5. Abstracts and Bios

Modular restructuring in contact environments
Typology and Competition

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(University of Amsterdam)

Umberto Ansaldo's main research areas are language contact, linguistic typology and documentation of languages. His recent research has focused on contact-varieties of Malay, from a social and structural point of view. In typology he works mainly with East and Southeast Asian varieties, as he is interested in the typology and grammaticalization of isolating tonal languages, in particular Sinitic. He is also engaged in the field of endangered languages; he is currently running a research project on the documentation of Sri Lanka Malay. Related to this, his most recent interest is developing around issues of revitalization, standardization and representation of minority languages in multilingual societies.

In commenting on Bickerton's language bioprogram hypothesis and the notion of simplification in creole genesis, Musyken (1988) indicates that the common assumption that creoles are simpler overall than natural languages implies a theory of complexity/simplicity. Almost two decades later, such theory is still missing even though several attempts have been made in the literature (McWhorter 2005, DeGraff 2005). The difficulty of such an enterprise often results from the impossibility of establishing a valid metric of complexity that allows a reasonable comparison of languages. This is mainly because areas of complexity may shift from one domain of grammar to another cross-linguistically.

Since creoles display virtually no (verbal) inflection compared to their lexifiers (and sometimes to their substrates), their weak inflection is often considered evidence of language development from more complex structures to simpler ones. Such 'simplification'

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or loss of inflection is generally analysed as resulting from imperfect second language acquisition due to limited access to the lexifier. This generalisation appears reasonable at face value, but it embeds two major shortcomings:

(i) Most studies on inflection reduction in creoles focus only on the verbal paradigm: a look at the nominal paradigm suggests a different picture.

(ii) The role of typological congruence in (dis)favouring the emergence of the inflectional paradigm in creoles has never been studied. With respect to the Atlantic creoles, for instance, the potential substrate languages (e.g., Kwa) generally lack inflectional morphology unlike the lexifiers (e.g., French, English). It could therefore be argued that the lack of inflectional morphology in the emerging creole results from properties of the feature pool (Mufwene 2001) and not from imperfect second language acquisition. In other contact environments (e.g., Sri Lanka Malay), the feature pool does allow for morphologization (Ansaldo 2005).

This paper investigates the nominal systems in the Surinamese creoles and in Sri Lanka Malay, and shows that the lack of certain nominal inflection (e.g., in the Surinamese creoles) is not a case of simplification but rather a consequence of the competition and selection process involving syntactic and semantic features of the languages in contact. We propose that only features with semantic content enter this competition. Accordingly, nominal inflection (e.g., person and number) appears an agreement phenomenon conditioned by core syntax. Such pure agreement features are disfavoured in a situation of language contact and are likely to fade out, giving the illusion of inflection reduction. On the other hand, the development of case morphology in Sri Lanka Malay suggests that other features (e.g., case) are more competitive because their semantic function makes them more prominent at the discourse level. Accordingly, these are likely to be selected in the emerging language. In this approach morphological reduction in the classical sense is a matter of degree and is sensitive to the typological make-up of the competition pool. We claim that, when possible, the feature pool allows development of new and more complex morphological patterns.

Complexity and the age of languages

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Inflectional morphology has been claimed to arise only in "mature" languages (McWhorter 1998, 2001) and to thus be an indicator of old age (Dahl 2004). Sri Lanka Malay (SLM), despite being a relatively "young language", shows inflectional morphology in its nominal domain (case system) as well as in TMA. The very earliest date we can assume for the birth of SLM is around 1650, but an even later date may be argued for (Hussainmiya 1990); this would make SLM as young, or younger, than McWhorter's 1998 prototype. Though in later work (McWhorter 2005) the prototype is restricted to varieties in which, among other features, ample affixation is not included, and though McWhorter acknowledges that adstrate typology can influence the emerging grammar away from the prototype, this still leaves us with a problem: the time frame of roughly 600 years postulated for the development of inflectional morphology (cf. Dahl 2004) does not match the case of SLM, in which agglutinative and to some extent fusional morphology developed in at most 350 years, clearly due to influence of adstrates (Hussainmiya 1990, Smith et al. 2004, Ansaldo 2005). While this time-frame may hold within Neogrammarian frameworks strictly based on internal language change, we are reminded that this is not necessarily not the default case, especially in contact environments (Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Nichols 1992, Durie & Ross 1996, Mufwene 2001). What the case of SLM shows is that, under specific adstrate influence with typological congruence (Sinhala and Tamil), the maturation process can speed up considerably. The fact that some Atlantic creoles as still considered morphologically "simple" in some frameworks (and therefore "young"), we argue, can simply be explained by absence of a feature pool morphologically as rich as Sinhala and Tamil. This strongly suggests that the typical features of prototypical creoles are first and foremost a product of the restructuring process that can occur in a feature pool combining mildly agglutinative languages with isolating ones; it also suggests that morphological complexity per se is not necessarily a diagnostic of the age of languages.

Productive bimorphemic structures in Pidgins and Creoles
Simplicity, complexity, or something else?

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Philip Baker has researched and published extensively on a wide range of P/Cs since the 1960s. These include Mauritian and other French Creoles, St Kitts Creole English, and Pacific Pidgin Englishes. He is currently working on the language spoken by Sri Lanka's Vedda people.

In Pidgin and Creole (P/C) studies, the word "bimorphemic" is normally followed by "interrogatives". Bimorphemic interrogatives have long been considered "typical" features of P/Cs. The first part of this paper seeks to assess just how typical they are, whether they compete with monomorphemic interrogatives and, if so, whether they pre- or post-date the latter (insofar as historical data are available to determine this).

The second part of the paper examines various other bimorphemic structures in P/Cs which appear not to have been considered collectively before. These include, among others, reduplication, agentive use of noun + *man* (almost all English P/Cs), adjective + *fellow* (Australian and Melanesian Pidgin Englishes), noun + *pidgin* (Chinese Pidgin English), and both noun + *side* locatives and noun + *time* temporal expressions (and equivalents of *side* and *time* in other European languages, found in many P/Cs). (Only data from contact languages which have a lexicon drawn overwhelmingly from European languages are considered in this paper.)

The third part discusses the question of simplicity versus complexity but it quickly emerges that, if *where* can be said to be simpler than something derived from *which side,* a complete system of bimorphemic interrogatives consisting of a single question marker plus a high frequency word meaning 'side', 'manner', 'hour', 'person', 'thing' or 'make' would seem far simpler to acquire, at least, than all the corresponding monomorphemic words, *where, how, when, who, what, why*. And the same is broadly true of the

other bimorphemic structures considered here. They are unquestionably simple structures but they all readily admit new members and thus have the potential to expand a limited vocabulary without the acquisition of additional morphemes.

The fourth part considers whether, with respect to bimorphemic structures only, Creoles are more complex than pidgins. Insofar as many Creoles have more bimorphemic structures – and use them more productively – than pidgins, this might seem to be the case. But caution is needed, first because there are very few pidgins for which a large body of data exists, and even fewer for which such data cover a long period of time. And secondly, because some languages, generally considered to be Creoles, make less use of bimorphemic structures than Chinese Pidgin English (for which we do have a large body of data spanning two and a half centuries).

In the fifth part the distribution of all the above bimorphemic structures across a range of P/Cs is examined. Rather unsurprisingly, it emerges that contact languages which arose in societies where the proportion of Europeans was smallest tend to have more such structures.

In conclusion, it is suggested that while bimorphemic structures alone provide little direct evidence of Creoles being more complex than Pidgins, the greater the number of such structures and the more firmly established they are in a Creole, the less likelihood there is that other, more complex structures will be developed or adopted from a European language.

Phonological complexity in pidgins and creoles

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One of the areas in which creoles and pidgins are supposed to be simpler than creoles is phonology. (e.g. Sebba 1997, McWhorter 2001: 144; Trudgill 2004), for instance in the inventory of phonological segments. This has not been studied empirically, however, by comparing a range of contact languages with a representative sample of non-contact languages. In my paper I will

present evidence from cross-linguistic comparison that phoneme inventories of creoles and pidgins are not simpler than those of non-contact languages.

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Aspects of pragmatically motivated syntax in Mauritian Creole

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We are going to present a range of alternative strategies for marking co-reference in some Mauritian Creole relative clause-like structures. We are mainly concerned with those kind of sentences that Lambrecht (1988) has labelled "presentational constructions", exemplified by E1, E2, E3:

E1 Ti ena enn indien (k') inn amenn nu kot en kamarad mo granmer
E2 Ti ena dimoun (ki) ti pe kumans sove.
E3 Ena (ki) dir ki mo frer inn mor ar ladrog.

In the examples reported above the relativizer is into brackets, meaning that the same sentences are perfectly acceptable (we' d rather say that this is their unmarked occurrence) without the presence of "ki". We agree with the interpretation given by Lambrecht with regard to analogous English cases and we therefore assume that the skipping of co-reference markers in this environment is a phenomenon that, although it is typologically determined, can be seen as ultimately shaped by pragmatical requirements. Other kinds of "allosentences" offer additional evidence to this affirmation, supported by the scrutiny of an exhaustive corpus of oral and also

written texts. We could talk about simplicity in two ways. First of all by saying that discoursal guided phenomena are "simple" in the sense that their *raison d'être* is to facilitate the goals of communication. It's not by chance that we normally find them in the oral varieties of all languages. A second simplicity claim can be posited in the name of iconicity, in our case by saying that Mauritian Creole distinguishes between the syntactic encoding of pragmatically different relative-like clauses. However, these syntactically expressed nuances are not normatively established in the language, as they remain confined within the discourse pragmatic domain and also within a sociolinguistic variation.   If they weren't so, would we probably talk about increasing complexity in the system?

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Corne, C., 1995, *Nana k nana, nana k napa*. JPCL.

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Givon, T., 2001, *Syntax, A Functional typological introduction.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia, J.Benjamins.

Keenan/Comrie, 1977, Noun phrase accessibility and Universal Grammar, *Linguistic Inquiry, 8*

Kurzova, H., 1981, *Der Relativsatz in den indoeuropäischen Sprachen*, Hamburg, Buske.

Lambrecht 1988, There was a farmer had a dog: syntactic amalgams revisited, *BLS 14*.

Maxwell, D.N, 1982, Implications of NP accessibility for diachronic syntax, *Folia Linguistica Historica, III/2,* 135-152.

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Multifunctionality in two creole languages: a simple strategy with complex outcomes?

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Maria Braun received her M.A. degree in English linguistics, English literature and sociology from the University of Siegen in October 2001. Her dissertation 'Word-Formation and Creolisation: The Case of Early Sranan' (University of Siegen, June 2005) deals with the emergence and development of the word formation system in Early Sranan, an English-based creole language spoken in Suriname in the 18th - first half of the 19th century. She has been teaching English linguistics at the University of Siegen since October 2001. Her major research interests include contact linguistics, creole languages, second language acquisition and morphology. She is currently a co-researcher in the DFG-project 'Compound Stress in English', University of Siegen.

Multifunctionality is viewed as a wide-spread phenomenon in creole languages (Lefebvre 2001; Voorhoeve 1981: 25) and it has been suggested that multifunctionality is more frequent in creoles than in their lexifier languages given the fact that the grammatical expansion in creoles does not offer any "incentives to create semantically empty affixes" since the meaning conveyed by affixes can be equally well conveyed by a mere change in the lexical category (Voorhoeve 1981: 25). Although multifunctional items have been made an object of investigation in quite a number of works (for Sranan, e.g.: Bruyn 1995, 1996; Plag 1993, 1994; Sebba 1981; 1986; Seuren 1986; Voorhoeve 1981), there are very few studies of the overall systems of multifuntional sets in creole languages and almost none that pursue the question of why multifunctionality is so abundant in creoles and which contribution, if any, the input languages might have made in this respect.

Based mainly on two sources, Schumann's (1783) Dictionary of Sranan and Schumann's (1778) Dictionary of Saramaccan, the present paper provides a systematic analysis of multifunctionality in Sranan and Saramaccan at the early stages of their development and investigates parallels existing between multifunctionality systems of the two creole language and their substratum and superstratum languages. It also addresses the issue of why multifunctionality is so common in the two creole languages and how this can finding can be treated in the light of the simplicity-complexity issue.

It will be shown that first, both Early Sranan and Early Saramaccan exhibit a great variety of multifunctional sets, such as N-V, N-V-A, N-V-A-Adv, N-A-Prep, V-Prep-Conj etc. Second, it will be argued that multifunctionality raises interesting questions in respect to the simplexity-complexity controversy that has become a highly debated issue in creole studies (cf. McWhorter 1998; 2004). On the one hand, it can been argued that in terms of formal complexity, multifunctionality is a less complex process than affixation or compounding, since it triggers no change of the root (cf. Clark 1993: 120-121). On the other hand, in terms of semantic transparency, multifunctionality is viewed as non-iconic and hence more marked than affixation, compounding and iconic reduplication since in multifunctional items the addition of new meaning is not reflected in the change of form (cf. Dalton-Puffer 1996: 55; Dressler 1994: 97). It will be demonstrated in the present paper that multifunctionality is a formally 'simple' strategy with 'complex' semantic outcomes. Finally, the Early Sranan and Early Saramaccan multifunctionality systems will be compared both quantitatively and qualitatively to those of some of their input languages, such as English, Fongbe, and Ewe. The comparison will show that many of Sranan and Saramaccan multifunctional items have been transferred from the substratum languages. Besides, it will lead us to the insight that identifying creole multifunctionality phenomena as 'complex' or 'simplex' is difficult because of the absence of clear-cut criteria for measuring the two notions.

