

Tenth Creolistics Workshop

“Innovations” - with special attention to parallels
between creole and sign language creation

Aarhus University, 8-10 April 2015

Conference handbook

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1. Participants

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2. Programme

| Tenth Creolistics Workshop | |
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| <i>"Innovations" - with special attention to parallels between creole and sign language creation</i> | |
| Aarhus University, 8-10 April 2015 | |
| Wednesday 8 April | |
| Session 1: <i>Conference opening and plenary talk</i> | |
| Chair: Carsten Levisen | |
| 9.00-9.30 | Conference opening: Danske Døves Landsforbund, Aarhus University and Cognitive Creolistics |
| 9.30-10.30 | Molly Elizabeth Flaherty (University of Chicago): The Birth of a Language: Is Nicaraguan Sign Language a Creole? |
| 10.30-11.00 | COFFEE BREAK |
| Session 2: <i>Sign languages, creoles and typology</i> | |
| Chair: Eeva Sippola | |
| 11.00-11.30 | Adam Schembri (La Trobe University), Kearsy Cormier (University College London), Jordan Fenlon (University of Chicago) & Trevor Johnston (Macquarie University): Sign languages and sociolinguistic typology |
| 11.30-12.00 | Viveka Velupillai (Justus-Liebig-University) & Magnus Huber (Justus-Liebig-University): Creoles and sign languages in comparison with non-creole spoken languages: A preliminary survey |
| 12.00-14.00 | LUNCH BREAK |
| Session 3: <i>Sign languages and creoles</i> | |
| Chair: Peter Bakker | |
| 14.00-14.30 | Dany Adone (University of Cologne): Verb Chains in Creole languages and Sign Languages |
| 14.30-15.00 | Susanne Maria Michaelis (MPI-EVA): Interrogative constructions in creoles and sign languages |
| 15.00-15.30 | COFFEE BREAK |
| Session 4: <i>Pidginization processes 1</i> | |
| Chair: Aymeric Daval-Markussen | |
| 15.30-16.00 | Peter Bakker (Aarhus University): Plains Indian Sign language: the Nature of the World's Only Signed Interethnic Pidgincreole |
| 16.00-16.30 | Victoria A.S. Nyst (Leiden University), Margot van den Berg (Radboud University and University of Utrecht) & Jean-Jacques Tano Angoua (Leiden University): Contact and morphology in Sign Languages and Creole Languages |

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| Thursday 9 April | |
| Session 1: <i>Pidginization processes 2</i> | |
| Chair: Viveka Velupillai | |
| 9.00-9.30 | Mikael Parkvall (Stockholm University): The feature pool in pidginisation |
| 9.30-10.00 | Ross Clark (University of Auckland): t.b.a. |
| 10.00-10.30 | Damaris Neuhof (Justus-Liebig-University): The Origin and Development of Tok Pisin: What the German Colonial Sources Tell us |
| 10.30-11.00 | COFFEE BREAK |
| Session 2: <i>Phonology</i> | |
| Chair: Philip Baker | |
| 11.00-11.30 | Rachel Hendery (University of Western Sydney): A historical mystery, tackled with a handful of recordings and an “inappropriate” method |
| 11.30-12.00 | Marivic Lesho (University of Bremen): Social factors in the development of the Cavite Chabacano vowel system |
| 12.00-12.30 | Rajiv Rao (University of Wisconsin-Madison) & Sandro Sessarego (University of Texas-Austin): On the Declarative Intonation Patterns of Two Afro-Hispanic Varieties |
| 12.30-14.00 | LUNCH BREAK |
| Session 3: <i>Morphology</i> | |
| Chair: Mikael Parkvall | |
| 14.00-14.30 | Dany Adone (University of Cologne): Reduplication in Creole and Sign languages |
| 14.30-15.00 | Elena Perekhvalskaya (Institute for Linguistic Studies, St. Petersburg): Russian-Chinese Pidgin and Russian “inter-languages” |
| 15.00-15.30 | Guillaume Fon Sing (Université Paris 7): Morphological and syntactical innovations in Mauritian Creole: extraction and analysis from regional French data |
| 15.30-16.00 | COFFEE BREAK |
| Session 4: <i>Syntax</i> | |
| Chair: | |
| 16.00-16.30 | Olga Frąckiewicz (University of Warsaw): African language structures in Nigerian Pidgin English |
| 16.30-17.00 | Kathrin Klein (University of Cologne) & Dany Adone (University of Cologne): Wh-questions in Louisiana Creole |

