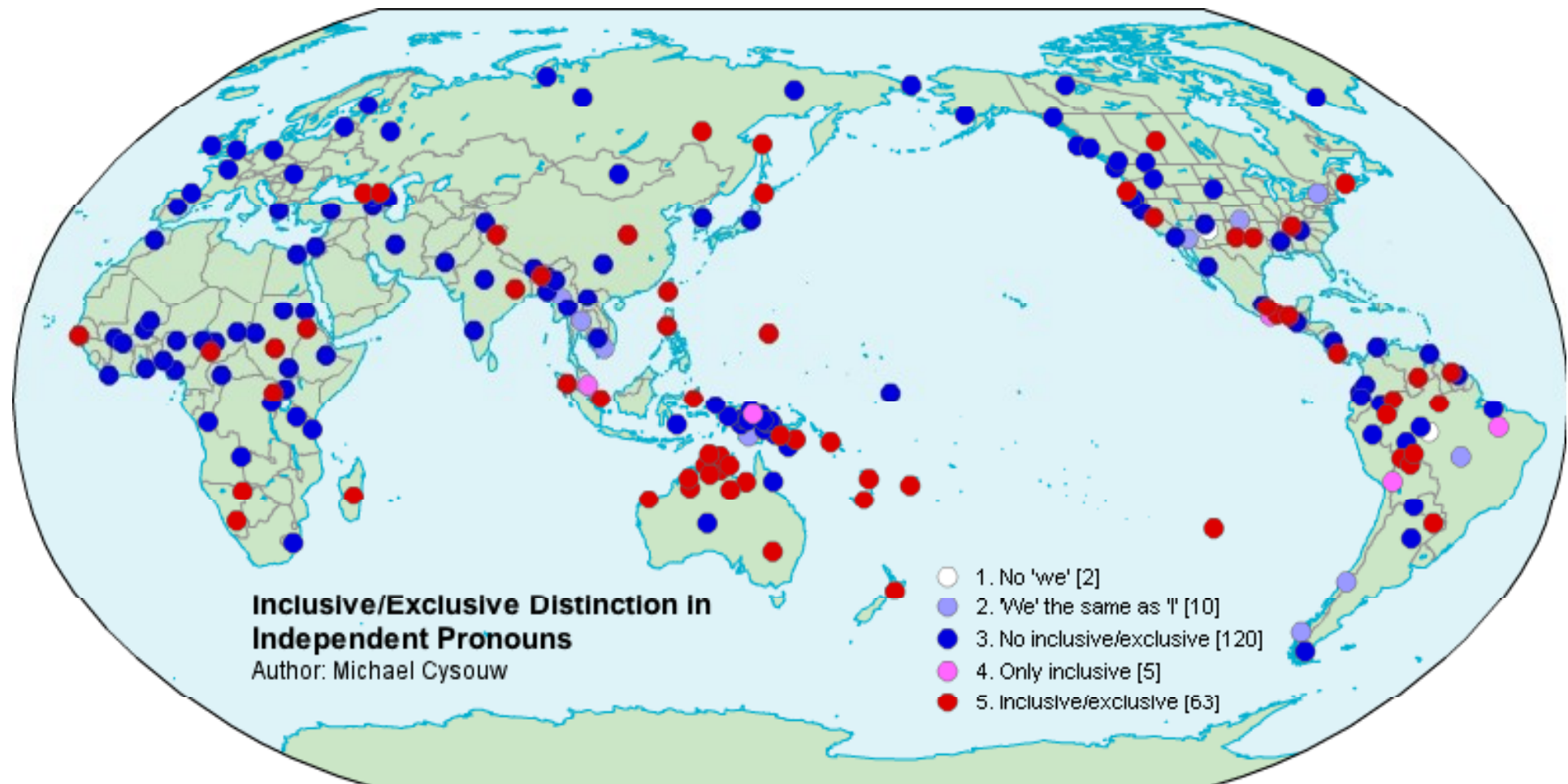
'You and I should go back to/for her.'

Tok Pisin: *yumi* 1PL.INCL vs. *mipela* 1PL.EXCL

Bislama: *yumi* 1PL.INCL vs. *mifala* 1PL.EXCL

Feature 15: Inclusive/Exclusive Distinction in Independent Personal Pronouns

Comparison with *WALS* map (Cysouw 2005):



- *APiCS* pattern seems to mirror Australian and Oceanic substrate languages.

