This hour:

- Creole language syntax: the noun phrase
  - grammaticalization of “marked” forms
  - explanations rooted in semantic load
Background

Bruyn’s analysis rooted in notion of “loss” from lexifier:
1.) complex form-function relation
2.) lack of perceptual salience
3.) lack of own semantic content

...but we know little of possible substrate influence

(Mufwene)
Background

Key generalizations:
1.) non-creole lexifiers mark definiteness, number, gender, or case; creoles may or may not mark these functions morphosyntactically

2.) grammaticalization data available for several creoles, e.g., Sranan
   -- “The development of the lowest numeral in the direction of indefinite article, often attested cross-linguistically, proceeds gradually.” (Bruyn)
   -- “The demonstrative and the numeral gradually lose their deictic and numeral features and evolve into articles.”

-- In complex NP’s, there is a pattern in the expression of possession: “the construction possessor - pronoun - possessed occurs in a variety of languages, including several that do not have a lexifier language exhibiting this pattern.” (Bruyn)
The Noun Phrase

A. Articles
- English-lexifier creoles: [ðəː]
- French-lexifier creoles: ø
  e.g.: *Haitian*: youn lari = “a street” (HC lari < Fr. la rue “the street”)

B. Plural Marking
- pidgins vs. creoles
- reduplication for distributive plurals
  e.g.:  *Berbice Dutch*: [boʃboʃ] “(separate bundles of) bushes”
        *Ndjuka*: [pisipisi] “many places”
The Noun Phrase

- Plural determiners typically same as 3PL PRN “dem/den”

Nouns with plural reference are not always morpho-syntactically marked:

1. Papiamentu: obligatory plural marker with possessives
   e.g.: tur su yu-nan
       all 3SGPOSS child-3PL
       “all his children”

2. With indefinites, plural is obligatorily marked where no other plural form is found within the clause:
   e.g.: Kachó-nan a keda grita henter anochi.
       dog-PL PAST stay scream whole night
       “Dogs kept barking all night.”
The Noun Phrase

e.g.: Jamaican

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definite</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Indefinite</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Di cyar</td>
<td>The car</td>
<td>Wan cyar</td>
<td>A car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Di cyar-dem</td>
<td>The cars</td>
<td>Plenti cyar</td>
<td>Some/Many cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Plenti cyar-dem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3.) Where plurality may be inferred, it is a violation to mark plurality on the NP:

e.g.: hopi buki (Papiamento)

  many book
  “many books”
  *hopi buki-nan
The Noun Phrase

1.) avoid redundancy
2.) avoid marking an NP preceded by a quantifier or numeral
   e.g.: Jamaican
       Man mus earn plenti coin
       “You have to earn lots of money.”
3.) generics are neutral with respect to number
4.) any NP may be individuated or non-individuated (count vs. mass)
   e.g.: 1a.) Ow much kiek im iit?
       “How much cake did he eat?” (non-individuated)
   1b.) Ow much tiebl im bild?
       “How many tables did he build?” (non-individuated)
   2a.) In kuk di kiek-dem?
       “Did she cook the cake?” (individuated, note DET)
   2b.) Im bild di tiebl-dem?
       “Did he build the tables?” (individuated)
The Noun Phrase

You frequently find bare nouns within PP:
e.g.: Da koffi no tan klari na tappe tafelen
The coffee NEG stay ready LOC top/on table

C. Complex NP’s
Embedding:
e.g.: [NP a [N oso] [PP fu [NP (a) datra]]]
DET house of (the) doctor
“The doctor’s house”
The Noun Phrase

Preferred ordering = possessed-possessor in NP--> Det N (PP) structures:

e.g.: *Jamaican*

   di cow fi di man

   “the man’s cow”

However, juxtaposition occurs, particularly if the possessor is human:
here, the preferred ordering is possessor-possessed (as in slide 3).

*NOTE: unclear what the phrase structure is, e.g. NP--> P Det N N?

   (fi) di man cow

   “the man’s cow”