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| Friday 10 April | |
| Session 1: <i>Creolization processes</i> | |
| Chair: Robert Borges | |
| 9.00-9.30 | Sarah Roberts (Stanford University): Diachronic development of endemic features in Hawai'i Creole English: new insights on the role of substrate models |
| 9.30-10.00 | Philip Baker (Westminster University): Innovation, economy, and elaboration in Mauritian and other creoles |
| 10.00-10.30 | John H. McWhorter (Columbia University): Quirky case in creoles, or creolization as a quirky case |
| 10.30-11.00 | COFFEE BREAK |
| Session 2: <i>Creolization processes and creole typology</i> | |
| Chair: Rachel Hendery | |
| 11.00-11.30 | Carsten Levisen (Aarhus University): Semantic Innovations in Creolization. The conceptual development of emotion words in Urban Bislama |
| 11.30-12.00 | Danae Perez-Inofuentes (University of Zurich): Morphosyntactic innovations in Afro-Yungueño Spanish |
| 12.00-12.30 | Hugo Cardoso (University of Lisbon) & Eeva Sippola (Aarhus University/University of Bremen): Adding the Malabar creoles to the Luso-Asian family |
| 12.30-14.00 | LUNCH BREAK |
| Session 3: <i>Creole typology</i> | |
| Chair: Susanne Michaelis | |
| 14.00-14.30 | Robert Borges (Aarhus University): Songhay languages: a post-Creole language family? |
| 14.30-15.00 | Aymeric Daval-Markussen (Aarhus University): On the complexity of creoles |
| 15.00-15.30 | Kristoffer Friis Bøegh (Aarhus University), Peter Bakker (Aarhus University) & Aymeric Daval-Markussen (Aarhus University): Stable features: Atlantic creoles are more European than African |
| 15.30-16.00 | Conference closure, evaluation and publication plans |

3. Abstracts

Dany Adone (University of Cologne)

Reduplication in Creole and Sign languages

A close look at both Creole languages and Sign languages (emergent or established) reveals some striking similarities between these two groups of languages. I will focus on several established sign languages e.g. American Sign Language (ASL) (Newkirk 1998), British Sign Language (BSL) (Sutton-Spence and Woll 1999), and German Sign Language (DGS) (Boyes-Braem 1990; Perniss 2007). Under emerging sign language I understand the case of Nicaragua Sign Language (NSL) (cf. Senghas 1995; Kegl et al. 1999; Kegl 2008 among others.) In this paper, reduplication is understood as a morphological process of word/sign repetition (repetition of parts of words) to form new words/signs with different meanings.

In the first part of the paper, I discuss the theories that have been put forward to explain the various types of reduplication such as full and partial reduplication, taking into account which part of the base is reduplicated (e.g. final reduplication, medial reduplication). In the second part, the various patterns of reduplication in both Creole and Sign languages, are discussed with a special focus on iconicity. I also take a close look at the functions of reduplication in both language groups. Verbal reduplication has the function of aspectual marking (continued or repeated), whereas nominal reduplication is used for plurality, collectivity and distribution. Adjectival reduplication is used for intensity (very X) or decrease (less X). Reduplicated numerals are also witnessed in some Creole and Sign languages. Finally, I discuss the similarities in the reduplication patterns found in these two language groups, relating them to the issue of genesis. This comparative study can be seen as a first attempt to shed light on the role of reduplication in language genesis.

References

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Dany Adone (University of Cologne)

Verb Chains in Creole and Sign Languages

A close look at both Creole languages and Sign languages (emergent and established ones) reveals striking similarities between these two groups of languages (Adone 2012). Among the similarities, we find verb chains, also known as serial verb constructions, that will be discussed in this paper. For the purpose of this paper, I will focus on two emergent sign languages such as Nicaragua Sign Language (henceforth NSL) (cf. Senghas 1995; Kegl et al. 1999; Kegl 2008 among others.) and Mauritian Sign Language (henceforth MSL) (Gébert and Adone 2006; Adone 2007) as these languages are very young languages.