Feature 58: Alignment of Case Marking of Full Noun Phrases (WALS 81)

- **alignment** refers to the comparison between the marking of the **A** (transitive agent/subject) argument and the **P** (transitive patient/object) argument with the marking of the **S** (intransitive subject) argument;
- only case-marking/adpositional marking of full NPs is considered (word order is ignored; person marking on the verb is also ignored);
- if case-marking/adpositional marking is optional or variable, it is counted in the same way as if it were obligatory and invariant.

value 1: neutral (A, P and S coded in the same way, usually zero-marked)

Cape Verdean Creole of Brava (P, Atlantic; Baptista 2012)

(3) *Piskador mata tibarón.*

fisherman kill shark

'The fisherman killed the shark.'

(4) *Ladron toma dinheru.*
thief take money
'The thief took the money.'

Pichi (E, Africa; Yakpo 2012)

(5) *È brok dī plet.*
3SG.SBJ break DEF plate
'She broke the plate.'

(6) *Dī glas brok.*
DEF glas break
'The glas broke/is broken.'

Jamaican (E, Atlantic; Farquharson 2012)

(7) *Jan kot di pitieta.*
John cut DET potato
'John cut the potato.'

- (8) *Jan fuul.*
John foolish
'John is foolish.'

value 2: Nominative-accusative (standard); A is coded like S (often zero), P is coded differently (with accusative case, here prepositions *con* and *kung*)

Cavite Chabacano (S, SE Asia: Sippola 2012)

- (9) *Ya coge el mga pulis con el ladron.*
PFV catch the PL police OBJ the thief
'The policemen caught the thief.'

- (10) *Ya quebra el baso cuando ya cae na mesa.*
PFV break DEF glass when PFV fall LOC table
'The glass broke when it fell from the table.'

Batavia Creole (P, SE Asia; Maurer 2012b)

(11) *Choma kung kusir.*

call OBJ coachman

'Call the coachman.'

(12) *Akel karni ste fede.*

DEM **meat** PROG smell

'This meat smells.'

value 4: Ergative-absolutive (P is coded like S (generally zero), A is coded differently (with ergative case)).

Gurindji Kriol (Mixed language, Australia, Meakins 2012)

(13) *karu-ngku im pangkily im marluka.*

child-ERG 3SG hit.on.head 3SG old.man

'The kid hit the old man on the head.'