It will be suggested on the basis of the findings highlighted in the present paper that clear criteria are necessary to establish the difference between the notions 'simplex' and 'complex' and that the

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simplexity-complexity controversy should be regarded rather as a continuum, than as a dichotomy (cf. Siegel 2004).

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The complexity of Student Pidgin at the University of Ghana

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Khoekhoe complexities in Early Cape Dutch Pidgin

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Hans den Besten is an associate professor of linguistics at the University of Amsterdam. He is trying to divide his time between the study of Germanic syntax (since the mid 1970s) and the study of the structure and genesis of Afrikaans and Cape Dutch Pidgin (since the late 1970s) and Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (since the 1980s). The study of the genesis of Afrikaans and Cape Dutch Pidgin has forced

him early on to also study Khoekhoe (or "Hottentot") to which were added in the 1990s Asian Creole Portuguese, Bazaar Malay and the local languages of the Indian subcontinent and Eastern Indonesia. Linguistic topics that interest him are: verbal clusters and scrambling (Germanic, Afrikaans), adnominal possessives (all languages mentioned), relative clause formation (id.) and all those properties that make Afrikaans different than Dutch: associative DPs, negative imperatives, object marking, etc. His niche in linguistics is Generative Grammar.

Studying an extinct language in search of the grammar underlying it is in a sense hopeless, especially if one's corpus comprises a small number of sentences. However, even extinct languages with much larger corpora, such as Classical Latin or Classical Hebrew, sometimes yield new insights under the constant pressure of philological scrutiny. In my talk I will show that new insights can also be gained from a corpus of about 100 sentences and an as yet uncounted number of words and phrases, complemented by observations on late, 19th century pidgin and on pidginisms in Afrikaans as spoken or written by Khoekhoen in the 1800s. More specifically it can be shown that there is more Khoekhoe syntax to Early Cape Dutch Pidgin than we had realized before and that most probably the authors from whose works our pidgin data have been culled were not (always) aware of these complexities.

In previous work I have argued that CDP can be understood as relexified, pidginized Cape Khoekhoe with certain adaptations to Dutch syntax. This way I was able to account for SOV order and Subject Pro drop under inversion and in embedded clauses. However we should also find cases of subject pronouns with objective case – again under inversion and in subordinate clauses and we may wonder why we seem to find this phenomenon only infrequently. One factor that may play a role here is the use of pronominal expressions like *die man* 'that man' and *die volk* 'those people' [= '3MSG' and '3PL' resp.]. Late evidence shows that such expressions could exist side by side with pronominal subjects with objective case: *die Volk tolk* 'those people ['S] interpreter' (1800) and *waar hem kom* 'where[ever] him comes' (1800). Furthermore, these insights combined with the phenomenon of unmarked locatives provide new

and more complex readings for some well-known pidgin sentences, Thus *Wat jouw hert denkum?* 'What 2SG heart think-um' (1705–1713) may be 'What [YOU] [IN] your heart think' or 'What you [IN] heart think?' And *Vor my niet meer Compagnie Hottentot* 'For me not anymore Company Hottentot' (1750–1763) may in fact be 'Me, not anymore [1SG} Company ['S] Hottentot' (i.e. "Me, I am not a Hottentot of the Dutch East Indies Company anymore"), where *Vor* is the Afrikaans case marker *vir* (< du. *voor* 'for').

Similarly, V+N compounds involving V-*um* and simple two word nominal phrases involving adjectives ending in –*um/-om* may in fact be Khoekhoe sentences with subject doubling: *Rakum-stok* (1705-1713) may be 'hit-it-$_I$ [$_{DP-I}$ [THE] stick]' rather than 'hitting stick' (which would violate the rules of Khoekhoe morphology anyway) and *grotom courcour* (1673) may be 'big-it$_I$ [$_{DP-i}$ [THE] bird]' rather than 'big bird' (which would violate the rules of Khoekhoe syntax whether *grotom* is analyzed as an attributive adjective or as the predicate of a pre-nominal relative clause).

It goes without saying that this may have consequences for the analysis of sentences as well. One example: Due to the context *Tubaccum tzicum* (1670) cannot mean 'the bad tobacco' (i.e. '[THE] tobacco, [THE] bad one'). However, a glossing '[THE] tobacco bad [BE]' – though fitting the context – would neglect the Khoekhoe structure, i.e. [$_{DP-i}$ [THE] tobacco] – bad-it$_i$ [IT]$_I$ [BE]'.

The upshot of all this is that early CDP may have been more simple than its donor languages Dutch and Khoekhoe (at least given a certain evaluation metric) but it certainly was more complex than up to now linguists (including myself) have claimed it to be. It is an ensobering thought that "the degree of complexity is in the eye of the beholder". Or to quote an early 20th century Griqua preacher: *Julle siet wil nie* 'You-guys see want not'. – And here the empirical cycle starts again: although this is Creole Afrikaans this sentence is not a pidgin remnant (S(O)V-AUX-NEG) but rather a sentence with quirky V2 and V-AUX order in the quirky finite verb: 'You-PL$_i$ – [[see]$_j$ want]$_k$ – t$_i$ – NEG – [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$ t$_j$] - t$_k$] – [$_{NIE2}$ **e**]' (disregarding Kayne's Antisymmetry)

Simplicity and complexity in number marking: are these pertinent notions?

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Consider this simple fact: in languages like French and English number-marking is necessary to express plurality. That is, without the presence of a plural morpheme, count nouns do not generally refer to more than one entity. Not so for instance in Haitian Creole. As (1) shows, Haitian Creole count nouns can be plural even with no number-marking. Furthermore, number-marking is generally absent when a plural numeral co-occurs with a noun (1).

(1)   *Jan te achte (de) chwal*
          "John bought (two) horse*(s)"

Comparable facts obtain in most French based Creoles (FBC). In these respects, number-marking in these Creole is clearly not obligatory. Since these and other Creole can sometimes dispense with number marking, as well as with the apparent complexity it often entails, namely, number agreement, they could be (and have been) considered 'simpler'. From another point of view, however, this apparent simplicity could well be seen as generating a puzzling complexity. When are indeed the 'simple' unmarked nominal expressions in HC to be interpreted as singular and when as plural? The puzzling complexity here is that, in most cases, interpretation is not in fact ambiguous, creating for native speakers hopeless communicative difficulties. Quite on the contrary, speakers quite readily know when a nominal is to be understood as singular or as plural. The puzzling complexity, of course, is for us to explain how native speakers can in fact reliably do this. Now we could perhaps conjecture that there are non-linguistic factors that, in many cases, suffice to resolve a potential linguistic ambiguity. If this is correct, (but note that such a view is no doubt harder when dealing with texts that are by definition not in a 'live' context) then perhaps again, optional plural marking languages are 'simpler': they only mark number when the communicative situation calls for it. From such a

point of view, however, the following observation appears to constitute a puzzle: plural marking in Haitian Creole (as well as in other FBC) tend quite regularly to be associated with definiteness. Yet, as is well known, on many accounts, definite nominal expressions are in fact linked to 'discourse known' or 'situation known' nominal entities, not with discourse new ones. That is, the use of a definite expression appears to be associated with 'previous knowledge'. The puzzle then is: why should number-marking be necessary to disambiguate an already encountered nominal entity? Why should number-marking be necessary on an expression presupposed to be known? If the expression is known, then its number should be too, so that number marking should in fact be communicatively unnecessary. We are here again brutally thrown back to unexpected complexity. In light of such thoughts, the goal of this paper is to compare aspects of number marking in (some) French based Creoles with aspects of number marking in languages like French and English and explore the idea that there is a profound difference in the role that number marking plays in the two types of languages. The paper sketches an attempt to relate two different cognitive pathways for object recognition with two different linguistic pathways of concept individuation. It argues that these pathways point in turn to two rather different conceptual roles for number marking in the two types of languages.

Angloversals and Francoversals?
Empirical data from the continuum of some contact-induced languages in the South Pacific

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2006 L'écologie des langues creoles: pour une vision dynamique
des phénomènes de contact de langues

In the tradition of contact language studies there are two main
currents: the first says that Pidgins and Creoles do not have or do not
need to have a common genesis. Support for such an approach comes
from the French school of creolistics from authors such as
Chaudenson, Mufwene and Hazaël-Massieux. Salikoko Mufwene
(Introduction à Chaudenson 2003 :15): „(…) il n'est nullement
besoin d'invoquer un ancêtre pidgin pour expliquer le
développement d'un créole (…) »
Because of his bioprogramme hypothesis (and the particular data
from his Hawaiian background) Bickerton also claims that a creole
can generate independently from a pidgin stage.
        The second position, with a majority of its representatives
coming from the English-speaking world and especially the South

Pacific (Mühlhäusler, Corne, Siegel) sees Pidgins as the normal stage before the emergence of creoles on a gradual scale of contact varieties, but they also admit that there can be exceptions. Mühlhäusler 1997:11:" A number of languages with no known Pidgin ancestor nevertheless exhibit many of the alleged typological properties of Creole languages."

On the basis of our observations from English-based and from French-based contact languages in the South Pacific, we come to the conclusion that it is important to unite the two positions in a synthetic view that takes into account the different partners in interaction during the creolization process. Wolfgang Raible's idea of the two ways *la voie du bas* and *la voie du haut* and Terry Crowley's discussion of *exoterogeny and esoterogeny* are helpful in this context. Crowley 2000:187:" The correspondence drawn (…) between local emblematicity and esoterogeny on the one hand and use as a lingua franca and exoterogeny on the other is quite appealing."

Our work in the field of second and foreign language acquisition has led us to develop a model of creole genesis from the interaction between the "apprenant créolisateur" (Jürgen Lang) and the mother tongue speaker of the target language.
We follow the concept developed by Ferguson 1977:117: "We see pidginisation as a process that accepts normal language as input and produces a reduced, hybrid, and unstable variety of language as output, identified as broken language when used by non-native speakers, and identified as a pidgin when viewed as the linguistic output of verbal interaction between native speakers and foreigners in some particular contact situation", and we try to expand it to the whole of the creolization process.

The recently developed model for Angloversals (Mair, Kortmann) shows that regional varieties of English tend to exhibit features of learner varieties of the local communities, in a "fossilized" version that has become the regional norm of the world language. Our data from Palmerston English (Cook Islands) fit into this model. Tayo (N. Caledonia) will be examined in connection with the claim for Francoversals.

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In serialization "simple"? Evidence from Chinese Pidgin English

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It is generally assumed that Chinese Pidgin English (CPE) developed in the Canton area between 1720 and 1839. Verb serialization is a feature shared by all Chinese varieties — and many of the world languages — but not present in English, which contributed the major lexical component of CPE.

The purpose of this paper is to shed light on the phenomenon of serialization, and contribute to the still unresolved debate as to what constitutes a serial construction, to what degree contact languages use it, and whether serialization is linked to "simplicity" because of the concomitant absence of coordination and subordination. Serialization may also be viewed as evidence of simplicity when it excludes prepositions, since verbs alone indicate the full range of functions, such as instrumental, locative, comitative, benefactive, causative, and directive that are usually assumed by prepositions in English. Chinese scholars generally define serialization as the juxtaposition of verbs without any overt indication of coordination or subordination (Matthew & Yi 1994:289). This is the working definition also adopted here for the analysis of CPE structures such as:

(1) *My chin-chin you makee stop, by-and-by you look-see you no got profit*
'I recommend you stop proceedings at once, you will get no benefit from it at last [*by and by* = in the future, in the long run'] (Tong 1862.4.32a).

(2) *I sendee callum he come*
'I'll send for him' (Anon. 1836:434)

Sinitic patterns of serialization are very clearly represented in CPE, though to a limited extent, but the actual time of their emergence is unclear. In view of the history of extensive contacts that characterizes Southeast Asia, multilingualism existed for centuries and particularly in Malacca where Malays, Chinese and Portuguese

merchants interacted. Several linguas francas had developed (most notably Bazaar Malay, Hokkien Baba Malay, Kristang, Macanese). Thus, it is possible that CPE developed out of previously existing Indo-Malayan-Chinese-Portuguese linguas francas. I will argue that serialization was selected in CPE because it is an effective communication device that relies on temporal sequentiality. However, there is nothing simple about the complex aspectual and semantic functions represented by serial verbs in CPE.