In the first part of the paper, I will provide some theoretical background on the definition, form and functions of verb chains. I then focus on the verb chains found in NSL and MSL and in Creole languages. Senghas and Kegl (1997) who examined the development of word order in ISN, show that the first generation of signers has a rigid word order with the two verbs and the two arguments are rigidly interleaved as in N1V1N2V2 pattern (e.g. MAN PUSH WOMAN FALL). In contrast, the second generation of signers initiates patterns, such as N1N2V1V2 (MAN WOMAN PUSH FALL) or N1V1V2N2 (MAN PUSH FALL WOMAN). These patterns illustrate that signers in the first generation have SVSV, while second generation signers prefer both SOVV and SVVO patterns. Similar patterns have also been established in the development of MSL, with a preference for the SVV(O) pattern in the younger generations compared with previous generations. I discuss these two patterns in light of developmental patterns in the formation of verb chain. This pairing up of the verbs to form a single unit or event is also attested in first language acquisition and home sign data, thus providing additional evidence for the universality of these patterns. In the third part of the paper, I discuss the implications of these findings for language creation, especially in terms of universal principles and mechanisms available to adults and children.

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- Adone, D. 2007. *From gestures to Mauritian Sign Language*. Paper presented at the Current Issues in Sign Language Research Conference, University of Cologne, Germany.
- Gébert, Alain and Dany Adone. 2006. *A dictionary and grammar of Mauritian sign language*. Vacoas, République de Maurice: Editions Le Printemps.
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Philip Baker (Westminster University)

Economy, innovation, and elaboration in Mauritian and other creoles

This paper begins with a restatement of the position of Baker (1990), that the initial (unconscious) aim of people in nascent multilingual societies based on slave labour was to construct a means of interethnic communication, i.e. a pidgin, rather than to acquire the slaveowners' language as such. Pidgins are often described as reduced forms of another language (cf Hall 1966: xi-xii), and the reduction is applied to both the grammar and lexicon of the (usually European) language of the slaveowners. It is important to realise that only native speakers of that language were in a position to make such reductions. Slaveowners may have made some attempt to simplify their language by e.g. using only the infinitive forms of verbs since, initially, they had as much need to communicate with slaves as the slaves did with them. It was, however, the slaves who gradually constructed the pidgin, by adopting recurrent nouns, adjectives, and verbs in an uninflected form, together with a very few prepositions and adverbs, and some basic word order rules. Perhaps the most thrifty "innovation" was the convention that everything is or was, obviating the need for an overt copula, at least in equative sentences. The resulting pidgin was a very economical means of communication although limited by the extent that it was largely context bound. The fact that, in almost all territories which formerly depended on slave labour, the creole language spoken today retains all these economies is compelling evidence that they are developments of an earlier pidgin.

The paper goes on to consider how pidgins became more elaborate, context free, creole languages. It approaches this question in two different ways. First, it develops the claim made in Baker (2014) that the focussing of pidgins necessarily took place wherever there was the greatest degree of interaction between diverse ethnolinguistic groups. This would normally be at the main settlement/port rather than on the plantations scattered throughout the territory. Secondly, while attempting to categorize the different kinds of elaborations found in Mauritian and other creoles, it emerges that few can be attributed to a single cause and it is suggested that innovations and calques which increased the expressive qualities of the creole without the need to acquire additional morphemes were particularly favoured. For example, while the reduplication of verbs and adjectives in Mauritian appears to have been inspired by Malagasy, this is employed in a more systematic manner in the creole and effectively doubles the stock of both parts of speech without adding any new words. While these and other examples give the impression that creole speakers readily accepted changes which extended the proficiency of their language, the paper ends by acknowledging that there are nevertheless a few innovations which have become firmly established even though they do not appear to serve any useful purpose.

References

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<http://www.eva.mpg.de/linguistics/conferences/grammatical-hybridization-and-social-conditions/program.html>)

Hall, Robert A., Jr. 1966. *Pidgin and Creole Languages*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Peter Bakker (Aarhus University):

**Plains Indian Sign language:
the Nature of the World's Only Signed Interethnic Pidgincreole**

A pidgin is a language that is nobody's mother tongue, which is used between groups of people who have no language in common. Pidgins have been documented in all parts of the world, e.g. Chinook Jargon, Delaware Jargon and Eskimo Jargon in North America, Pidgin Carib in the Caribbean and the Guyanas, Fanakalo in South Africa, Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea, etc. Such a pidgin can develop into a pidgincreole, when it becomes a default means of communication in interethnic contacts, or when it becomes a mother tongue for some of its speakers (Bakker 2008). Pidgincreoles typically have structural properties of creoles rather than pidgins, e.g. tense-mood-aspects particles rather than adverbs like "later" or "before".

