

NOUN PHRASES IN IBERIAN CREOLES

EEVA SIPPOLA, AARHUS UNIVERSITY

ABIGAIL TINY COSME, UNIVERSITY OF LISBON

OUTLINE

1. Introduction

2. Methods and sample

3. Background

- Noun phrases in creole languages
- Groupings of Iberian lexifier creoles

4. Phylogenetic analysis

- General
- Gulf of Guinea

5. Conclusions

AIMS

- **To shed light on the nominal syntax of the Iberian-lexifier creoles:**
 - Is nominal syntax a determinant area of grammar for the grouping of these creole languages?
 - What are the shared features and the differences?
 - In the case of Gulf of Guinea creoles [GGCs]:
Can the similarities or differences be explained by superstrate or substrate influence?
- **To assess the use of APiCS database for comparative research of the Spanish and Portuguese lexified creoles**
 - Are the hypothesis confirmed by the information in the APiCS?

METHODS

- **Cross-linguistic comparison using phylogenetic tools**
 - SplitsTree v.4.11.3 (Huson & Bryant 2006)
 - Statistical modeling & probabilities,
 - Visualizes the most probable evolutionary scenario and shows the supposed developmental path based on the observed data (Daval-Markussen 2011: 9)
 - Split-decomposition, networks explicitly depict lateral influences
 - Suitable for testing hypothesis

Manual encoding of numerical feature values from APiCS

Numerical information into SplitsTree: data processing, probability values.

Variation > to draw several networks that present the different value assignments.

Bootstrapping (as part of SplitsTree) to confirm and evaluate the resulting networks.

METHODS

- **Lexical or structural?**
 - structural traits growingly implemented (some examples are McMahon and McMahon 2003, Dunn et al. 2005, and Reesink and Dunn 2012), but see criticisms, e.g. Donohue, Wichmann and Albu (2008)
- **Earlier applications to contact languages using combined feature selection**
 - the evolution of a subset of creole languages and the historical migrations of populations, based on data from English-based Atlantic creoles (Daval-Markussen & Bakker 2011)
 - Creoles as a typologically distinct group among world's languages (Bakker & al. 2011)

LANGUAGE SAMPLE

Language	Lexifier	Area
Cape Verdean Creole of Santiago	Portuguese	Upper Guinea
Cape Verdean Creole of Brava	Portuguese	Upper Guinea
Cape Verdean Creole of São Vicente	Portuguese	Upper Guinea
Guinea-Bissau Kriyol	Portuguese	Upper Guinea
Casamancese Creole	Portuguese	Upper Guinea
Santome	Portuguese	Gulf of Guinea
Angolar	Portuguese	Gulf of Guinea
Principense	Portuguese	Gulf of Guinea
Fa d'Ambô	Portuguese	Gulf of Guinea
Diu Indo-Portuguese	Portuguese	South Asia
Korlai	Portuguese	South Asia
Sri Lanka Portuguese	Portuguese	South Asia
Papiá Kristang	Portuguese	Southeast Asia
Batavia Creole	Portuguese	Southeast Asia
Ternate Chabacano	Spanish	Philippines
Cavite Chabacano	Spanish	Philippines
Zamboanga Chabacano	Spanish	Philippines
Papiamentu	Spanish	Caribbean
Palenquero	Spanish	Caribbean