This paper will document the use of serialization as represented in two types of data: first, a corpus of CPE written by Western observers (collected and compiled by Baker in two sets spanning the period 1721-1843 (no date a.) and the period 1843-1940 (no date b.); secondly, a major source is a six-volume series of dialogues written by a Chinese Instructor (Tong 1862).

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Suprasegmentals and the myth of the simplicity continuum from pidgin, to creole, to 'natural' languages

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The assertion that pidgin languages are simpler than creole languages and that creole languages are, in turn, simpler than natural languages is problematic, not only because the task involved in the very definition of the terms 'pidgin', 'creole', 'natural language' and 'simplicity' is an extremely difficult and controversial one, but also because the linguistic facts sometimes show the very opposite of what one would expect, leaving all of these definitional problems aside. A case in point involves the understudied area of suprasegmental phonology, in particular the interaction of tone, stress, and intonation in the English-lexifier Atlantic pidgins, creoles, post-creoles, and Standard English.
In this study, it will be demonstrated that when the interaction of pitch- and prominence-related suprasegmentals is considered, maximal complexity is observed in Atlantic Pidgins (as exemplified by Nigerian Pidgin) followed by Atlantic Creoles which show slightly less complexity (as exemplified by Crucian Creole) followed by Atlantic post-creoles which show even less complexity (as exemplified by African-American English) followed by the 'natural' lexifier language English, which exhibits the least complexity of all.

Simplicity versus Complexity: Issues in the Study of Creole Morphology

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he is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Language, Linguistics and Philosophy at the UWI (Mona campus). Joseph's current research, which is on the Niger-Congo lexis in Jamaican Creole, combines historical linguistics (etymology) and socio-historical data in an attempt to reconstruct the early linguistic history of Jamaica during plantation slavery. To conduct the research for his dissertation, he is currently on a two-year doctoral fellowship at the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (Leipzig, Germany). Joseph's interests include etymology, diachronic syntax, morphology, lexicography, linguistic variation, typology, folklore, cultural studies, and anthropology.

Recent discussions in creolistics (e.g. McWhorter 2001; DeGraff 2001), have fuelled old debates on simplicity vs. complexity in Creole languages. Some of the discussions tend to follow a general trend in the field where theoretical debates tend to precede proper description of the phenomena on which they are hinged.

The current paper looks at Creole morphology, an area which has been receiving increased attention recently (e.g. McWhorter 1998-2001, Braun & Plag 2003; Lefebvre & Brousseau 2002). The overall aim of the paper is to deconstruct the popular belief that "Creoles have little or no morphology", and its several concommitant tenets. Some of these are outlined in the next three paragraphs.

The paper argues that any discussion of the view of Creole morphology cannot be divorced from the treatment and discussion of morphology in general linguistics. Hence, by surveying several foundational texts in linguistics, morphology, and creolistics (Bloomfield 1955; Jespersen 1958 [1924]; Greenberg 1960; de Saussure 1966 [1915] Whitney 1967; von Humboldt 1988 [1836]; Anderson 1990; Jensen 1990; Matthews 2000; Salmon 2000; Lefebvre & Brousseau 2002; Stump 2005), I demonstrate how the field of Creole studies has inherited various biases, which unconciously guide our work.

The second aim of the paper, follows from the first by showing how through the covert treatment of morphology as "affixational" morphology, Creole languages which are generally isolating, are excluded from study. This means that even though many of the languages designated as Creoles employ compounding,

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reduplication, and (marginally) derivational affixation, these have been ignored. It so happens that some of these affixational processes are inherited from the lexifier languages, but since some researchers (e.g. Lefebvre 2003) only count as (native to the) creole those processes which have been innovated since contact, then Creole languages are again placed at a disadvantage. I submit that Creole morphology should be seen as any productive morphological process in the language regardless of origin.

The final issue tackled by the paper is the concept of "complexity as opacity", whereby it is claimed that creole morphology is simple because it only involves transparent derivational processes. I draw on evidence from verb-compounding (Farquharson 2006) and reduplication (Kouwenberg & LaCharité 1998, 2001, 2003, 2004) in Jamaican Creole (JC), to show that there are regular derivational processes in Creole languages which are semantically opaque. For example, while intensive reduplication of adjectives in JC such as *priti-priti* 'very pretty' < *priti* 'pretty' can be said to be iconic and thus transparent, X-like reduplication of the type, *buki-buki* 'studious, nerdy' < *buk* 'book', is clearly not.

In putting forward a case for a fresh look at the morphological component of Creole languages, supporting data are drawn from Papiamentu, Sranan, Haitian, St. Lucian French Creole, and Jamaican, which are some of the better documented cases.

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Emergence and use of 'ena' (to have) in Mauritian Creole

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The focus of this communication is *ena* (to have), its genesis and use
in Mauritian Creole (MC). Verbs identifiable as *to have* are not
particularly rare among the languages of the world, and are not found
only in some Indo-European languages. Creissels (1996) notes that,
wherever there are more or less reliable indications as to their origin,
we always find one of three possible derivations for verbs *to have* :
they come from the perfect form of either (1) *to take, to seize*; or (2)
to receive, to find; or (3) *to hold, to carry*. The assumption of a
correlation between the emergence of *to have* verbs and changes
concerning social structures and/or mentalities is by therefore
destroyed.

   Due to its genetic affiliation with French, and thus with Indo-
European, it does not seem surprising that MC has a lexical form for
the verb *to have*: "ena". However, it is clear that this morpheme
derives not from one of the three possible sources mentioned by
Creissels (1996), nor directly from an autonomous "naked" form of
the French verb *avoir*, but from the expression of
existence/possession *(il) y en a*. Assuming that the characteristic of a
verb "to have" is to permit the assertion of a relationship between an
individual or thing (annexer) and an element of its personal sphere
(annexed), I propose examining the semantic mechanisms which
have been brought into play in order to equip MC with a verb *to have*
from the reanalysis of the French presentative construction *(il) y en
a,* and consequently to create an expression of the concept of
"personal sphere".

   From a theoretical framework where the relations between
"reanalysis", "grammaticalisation" and "linguistic change" are

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redefined (cf. references) in an "emergent grammar" (Hopper 1987), I first investigate the history, genesis and graphic "grammatisation" (grammatical labelling) of the MC verb *to have* by basing my assumptions on the analysis of a corpus of old texts. Thereafter I examine various contemporary syntactic and semantic operations of this morpheme, with the following questions in mind:

- How is *ena* used to express existence, localization, possession, ownership and affect?
- To what extent do the semantic and syntactic operations in MC diverge from French? (Why was the use of the verb as an auxiliary for compound tenses in French not adopted in MC?)
- Can we talk about simplification with regard to this case of reanalysis?

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How Complex Are Creoles?
A Cross-Linguistic Experiment

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McWhorter (2001) claims that creole grammars are less complex than other non-creole grammars. In response, Gil (2001) argues that the relationship between creoles and complexity is not a bi-directional implication but just a uni-directional one: whereas all creoles are indeed relatively simple, it is not the case that all non-creoles are more complex — Riau Indonesian is a non-creole language that is every bit as simple as any creole.

At the heart of Gil's analysis of Riau Indonesian is the claim that when two expressions X and Y, with meanings P and Q respectively, are combined, the meaning of the combined expression X Y is derived from that of its constituent parts by means of the association operator, A(P,Q), which says that the meaning of X Y is associated in an unspecified way with the meanings of X and Y respectively. For example, if *ayam* means 'chicken' and *makan* means 'eat', *ayam makan* means A (CHICKEN, EAT), or anything that has to do in some way with 'chicken' and with 'eat'. In particular, the semantic representation A (CHICKEN, EAT) lacks any specification of thematic roles: the chicken could assume the role of agent, patient, or whatever might make sense in the context of the utterance. The above representation is thus clearly less complex than any alternative representation making reference, in one way or another, to thematic roles.

This paper presents the results of an experiment designed to measure, objectively across a variety of languages, the availability of *apparently associational interpetations*: interpetations which appear to be obtainable from the association operator without reference to thematic roles. The experiment is designed specifically for isolating languages with apparent basic SVO word order: this characterization encompasses most creole languages and also many non-creole languages of Southeast Asia, West Africa and elsewhere, including Riau Indonesian. Two kinds of apparently associational

interpretations are sought: (a) those in which a bare noun preceding a bare verb is interpreted as the patient (rather than the agent); and (b) those in which a bare noun in construction with a bare verb is interpreted as an oblique or other peripheral argument of the verb (in the absence of any preposition or other such marking). The experiment presents subjects with a sentence in the target language and two pictures; subjects are asked which of the two pictures is best described by the sentence. The results of the experiment may be represented in the form of an *association index*, ranging from 0% to 100%, summarizing, for each language, the extent to which apparently associational interpretations are available. Thus, within this particular domain, a higher association index reflects a lower degree of complexity.

So far, I have run the experiment on over 1000 subjects in three creole languages, Bislama, Sranan and Papiamentu, and some ten non-creole languages; by the time of the conference, I hope to have examined several additional other languages. Some preliminary results are summarized in the following table:

Language:	English	Bislama	Riau Indonesian	Minangkabau
Association Index (%):	3	34	41	66

The above figures show that the creole language Bislama has a higher association index than some non-creole languages, such as English, but a lower association index than other non-creole languages, such as Riau Indonesian and Minangkabau.

How do these results bear on the competing claims regarding creoles and complexity? The bi-directional implication predicts that there should be a cut-off point or zone on the association index scale, such that below it all the languages are non-creole, while above it all the languages are creole. In contrast, the uni-directional implication also predicts such a cut-off with only non-creole languages below it; however, it allows for the presence of both creole and non-creole languages above the cut-off. The fact that creole Bislama has a lower association index than non-creole Riau Indonesian and Minangkabau is inconsistent with the bi-directional implication but consistent with the uni-directional one. Similar facts hold also for

Sranan and Papiamentu, thereby providing further support for the uni-directional implication.

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Contact, complexification and change in Mindanao Chabacano structure

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Dr. Anthony P. Grant teaches a final-year module at Edge Hill College including pidgin and creole studies called English in Contact. Anthony has previously worked at the Universities of Bradford, St Andrews, Manchester, Southampton and Sheffield. He has been involved in creolistics since the 1970s and gained his undegraduate degree at the University of York, studying under the late creolist Robert Le Page. His PhD, defended at the University of Bradford in 1995, was on "Agglutinated nominals in Creole French: synchronic and diachronic aspects". One of Europe's leading experts on Romani, he has also conducted research and published on Iberoromance and Dutch-lexifier creoles, mixed languages, Austronesian and Native North American languages. His most recent publication is "Chamic and Beyond: studies in mainland Austronesian languages " (ed. with Paul Sidwell, Pacific Linguistics, Canberra, 2005).

Mindanao Chabacano varieties (often referred to as Chavacano) have been exposed to the continuing influence of their substrate Philippine Austronesian languages for centuries. The major variety now spoken, Zamboangueño, is an important regional lingua franca, and the vast majority of people who speak it fluently as a second language are L1 speakers of Austronesian languages belonging for the most part to what Blust (1991) has called Greater Central

Philippine, such as Tausug, Tagalog/Pilipino and Bisayan languages such as Cebuano. In addition, Tagalog is widely used as the language of the military personnel in Zamboanga del Sur, an area which has been a national security flashpoint for decades.

A comparison of Mindanao Chabacano textual material collected over the past few decades shows that a number of features which were unattested or rarely found in materials recorded in the 1950s or even before (for instance the passage in Broad 1929, the first published Zamboangueño text to survive) have become increasingly prominent and widely used in the language in subsequent decades (evidence will be drawn from McKaughan 1954, Forman 1972, de Rivas ed. 1981 and contemporary material from Chabacano sources, including chat rooms and web postings), and have thereby made Chabacano grammar more complex than it originally was.

What makes some of these features especially interesting is that their adoption increases the number of points of similarity between Mindanao Chabacano and the important local languages which surround it (and which make Mindanao Chabacano look less 'typically creole'), even though certain of these features have themselves been introduced into these languages as the result of influence from Spanish and Philippine English. I will discuss certain changes in the Chabacano segmental phonological system since the work by the native Chabacano-speaker Ing (1967), which reflect increasing typological isomorphism or convergence with segmental phonological systems in Philippine languages. I will also profile the rise to prominence of amo (analysed synchronically in Aoto 2002), which was originally a Bisayan focus particle, but which has increasingly become used as a copula in the past few decades. Ironically this expansion of function is the same fate as befell the Tagalog particle ay in earlier centuries as the result of Spanish influence upon Tagalog and its equation with a Spanish copula.

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The Emergence of a Determiner System: The Case of Mauritian Creole (A Minimalist account)

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Early in the genesis of Mauritian Creole (MC), the French definite articles (*le/la/les*) and partitive determiners (*du/des*), merged with nouns that they preceded, e.g.

- Les fenêtres (the windows) → lafnɛt (window)
- Le roi (the king) → lerwa (king)
- Du monde (people) → dumun/dimun (person)

The immediate consequence was that all nouns were bare, yielding ambiguous interpretations between [±definite] singular and [±definite] plural.