From a social and demographic perspective, Plains Indian Sign Language (PISL) has all the characteristics of a pidgincreole, being a second language for all users, and a default language in interethnic communication.

But what about the linguistic structures of PISL? Does PISL grammar resemble the grammar of creole languages (Bakker ms.)? In our paper we will show that PISL also shares many of the linguistic characteristics of spoken pidgincreoles, and some with pidgins. PISL is, in contrast with claims in Davis (2010), not a sign language with an elaborate grammatical system, but one with a rather minimal system, reflecting its pidgin past. The language may be exceptionally rich in the number of signs, but it has a crude structure, when compared with sign languages of the Deaf such as American Sign Language, or Sign Language of the Netherlands.

Building on parallels with spoken creoles, we propose to include PISL among the world's non-European lexifier creoles, adding to the observation that creoles, including signed ones, show many parallel structures, independent from their lexifiers.

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Robert Borges (Aarhus University):

Songhay languages: a post-Creole language family?

This talk will present preliminary evidence from an investigation into the possibility that the Songhay languages are a family of post creole languages. The classification of Songhay languages has been point a of contention among Africanists and there have been a number of proposals for their inclusion in various families. It is apparent that contact-induced language change played a significant role in the history of the Songhay languages. One of the most extreme hypotheses involving contact in early Songhai history, proposed by Nicolaï (1985) and refined in a controversial series of subsequent works (notably Nicolaï 1987, 1990, 2003), suggests that “catastrophic” linguistic events in linguistic prehistory led to a multi-genetic pidgin language that formed the basis of the Songhay language family.

Bakker et al. (2011) suggest that a pidgin-to-creole cycle, such as that described by Nicolaï (1985) for the Songhay languages, is precisely the cause of creole distinctiveness which they argue for. Since the 2011 paper, Bakker and the members of the Cognitive Creolistics group at Aarhus University have expanded their sample of pidgins/creoles and superstrate and substrate languages. Their results are consistent: creoles cluster together under phylogenetic analyses, thus suggesting typological distinctiveness. Phylogenetic analyses will be conducted so as to uncover the genealogical affiliation of Songhay languages. Should Nicolaï’s (1985) hypothesis be correct, we expect the Songhay languages to cluster with the other creoles under these analyses.

References

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Hugo Cardoso (University of Lisbon) & Eeva Sippola (Aarhus University)

Adding the Malabar creoles to the Luso-Asian family

The coastal stretch of Southwestern India, formerly known as the Malabar, was the locus of the earliest Portuguese settlements in Asia and, therefore, the earliest sustained contact situation between Portuguese and an Asian language. As a result, the Indo-Portuguese creoles of Malabar are, at least potentially, the oldest of all Asian-Portuguese creoles and may have influenced the formation of the others.

On account of their near-extinction, Malabar Indo-Portuguese varieties were for a long time among the least well-known within Asian-Portuguese, while other Indo-Portuguese creoles, such as those of Sri Lanka, Korlai and Diu, have already been substantially documented (Smith 1977, Clements 1996, Cardoso 2009). Because of this, Malabar Indo-Portuguese is not represented in major databases designed for comparative studies (e.g. Holm & Patrick 2007, Michaelis et al. 2013).

However, a project aimed at documenting and describing Malabar Indo-Portuguese, on the basis of recordings made in Vypeen [Cochin] and Cannanore, is currently under way. This process has unearthed striking similarities with Sri Lanka Portuguese in various domains, from grammatical structure to the lexicon. On the basis of these similarities, Cardoso (2013) has proposed the definition of a “southern cluster” within Indo-Portuguese (akin to the well-established “norteiro” cluster) encompassing the Malabar and Sri Lanka. The argumentation for this was, however, impressionistic rather than quantitative. In this talk, we will test the validity of this cluster with resort to phylogenetic tools and a methodology developed for the large-scale comparison of creole languages (Huson & Bryant 2006, Daval-Markussen & Bakker 2011, 2012).

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Ross Clark (University of Auckland)

t.b.a.