Palenquero
Papiamentu

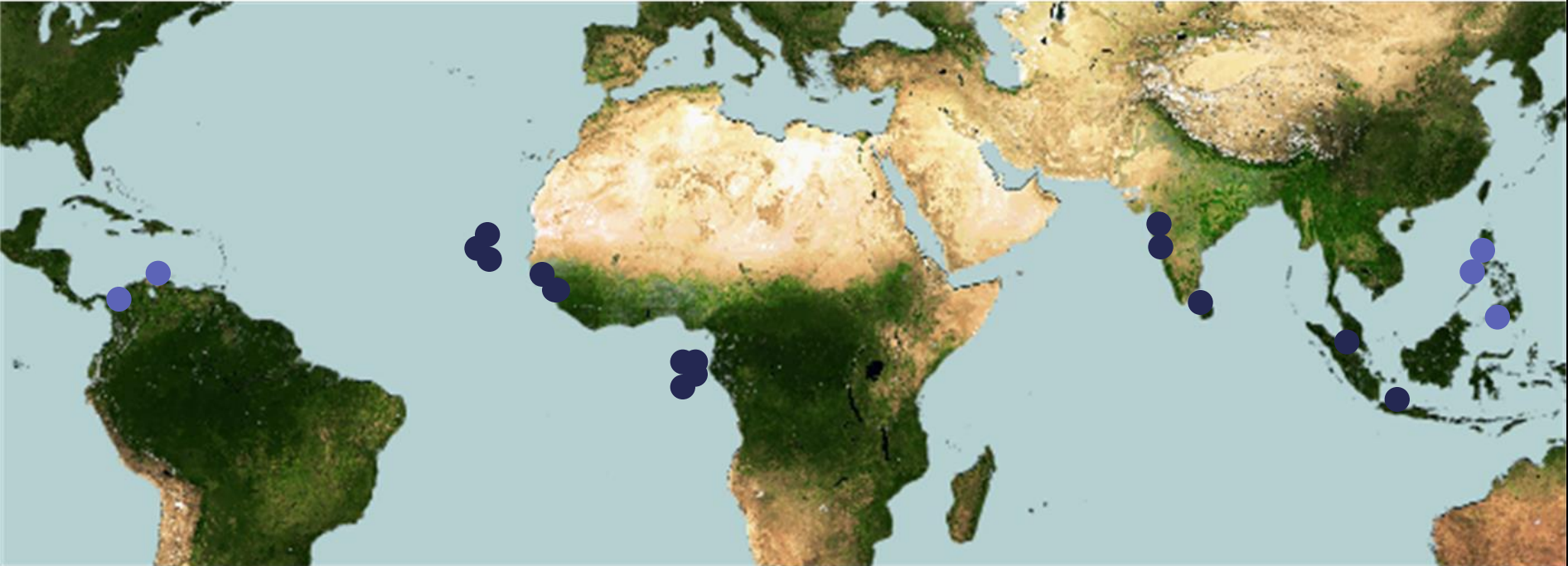
Cape Verdean Creole
São Vicente; Brava;
Santiago
Guinea-Bissau Kriyol
Casamancese Creole

Angolar
Saotome
Principense
Fa d'Ambô

Diu
Korlai
Sri Lanka

Papiá Kristang
Batavia Creole

Chabacano
Cavite; Ternate;
Zamboanga



FEATURE SAMPLE

Selected features of nominal domain from APiCS

2. Order of possessor and possessum	29. Indefinite articles
3. Order of adjective and noun	30. Generic NPs in subject function
4. Order of adposition and noun phrase	31. Co-occurrence of demonstrative and definite article
5. Order of demonstrative and noun	32. Pronominal and adnominal demonstratives
6. Order of cardinal numeral and noun	33. Distance contrasts in demonstratives
7. Order of relative clause and noun	34. Adnominal distributive numerals
9. Position of definite article in the NP	37. Marking of pronominal possessors
10. Position of indefinite article in the NP	38. Marking of possessor NPs
22. Occurrence of nominal plural markers	39. Independent pronominal possessors
23. Expression of nominal plural meaning	40. Gender agreement of adnominal adjectives
28. Definite articles	

FEATURE SELECTION

- **21 features / total 130**
- **Tendency towards order/position features (1/3) in the selection**
 - 2. Order of possor 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
 - 9. Position of definite article in the NP
 - 10. Position of indefinite article in the NP
- **Other**
 - Form and more functionally and semantically informative features

NOUN PHRASES IN CREOLE LANGUAGES I

- Lexifier comparsion

- Spanish and Portuguese nouns have Number and Gender features with which both adjectives and determiners must **agree** las casas antiguas [DEF.F house-PL old-PL.F] 'the old houses'.
- Many creoles lack gender or have it only for a small subset of adjectives, and inflectional number altogether.
- The use of determiners in creoles is also more restricted than in the lexifiers.