(14) *Det warlaku makin fens-ta.*

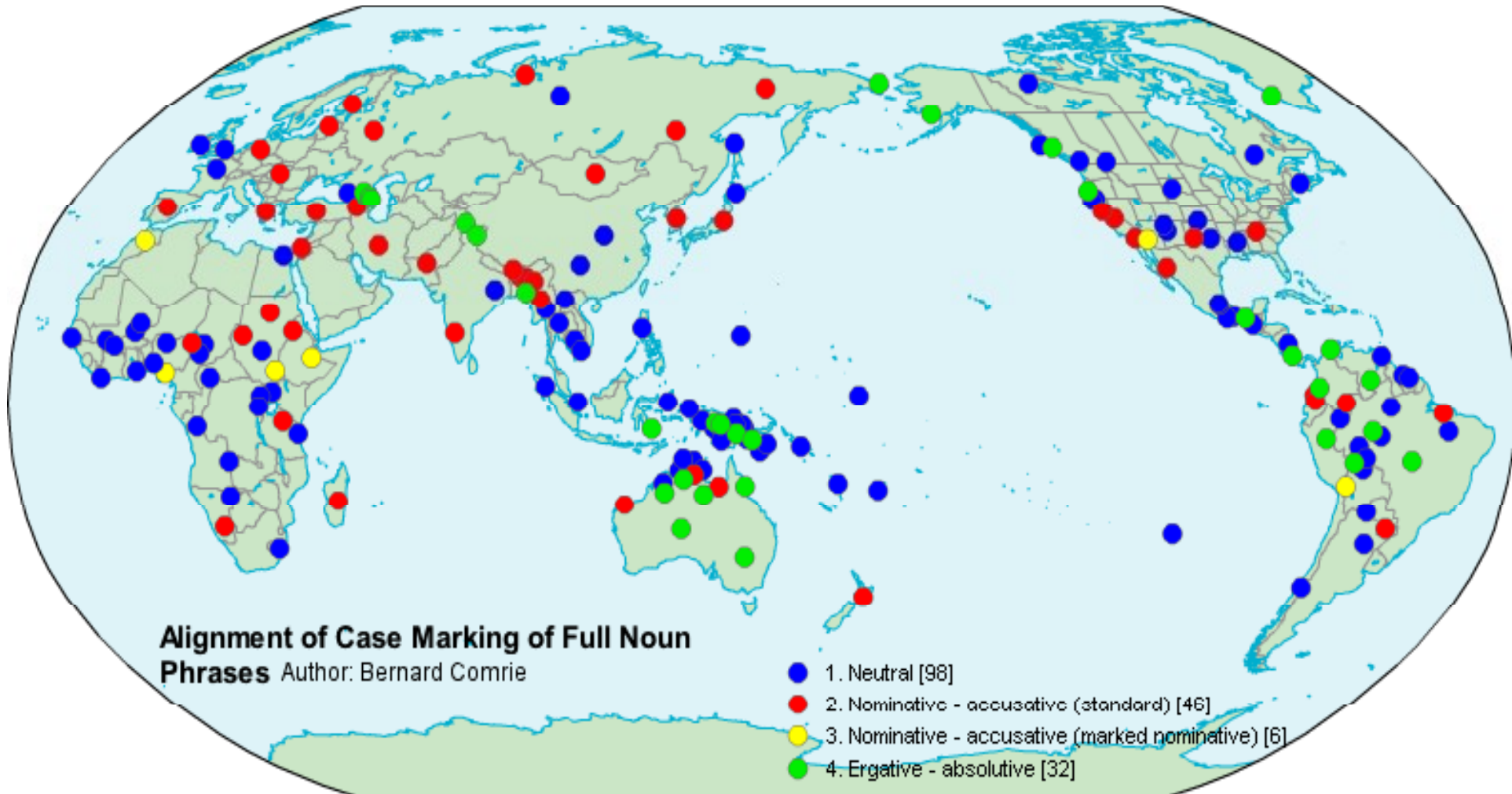
DET dog sleep fence-LOC

'The dog sleeps by the fence.'

But Meakins notes: "Gurindji Kriol is an optional ergative language. Arguments are marked optionally with an ergative suffix. Ergative markers occasionally appear on intransitive subjects. The use of the ergative marker relies on the discourse structure of an utterance." (Meakins 2012)

Feature 58: Alignment of Case Marking of Full Noun Phrases

Comparison with *WALS* map (Comrie 2005)



- Again, there is some substrate patterning.

Feature 59: Alignment of case marking in pronouns (WALS 99)

- case-marking/adpositional marking of pronouns
- If only some of the pronouns make a nominative-accusative distinction (e.g. 3_{SG}), then this is treated in the same way as a language in which all pronouns make such a distinction.

value 2: Nominative-accusative (standard)

Mauritian Creole (F, Indian Ocean, Baker & Kriegel 2012)

(15) *mo bat twa; to bat mwa*
1_{SG} hit 2_{SG.FAM} 2_{SG.FAM} hit 1_{SG}
'I hit you (familiar); you (familiar) hit me'

only in 1_{SG}/2_{SG.FAM} persons case marking

(16) Creolese: only in 3_{SG} *ii* vs. *am* ('s/he' vs. 'him'/'her')

Early Sranan (E, Atlantic, Bruyn & van den Berg 2012)