Aymeric Daval-Markussen (Aarhus University):

On the complexity of creoles

In the past decade, the axiomatic equicomplexity of languages formulated by Hockett (1958: 180-181) stating that all languages are overall equally complex has been challenged numerous times and shown to be unsubstantiated (e.g. McWhorter 2001, Dahl 2004, Shosted 2006, Miestamo et al. 2008, Sampson et al. 2009). In the context of creole languages, Parkvall (2008) demonstrated the simplicity of creoles in relation to older languages. The author measured the relative complexity of a number of morphosyntactic features taken principally from WALS (Dryer & Haspelmath 2013) and which were readily quantifiable (e.g. the presence vs. absence of numeral classifiers or the number of genders). Parkvall's data were then used in a recent paper establishing the typological distinctiveness of creoles (Bakker et al. 2011). One of the criticisms that Bakker et al. (2011) met was the claim that the data used for their analyses reflected the relative simplicity of creoles rather than proved that creoles were a typologically coherent group of languages.

The goal of this paper is twofold. Firstly, we will perform a PCA (Principal component analysis) on the data used in Bakker et al. (2011) to show that the clustering of creoles observed by these authors is not an artefact created by the original purpose of the selected data. Secondly, using two different data sets, we will assess the relative complexity of creoles compared to a wider sample of languages of the world following a similar approach to Parkvall's. For the first sample, we selected a subset of the features shared between WALS (Dryer & Haspelmath 2013) and APiCS (Michaelis et al. 2013) which were quantifiable (resulting in a different sample than Michaelis et al. 2013) and for the second sample, a selection of 34 stable features (identified by Wichmann & Holman 2009) comprising 45 creoles based on a wide range of lexifiers as well as 197 languages from the WALS form the basis of the analysis. We will show that the results of both analyses are not as clear-cut as Parkvall's (2008) and provide tentative explanations as to why our results were not as unambiguous as Parkvall's.

References

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Molly Elizabeth Flaherty (University of Chicago)

The Birth of a Language: Is Nicaraguan Sign Language a Creole?

With the founding of a new school for special education in Managua approximately thirty years ago, Deaf Nicaraguans came together in greater numbers than ever before. Though teaching in this school was exclusively in written Spanish, Deaf students soon began to communicate manually, giving birth to a new language: Nicaraguan Sign Language (NSL). Each year children enter the school and learn the language naturally from their older peers, eventually becoming Deaf adults who use NSL for daily communication. As succeeding generations learn NSL, the language itself grows and changes. Unlike the canonical creole creation scenario, Nicaraguan Sign Language does not have existing mature language to draw its structure from. I argue, rather, that new structure in this language consists largely of innovations.

Here I investigate the emergence of several argument structural devices: consistent word order, spatial coreference, and paired verb constructions. Word order is a common strategy used to indicate who did what to whom in both signed (Sandler, Meir, Padden, and Aronoff, 2005) and spoken (Dryer, 2005) languages. Spatial coreference is a strategy commonly found in mature sign languages around the world to indicate agreement between verbs and their subjects and objects (i.e. Meir 2002; Padden, 1983; Sutton-Spence & Woll, 1999); in other words, to again indicate who is doing the act and who is receiving it. Paired verb constructions have been reported in some sign languages, but have not yet been widely investigated; in this type of construction, each potential participant in a transitive event has its own verb, for example: MAN KISS WOMAN GET-KISSED, again providing information on who is doing the act and who is receiving it. All of these devices are currently emerging in NSL and here I ask how they work together in sentences describing transitive acts; more specifically, to what degree do the three devices appear in complementary distribution to one another, and to what degree do they redundantly mark the same distinctions? I investigated this question across five groups: hearing non-signing Nicaraguan adults asked to communicate with silent gesture, adult Nicaraguan homesigners (isolated deaf individuals who have not learned NSL but communicate manually through systems of their own creation; homesign was the starting point for NSL) and three successive generations of Nicaraguan signers.

All four deaf groups, but not the hearing gesturers, use a consistent verb-final order in the overwhelming majority of their productions; however, their ordering of nominal elements is more varied—sometimes signs for agents precede signs for patients, sometimes they follow. In contrast, spatial coreference appears to emerge gradually: 2nd and 3rd generation signers produce more verbs agreeing with multiple arguments than 1st generation signers and than homesigners or gesturers. Paired verb constructions show the same gradual pattern of emergence as spatial agreement.