NOUN PHRASES IN CREOLE LANGUAGES II

- **Cross-creole comparisons**
 - Similarities in the clausal domain as basis for claims of creoles as a separate class [in the context of generative framework], typological parallelism with nominal domain (cf. Bobyleva & Aboh 2011)
 - Focus on VP features (TMA, serial verbs) in creole studies
 - Studies of NP features have received less attention, with notable exceptions, such as Baptista & Guerón (2007)

NOUN PHRASES IN CREOLE LANGUAGES III

Baptista and Guéron (2007)

- **Significant variation in the distribution of determiners and plural markers, both in prenominal and postnominal positions.**
- **Besides separate markers, a few creoles make use of suffixes (e.g. Cape Verdean and Guinea-Bissau).**
- **Bare noun phrases in creoles**
 - more extensive use than in their European lexifiers
 - the creole bare nouns freely occur in argument positions
 - definite, indefinite, and generic interpretations in the appropriate contexts.
 - Motivated by UG instead of lexifier or the African substrate influence

PREVIOUS RESEARCH I

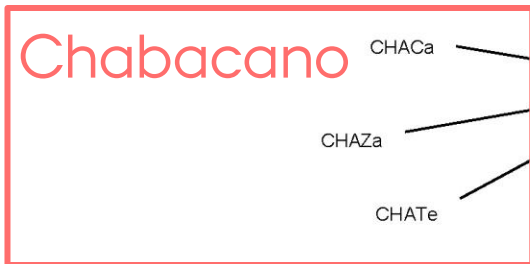
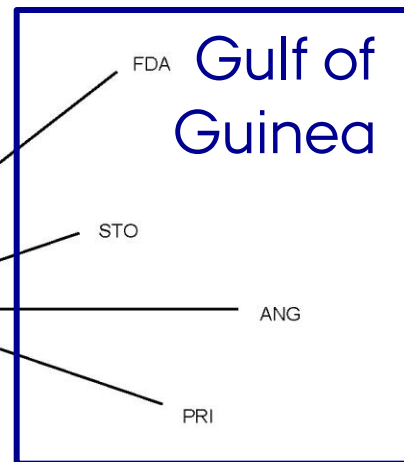
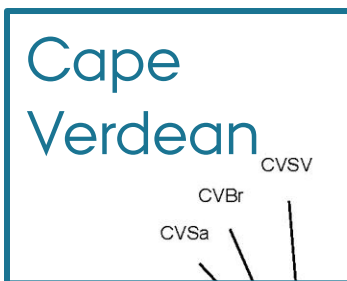
Models of evolution of Iberian creoles

- **Local developments and areal groupings**
- **Atlantic creoles**
 - 2 focal points: West-Atlantic vs. Bantu & Kwa substrate
 - Caribbean IC's and the African connection (Jacobs 2012)
 - > not confirmed by APiCS phylogenetic comparisons
 - UGC: Cape Verde or the continent, Portugal?
 - GGC: Nigerian Delta, São Tomé and later offspring (Hagemeijer 2011)
- **Ibero-Asian creoles**
 - Intense dynamism, adstrate=substrate
 - Indo-Portuguese; Malacca-Macau/Java; Philippines