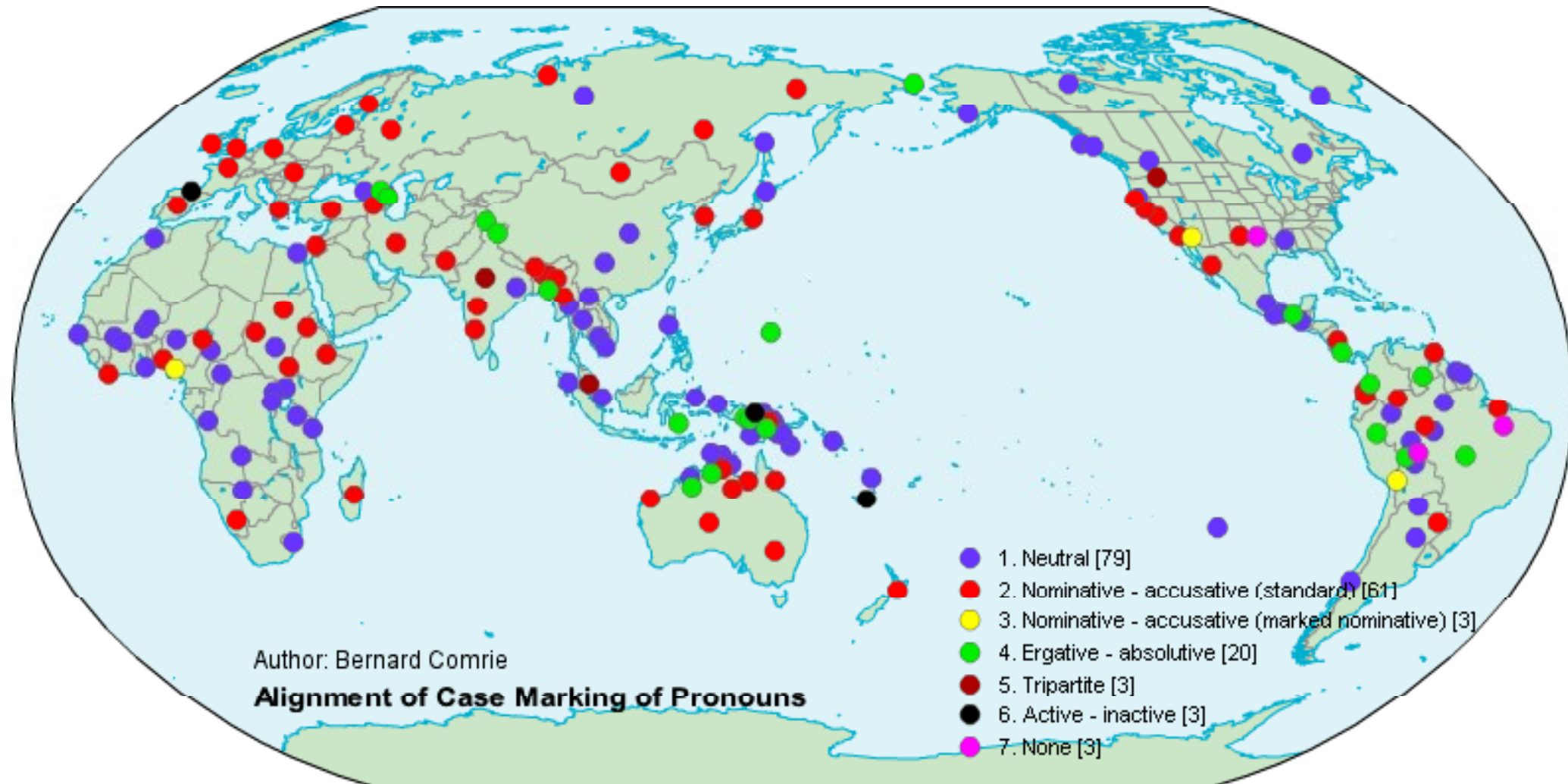
(17) A *bossi* *hem.*
 3SG.SBJ kiss 3SG

'S/he kissed him/her. In context: He [Judas] kissed him [Jesus].'

- a lot more contact languages show nominative–accusative alignment with pronouns than with full nouns
- this seems to be also the case in the world-wide sample analyzed by Comrie 2005, see map below; pronouns are more often case-marked than nouns.

Feature 59: Alignment of case marking in pronouns

Comparison with WALS (Comrie 2005)



Feature 12: Position of Interrogative Phrases in Content Questions (WALS 93)

- Especially in languages with verb-object order, the interrogative phrase (or “wh-phrase”) is normally or obligatorily fronted in content questions, i.e. occurs initially in the clause.
- In other languages, they can occur in the position in which they would occur in the corresponding declaratives (“in situ”), or in another special position (e.g. a preverbal focus position).
- In this feature we only distinguish two possibilities: initial and non-initial (i.e. *in situ*, or in some other non-initial position)

value 1: interrogative phrase initial

Palenquero (S, South Africa, Schwegler 2012)

- (18) ¿**Aonde** *ele* *polé* *komblá* *sebbesa*?
where he/she can buy beer
'Where can s/he buy (a) beer?'

Media Lengua (mixed language, South America; Muysken 2012)

- (19) *kwandudi tuyu ixada shutichirkangi*
kwandu-di tuyu ixa-da shuti-chi-rka-ngi
when-EMPH 2POSS daughter-ACC name-CAUS-PST-2SG
'When did you have your daughter baptized?'

value 2: interrogative phrase not initial

Ma'a/Mbugu (mixed language, Africa, Mous 2012)

- (20) *é-ku-?o-íye ahoni?*
3SG-OBJ.2SG-give-PRF what
'What did he give you?'

