1. Adnominal possessive constructions (Features 2, 37, 38, 39)

- Here, I do not consider *predicative* possessive constructions (cf. Features 77-78), but only *adnominal* possessive constructions ("genitive constructions").

**Feature 2: Order of Possessor and Possessum**

- This feature concerns the word order within an attributive possessive construction, i.e. the order of the *possessor* noun phrase with respect to the head noun (or *possessum*): *Peter's house vs. the roof of the house*. The marking of the possessor is
disregarded here (see Features 37 and 38).

value 1: Possessor – Possessum (only):

• English/Dutch-based languages, except for Tok Pisin and Bislama

  (1) Berbice Dutch Creole (D, Guiana; Kouwenberg 2012)
      \[ \text{di jɛrna papa} \]
      the woman father 'the woman's father'

• Asian languages like Chinese Pidgin English, Pidgin Hindustani, Sri Lankan Malay

  (2) Pidgin Hindustani (Hindi, Pacific; Siegel 2012)
      \[ \text{Daya ke kuta} \]
      Daya POSS dog 'Daya's dog'

• North American languages (Eskimo Pidgin, Chinuk Wawa, Michif)

  (3) Chinuk Wawa (Amerindian, North America; Grant 2012)
man yáka kánim
man 3sg canoe 'the man's canoe'

value 2: Possessum – Possessor (only):

• French-based languages
• Portuguese/Spanish-based languages
  (4) Angolar (P, Gulf of Guinea; Maurer 2012b)
    mulu kai
    wall house 'the wall of the house'

• African languages like Sango, Lingala, Fanakalo, Mbugu/Ma'a, Kinubi, Juba
  Arabic

  (5) Lingala (Bantu, Africa; Meeuwis 2012)
    ndáko ya mobáli
    house of man 'the house of the man'
values 1/2: Both orders allowed:
• many English/Dutch-based languages

(6) Gullah/Geechee (E, North America; Klein 2012)
  a. God work                   'God's work'
  b. de foot ob de tree         'the root of the trees'

(7) Early Sranan (E, Surinam; Bruyn & van den Berg 2012)
  a. da man nem                 'that man's name'
  b. slotelen fo jarri          'the key of the garden'

• Mauritian Creole, Seychelles Creole

(8) Seychelles Creole (F, Indian Ocean; Michaelis & Rosalie 2012)
  a. Marcel son lakaz
     Marcel his house            'Marcel's house'
  b. lakaz Marcel
     house Marcel                'Marcel's house'

• Asian Portuguese-based languages: Batavia Creole, Diu Indo-Portuguese, Korlai,
Papia Kristang, Sri Lanka Portuguese (plus Zamboanga Chabacano)

(9) Batavia Creole (P, Indonesia; Mauer 2012c)

\[\text{chang } \text{di sua moler su pai}\]
land of \[[\text{POSS.3SG wife}] \text{ POSS.3SG father}]]
'the property of his wife’s father'

• Ambon Malay, Singapore Bazaar Malay

(10) Ambon Malay (M, Indonesia; Paauw 2012)

a. \(\text{katon pung ruma~ruma}\)
\(1\text{PL POSS PL~house}\) 'our houses'

b. \(\text{tampa tinggal antua}\)
place live \(3\text{SG.FORMAL}\) 'her residence'

• Gurindji Kriol, Yimas-Arafundi Pidgin
Feature 2: Order of Possessor and Possessum

Comparison with WALS map (Dryer 2005)
Feature 38: Marking of Possessor Noun Phrases

• Here the question is **how** the possessor noun phrase is marked in an adnominal possessive construction (‘the man’s house’, ‘the roof of my house’).

• Often pronominal possessors are treated differently from full noun phrases. Here we only look at (non-pronominal) full noun phrases. (For pronominal possessors, see Feature 37)

• Note that we ignore word order here. (For word order, see Feature 2.)

• In possessive constructions such as 'the man's house', the possessed noun ('house') is head and the possessor ('man') is dependent.

**value 2: Possessor is marked by an adposition or case** (dependent-marked)

(A) from lexifier 'of' (of/van/de, etc.)