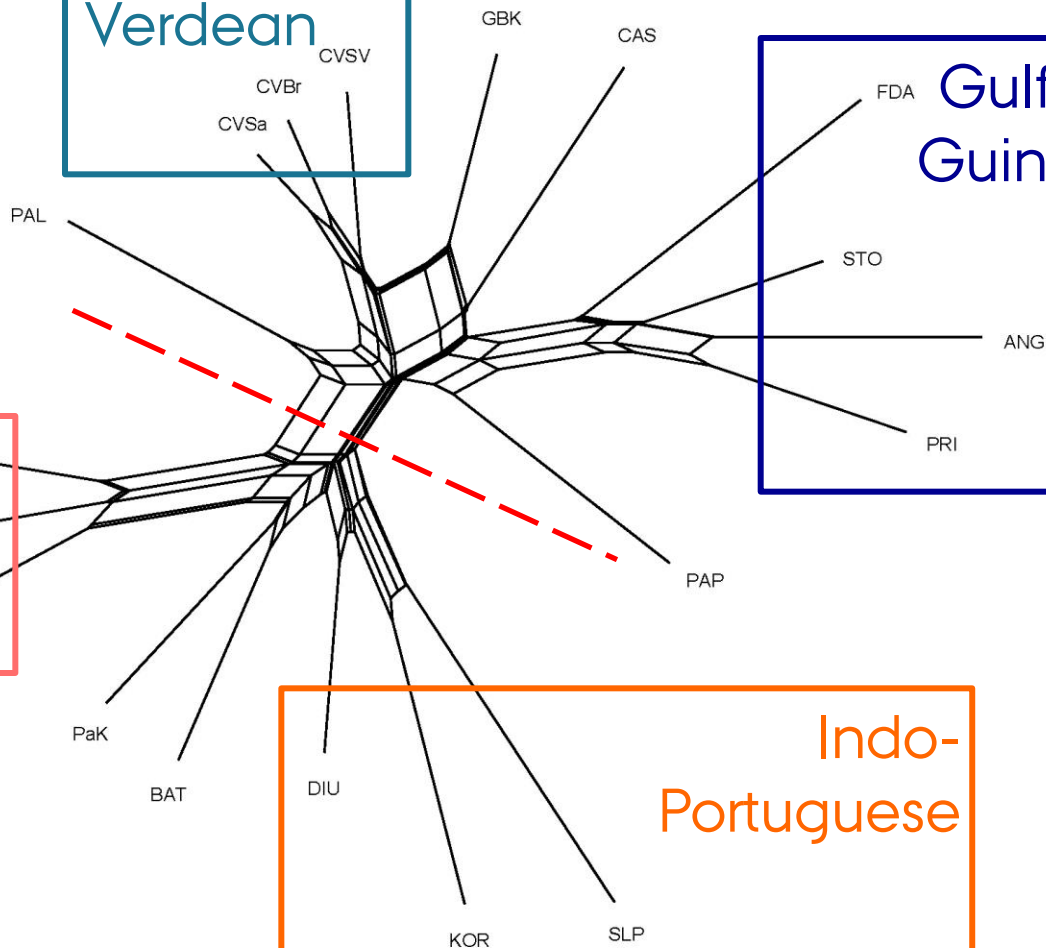
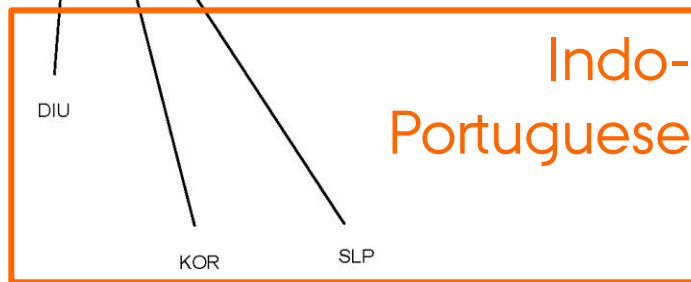
APICS