Kinubi (A, creole, Africa, Luffin 2012)

- (21) *dé múnú?*
DET who
'Who's that?'

languages which show both values

Chinese Pidgin English (E, pidgin, extinct, SE Asia; Matthews & Li & Baker 2012)

(22) *What thing you wantchee?*

what thing 2SG want

'What things do you want?'

(23) *My owe you how muchee money?*

1SG owe 2SG how much money

'How much do I owe you?'

"This example shows the *wh*- phrase *in-situ* following Chinese syntax." (Matthews & Li & Baker 2012)

(24) *You thinkee what time ship can come?*

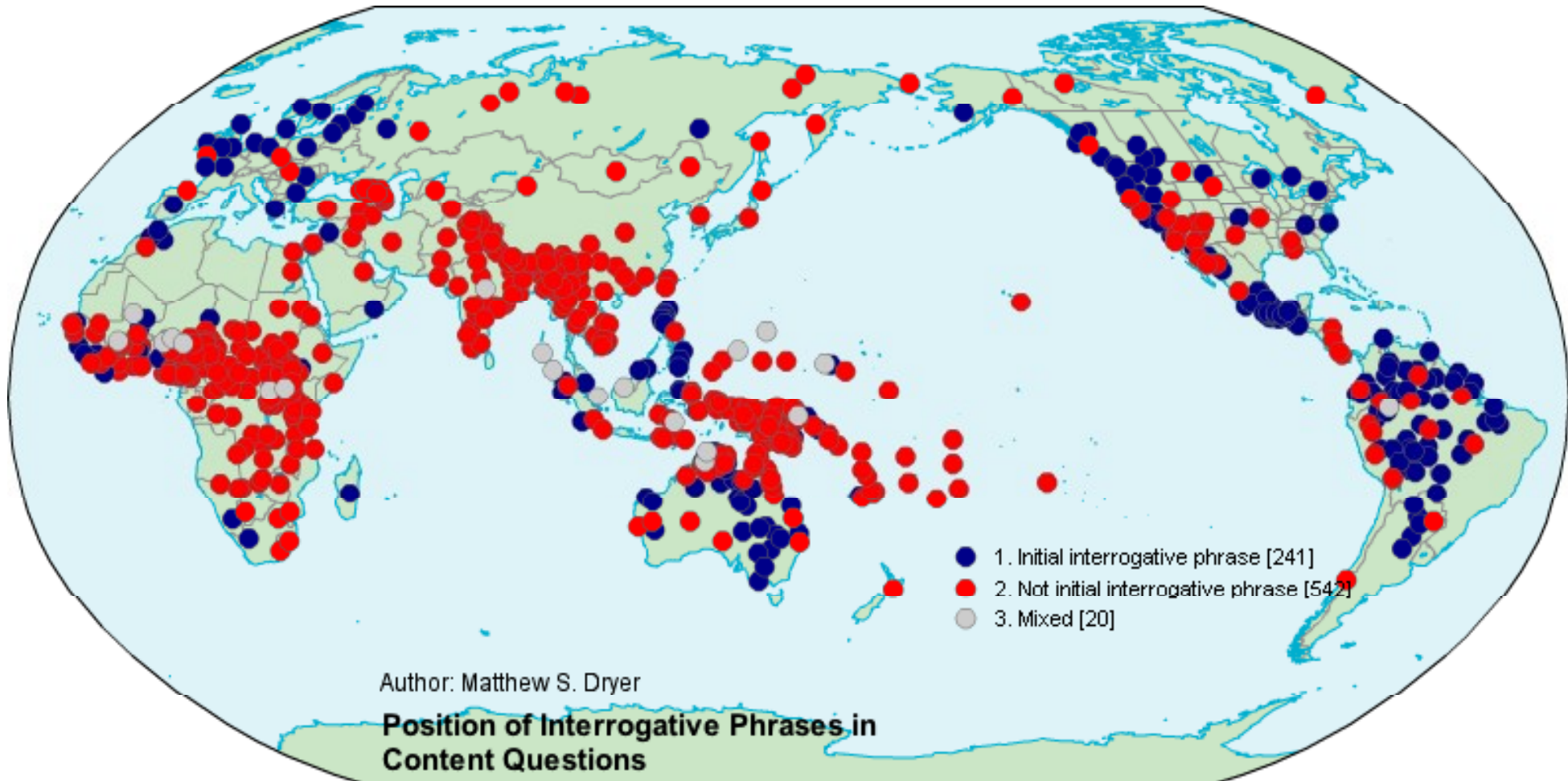
2SG think what time ship can come

'When do you expect the ship to arrive?' OR: 'When do you expect the ship's arrival?'