Initially, awkward periphrastic constructions were used to express these semantic contrasts, but, over a period of approximately 100 years, new functional items emerged, namely:

- *enn* to mark [-definite] singular, derived from the French *un/une* (English 'a/an')
- *bann* to mark plural, derived from the French *une bande de* ('a group of'). It is unspecified for ±definiteness
- *la* to mark anaphoric definiteness and specificity on both singular and plural noun phrases. It is derived from the French locative adverb *là*.

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I propose that a phonologically null determiner had emerged very early in the creole to mark [+definiteness] on singular NPs.
The grammaticalization of these lexical items has yielded an effective and economical system of determiners, which are able to express, without redundancy, all the semantic features that could no longer be expressed in the early creole following the loss of the French determiners.
This process was accompanied by a change in their syntax, and this represents a significant divergence from the lexifier, namely:

· The occurrence of bare nouns in MC, while all nouns in French must have a determiner
· All determiners are pre-nominal in French, while MC has post nominal *la*.

I will present MC linguistic data from the mid 18th to the end of the 19th century, and propose an analysis within the Minimalist framework (Chomsky, 1995, 2000, 2001), which makes the following assumptions:

· Functional items are the locus of formal semantic features, which are the triggers of syntactic derivations needed for convergence at the interface, where all phonological and semantic features must be interpretable.
· Derivations must be **optimal**, satisfying certain natural economy conditions and convergent derivations satisfy the principle of **Full Interpretation**.
· The notions of **economy** and **optimality** apply to both the derivations and the occurrence of features. Optimally, a feature occurs on a head only if that yields new scopal or discourse related properties.

This analysis raises the question: To what extent do these facts support Chomsky's assertion that 'Language is an optimal solution to legibility conditions' (2000)?

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"I live for try" – in search of grammaticalization and complexity in early Pidgin Englishes

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Focussing on Pidgin Englishes from the beginning of the 18th to the first half of the 20th centuries, this paper looks at grammaticalization processes as instances of linguistic complification. It is usually assumed that pidgins are rather simple systems. The argument is that in their first stages pidgins primarily serve as means of interethnic communication and are used in short-lived and socially restricted situations. Prototypical settings are seasonal trading encounters between members of different speech communities. One could argue that the lack of both situational and speaker continuity in these situations prevents the establishment of a stable community norm that can serve as a pool for the selection of items for grammaticalization. Following this line of thought, one could then hypothesize that when pidgins start to be used on a more regular basis, norms get established and complification can proceed.

The present paper will look at some grammaticalization processes in early Pidgin Englishes as test cases for the above assumptions. Two important questions to be asked are:

- is "tertiary hybridization", the use of a pidgin between autochthonous groups rather than as a means of interethnic

communication with a sporadically incoming group, a prerequisite for grammaticalization/complexity, or can complification also occur in the jargon stage?

- what roles, if any, do (input versions of) the lexifier and the languages of the autochthonous groups play in the emergence of complexity? In what cases can the rise of complexity be attributed to L1 transfer?

One finding will be that evolution of complexity is not exclusive to creolization or the post-creolization stage but can already be observed in pidgins. This may possibly call for a revision of the traditional pidgin-creole distinction.

Complexification, simplification or regularization of paradigms: the case of prepositional verbs in Solomon Islands Pijin

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In Honiara, capital city of the Solomon Islands, speakers of the local variety of Pijin have made extensive usage of prepositions (*daon* /down/ ; *ap* /up/ ; *insaet* /inside/ ; *aot* /out/) to qualify verbs of movement and action. Traditionally, these prepositions used to be positioned after the verbs, e.g. *tekem aot* /take out, remove/ ; *putim ap* /raise/ etc. Over the years they became affixed after the verbs and bore the transitive marker (*em, im, um*) whenever appropriate ; *filim ap* becomes *filimapum* ; but *tekem aot* becomes *tekaotem*. In the first case, the stem keeps the transitive suffix, in the second it does not. Over the years some prepositions such as *of* ; *ap* ; *daon* ; *antap* ; *insaet* ; *atsaet* have been used increasingly without the support of preposed action verbs, and are used as roots of transitive verbs : *tekaotem* becomes *aotem* ; *tekem insaet* becomes *insaetim* ; *tekem daon*, or *daon*, becomes *daonem*; *of* becomes *ofum*.

Mami	*bae*	*insaetim*		*kaleko*	*from ren*
S	Fut	Prep. V	Obj		prep.
Mother	will	take inside		laundry	from rain

Mother will take the laundry inside because of the rain.

This pattern which looks simpler is particularly true of the speech of young urbanites It is rarer in the speech of older speakers, particularly in rural areas where periphrastic forms, which look more complex, are more common.

Looking at data gathered in Honiara since 1981, this paper will hypothesize that the grammaticalization of prepositions and prepositional verbs in Solomon Pijin is best understood not through the prism of complexification or simplification theory but as an instance of paradigmatic regularization also present in other parts of syntax.

Structural Reduction Through Language Contact in Sango

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Valeri Khabirov is a professor at the Urals Pedagogical Institute, Chair of English Philology and Contrastive Linguistucs. He reads a course entitled "Introduction to Contact Linguistics", "Variability of English" and a course in "Sociolinguistics" at the Russian State Professional Pedagoical University. His interests lie in the field of General Linguistics, Contact Linguistics, Sociolinguistics, African Linguistics and ELT. He wrote more than 150 articles including books on ELT, Russian-Lingala Dictionary (1998), Language Situation in African Countries (co-author). The languages he is mostly interested in are Sango (creolized and ethnic), Lingala, Munukutuba (Kituba).

Contact linguists have always considered complexity to be an important issue for characterizing the structure of the creoles and simplicity – as a characteristic feature of pidgins. Being a creolized language Sango (CrS) underwent a certain structural change which makes it different from the substrate language – ethnic sango (EthS) belonging to the dialect continuum of Ubangian Niger-Congo languages and characterized by structural complexity. In this paper in a contrastive analysis we will try to show the process of structural

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reduction of EthS in the process of creolization. The loss of grammatical tone of the base language brought about changes in the verbal system of CrS and some lexical items were grammaticalized as tense and aspect markers. A telling example is the formation of the Future Tense with the help of the predicative element *yèkè* (a borrowing from kikongo) and *fàdē* – probably a grammaticalized content word meaning "quickly": 1) (CrS) <u>fàdē</u> kóli à gā ：2) (EthS) kóli <u>á</u> gā "A man will come"; 3) (CrS) kóli à <u>yèkè</u> gā ándè ： 4) (EthS) kóli á gā bíàní ： "A man will come" (by all means). In sentence 3 the aspectual significance of the predicative element *yèkè* is Imperfective Obligatory. The verb form refers to a future action with the help of *ándè* meaning "later". In sentence 4 in riverine ethnic sango the obligatory action is expressed by the notion word *bíàní* meaning "for sure" and the future tense – by the high tone of the Subject Marker *á*. The marking of the progressive and the habitual are different in CrS and its lexifier ngbandi. In ngbandi: 1) *ló dɛ na tɛ-ngø yé* "He was eating something". In sango: *lò yèkè tɛ sùsù* "He was eating fish". The progressive is marked in ngbandi by the verb *dɛ* "continue" and in sango – by the auxiliary *yèkè* followed by the infinitive. The process of creolization in CrS brought about the reduction of the lexicon.. The latter has in its lexicon verbs with general meaning along with words having specialized meaning (process akin to semantic narrowing) produced by derivational morphemes which were lost during creolization: *-rV* (iterative meaning), *-ngbì* (meaning of insistence), *-ngà* (resultant action), *-sà* (meaning of removal), *-ndò* (meaning of accumulation) and some others. But 4 bound morphemes have been retained: the subject marker *à-*, the plural marker á-, **derivational morphemes *wà*,** marker of agent or possessor and ***-ngo,* marker or deverbal nouns** which denote the process of the action. So creolization involves the creation of new grammatical categories and the development or acquisition of the formatives to express them.

Measuring phonological complexity in Creole
Focus on Gullah and Geechee

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The notion that Creole languages are somehow less complex than languages with different social histories has been popular among linguistic scholars. Recent attention has been paid to the typological comparison of Creole languages with non-Creole languages at large. The measurement of complexity applied in such work (e.g. McWhorter 1998, 2001) has proved controversial, however (Plag 2001). Furthermore, phonology has been underrepresented in this debate. This paper demonstrates how generally accepted typological measures of non-Creole languages may be applied to Creole languages. The focus is on the segments and syllable types of Gullah and Geechee.

Measures for the complexity of phonemic inventories are taken from Maddieson's (1984) typological study of 317 non-Creole languages. The analysis considers total inventory size and the number of vowel quality distinctions and stop series. A tripartite measure of simple-typical-complex is applied in the spirit of Maddieson (1984). In non-Creole languages, simple inventories have less than twenty phonemes, typical ones have between twenty and thirty-seven, whereas inventories with thirty-eight or more phonemes are complex. Three or four vowel quality distinctions are considered simple, eight or more are considered complex, whereas typical inventories range between five and seven. One stop series is simple, two or three are typical, whereas four or more are considered complex.

Pertinent sources (Turner 1949, Jones-Jackson 1978, Weldon 2004) converge on eleven phonemic vowels for Gullah and Geechee. Further analysis yields twenty-one consonantal phonemes, resulting in thirty-two phonemes as the total inventory size. Two stop series (plain voiceless and plain voiced) are found. By the measure for non-Creole languages, Gullah and Geechee is typical as far as the parameters of inventory size and number of stop series are concerned, but complex in terms of the vowel quality distinctions.

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Languages allowing only CV are considered simplest in terms of syllable structure. Codas increase surface syllable complexity. Clusters at syllable edges are considered more complex than single consonants. No systematic investigation of surface syllables exists for Gullah and Geechee to date. The present investigation reveals that its syllable template is (C) (C) V (C). The original historical audio recordings made by Turner in the early 1930s yield the following syllable types for the most basilectal speakers: V, CV, CVC, VC, CCV, and CCVC. This inventory shows that the syllable structure of Gullah and Geechee is certainly not simple. Whereas the most complex syllable types attested in the languages of the world are missing, surface structures of medium complexity are found routinely.

The present investigation shows that parameters established for non-Creole languages may be insightfully applied to measure the phonological complexity of Creole languages. As a result, it is clear that the phonology of Gullah and Geechee is by no means simple. Complex structures may be infrequent, but they are attested. Overall, structures within the range typical for non-Creole languages are very prominent in this Creole language.

Varieties of English: A global perspective

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What is it that sets apart L1 varieties on the one hand from L2 varieties and Pidgins and Creoles on the other hand? Our investigation of this issue is based on the largest comparative study (Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi 2004) to date of entire grammatical subsystems of varieties of English worldwide. A catalogue of 76

morphosyntactic features taken from 11 areas of morphosyntax (pronouns, pronoun exchange, and grammatical gender; noun phrase phenomena; tense and aspect; modality; verb morphology; adverb phenomena; negation; agreement; relativization; complementation; and discourse organization and word order) has been investigated for 46 (groups of) non-standard varieties of English around the world, including

- 20 L1 varieties: Orkney and Shetland, Scottish E, Irish E, Welsh E, East Anglia, North, Southwest and Southeast of England (British Isles); Colloquial AmE, Southeast AmE, Appalachian E, Ozarks E, Newfoundland E, Urban AAVE, Earlier AAVE (America); Colloquial Australian E, Australian Vernacular E (Australia); Norfolk, New Zealand E (Pacific); White South African E (Africa);
- 11 L2 varieties: Chicano E (America); Fiji English (Pacific); Standard Ghanaian E, Cameroon E, East African E, Indian South African E, Black South African E (Africa); Butler E, Pakistani E, Singapore E, Malaysian E (Asia);
- 15 Pidgins and Creoles: Gullah (America); Suriname Creole, Belizean Creole, Tobagonian/Trinidadian Creole, Bahamian E, Jamaican Creole (Caribbean); Bislama, Solomon Islands Pidgin, Tok Pisin, Hawaii Creole (Pacific); Aboriginal E, Australian Creoles (Australia); Ghanaian Pidgin, Nigerian Pidgin, Cameroon Pidgin (Africa).

Results show that the main linguistic divisions observable among varieties of English worldwide do not so much run along geographical and/or areal lines – what is crucial, rather, is the type of variety in question (L1, L2, or Pidgin/Creole). Accordingly, there is a major divide between world regions with exclusively or predominantly L1 varieties (British Isles, America) and world regions with exclusively or predominantly L2 varieties and/or Pidgins and Creoles (Caribbean, Pacific, Africa, Asia), with Australia exhibiting equal proportions of L1 varieties and Creoles. For one thing, the paper presents an in-depth analysis of this split, investigating exactly which (bundles) of the 76 features characterize these three types of varieties. Moreover, the paper identifies the (region-independent) properties of these three types of varieties, i.e. those properties which are not specific regional developments, and

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which are thus not possibly due to L1 or substrate influence on L2 varieties and Pidgins/Creoles. We further utilize advanced statistical techniques such as principal component analysis and cluster analysis to suggest parameters – among them, morphosyntactic complexity – according to which varieties of English can be thought to vary.