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Atlantic Creoles



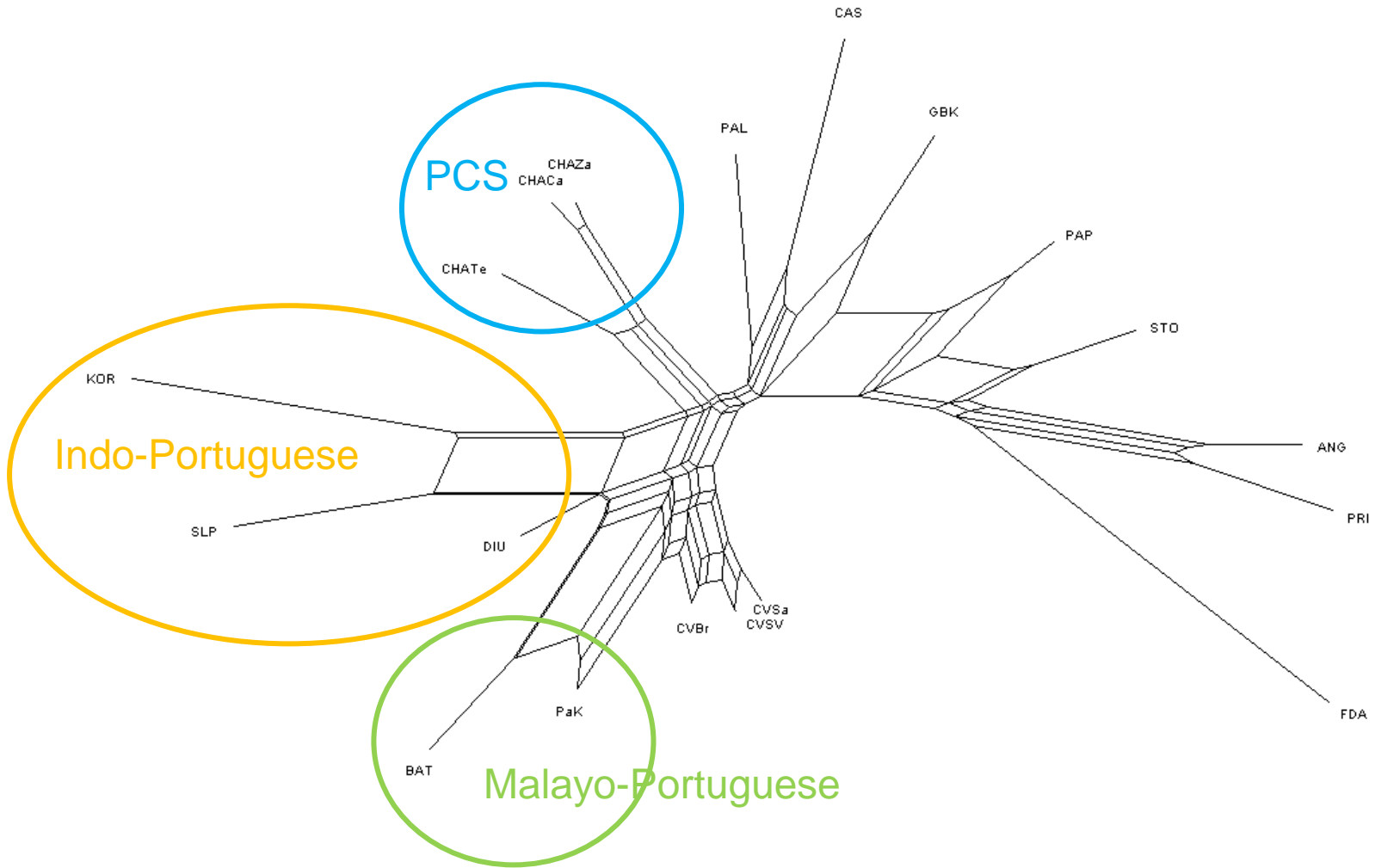
Ibero-Asian Creoles



PREVIOUS RESEARCH II

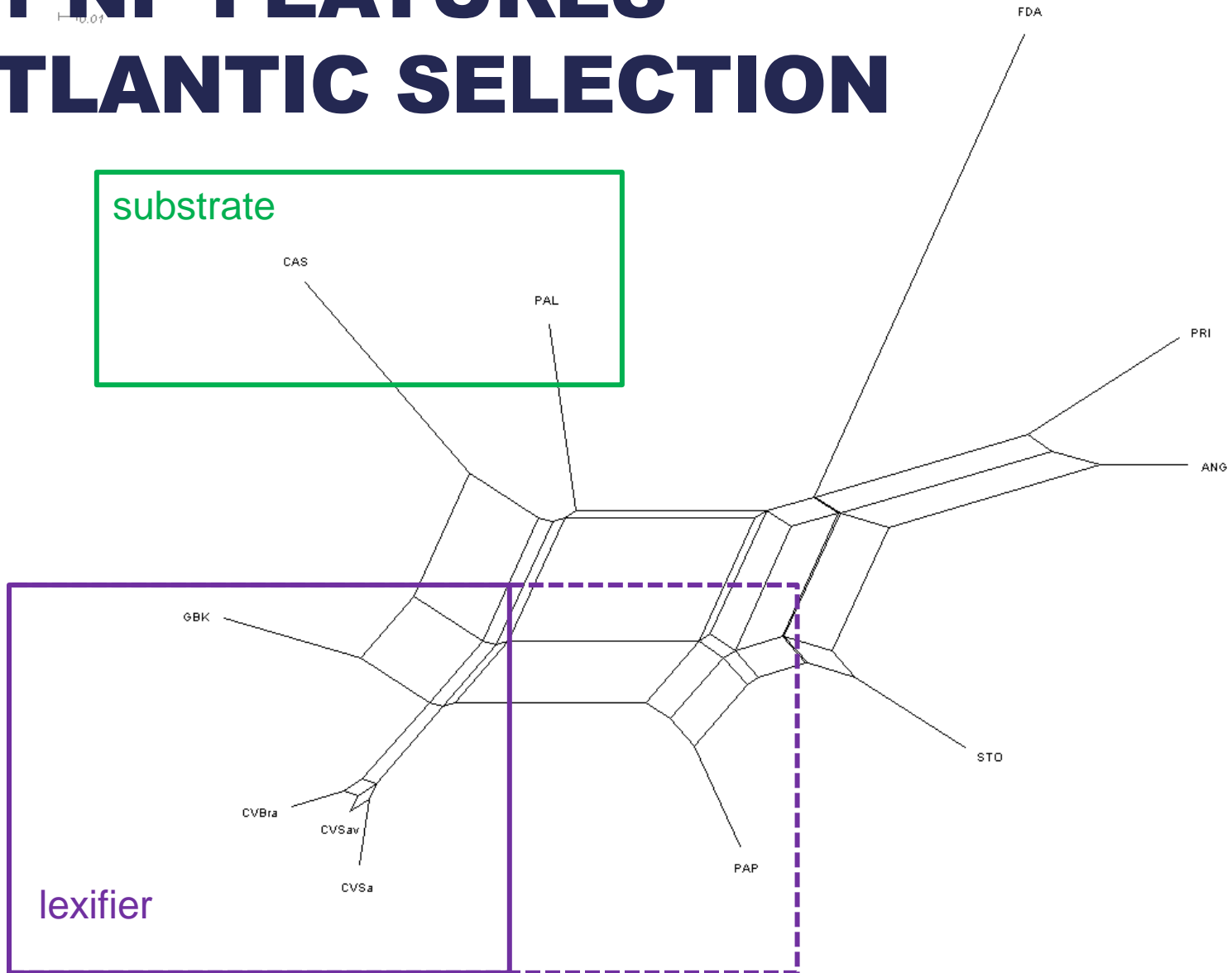
- **Comparative studies have concentrated on comparing individual languages, features (Clements 2009, or (sub)groups of languages (Cardoso & al. 2012)**
- **Evidence of independent developments, universal tendencies, and partial diffusion.**
- **Problems arising from the close relationship between the lexifiers: many dialectal varieties share features.**
- **Strong areal clusters defined by substrate and adstrate influence and shared history.**