"The placement of the interrogative phrase 'what time' at the front of the embedded clause is an intermediate option, between Chinese and English but not attested in either language ." (Matthews & Li & Baker 2012)

Feature 12: Position of Interrogative Phrases in Content Questions

Comparison with *WALS* map (Dryer 2005):



- contact languages of the Atlantic and Indian Ocean seem to follow the European model: Interrogative phrase is initial against the main African pattern which is at the

same time the most widespread pattern in the world's languages

- contact languages of India, South East Asia and the Pacific seem to follow the substrate pattern

Feature 71: Noun Phrase Conjunction and Comitative (WALS 63)

- question
whether a language uses a **different marker** for noun phrase conjunction (e.g. English *John **and** Mary went to the movies*) and comitative phrases (e.g. *John went to the movies **with** Mary*), as is the case in English (*and* vs. *with*), or whether the language has the same marker for noun phrase conjunction and comitative phrases, as e.g. in Principense (*ki* renders both 'and' and 'with').

value 1: Identity ('and' identical to 'with')

Angolar (P, Africa, Maurer 2012a)

(25) *Peru ki Dho ba potho.*

Peter with John go town
'Peter and John went to town.'

(26) *N'thuala ki lôthô rosi n'tu.*
oyster with rice nice very
'Oysters with rice are very good.'

ki is referring to 'with' and 'and'.

Martinican Creole (F, Caribbean, Colot & Ludwig 2012)

(27) *Joj épi Jéra ay péché.*
Joj with Jéra go fish
'Joj and Jéra went fishing.'

(28) *Joj ay péché épi Jéra.*
Joj go fish with Jéra
'Joj went fishing with Jéra.'

(*épi* < French *et puis* 'and then')

value 2: Differentiation ('and' different from 'with')

e.g.

Jamaican (*an* vs. *wid*)

African American English (*and* vs. *with*)

Creolese (*an* vs. *wid*)

Ghanaian Pidgin English (ϵn vs. *wit*)

Afrikaans (*en* vs. *met*)

Hawai'i Creole ($\ae n$ vs. *wid*)