Kortmann, B./B. Szmrecsanyi. 2004. "Global Synopsis: Morphological and Syntactic Variation in English". In: B. Kortmann/E. Schneider with K. Burridge/R. Mesthrie/C. Upton, eds. A Handbook of Varieties of English. Vol. 2: Morphology, Syntax, 1142-1202. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

The relator "av(ek)" in Mauritian and in Seychelles' Creole: diachronic and synchronic aspects

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&
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In this contribution, I will focus on the successors of the French preposition "avec" in Mauritian and Seychelles Creole, two languages that make a much larger use of the relator "(av)ek". I will compare data from a large corpus of old Mauritian Creole texts collected by Philip Baker (electronic version) as well as written and spoken synchronic data (for Seychelles Creole see Michaelis & Rosalie 2000). The functional distribution of the different forms "avek", "ek", "av", "are" will be examined in detail. Currently, we can state that a great number of functional domains are covered by this relator: it expresses e.g., the semantic roles of CAUSE, COMITATIVE, COUNTERAGENT, EXPERIENCER, HUMAN ALLATIVE/ABLATIVE, LOCAL , INSTRUMENT, MANNER and it is used as a conjunction ('and'). The aim of the present paper is to present detailed semantic maps and to situate the observations in a wider

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context of language contact and language change. It will be particularly interesting to correlate the linguistic data with demographic evolutions in the two islands.

Empirical problems with domain-based notions of "simple"

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Miriam Meyerhoff studied linguistics in New Zealand and the USA. She has worked for over ten years on variation in spoken and written Bislama -- the creole spoken in Vanuatu -- and in 2003 began a variationist study of Bequian (in the Caribbean). Her other research interests are language and gender, and speakers' and listeners' perception of socially significant variants in language. She has taught linguistics in New Zealand, Vanuatu, Hawai'i and the UK, and she has plated many meals working in a restaurant in Bequia.

The question of whether creole languages are, as a class, more "simple" than other natural languages has been discussed in terms that reflect (intentionally or not) a generativist's modular notion of language: what do we find in the syntax? And what in the morphology? How does the phonological inventory differ from other natural languages? Recently completed typological surveys of linguistic structure now permit creolists to ask these questions in broader perspective, comparing creoles with natural languages as a whole and not just their input languages (e.g. Velupillai 2003). However, this approach still starts from an essentially modular notion of syntax.

But analysing the syntax of creole languages in this way is particularly problematic. It has been more than thirty years since Gillian Sankoff began to apply the quantitative methods of variationist sociolinguistics to the study of Tok Pisin syntax. She demonstrated the intimate, probabilistic connections between the interpersonal and communicative factors realised in discourse and the emergence of syntactic structure and inflectional morphology. These correspondences and correlations across language domains are

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not categorical, but they are statistically significant. Can or should interactions between (morpho)syntax and discourse be considered part of the grammar of a creole? The variationist will answer "yes", and I would suggest that creolists who are struggling with the notion of creole simplicity, should do so as well.

I will follow Sankoff, and most linguists working on grammaticalisation, in supposing that diachronically and synchronically, connections between syntax and discourse can be quite intricate. I will review data from several Pacific pidgins and creoles which suggest that the notion of a simpler syntax is empirically complex, specifically, these include:

      1. negation in Hiri Motu
      2. animacy in Tayo possessive phrases
      3. subject indexes/agreement in Melanesian creoles
      4. alienable possession in Bislama
      5. evidentiality in Bislama

(1)-(4) draw together facts that have been discussed in the literature in isolation; (5) adds more recent work on variation between complementisers in Bislama. Not all of them use the quantitative methods of variationists, demonstrating that interactions between syntax and discourse can be observed through a variety of methodological approaches.

Sankoff, Gillian and Suzanne Laberge. (1973). On the acquisition of native speakers by a language. *Kivung*. 6. 32-47.

Sankoff, Gillian. (1977). Variability and explanation in language and culture: cliticization in New Guinea Tok Pisin. In Muriel Saville-Troike, ed. *Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics*, 59-73. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.

Velupillai, Viveka. (2003). *Hawaiʻi Creole English: The Tense-Mood-Aspect System.* London: Palgrave.

Systematicity in Simplicity
Towards a Redefinition of Cameroon Pidgin English

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Attitudes towards Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE), especially those of purists and cynics (see Kouega's 2001 survey and Alobwede D'Epie's 1998 report), show that the aesthetics, flexibility and richness of the language, including its contents and systematic patterns, are still to be discovered by many people. Instead of perceiving the language as the basilectal variety of Cameroon English (CamE) that lacks a structure of its own, this paper demonstrates that it is a rule-governed language like any other language that displays systematic and well-patterned lexico-morphological and syntactic peculiarities. In this light, it is proven that those who castigate the language and rather rely on English language canons to assess and use the language are, in fact, violating its rules and may even be accused of wrecking a serious havoc on its structure (see Ngefac and Sala, forthcoming).

The paper further shows that the word "simplicity" found in most definitions of CPE (see Schneider 1960 and Todd 1990) does not in any way suggest that any English word can be borrowed and used in the language. The term presupposes that the words borrowed from English are down-to-earth simple lexical items, usually monosyllabic and, sometimes, disyllabic words, and not complex trisyllabic or multisyllabic English words. Such simple words, as underscored in this paper, usually undergo simple morphological processes to express thoughts that are expressed in English with complex single words. The term "simplicity" equally presupposes the existence of non-English words in the language, borrowed from mother-tongue languages spoken in Cameroon, but such words, though quite simple and familiar to CPE speakers, rather appear complex to speakers of the language from different continents.

It is therefore recommended that, instead of treating CPE as a "structureless" and deficient variety of CamE that "accepts" just anything and rejects "nothing" in the name of simplicity, it should be

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perceived as a rule-governed independent language that displays systematic and well-patterned linguistic processes.

Conceptual Metaphor and the Definitions of *Pidgin* and *Creole*

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Dissertation: Towards a Semantics of Linguistic Time. Exploring some Basic Time Concepts with Special Reference to English and Krio. Research interests: Conceptual metaphor and metonymy; The role of conceptual metaphor and metonymy in Krio conceptualization; Temporal semantics in English and Krio

This paper will, from a tentative point of view, explore whether one way of typologically distinguishing between pidgins and creoles is to measure the frequency of instantiations of **conceptual metaphors** (see Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Kövecses, 2002; Ungerer & Schmid, 1996) in these languages. The idea is that a high frequency of conceptual metaphor in a P/C-language is indicative of creole, whereas a low frequency points towards pidgin.

Within cognitive linguistics, conceptual metaphors are "powerful tools for our conceptualization of abstract categories" (Ungerer & Schmid, 1996:114) through which "one domain of experience is used to understand another domain of experience" (Kövecses, 2002:12). Lakoff (1987) labels these domains ICMs, **Idealized Cognitive Models**. These ICMs "depend on the culture in which a person grows up and lives" (Ungerer & Schmid, 1996:50), which suggests that mastering the ICMs of a speech community's language is connected to native speaker competence. The process through which the above understanding takes place is called **mapping**, "the internal relations or logic of one cognitive model" (ICM), transferred to another (ICM) (Ungerer & Schmid, 1996:120).

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One piece of evidence of the importance of conceptual metaphors builds on (1) the fact that **reduplication** is abundant in creoles but rare in pidgins (Baker, 2003 and Bakker, 2003); and (2) the assumption that reduplications are instantiations of the conceptual metaphor +MORE OF FORM IS MORE OF CONTENT+ (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:128). Thus, we find few reduplications in pidgins due to the incompatibility of

a. pidgins being non-native languages, with users having other mother-tongues, possessing partially non-matching ICM inventories, and
b. the fact that in order for a conceptual metaphor to fill its conceptualization purpose there has to be a sufficiently good match between the ICMs employed by the speaker in the mapping process and those of the hearer.

This may lead to users of pidgins avoiding conceptual metaphor because of the risk of communication breakdown if the ICMs used by the speaker don't have matches among the hearer's ICMs.

The abundance of reduplication in creoles comes about because creoles are native languages, and the speakers of **a** creole share a common ICM inventory. Thus the risk of communication breakdown is neglectable when conceptual metaphoric expressions are used since they build on mapping between ICMs common to speaker and hearer.

Baker, Philip. 2003. "A Short Note on Reduplication in Early Pacific Pidgin Englishes". In *Twice as Meaningful*, ed. Silvia Kouwenberg. Battlebridge: London.

Bakker, Peter. 2003. "The Absence of Reduplication in Pidgins". In *Twice as Meaningful*, ed. Silvia Kouwenberg. Battlebridge: London.

Kövecses, Zoltán. 2002. *Metaphor. A Practical Introduction*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Lakoff, George. 1987. *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things. What Categories Reveal about the Mind.* University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

Lakoff, George & Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*.

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Ungerer, Friedrich & Hans-Jörg Schmid. 1996. *An Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics*. Longman: London & New York.

On –*self* and Reflexivity in English-lexicon Creoles

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Linguists are divided as to whether all languages are equally complex or not. In one respect, researchers maintain that it is useless to classify languages in terms of varying sophistication. (O'Grady *et al*. 1997). In the same vein, Kusters (2003) contends that a low level of complexity in one component is usually compensated for by a high degree of complexity in another domain of syntax, pragmatics or even culture. In another respect, there is some reluctance to classify Pidgins and Creoles as complex idioms: they are in fact termed reduced or simplified versions of their lexifiers (McWhorter, 2001). While it remains extremely difficult to provide a reliable method for measuring linguistic complexity, or simplicity for that matter, an interesting perspective has been offered by Kusters (2003: 6) who defines complexity as the amount of effort an outsider needs to make to become familiar with the target language.

This paper proposes to examine contexts where –*self* appears in English-lexicon creoles in the Caribbean, South American and West African areas. Morphologically, they all combine a "personal" pronoun with a cognate of the English morpheme –*self* to express reflexivity: -*sef* in Tobagonian, Krio, Jamaican, -*self* in Vincentian, Barbadian, Guyanese, -*srefi* in Sranan. Syntactically, throughout the sphere of creole usage we observe a penchant for the free –*self* form in adnominal and adverbial positions where -*self* is best analysed as an intensifier. Creoles tend to avoid lexical reflexives without altogether excluding them from usage. Moreover, creole speakers use reflexivised structures such as (1) and (2) to express actions that are typically done to oneself (1) as against those that are generally directed to a third party (2), where speakers are inclined to use a pro-

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self as verb argument. Semantically, perception verbs tend to take a pleonastic pro+*self* (3).

(1)   PRO-SUBJ$_i$ V-bathe PRO$_i$+skin.
(2)   PRO-SUBJ$_i$ V-kill PRO$_i$+self.
(3)   PRO-SUBJ$_i$ V-think to PRO$_i$+self

While there has been some uniformisation of forms in these creoles, the same cannot be said for the semantics. Consequently, the pragmatics may be more difficult to penetrate by an outsider. We show that, synchronically, the creole morpheme -*self* in Caribbean, South American and African varieties is a residue from Old English *self / sylf* which was optionally postposed to personal pronouns to add emphasis in reflexivised contexts. We also provide evidence to show that present day usage is a result of pragmatic enrichment or expansion of the intensifier function of -*self*.

Kusters, W. (2003). *Linguistic Complexity: The Influence of Social Change on Verbal Inflection*. Utrecht: LOT.
McWhorter, J. (2001). The world's simplest grammars are Creole grammars. *Linguistic Typology* 5, 125-166.
O'Grady, W. *et al*. (1997). *Contemporary Linguistics: An Introduction*. 3rd edition. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Substrate Simplification
The Role of the Adults in the Creolisation process

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Ian Robertson taught at secondary and tertiary levels in Guyana and Trinidad since 1969. He is Dean of the Faculty of Humanities and Education,University of the West Indies. One major area of operation has been the application of lingistic findings to the Caribbean Education system. This has been fed primarily by work in Creole languages of the region.His specific areas of interest are the Dutch lexicon, Creoles of the region, Educational Linguistics, Creole Genesis and have been in Creole and the Education of Creole-speaking students.

From the outset, discussions of the notion and roles of simplification in the development of languages labeled "Creole" have shown a decided bias to the "so-called" superstrate languages. The position, unreasonable though it was from a normal genetics perspective, was perhaps as much a reflection of the lack of sufficient information on the "Substrate" languages, particularly those from West Africa, as it was of intellectual naïveté.

Berbice Dutch, discovered by this writer in 1975, provides the best opportunity to date among Caribbean Creole languages for the study of simplification from the substrate perspective. This is an area for potential enrichment of the discourse on the nature and processes of language creolisation in Caribbean societies.

This presentation will examine the morphological forms from Eastern Ijo that have survived into Berbice Dutch. It will examine the extent to which these survivals represent simplifications of the full systems in Ijo. It also will reflect on the implications for the studies of processes of creolisation.