Interestingly, the individuals in each group who use spatial coreference to mark who did what to whom are the same individuals who use paired verb constructions. Though they mark the same distinctions, spatial coreference marking *and* paired verb constructions are becoming more common in this new language, suggesting that both regularity and redundancy may be present from the earliest stages in the birth of a new language, even when that new language cannot draw structure from extent languages.

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Guillaume Fon Sing (Université Paris 7)

Morphological and syntactical innovations in Mauritian Creole: extraction and analysis from regional French data

In Mauritius, French and Creole languages have always co-existed since the birth of the latter. From this osmotic relationship, a regional French has developed with particularities that can come from (i) "ordinary" spoken French (Gadet 1989, Blanche-Benveniste 1997) attested throughout the French-speaking world, or (ii) the colonial history in the Indian Ocean area (archaisms and diastratisms) or (iii) the transfer of Creole linguistic features (borrowing and contemporary innovations).

Based on the "panlectal approach" of Chaudenson (1993) with his theory of "français zéro" and on a general approach of linguistic change which views grammaticalization, reanalysis and analogy as the main processes (Harris and Campbell 1995), I focus on morphological and syntactical mauricianisms that allow a new exploration of the Creole grammar and an analysis of the creolization processes. My aim is to make an inventory of these innovative features and to study how these systemic changes operate in Creole and in regional French compared to "standard French". The elements I will examine among others are :

(1) derivational morphology in Mauritian Creole. Is it productive? If yes, what is its lexicogenetical potential?

(2) lack of implementation of some clitics in Mauritian regional French:

Ex : MFr - *Tu as demandé à ton jardinier de ramasser des courpas pour toi ?*
"Did you ask your gardener to pick up snails for you?"

- (...) *Je suis allée [en] ramasser moi-même.*
"I went to pick up by myself"

(3) different strategies of highlighting such as the use of *sa* (Fr. 'ça') as topic marker:

Ex: MCr. *Pa mwa sa, li sa.*
"It's not me, it's him."

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Olga Frąckiewicz (University of Warsaw)

African language structures in Nigerian Pidgin English

The current research on pidgins and creoles contains the assumption that they are based on superstrate language and the process of simplification is responsible for their creation and development (Siegel 2008). Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE) is also perceived as “a simplification of the grammar of the lexifier superstrate” (Eme, Mbagwu, 2001:2).

The paper will analyze NPE from a different perspective. It will present some features, at the level of morphology and syntax, that are common to both NPE and other African languages, e.g. variety of idiomatic expressions, the lack of morphologically marked plural, extensive use of deictic words, TMA markers, serial verb construction, reduplication, morphological focus. Here are some examples which demonstrate the idea:

| | Pidgin English | Standard English |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| idiomatic expression | <i>bodi dey in cloth</i> | All is ok (lit. body is in cloth) |
| lack of morphologically marked plural | <i>wan dog – tu dog, tiri dog, etc.</i> | one dog – two dogs, three dogs |
| use of deictic words | <i>dis ticha, dat dog,</i> | This teacher, that dog |
| TMA markers | <i>I go chop</i> <i>I don chop</i> | I will eat I ate |
| serial verb construction | <i>People use am tek shop moni</i> | People made a lot of money from it |
| reduplication | <i>Chop/Chop chop</i> | Eat/Someone who eats a lot, always eating |

Special attention will be given to the idea of serialization in expressing the meaning and the feature of reduplication.

It will be argued that the structure of NPE follows the patterns of African languages in both morphology and syntax. Recognized as an African language, rather than a variant of English, NPE creates a new space of comparative studies which are oriented at African substrate.

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Kristoffer Friis Bøegh (Aarhus University),
Aymeric Daval-Markussen (Aarhus University) & Peter Bakker (Aarhus University)

Stable features: Atlantic creoles are more European than African

Opinions about the structural influence of African languages on the Caribbean creoles differ among creolists. The most extreme views can be exemplified by on the one hand, Derek Bickerton's denial of any influence of African (substrate) languages on creoles, and on the other, by Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain and Claire Lefebvre, who consider creoles roughly as continuations of their lexifiers, with replacement of Fon phonetic strings with French phonetic strings, adjusted through some minor processes. Neither of these extreme views have many adherents. Most creolists today would place themselves somewhere in between. Some ecological creolists would even place themselves exactly in the middle, claiming that creoles can be equally African and European in a process of recombination of features, in the feature pool hypothesis (Mufwene 2009).