   Afrikaans *van*, Cape Verdean Creole *de*, Guinea-Bissau Kriyol *di*, Hawai'i Creole/
Singlish 's, Ternate/Zamboanga Chabacano di/de, Pidgin Hindustani ke (cf. ex. 2), Ma'a/Mbugu -a

(B) from lexifier 'belong' or other adposition
Melanesian Pidgin b(i)long, Kriol blanga, Juba Arabic ta, Guadeloupe/Haitian Creole a, Tayo pu, Saramaccan u (< for)

(10) Kriol (E, Australia; Schultze-Berndt 2012)
\[
\text{blanga men kantri} \\
\text{POSS man country} \quad \text{'the man's country'}
\]

(11) Sranan (E, Surinam; Winford & Plag 2012)
\[
\text{a plan fu a Masra} \\
\text{DET plan of DET Master} \quad \text{'the Lord's plan'}
\]

(C) from lexifier 'his'
Korlai su, Sri Lanka Portuguese -su, Papia Kristang sa, Afrikaans se

(12) Korlai (P, India; Clements 2012)
pay  su  kadz
father  GEN  house  'father's house' (~ kadz pay su);
(earlier possessive pronoun was reanalyzed as genitive postposition)

(D) unclear origin
Ambon Malay pung (10a), Fanakalo ga, Lingala ya (5), Sango ti, Sri Lankan Malay -pe

value 4: Possessor has no marking

• widespread in Atlantic English-based and French-based languages (cf. examples 1, 4, 6a, 7a, 8b)
  (13) Bahamian Creole (E, Caribbean; Hackert 2012)
  the boy uncle  'the boy's uncle'

  (14) Guyanais (F, French Guiana; Pfänder 2012)
  liv  Cyril a
book Cyril DEF 'Cyril's book'

• widespread in pidgins
  (15) Chinese Pidgin English (E, China; Matthews & Li & Baker 2012)
  Deer sinew makee cook proper.
  deer sinew make cook proper
  'Boil the deer's sinew thoroughly.'

value 1: Possessor is marked by indexing on the head noun

• The possessed noun (the head, e.g. 'house') agrees in person and number with the
  possessor noun (e.g. possessive pronoun 'his'), this is the most common pattern for
  head-marked noun phrases.

• A number of Atlantic English/Dutch-based languages, plus French-based
  languages of the Indian Ocean (cf. Seychelles Creole, ex. 8a).

  (16) Krio (E, West Africa; Finney 2012)
  di man ɨ os
\( \text{DET man POSS house 'the man's house'} \)

(17) Negerhollands (D, Caribbean; van Sluijs et al. 2012)
\( \text{di mēnshi shi hā} \)
\( \text{DET girl 3.POSS hair 'the girl's hair'} \)

- Also in Chinuk Wawa (cf. ex. 3) and Batavia Creole (cf. ex. 9). But distinguishing indexing from postposition may sometimes be difficult (compare ex. 9 with 12).
Feature 38: Marking of Possessor Noun Phrases

Comparison with WALS (Nichols & Bickel 2005)
Feature 37: Marking of Pronominal Possessors

• This feature concerns the expression of adnominal possession when the possessor is a (non-focused, non-contrastive) personal pronoun (e.g. ‘my book’, ‘her mother’, ‘your hair’).

• Personal pronouns expressing possessors are typically called possessive pronouns. They may be separate words (preceding or following the possessum, values 1-2), or affixes (prefixes or suffixes) on the possessum (values 3-4). Another possibility is that pronominal possessors are linked to the possessum by an adposition, with the adpositional phrase preceding or following the possessum (values 5-6).

value 1: Preceding word

• most Atlantic creoles of English, French and Portuguese origin
(18) Guinea-Bissau Kriyol (P, West Africa; Holm, Intumbo and Inverno 2012)
\[ nha \textit{fidju} \]
my child 'my children' (< \textit{minha} + \textit{filho})

value 2: Following word

- Martinican/Haitian Creole, Principense/Angolar/Fa d'Ambô, Kriol

(19) Martinican Creole (F, Caribbean; Ludwig & Colot 2012b)
\[ yich \textit{mwen} \]
child my 'my children'

(20) Kriol (E, Australia; Schultze-Berndt 2012)
\[ bijilai \quad \text{main} \]
fishingline my 'my fishing-line'

- also Juba Arabic, Mbugu, and others

value 5: Adpositional marking, preceding the possessum
some Caribbean English-based creoles:

(21) Belizean Creole (E, Caribbean; Escure 2012)

\[ \text{fu} \text{ dem mone} \]
for them money \( \text{'their money'} \)

(22) Ternate Chabacano (S, Philippines; Sippola 2012)

\[ \text{kel} \text{ di mótru pamílya} \]
that of 1PL family \( \text{'our family'} \)

value 6: Adpositional marking, following the possessum

some Caribbean English-based creoles:

(23) Nengee (E, Surinam/French Guiana; Migge 2012)

\[ \text{den baala fu mi} \]
DET.PL brother POSS me \( \text{'my brothers'} \)

some other languages:
(24) Santome (P, Africa; Hagemeijer 2012)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ke} & \quad d=\hat{e} \\
\text{house} & \quad \text{of}=3_{\text{SG.POSS}} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'his house'

(25) Guadeloupe Creole (F, Caribbean; Ludwig & Colot 2012a)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{timoun} & \quad \text{an} \quad mwen \\
\text{child} & \quad \text{of} \quad \text{me} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'my child(ren)'

• this feature is not covered by WALS

**Feature 37: Marking of Pronominal Possessors**

**Feature 39: Independent Pronominal Possessor**

• Here we ask how a possessor is expressed when it occurs independently, i.e. when the possessum noun is not present because it can be inferred from the context, e.g.
Whose book is this? **Mine.** (elliptical answer)
Or: This book is **yours.** (predicative use)
Or: Your book is cheaper than **hers.** (anaphoric use)

- We are in particular interested in the relation of the independent pronominal possessor to the dependent pronominal possessor, e.g.
  - **mine** vs. **my** (book)
  - **yours** vs. **your** (book)
  - **hers** vs. **her** (book)

**value 1: Identical to dependent pronominal possessor**

- a diverse set of languages:
  - (26) Bislama (E, Pacific; Meyerhoff 2012)
    
    \[
    \text{Ol loli ia } \text{blong mi o blong yu?} \\
    \text{PL lolly DEF POSS 1SG or POSS 2SG} \\
    \text{'}Are those sweets mine or yours?\text{'}
    \]
  
  - (27) Zamboango Chabacano (S, Philippines; Steinkrüger 2012)
    
    \[
    \text{Di kyen éste línea? Dimiyo.}
    \]
of who this book mine
'Whose book is this? Mine.'

value 2: Special adposition plus pronoun

(28) Guinea-Bissau Kriyol (Holm, Intumbo and Inverno 2012)
\[E \text{ livru } i \text{ di kin? } I \text{ di } mi.\]
DEM book COP of who? COP of 1SG.OBJ
'Whose book is this? It is mine.' (cf. example 18)

(29) Jamaican (Farquharson 2012)
\[Di \text{ fuud } ina \text{ di } pat \text{ a fi-mi.}\]
DET food in DET pot COP for-1SG
'The food in the pot is mine.'

value 3: Other word plus dependent pronominal possessor

• Atlantic English-based languages: 'own' (also Ghanaian Pidgin English, Krio, Pichi, Gullah/Geechee, etc.):
(30) Cameroon Pidgin English (E, West Africa; Schröder 2012)
Di pusi na ma on.
DEM cat COP 1SG.POSS own
'This cat is mine.'

(31) Creolese (E, Caribbean; Devonish & Thompson 2012)
mi wan 'mine', (fo) yuu oon 'yours'

- French-based creoles pa ('part'), ta (< c'es)t à ...

(32) Martinican Creole (F, Caribbean; Ludwig & Colot 2012b)
Sé ta yo.
it.is of they
'It's theirs.'
• Portuguese-based creoles *ka, ki*

(33) Principense (P, Gulf of Guinea; Maurer 2012a)

\[ Kax \; sê \; ki \; tê. \]

house DEM POSS POSS.2SG 'This house is yours.'