Creole Phonology as a Sound Change: phonetic naturalness, simplification and complication in French Lexifier Creoles

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Eric Russel-Webb has a Ph.D. from the University of Texas (2002) and is currently working at the University of California, Davis, Department of French and Italian and Linguistics Program. He works in phonology, focusing on the interplay of grammar, phonetics and cognition; He is increasingly interested in how extra-grammatical forces influence phonological change in both Creole and non-Creole languages, and how this can be formalized in Optimality Theoretic grammars. He works primarily on Romance and Germanic, notably French and Dutch, as well as French-, Dutch- and Ibero-Romance Lexifier Creoles.

This work revisits questions of simplicity and complexity at the confluence of two disciplines: Creolistics and Historical Linguistics.

While Creolists have focused primarily on morphological and syntactic particularities, diachronic linguists have given a great deal of attention to sound change. In this paper, I revisit questions of Creole phonological evolution and emergence, applying recent theories of sound change to the analysis of three apparent phonological simplifications seen in most French Lexifier Creoles (FLC): front vowel unrounding ({y, ø, œ} → {i, e, }), cluster simplification, and /R/ vocalization. I claim that phonological transformations such as these are better analyzed as regular, phonetically natural sound changes, rather than Creole-specific innovations. I further argue that these are not mere simplifications, but are the products of systemic optimization (Boersma 2003), from which innovative patterns of phonological complexity emerge. The goal of the present work is not to challenge the premise of Creole exceptionalism or refute specific taxonomies, but to properly situate exceptionalism in and motivate taxonomies by reference to extra-grammatical factors, at least inasmuch as phonology is concerned. This paper proceeds as follows. The first section summarizes relevant data and addresses theoretical issues; these questions include patterns of Creole and non-Creole phonological evolution and sound change within the frameworks of Evolutionary Phonology (Blevins 2004) and phonetically-based phonological models (cf. inter alia Hayes, Kirchner & Steriade 2004; Kirchner 1998). The three examples of Creole phonological change are subsequently analyzed. In each instance, sound change is shown to be phonetically natural, i.e. motivated by principles inherent to speech perception and/or production, specifically the interplay of universal effort avoidance and systemically- and contextually-derived perceptual markedness. Analysis of vowel unrounding, cluster simplification and /R/ vocalization is supported by data, as well as linguistic counter-examples from Creole and non-Creole languages. A model of Creole phonological emergence is formalized in the fourth section, where 'simplification' and 'complication' are conceived of as byproducts of commonly occurring sound changes, whose typological exceptionality is not born of the forces at work in change—as these are assumed to universally operative—but is situated in extra-grammatical factors, namely sociocultural and demographic, at the time of Creole emergence. A final section touches upon evidence

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from FLC in which different phonological changes are observed (e.g. Haitian dialects in which front rounded vowels were backed, e.g. /y/ → /u/ */i/), addresses the particularities of phonological—as distinct from morphological and syntactic—grammars, and opens discussion to broader themes.

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Theory and Language Change, D.E. Hold (ed.). Dordrecht: Kluwer, 31-66. Hayes, B., R. Kirchner & D. Steriade. 2004. Phonetically Based Phonology. Cambridge, UK:
Cambridge UP. Kirchner, R. 1998. An Effort Based Approach to Consonant Lenition. Ph.D. Thesis, UCLA.

Creoles under scanner:
natural change and unnatural languages? Testimony of TMA

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The new world languages, commonly known as 'pidgins and creoles' continue to be under scanner. The issues pertaining to relexification, simplicity-complexity also continue to be debated afresh and more vigorously (see in particular, Degraff 2003, McWharter 2001). The debates have left linguists more divided than ever- hence the need for new models for understanding these languages. In view of the ongoing debate, this paper proposes to revisit one of the most debated, the non-punctual aspectual category (habitual in particular) in GE in both diachronic and synchronic perspectives (also see Bickerton 1975, Rickford 1980). The study is based on large body of data drawn from Guyana through sociolinguistics interviews and the available historical texts from 1797-1905.
The paper proposes to address the issues such as (i) the diachrony of nonpunctual markers, (ii) the synchronic variation, (iii) language change and cliticization of (daz), and (iv) the implications of these on the simplicity-complexity debate.

(i) From the diachronic perspective it can be said that almost all the markers of punctuality both in form and function can be largely traced back to the various ethnic, regional and social speech varieties of English that traveled to the new world along with the settlers and their servants throughout the period of crucial contact. Therefore, the paper first attempts to explore whether the different markers entered at the same time in GE or are differentially distributed in time and what changes the markers have undergone in form and function after arriving in Guyana (Caribbean in General).

(ii) From a synchronic perspective, the paper addresses the issue of variation caused by the presence of multiple preverbal auxiliaries, [a], (daz) and its variants, [uzto], [zeros] and [V-ing], the relationship among the different variants, co-occurrence constraints with respect to the other TMA markers that these can be combined with, temporal reference, and finally their distribution across individuals in the speech community.

(iii) Finally, the paper discusses the cliticization of (daz), the most important change in the nonpunctual category, the constraints on cliticization and the impact of the change on the nonpunctual category itself. A similar change appears to be attested in Bahamian English (Holm 1988).

(iv) By assessing the gaps between transmission and acquisition and the subsequent changes, the paper questions the simplicity-complexity debate itself. The study also proposes that a model from 'below' is perhaps more suitable than the existing models from 'above' to understand the new world languages.

Bickerton, Derek (1975): *Dynamics of a Creole system*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Degraff, Michel (2003): Against Creole exceptionalism. – In: *Language* 79(2), 391-410.

Holm, John (1988): *Pidgins and Creoles. Theory and structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McWhorter, John H (2001): The world's simplest languages are Creole grammars. -In: *Linguistic Typology* 5 (2/3), 125-166.

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Inflection in Lingua Franca: complexity or simply variation?

Rachel Selbach
(University of Amsterdam)

Recent empirical work by Bakker indicates the possibility that "pidgins are […] morphologically richer than creoles" (Bakker (2002:3)). In his attempts to account for this surprising finding, Bakker assesses that in addition to other possible reasons, there is bound to be a sampling skew; *ia* the imput languages to creoles are typologically much less diverse than the imput languages to the pidgins studied.

This problem is reduced or eliminated when taking under scrutiny a Romance-based pidgin like the Lingua Franca of the Mediterranean (LF). Reports of this code being spoken in and around the Mediterranean basin for at least four to five centuries abound in the Literature and songs of French, Italian and Spanish playwrites and musicians, as well as in the both documentary and entertaining reports of travelers, hostages and adventurers to the Barbary coast from ca 1500 to 1800.

Assuming that the available texts are reliable to the extent that they represent some variety of LF, and further assuming that LF should be qualified as a pidgin, I will examine some of the apparently inflectional features of LF in light of Bakker's discussion. I will focus on the LF recorded for the Barbary coast, but also take recourse to the Literary evidence from North of the Mediterranean. LF texts contain evidence for nominal number marking (-s), adjective inflection (-o/-a), and at least three different verbal forms: infinitive (-r), (generalized) 3ps and participle forms (-ato). Moderately complex TMA marking systems in LF have thus been described variously by various authors, and Arends and Muusse in their 2002 investigation of *Inflectional Morphology in Lingua Franca* conclude that LF "has a rather rich inflectional morphology", thus concurring with Bakker's results.

However, few or none of these inflectional features can be shown to be entirely systematic, or regular throughout the LF texts. Furthermore, all of these features appear to be inherited from the Romance [Italian or Spanish] lexifier(s). LF inflectional features are

therefore neither clearly innovative, nor are they regular. Thus, they cannot be clearly distinguished from variability, nor perhaps should they be straightforwardly be labeled as rich inflection.

The issues raised by Bakker and Arends&Muusse nevertheless need to be squarely addressed. If there is indeed a path to grammaticalization and complexification in the development of some young languages such as creoles, then where is the path to reduction and regularity to be found, if not in pidgins?

This begs the question of what it means when we say "pidgins have norms" (eg. Bakker 2002: 4). What is the nature of these norms? How are they separate from grammatical rules? We return full-circle and have to ask, with innocence and not perversion (cf. Arends&Muusse), not only was LF a pidgin, and what is a pidgin. As inflections in LF may indeed be complex, but do not appear to be systematic (as Bakker acknowledges explicitly for some of the apparent agreement features in LF); and if this complexity is not distinguishable from variation, then LF may be said to have norms which allow for variability in inflection.

Arends, Jacques and Esther Muusse. 2002. Inflectional Morphology in Lingua Franca. *ms*

Bakker, Peter. 2002. Pidgin inflectional morphology and its implications for creole morphology. *Yearbook of Morphology 2002,* 3-33.

Simplicity and Complexity in Hawai'i Pidgin and Creole

Jeff Siegel
(University of New England & University of Hawai'i)

Using data from Hawai'i, this paper argues against the notion of a clear-cut distinction between simplicity in pidgins vs complexity in creoles. Rather, it describes a continuum of simplicity-complexity (based on lexicality vs grammaticality) ranging from restricted pidgin to expanded pidgin to nativised creole. The degree of complexity (or grammaticality) correlates with the range of functions that the language is used for. What are traditionally called "pidgins"

vary in their degrees of complexity as they have been expanded to different degrees. Although creoles may reflect earlier simplicity in some grammatical subsystems, they cannot be distinguished as a group from other languages in terms of overall degree of complexity. In Hawai'i, the macaronic pidgin of the first generation of immigrant plantation workers that Bickerton examined was a restricted pidgin, similar to the Basic Variety in second language acquisition in its lack of grammatical morphemes. The "Hawai'i Pidgin English" of the second generation (first locally born generation) expanded grammatically as it became used for more functions and eventually as the primary language of many speakers. The Hawai'i Creole of the third (second locally born) generation reflects the ultimate expansion that occurred when parents used the "pidgin", rather than their ancestral language, to bring up their children.

The paper also argues that while increasing grammatical complexity may be a result of language-internal factors, in the case of Hawai'i it is mostly modelled on structures from the substrate languages or the lexifier or both. For example, the TMA system of Hawai'i Creole appears to result from functional transfer from the Portuguese and Cantonese substrates as well as adoption of morphemes from the English lexifier.

The Perfect Construction and Complexity Drift in Sri Lankan Malay

Peter Slomanson
(City University of New York Graduate Center)

Peter Slomanson studied linguistics and South Asian languages as an undergraduate at the University of Pennsylvania. Due to strong interests in Dutch, the colonial history of the Netherlands, and the effects of language contact generally, he later began to study the effects of Dutch-Malay bilingualism on the morphosyntax of Afrikaans. This was followed by ongoing research on morphosyntactic variation and change in Malay which is the product of contact with Tamil and Sinhala.Dr. Slomanson also spent several years working on linguistic technology projects in the private sector,

and has recently performed published research on sociophonetic variation in the English of Latino teenagers in New York City, under the auspices of the Research Institute for the Study of Language in Urban Society. He received his Ph.D. from the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, and is currently a fellow with the American Institute for Sri Lankan Studies.

Sri Lankan Malay (SLM) verbs differ strikingly from verbs in other contact Malay varieties. The SLM verb in (1) displays circumfixal temporal marking. This construction reflects earlier restructuring by native Sri Lankan Muslim Tamil speakers.

(1)   *Farida nasi so-makan-abis.*
         Farida rice PAST-eat-ASP
         "Farida has finished eating rice."

The morphological change trajectory is not simply a result of creolization in the genesis of SLM however.
I will discuss a perfect construction (2), which is modeled on an analogous construction in Sinhala. This is being reduced to past tense suffixation (3) as in Tamil rather than Sinhala, not as a function of contact – these younger speakers do not *know* Tamil – but as a result of changes from a cross-linguistically common cycle of morphological change (grammaticalization>affixation>phonological weakening>deletion>grammaticalization).

(2)   *Farida nasi a(bi)s-makan (tr)-ada.*
         Farida rice ASP-eat   (NEG)-EXIST
         "Farida has eaten rice."

In the SLM construction in (2), the existential verb *ada* functions as a semantically vacuous auxiliary. It can be negated, and that negation can interrupt the adjacency of the verb and the auxiliary. Ordinarily we find negation preceding the lexical verb in complex SLM verbs. The fact that negation precedes the auxiliary in (2) supports a biclausal analysis for this construction. We find similar perfect constructions in both Tamil and Sinhala, however the syntax of the Sinhala construction appears to be closer, based on adjacency facts.

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The existential "auxiliary" cannot be separated from the verbal complex in Tamil as it can in Sinhala and SLM.
In contrast with both Sinhala and Tamil, the SLM participial morpheme *a*(*bi*)*s* is obligatorily pre-verbal. This is attributable to the failure of the SLM verb to raise above an aspectual head in non-finite contexts. Participial *a*(*bi*)*s* is in complementary distribution with tense, which correlates with finiteness in SLM. The shape of the *tr-*negation morpheme *also* correlates with finiteness. These facts lend additional support to the view that (*tr*)*ada* is clausal.
Based on recently collected data (2005), fluent young highland dialect speakers are not using past tense prefixation or the participial prefix, and are reinterpreting *ada* (in the reduced form *da*) as a suffix on the main verb, as in (3). Consequently *ada* as –*da* is the only available past marker for those speakers.