21 NP FEATURES



21 NP FEATURES

ATLANTIC SELECTION



FIRST RESULTS

- **Ibero-Asian creoles cluster as expected**
- **Ibero-Atlantic creoles show considerable differences**
 - Palenquero, Papiamento, Guinea Bissau creole, Casamance creole and the Gulf of Guinea creoles depart from the established areal clusters and proposed scenarios of evolution.
- **The Caribbean varieties, Palenquero and Papiamento, appear separately**
- **Of the Gulf of Guinea creoles, only Principense and Angolar appear in the same cluster**

GGC BACKGROUND I

- **All 4 GGC are located in the Gulf of Guinea in West Africa:**
 - Santome / Angolar / Principense / Fa d'Ambô
- **They form a genetically related group; Santome and Angolar are spoken in the same island.**
- **According Ferraz (1979):**
 - The proto-language was disseminated in the island of São Tomé and spread to the islands of Príncipe and Ano Bom, where it subsequently evolved independently.
 - They result of the contact between Portuguese(lexifier) and the continental African languages - Kwa and Bantu- from the Benue-Congo family (Ferraz 1979; Hagemeyer 2011)

GGC BACKGROUND II

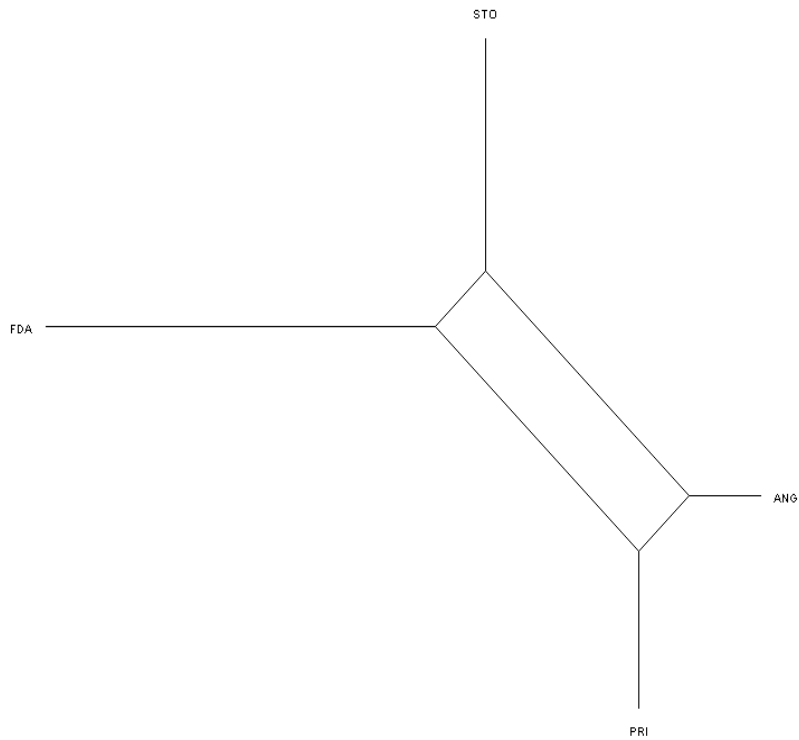
- **According to Ferraz (1983), 88% of the lexicon of ST is shared with PRI, 82% with FA and only 67% with AN;**
- **Regarding the influence of African substrate languages, ST and FA have a mixture of lexical items from Edo and Kikongo, whereas PR has a strong presence of Edoid, and ANG has a strong Western Bantu* influence (Hagemeyer 2013)**
- **In NP, the features dealing with the order of constituents are the most homogeneous.**

COMMON FEATURES FOR THE 4 CGGS

APICS data	ST	ANG	PRI	FA
2. Order of possessor and possessum	2	2	2	2
3. Order of adjective and noun	2	2	2	2
4. Order of adposition and noun phrase	2	2	2	2
5. Order of demonstrative and noun	2	2	2	2
7. Order of relative clause and noun	2	2	2	2
32. Pronominal and adnominal demonstratives	2	2	2	2