**value 4: Special form for independent pronominal possessor**

• especially in Caribbean English-based creoles:

(34) Vincentian Creole (E, Caribbean; Prescod 2012)

mainz, yuhz, hiz, huhz, owaz, deiz
'mine, yours, his, hers, ours, theirs'

vs.

fomi moni OR mi moni
for.1SG money OR 1SG money 'my money'

(35) Afrikaans (D, Africa; den Besten & Biberauer 2012)

myne / joune / syne / hare
'mine/ yours/ his/hers'
vs.

my boeke, julle huise 'my books, your (2PL) houses'

• in Juba Arabic the independent pronominal possessor is a conservative (unreduced) form as well:

(36) Juba Arabic (A, Africa; Manfredi & Petrollino 2012)

\[
\text{kitáb de ta munú? de bitai}
\]

book DEM.PROX POSS who DEM.PROX POSS1.SG

'Whose book is this? this is mine.' (cf. kitab tai 'my book')

**Feature 39: Independent Pronominal Possessor**

**2. Feature 51: Unmarked stative and dynamic verbs**

• In many languages, the distinction between stative and dynamic (non-stative) verbs is relevant for their temporal reference, because if both can be unmarked, they tend to have a different temporal interpretation:
**stative verbs** ('stay', 'love', 'want') tend to have present-time reference, whereas **dynamic verbs** ('run', 'give', 'eat', 'hit') tend to have past-time (usually past perfective) reference:

\[
I \, \emptyset \, \text{stay} \rightarrow \text{I stay} \text{ vs. } I \, \emptyset \, \text{run} \rightarrow \text{I ran}
\]

- one of Bickerton's typical creole features (Bickerton 1981ff.)

- deviation from this pattern has been interpreted as a form of "decreolization", i.e. a development which made the creole loose its typical feature while acquiring features from its coexisting base-/superstrate language (e.g. English-based creoles in the Caribbean)

**Feature 51: Unmarked stative and dynamic verbs**
value 3: Unmarked stative verbs have present reference, unmarked dynamic verbs have past (perfective) reference

• typical Bickertonian creole languages are e.g. Haitian Creole and Sranan:

stative verb 'love'
Haitian Creole (F, Caribbean; Fattier 2012)

(37) Bouki renmen chat la.
    Bouki love cat DEF
'Bouki loves the cat.'

dynamic verb 'sell'
Haitian Creole (F, Caribbean; Fattier 2012)

(38) Bouki vann chat la.
    Bouki sell cat DEF
'Bouki sold the cat.'
stative verb 'want'
Sranan (E, Surinam; Plag & Winford 2012)
(39) A pikin wani go sri bi.
    the child want go sleep
    'The child wants to go and sleep.'

dynamic verb 'sell'
Sranan (E, Surinam; Plag & Winford 2012)
(40) A kamra kowru bikaa me opo a fensre.
    the room cold because I open the window
    'The room is cold because I opened the window.'

• all creoles and other contact languages with this feature value are found in North America, the Caribbean and the Atlantic/Africa

value 2: Unmarked stative and dynamic verbs have the same temporal interpretation
stative verb 'know'
Tok Pisin (E, Papua New Guinea; Siegel & Smith 2012)
(41) Em i save long Tok Pisin.
  3SG PM know PREP Tok Pisin
 'He knows Tok Pisin.'

dynamic verb 'chase'
Tok Pisin (E, Papua New Guinea; Siegel & Smith 2012)
(42) Em i ronim pik.
  3SG PM chase pig
 'He is chasing the pig.'

stative verb 'have'
Negerhollands (D, Caribbean, extinct; van Sluijs et al. 2012)
(43) Am ha twē hogo liki alga fulək.
  3SG have two eye like all people
 'She has two eyes like everybody.'
dynamic verb 'run'
Negerhollands (D, Caribbean, extinct; van Sluijs et al. 2012)
(44) Ki hoso sini kurí.
   look how 3PL run
   'Look how they run.'

- many contact languages with this feature value are found in the Indian Ocean, India, Asia, and the Pacific

stative verb 'love'
Hawai'i Creole (E, Pacific; Velupillai 2012)
(45) at lav dog-s
   1SG love dog-PL
   'I love dogs.'

dynamic verb 'chip'
Hawai'i Creole (E, Pacific; Velupillai 2012)
(46) so ju ʃip dat pɔsin af
'So you chip that portion off.'

- Hawai'i Creole is one of Bickerton's languages which he referred to as displaying the Language Bioprogram (s. value 1). But Velupillai 2012 provides counter-evidence to this view.

- There are no creoles east of Africa which display the Bickertonian feature value 3 (yellow). This is clear counter-evidence to Bickerton's claim about the role of unmarked verbs and their interpretation within the language bioprogram hypothesis.

References