(3)　　*Farida nasi makan-da.*
　　　　Farida rice eat-PAST
　　　　"Farida has eaten rice."

The absence of past tense prefixes represents a partial loss of visible complexity, which challenges the view that SLM is necessarily becoming increasingly complex simply because it has acquired tense and case markers. The trajectory of circumfixal temporal affixation (with periphrasis) to less functionally-elaborated affixation demonstrates that morphological simplicity or complexity in contact languages, as in languages generally, will not increase monodirectionally. Instead, the development of a particular contact language may be punctuated by stages which are alternately more and less complex. Complex circumfixal temporal morphology is being simplified by younger speakers as a consequence of rapid speech phenomena such as contraction and the weakening and deletion of atonic monosyllabic prefixes.

Chinese Pidgin English pronouns revisited

Geoff Smith
(University of Hong Kong)

Geoff Smith is an Associate Professor in the English Centre at the University of Hong Kong where he teaches courses in language contact, sociolinguistics, thesis writing, and academic English for students in science, business and law. His main research interest is language contact and extensive research on Melanesian Pidgin in Papua New Guinea is summarised in the book /Growing Up with Tok Pisin/, (London, Battlebridge, 2002). Currently working with Steven Matthews on Chinese language sources for Chinese Pidgin English and another Battlebridge volume is currently being edited on this topic.

Chinese Pidgin English or China Coast Pidgin was a thriving medium of inter-cultural communication from around the end of the 18th century to mid 20th century. A number of accounts of the grammar have appeared, including descriptions of the pronoun system. A number of problems remain, however, and new light can be shed on these by consideration not only of English language accounts, but by Chinese language sources. These include marginalia in a monumental six-volume work called the Chinese-English Instructor (英語集全 yìng yúh jaahp chyùhn, literally "the English language collected complete") by Tong King-sing (唐景星, confusingly also known as Tang Tingshu or Tong Ting-kü). These comments in the margins referring to the pidgin equivalent of Standard English phrases and sentences represent the biggest single source of Chinese Pidgin English texts currently known, but transcriptions of the texts have only recently been made accessible. A review of the pronouns used shows certain differences from English language sources.

In the texts from *The Instructor*, the use of the second person "yù" is invariant, and the use of 希 (hì) is almost universal for the third person singular, although a few uses of 謙 (hìm) occur in object position. The choice of "my" as a generalised first person pronoun, in contrast to the almost universal use of "mi" in other pidgins

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worldwide still remains a puzzle. Substrate morphological patterns
(the same form for subject, object and possessive) and the influence
of different written characters and their pronunciation in different
varieties of Chinese partially explain the choice of "my" but the
exact mechanism of its adoption remains to be elucidated. In *The
Instructor*, there appears to be some differentiation, with some
tokens of 買 (máaih - with contrasting long vowel) used for the
possessive, and also many tokens of 挨 (àai) in subject position. The
most common form for the subject pronoun, however, remains 米
(máih), while proportionally larger numbers of the character 未 (mih)
occur in object position. It thus appears that in the Chinese sources,
there was some differentiation between subject and object forms.
The picture is further complicated by the fact that the latter two
characters are similar in shape, especially in hand-written form, and
by sound changes in Cantonese. The diphthongisation of "i" to "ei"
some time around the end of the 19th century means that characters
currently pronounced meih (未) and hèi (希) were likely to have
been heard as "mi" and "hi."
(Romanised Chinese here uses the Yale system where diacritics
represent rising and falling tones with "h" after the vowel indicating
low tones)

Simplicity and complexity in creole phonology and morphology

Norval Smith
(ACLC / Theoretical Linguistics, University of Amsterdam)

It has been claimed that creoles are typologically distinct due to their
"lack" of a number of complex) features of phonology and
morphology possessed by non-creole languages. In my talk I will
examine a number of better-studied creole languages in terms of their
phonology and morphology, and critically examine these last. My
conclusion will be that (much of) the evidence for such "lacks" or
"simplicity" is largely trivial and/or irrelevant.

The morphology of Chabacano: its complexity in comparative perspective

Patrick O. Steinkrüger
ZAS (Centre for General Linguistics, Typology and Universals Research), Berlin

As "Chabacano" are commonly known the different varieties of the Spanish-based Creole in the Philippines. Until the present, the (socio-)historical origin of the Chabacano varieties is far from being entirely explained (e.g. Lipski 1988 & 1992). In addition, nearly all publications on Chabacano refer to Zamboangueño and not to the variety of Ternate (Manila Bay) which is the oldest variety and more conservative.

So it is the aim of my talk to discuss some morphological features of this Spanish-based Creole spoken in Zamboanga (Southern Philippines) and Ternate (Manila Bay). The number and productivity of derivational morphemes in Zamboangueño contrasts – unlike Ternateño – with the assumed simplicity of Creole morphology (cf. Steinkrüger 2003). The loss of nearly all inflectional morphemes of Spanish origin can be observed in both varieties but new markers at the verb have been emerging and in some cases they even show fusional character (cf. Steinkrüger forthcoming).

The following morphological items will be discussed:

Aspects concerning the function and form of the preverbal TMA-markers (*ta-*, *ya-*, *ay-* in Zamboangueño and *ta-*, *a-*, *di-* in Ternateño).

Derivational morphemes of both Philippine (e.g. *pwérsa* 'power' → *ma-pwérsa* 'powerfull') and Spanish origin (e.g. *trabahá* 'work' → *trabahánte* 'worker'; this form does exist in Spanish but is very unfrequent. In Zamboangueño it is the equivalent of the Spanish *trabajador*).

Since "complexity" and "simplicity" are quiet relative terms, we try to compare these morphological items with its source languages in the talk, to see what could be considered "simpler" or "more complex".

Most of the linguistic data were collected during two fieldwork trips to the Philippines in summer 2004 and spring 2006.

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Functional Structure in the Jamaican Creole Nominal Projection

Michele Stewart
(University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica)

As is well-known, there is no inflectional morphology associated with plurality in most Creole languages. Jamaican Creole (JC) is no exception. In this paper, drawing on original fieldwork, I argue that the lack of inflectional morphology does not mean that the nominal projection in Jamaican Creole is in any way more reduced than that of languages which do inflect for the plural. I argue that there is an articulated functional structure above the NP which houses functions associated with the individuation of nouns and with number specification.

Following Rijkhoff (2004), nouns in languages without plural inflection are considered to be set nouns. A set can have any cardinality – just one individual (singleton set) or more individuals (multiple set), as in (1) below:

(1)   *Mi iit   mango yeside.*
        1S eat mango yesterday
        'I ate mangos/a mango/a piece of a mango yesterday.

When entering into a counting relation, the noun may, but need not, first be prepared for individuation. This allows separate items or individuals to be distinguished or partitioned, achieved via a Classifier Phrase (ClP). ClP is headed by a Classifier in languages such as Chinese, by plural morphology in languages where this exists, or by an empty category in languages such as JC where there is neither plural morphology, nor overt classifiers.

For reference to a well-defined quantity to emerge, a second function of counting or measuring is applied. This is introduced by numerals which are housed in the projection Number Phrase (NumP) dominating ClP.

Crucially, unlike their counterparts in English, nouns in JC enter the derivation being number-neutral, and partitioning the noun is not a requirement for counting in JC. In the absence of partitioning, counting results in an X-numbered set, as in (2).

(2)   *Chii   poliis   kyari wan gon.*
        three police carry IND gun
        a.   'Three policemen carried a single gun.'
        b.   * 'Three policemen each carried a gun.'

In contrast, when the noun is partitioned, forced, for example, by the reduplicative *wan-wan* in (3), the function returns plural individuals, which may then be counted as such.

(3)   *Chii   poliis   kyari wan-wan gon.*
        three police carry one-one gun
        'Three policemen each carried a gun.'

Functional structure dominating the lexical NP in the JC nominal construction is therefore taken to be as follows:

(4)   [DP D [NumP Num [ClP Cl [NP N]]]]

Rijkhoff, Jan 2004 *The Noun Phrase*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Simplicity vs. Unmarkedness in Creole Phonology

Christian Uffmann
(University of Tromsø, Norway)

This paper will address the issue of the alleged simplicity of creoles from a phonological perspective, adopting a position which replaces 'simplicity' with a formally more stringent and empirically testable version of markedness. While Emergence of the Unmarked effects (McCarthy and Prince 1994) can clearly be observed in creole phonology, there is no reason to assume that creoles are in any respect particularly 'simple' with respect to the two parameters investigated in this study, segment inventory shape and size, and syllable structure.

A comparison between Atlantic creoles and their substrate and superstrate languages reveals that a creole's segment inventory typically is the intersection of the substrate and superstrate sets, resulting in a system which preserves those segments which are common across the contributing languages. Although this can be analyzed as an Emergence of the Unmarked phenomenon, this unmarkedness does not go beyond the limits imposed by the substrate and superstrate languages. Consequently, there are many languages with smaller inventory sizes than those of creoles, which do, however, tend to have smaller inventories than both substrate and superstrate languages.

An additional markedness effect that can be observed in creoles concerns feature economy (Clements 2003). Using Clements' *economy index*, creoles can be shown to be relatively parsimonious in their use of distinctive features, compared to both their substrate and superstrate languages. The resulting system is not necessarily 'simple', though. It is more economical, showing a stronger tendency to avoid gaps in the system.

With respect to syllable structure, a different pattern can be observed. Rather than being the intersection of the sets of permissible syllable types of the contributing languages, creole syllable structure typically is a compromise between substrate and superstrate structures, resulting in a system of intermediate markedness. This finding is formally corroborated by applying the *r-measure* of Prince and Tesar (2004), which calculates the relative markedness of a (partial) Optimality-Theoretic grammar.

Throughout the paper, the notion of markedness will be used in an Optimality-Theoretic sense (Prince and Smolensky 1993), and the discussion of systems will be accompanied by sketches of Optimality-Theoretic grammars. I will argue that this concept of markedness is superior to notions of simplicity expressed in McWhorter (2001), since it is formalizable, testable and hence falsifiable. Finally, emphasis will be laid on the observation that markedness is a multidimensional concept – in different phonological domains, markedness may yield different, even contradictory effects (for example, syllable structure constraints versus word size restrictors). A one-dimensional simplicity metric

can therefore not model the different routes possible in creole formation to reduce markedness.

Clements, Nick. 2003. 'Feature economy in sound systems'. *Phonology* 20, 287-334.

McCarthy, John and Alan Prince. 1994. 'The emergence of the unmarked: Optimality in prosodic morphology'. In: *NELS* 24, 333-379.

McWhorter, John. 2001. 'The world's simplest grammars are creole grammars'. *Linguistic Typology* 5, 125-166.

Prince, Alan and Paul Smolensky. 1993. 'Optimality Theory: constraint interaction in generative grammar'. Ms. Rutgers University and University of Colorado.

Prince, Alan and Bruce Tesar. 2004. 'Learning phonotactic distributions'. In: R. Kager, J. Pater and W. Zonneveld (eds.). *Fixing Priorities: Constraints in Phonological Acquisition*. Cambridge: CUP, pp. 245-291.

Adpositions in Krio

Marleen van de Vate
(Radboud University, Nijmegen)

Marleen van de Vate is a research assistant at the Centre for Language Studies, Radboud University Nijmegen. Currently she is working on the project the Suriname Creole Archive (SUCA) which is directed by Margot van den Berg and Pieter Muysken. The aim of this project is to construct a digital database of 18th Century Sranan and Saramaccan manuscripts. Her task is the transcription of the Saramaccan documents.

Additionally, she studies, in collaboration with Prof Peter Svenonius (CASTL, University of Tromsø), prepositions in Krio. She works with native speakers who are resident in the Netherlands.

She received her M.A. in Linguistics in 2004. In her M.A. thesis she described and discussed the TMA system of the four English-based Creoles (Krio, Jamaican Creole, Guyanese Creole and Saramaccan).

This presentation is a study to adpositions in Krio and it is divided in three parts. In the first part of my presentation I will provide a brief description of locational adpositional structures in Krio (the English-lexifier Creole spoken in Sierra Leone) and attempt an analysis of it. Both the morphosyntax and semantics of these structures will be treated.

In the second part of my presentation a comparison will be drawn between Krio locational adpositions and those of Sranan. The Sranan situation has been well-studied. Here frequent use is made of complex structures involving a general locational adposition and a more specific location word. Two word orders occur:

1)   **GEN NP SPEC**
       yu no kanti watra   **na**   mi futu   **tapu**
       2SG NEG pour water   LOC   1SG foot   top
       'You didn't pour water on my feet.' (Bruyn 2003)
2)   **GEN SPEC NP**
       a poti en   **a tapu**   a tafra
       3SG put 3SG   LOC top   DEF.SG table
       'He put it (a bowl) on the table.' (Bruyn 2003)

Note that some people analyse these location words as nouns. I address the question of whether Krio also possesses complex adpositional structures and will demonstrate how complex adpositions in Krio are compositionally constructed out of smaller meaning-bearing elements. The meaning contributions of these elements sheds light on the nature of complex categories.