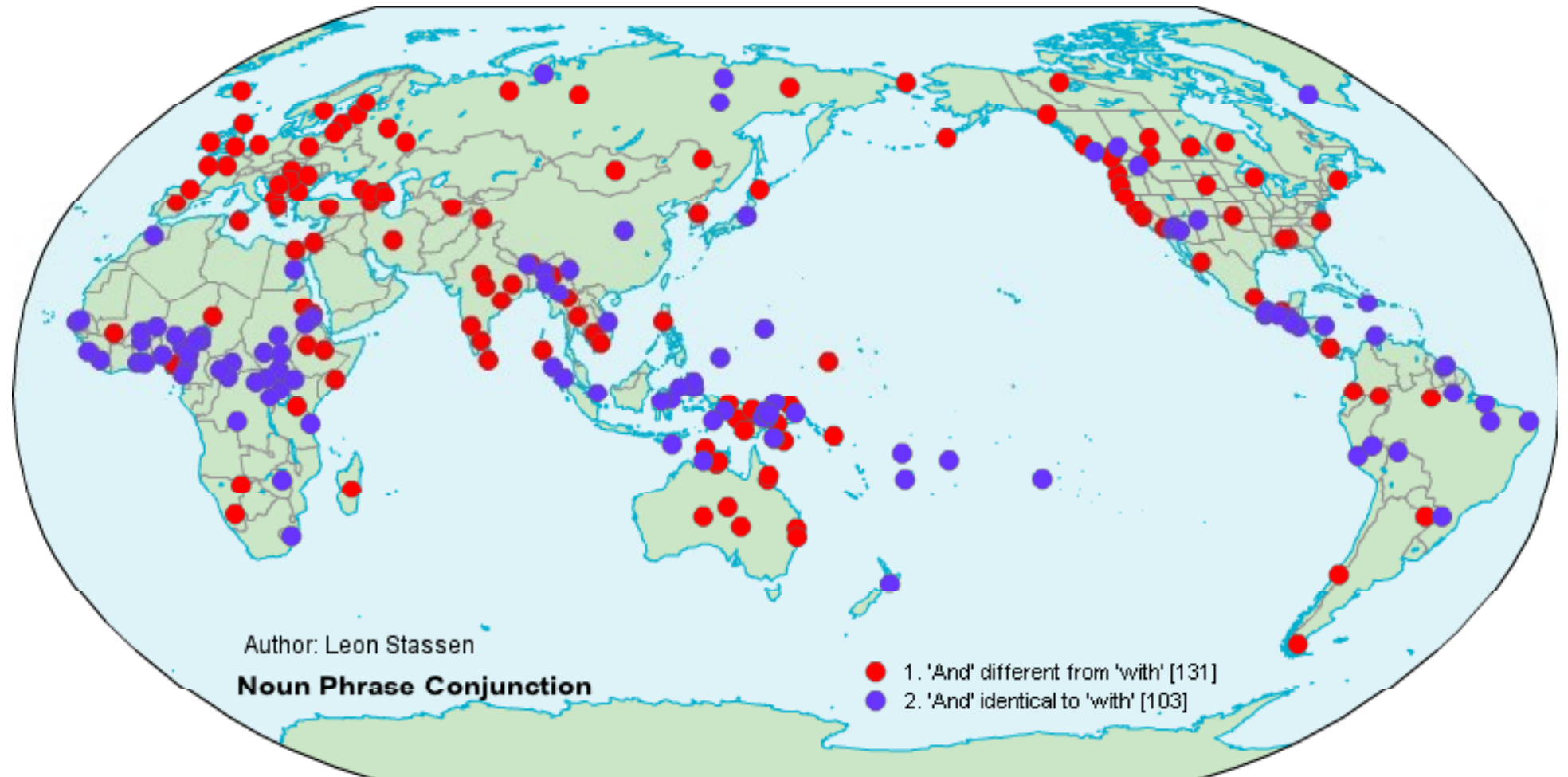
Juba Arabic (*wa* vs. *ma*)

Ternate Chabacano (*i* vs. *con*)

Tayo (*epi* vs. *ave(k)*)

Feature 71: Noun Phrase Conjunction and Comitative

Comparison with *WALS* (Stassen 2005)



Very interesting patterns:

- Sub-Saharan Africa overwhelmingly shows 'and' identical to 'with'-marking
- except for Louisiana Creole (and the overlap status of Haitian Creole), all other **Romance-based creoles** of the Caribbean, the Atlantic and Indian Ocean show the polysemy pattern "noun phrase conjunction marker = comitative marker" which can be clearly traced back to African substrate influence.
- for the **English-based pidgins/creoles** the picture is more complex: the only English-based creoles of the Caribbean/ Atlantic which show the polysemy pattern are the Surinam/French Guiana creoles Nengee, Saramaccan, and Sranan (not clear whether Nicaraguan Creole English consistently also shows this marking).
- most interestingly, this polysemy does not exist in the following Atlantic/ African English-based (pidgin)creoles with heavy West African

substrates/adstrates:

Gullah/Geechee, Bahamian, Jamaican, Vincentian, Creolese, Trinidadian, San Andrés, Belizean, Krio, Ghanaian Pidgin English

Feature 112: Hand and Arm (WALS 129)

- identity or differentiation between 'hand' and 'arm' (forearm, from the elbow downwards).

Value 1: Identity. 'Hand' and 'arm' are not differentiated lexically, the same word is used to refer to both body parts and there is no word that denotes only 'hand' or only 'arm'.

Value 2: Differentiation. One word denotes 'hand' and another (possibly related) word denotes 'arm'.

Value 3: Overlap. This covers cases of semantic overlap, where there are two different (possibly related) words, but one of them denotes 'hand and arm' and the other only 'hand' or only 'arm'.