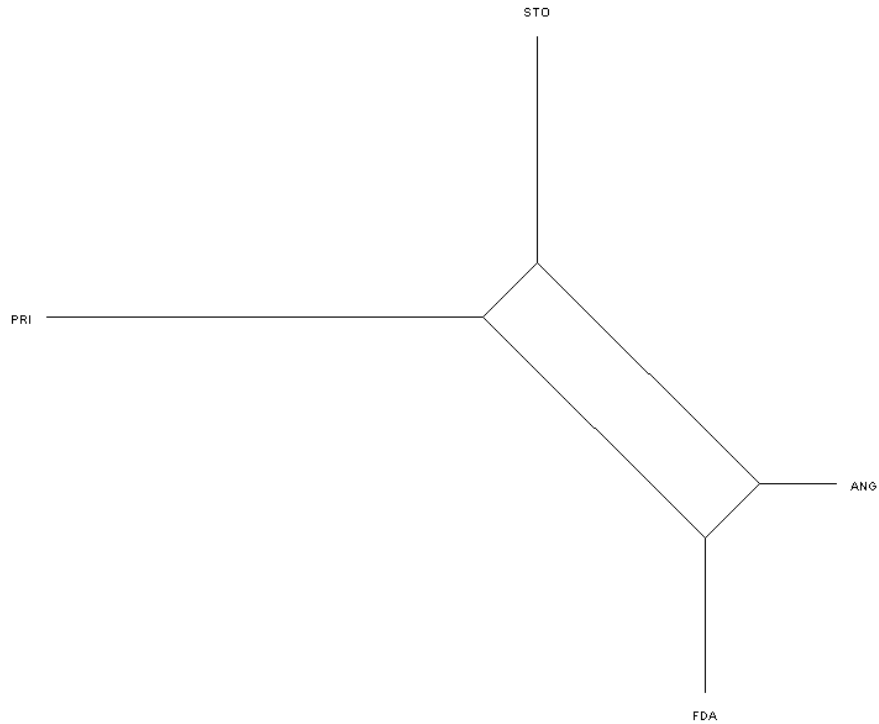
21 NP FEATURES IN GGC

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6 SHARED FEATURES EXCLUDED

0.1



GGC RESULTS

- **The network of the 21 features is divided in two ends**
 - ST and FA seem to be more closely related
 - on the other hand PRI and ANG are closer to the core
- **When the six shared features are excluded**
 - order of constituents
 - ANG and FA occur closer to each other
 - and more distant from ST and PRI

DISCUSSION

- **APiCS database in the comparative research of the Spanish and Portuguese-lexified creoles:**
 - the hypothesis of groupings are partly confirmed by the information in the APiCS: NP features reflect the general results
 - In other feature subgroup levels → phonological and semantic features do not give results
- **Balancing the sample**
 - Feature and language selection: more fine grained features for subgroups
- **However, APiCS excellent database that in combination with further material can contribute to a better understanding of the evolution in this group of creoles**

CONCLUSIONS

- **Analysis of features of nominal syntax partly reflects the results of the analysis of the APiCS database for the grouping of Iberian creoles**
 - Ibero-Asian creoles cluster as expected
 - Ibero-Atlantic creoles show considerable differences re the established areal clusters and scenarios of evolution
 - Guinea Bissau creole = described variety
 - Casamance creole = described variety
 - the Gulf of Guinea creoles

CONCLUSIONS

Gulf of Guinea

- **Lack of systematic previous studies with a comparative approach makes it impossible to compare the results, but:**
- **Possible influence from the substrate languages in the first network which presents ST and FA closer to each other (both have Edo and Kikongo influence)**
- **The order of constituents features seem to be more dominant than the others.**
- **Further studies can give an important contribution for the syntactic reconstruction of the proto-Creole of Gulf of Guinea.**