Finally, I address the question of the expression of locative and directional meanings. How are the differences between these meanings expressed? And how are prepositions used to indicate these differences?

My data comes from native Krio speakers resident in the Netherlands.

This study is part of Peter Svenonius (University of Tromsø) Moving Right Along Project, which is on locative and directional adpositions.

Self-expression in Suriname: Comparing the reflexive pronoun and other uses of SELF forms in Early Sranan and its lexifiers

Margot van den Berg
(Radboud University, Nijmegen)

Margot van den Berg is currently employed as the coordinator of the Suriname Creole Archive project (SUCA) at the Radboud University of Nijmegen, collecting and digitalizing historical texts in Sranan and Saramaccan. She is about to complete her dissertation, a grammar of Early Sranan, that is based on her PhD-project 'The reconstruction of 18th century Sranan' (University of Amsterdam). Her major research interests include contact linguistics and sociolinguistics: she is interested in language change and language formation as a result of language contact. So far, she has published and presented on topics in morphosyntax in the Suriname Creoels and the syntax-semantics interface.

This paper is a follow-up on Muysken & Smith's (1994) preliminary overview of the types of reflexive expressions found in some sources of Early Sranan: a) personal pronouns can function as reflexives; b) personal pronouns in conjunction with *srefi* (< English *self*) can express coreference with the subject; and c) the noun *skin* 'body' (< English *skin*) and other body-part nouns can be used to convey a reflexive meaning. Moreover, coreference of arguments need not be marked at all. Examples are given in (1) to (4) respectively.

1) *abron* <u>*hem*</u>   (N 1770: 280)
   3S-burn   3S
   ['hij of zij heeft zig gebrandt']
   'He burned himself.' (SPT 1762: art. 11)

2) *dem sa moessoe hollie <u>dem serefie</u> allekie dem   frieman diesie*
   wie mekie nawie miendrie.
   3P FUT must   hold   3P self   like   the.PL freeman REL
   1P make LOC-1P middle
   ['Sij sullen gehouden weesen de blanken alle respect te bewijsen,
   evenals andre vrij gemaakte alhier'] 'They will have to behave
   themselves like the freemen in our midst whom we set free.'

3) *wassi <u>ju skin</u> na bilò tu*   (Sch 1783: 17)
   wash   2S body LOC down too
   ['wasch dich auch unten am Leib.']
   'Wash yourself at the lower part too.'

4) *mi go wassi Ø haffo* (Sch 1798: 198)
    1S go wash   half
   ['ich will mich ein wenig baden.']
   'I am going to wash myself a little.'

In this paper, I will outline and examine the syntax and semantics of
Early Sranan reflexive expressions in all available 18th-century
sources stored in the Suriname Creole Archive, including Court
Records and the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty
(1762). In total these sources yield a corpus of around 45,000 words.
Furthermore, the findings are compared with contemporary Eastern
Maroon Creole, another Suriname creole language that emerged in
the 18th century. I assume that this language has maintained many of
its original features, because Eastern Maroon Creole has been less
subjected to change due to language contact than for instance the
contemporary varieties of Sranan. The main Eastern Maroon Creole
reflexive expression is a personal pronoun followed by *seefi*, but
adnominal *seefi* can indicate emphasis rather than coreference of
arguments (Huttar & Huttar 1994, Goury 2003). In addition to
having a reflexivizing function and an intensifying function in
adnominal position, Early Sranan *srefi* can occur in non-juxtaposed
position functioning as an actor-oriented intensifier similar to, but
not identical with, its equivalent in its lexifiers English and Dutch. I
will present a fine-grained analysis of the different uses of Early
Sranan *srefi* in order to gain a deeper understanding of the

relationship between the adnominal and the non-juxtaposed intensifier and its role in the historical development from intensifier to reflexive.

Muysken, Pieter & Norval Smith (1994) 'Reflexives in the creole languages: an interim report'. In Adone, Dany & Ingo Plag (eds.) *Creolization and language change*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Creoles and restricted language systems

Tonjes Veenstra
(Freie Universität Berlin)

Iconicity in early creole texts : how simple is early French related creole grammar?

Georges Daniel Véronique
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Georges Daniel Véronique, born in Mauritius in 1948, has studied linguistics at Université de Provence. He has worked at Université de Provence and Paris III- Sorbonne Nouvelle and is presently University Professor of French Linguistics and creole studies at Université de Provence (since September 05). His main research interests are SLA and creolization, Creole grammar, Language change in creole languages. Languages studied are French related creoles, especially Morisiê. Has edited Créolisation et acquisition des langues, Aix-en-Provence, Publications de l'U. de Provence, 1994, Matériaux pour l'étude des classes grammaticales dans les langues créoles Aix-en-Provence, Publications de l'U. de Provence, 1994 and Issue N° 138 of Langages « Syntaxe des langues créoles ». Has recently published : Iconicity and finiteness in the development of early grammar in French as L2 and in French-based creoles. In Giacalone-Ramat, Anna (ed.) 2003, Typology and Second Language Acquisition, 221-266, Berlin, Mouton De Gruyter.

There is an on-going debate in the field of creole studies on the contribution of the L1 of the enslaved population and of the L1 of the colonists in the genesis of creole languages. This controversy on the respective role of the erroneously named substratum, the colonists' L1, and of the so-called substratum or substrata, the L1 of the slaves, in the emergence of creole languages, which also points to who had the main responsibility for the birth of the new language, results from an over-simplified account of language and population contacts in the colonies set up between the 16th and the 19th century by European settlers mainly. It might also provide a partly incorrect view of how languages intermingle in the case of linguistic creation or of untutored second language acquisition. Transfer does not provide the whole story.

This contribution is based on an approach of creole genesis seen as a multi-factorial phenomenon where a 'simple' code based on universal and semantic principles evolves through the interplay of iconicity, of lexical borrowing, of cognitive grammar making capacity (i.e reanalysis and grammaticalization) to a more complex system, where grammatical functors emerge.

The paper surveys the simple to complex cline in the development of creole grammar through an analysis of a number of semantic and grammatical features. The data will be provided by old Mauritian texts (Chaudenson 1981 and Baker & Fon Sing forthcoming). The following features shall be surveyed from the point of view of linguistic 'creation' and change :

- reduplication (i.e r*ijrije* = giggle) and verbal clusters (bizê kapav vini = ought to be able to come)
- the emergence of verbal markers (i.e *fini*) (Fon Sing 2004)
- the emergence of negation.

Iconicity is deemed to be a major factor in the creation of 'simple' codes and reanalysis and grammaticalization are seen as processes that complexify linguistic systems. Transfer and overgeneralization may also play a part in the complexification of creole grammar.

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Language balance in Kamtok: an evaluation

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Cameroonian au-pair teaches her pidgin. Loreto Todd agrees to supervise thesis about 'possible influences of German on Cameroon Pidgin English'

Carrier Pidgin takes my note: "Looking for superstrat - finding substrat

It is by balancing effects that living organisms organise themselves in nature in order to survive. Language as part of a living system is also open to compensatory processes: complexity within one property of a language system may result in economy within another. Research in this area has been carried out in various contributions to linguistic and systemic typology (Fenk-Oczlon,G.& Fenk,A.,1999;2005) which resulted in the following conclusion:
Balancing effects within the language system:
A low degree of morphological complexity is compensated by a higher degree of syntactic complexity; a tendency to short words is compensated e.g. by a higher number of words per clause,higher phonological and semantic complexity and a tendency to idioms and formulaic speech
The first one of these studies was based on 34 Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages, the second study on 8 languages.Creole languages have not been included.
The aim of this paper is to show in which way balancing effects work within the subsystem of language,exemplified in a creole, Cameroon Pidgin English or Kamtok, in my case.

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Simplicity and complexity in language contact between Spanish and Pichi (Equatorial Guinea)

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The hitherto barely described English-lexified creole Pichi is the lingua franca of the population of the island of Bioko (Equatorial Guinea) in the Bight of Benin. It descends from an early form of Krio, which arrived on the island – then called Fernando Poo – with African settlers from Freetown (Sierra Leone) in the 1820s. Barely thirty years later, Spanish colonisation of the island began and the superstrate language English was superseded by Spanish.
I will use empirical data in order to show that regular, albeit extensive contact with Spanish has since then been the primary determinant of language change in Pichi. The severing of the link with English and contact with the socially dominant Spanish language has, on the one hand, coincided with some lexical attrition of Pichi vis-à-vis modern Krio. Most likely, the Krio-derived component of present-day Pichi is also phonologically less complex than Krio was at the time of its implantation on Bioko. On the other hand, the grammatical system has remained quite stable and where there has been contact-induced or internally motivated change shows little, if any, signs of a reduction in complexity.
I conclude that the early severing of the link with English and prolonged contact with Spanish have been crucial factors in shaping the distinctiveness of Pichi. The notions of simplicity and complexity may help in characterising certain, but far from all, aspects of contact-related change in Pichi and other creoles in contact with non-lexifier superstrates.

Reducing phonetical and grammatical complexity
Old Tibetan as a *lingua franca* and the development of the modern Tibetan dialects

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Bettina Zeisler studied Indology (focussing on Tibetan studies), Philosophy, and Anthropology at the Free University Berlin. Though a philologist by training, she became involved with linguistics when the class was reading a modern Ladakhi text as if it were Classical Tibetan (so much for the linguistic state of art in Tibetology!). Since then, her main research centres on the study of grammar and history of the Tibetan languages (Old Tibetan 7th to 10th century, Classical Tibetan 11th to 19th century, and the modern vernaculars, in particular Ladakhi). She is currently working on a post-doc position in the Collaborative Research Centre (Sonderforschungsbereich) 441 "Linguistic data structures" at the University of Tübingen. She has been conducting fieldwork in Ladakh for many years.

According to the evidence of the written documents (from ca. 650 up to the mid 9th century), Old Tibetan allowed syllable initial clusters of up to four consonants and syllable final clusters of two consonants, thus allowing for clusters of six consonants at the morpheme boundary. This highly complex phonetical structure was radically simplified during the development of the modern Tibetan dialects, but the beginning of this development can be seen as early as in the beginning of the 9th century in Chinese representations of Tibetan names (as in the inscription of the Lhasa treaty 821/22). Only in two regions, Amdo in the north-east of Tibet (PRC) and in the far west, namely Baltistan (Pakistan) and Ladakh (India) the phonological complexity is retained to a greater extend (at most three initial consonants, two final consonants). Amdo is also the only region where the highly complex and intransparent verbal morphology of prefixes, root consonant alternations, and *ablaut* has been preserved.
Ladakh and Baltistan were originally populated by speakers of Indo-Iranian (and perhaps of Western Himalayish in the east) and

conquered only in the early 8th century. But the Tibetanisation of these regions took place much later, at earliest in the late 10th century, more probably as late as between the early 11th and the 14th century. From this historical setting two questions arise:

1. How can we explain that a colonialised population adopts a variety that is phonetically more conservative than the variety spoken at the court of the Tibetan emperor.
2. Alternatively, how can we explain the speed of language change at the royal court in Central Tibet: loss of initial clusters within less than 100 years from the first conquest of the west around 730 and the Lhasa treaty of 821/2.

The puzzle might be solved, if one accepts that "Old Tibetan" was a language spoken by Amdo war lords who migrated into central Tibet (where some Western Himalayish languages were spoken) and helped the then petty king to conquer Central Asia. The war lords became the prominent administrators of the conquered areas. With the beginning of writing for administrative purposes (not much befor 650), Old Tibetan started its carreer as the language of the army and the administration and obviously developed into a common trade language for Central Asia. With the royal patronage of Buddhism from the mid 8th century on, Old Tibetan also developed as a language of religion.

Old Tibetan as a spoken *lingua franca* on the silk routes outlasted the Tibetan empire by about two centuries. Certain parallel developments in the western and central Tibetan dialects would indicate that the reduction of complexity with respect to the verbal morphology might have started already during the late stage of the *lingua franca*. In any case, the reduction of complexity in the modern dialects seems to be the result of the linguistic contact of Indo-Iranian and Western Himalayish speakers with a dominant administrative, religious, and trade language. From the viewpoint of Indo-Iranian, the adaption of Tibetan results in a certain loss of paradigmatic complexity, while from the viewpoint of Western Himalayish, the adaption of Tibetan quite probably resulted in an increase of phonetical and morphological complexity. But given that the modern dialects are truly Tibetan, in so far as the greatest part of

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the lexicon can be linked to Old or Classical Tibetan, one cannot avoid to see the development as a process of overal simplification from the viewpoint of Old (Amdo) Tibetan.