Value 4: Identity and differentiation. There are at least three words; one denotes 'hand', one denotes 'arm', and the third denotes 'hand and arm'.

value 1: identity

Guinea-Bissau Kriyol *mon*

Juba Arabic *ída*

Early Sranan *hann*

Sranan *anu*

Jamaican *han*

Krio *an*

Lingala *lobóko*

Diu Indo-Portuguese *mãw*

Yimas-Arafundi Pidgin *manḡanḡ*

Creolese *han*

value 2: differentiation

- all French-based Creoles of *APiCS*:

Haitian Creole, Guadeloupe Creole, Martinican Creole, Guyanais, Louisiana Creole, Seychelles Creole, Mauritian Creole, Reunion Creole, Tayo;

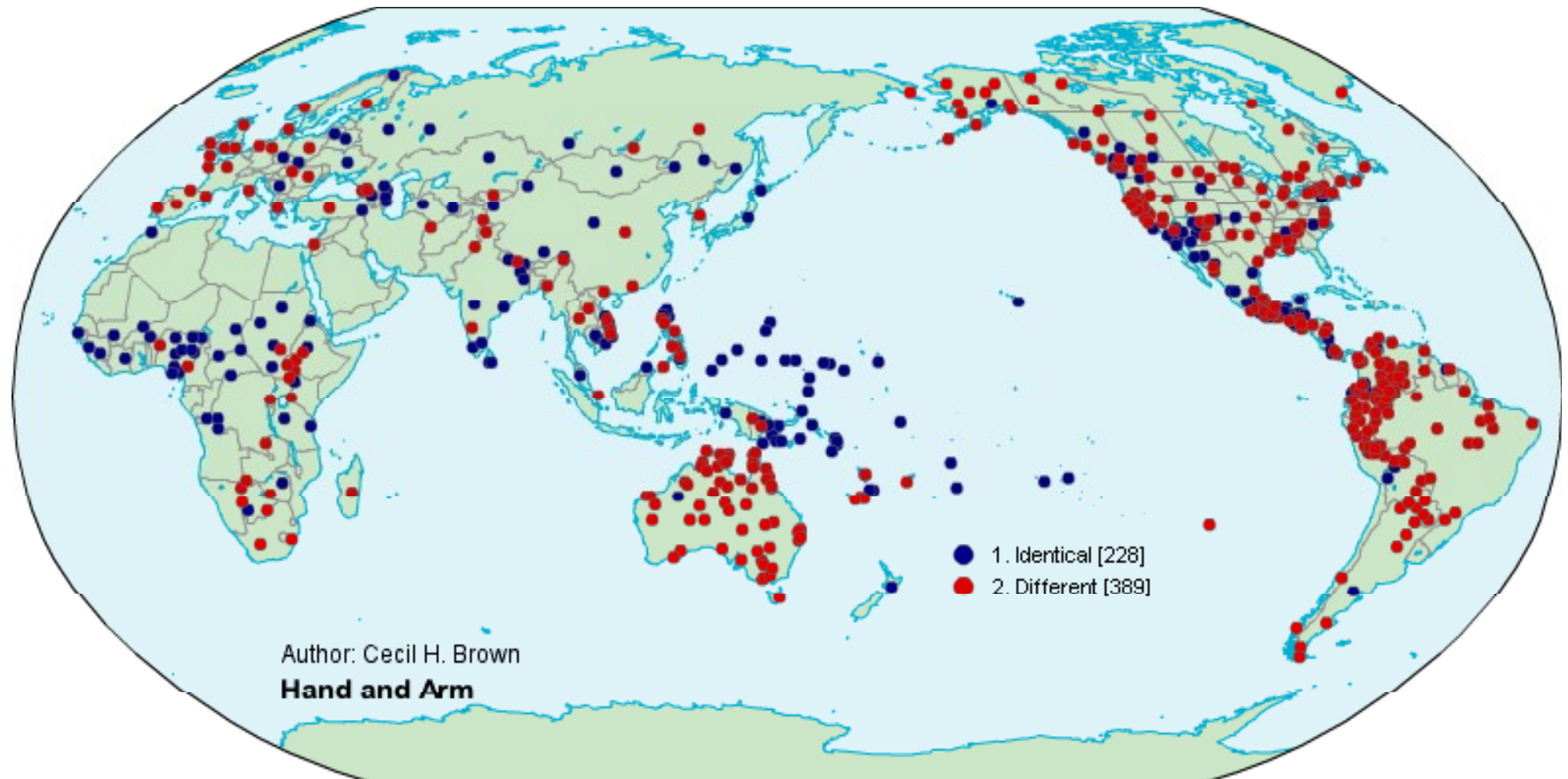
- Negerhollands

- except for Gullah/Geechee, ALL English-based creoles of the Caribbean/South America have one word to refer to hand and arm.

- except for Ghanian Pidgin English, ALL English-based pidgins/creoles of Africa have one word to refer to hand and arm.

Feature 112: Hand and Arm

Comparison with WALS (Brown 2005)



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