We decided to test this idea. In the first phase, we selected the most stable morphological and syntactic features (excluding phonology). The features were chosen from Wichmann & Holman (2009), who identified stable features on the basis of the *World Atlas of Language Structures*. Known dependent features were excluded. We ended up with 30 stable typological features. A convenience sample of 40 African languages was chosen, mostly from countries of Western Africa, such as Ghana and Angola, so as to include many languages spoken by Africans involved in creolization, while maintaining areal and genetic diversity. Phylogenetic tests applied to these languages showed that known classifications, usually based on lexicon, are replicated in these results, even though these are based on typological features.

In the second phase, 47 creole and semi-creole languages (among them 27 Atlantic creoles) were selected from all continents and from a wide variety of lexifiers (Arabic, Dutch, English, French, German, Japanese, Malay, Motu, Ngbandi, Spanish, Portuguese, Tupinamba). Some of these came about without any involvement of Africans (e.g. Asian creoles, Amerindian creoles), and others almost exclusively with Africans. Thus, several thousands of structural features were gathered. The 23 Atlantic creoles were then compared with 47 Niger-Congo languages from 12 different branches, including Kwa and Bantu.

Phylogenetic programs enable us to make an automatic assessment of the African structural continuity. Lefebvre should predict Fon and Haitian to be close to one another. Substratists would expect Caribbean and African creoles to cluster, against creoles from other parts of the world. Adherents of the idea that creoles form a typological group would expect all creoles, regardless of their African influence, to cluster apart from the African languages.

It appears that creoles are much more European than African, and this is also true for creoles with African substrates. Otherwise creoles are distinct from non-creoles.

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Rachel Hendery (University of Western Sydney)

**A historical mystery, tackled with a handful of recordings
and an “inappropriate” method**

The comparative method is usually applied to languages that are connected by a fairly direct “parent-child” relationship, and it has even been claimed that it is entirely irrelevant for creoles (e.g. Thomason 2002). In this paper I will show that in at least some limited applications, the comparative method, in particular evidence from regular sound correspondences, can provide valuable insights into the origins of contact languages.

Palmerston Island English is an English-lexifier contact language spoken on the tiny island of Palmerston in the Cook Islands group, by the descendants of a small group of settlers from 1860, only one of whom was a native English speaker (Hendery 2013, Hendery & Ehrhart 2013). The origins of this English speaker, William Marsters, have remained somewhat of a mystery, with several different proposed theories. The most well documented proposal is by Maureen Hilyard (2008), who argues that he was a Richard Masters from Walcote village in Leicestershire. Other proposals have placed him in Birmingham, or even Gloucester.

In this paper I compare recordings of modern day speakers from Walcote with those from Palmerston Island. I also discuss what is known about the history of dialects from that region of England. In this talk I will primarily focus on accent. There are two approaches that can be taken and I will briefly discuss each of them.

The first is to quantify the differences between Palmerston English and each of Walcote (Leicestershire), Birmingham, and Gloucester English, and to use Occam’s Razor to conclude that the most likely origin theory is the one that requires the least amount of change. The problem with this approach is that it does not take into account what we know about the regularity of sound change: regularity that we should expect to apply to some extent even in more indirect relationships such as contact languages, as patterns of borrowing and learner adaptations also generally result in regular sound correspondences.

The second approach is to apply the equivalent of the comparative method: to take words from the Walcote recordings and the same words from the Palmerston recordings, and to reconstruct the most plausible ancestor pronunciation for each of these. Regular patterns of sound change and reconstructions that are plausible in light of what is known about the history of Midlands dialects would be linguistic evidence that Walcote is a likely place of origin for Marsters.

I will show that this approach does not work perfectly either, but the remaining mysteries provide clues to the role played by the Cook Island Māori inputs into the language, and likely inputs from other varieties of English with which William Marsters and his family would have had contact.

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Kathrin Klein (University of Cologne) & Dany Adone (University of Cologne)

Wh-questions in Louisiana Creole

This paper deals with the syntax of questions in Louisiana Creole. It is shown that syntactic movement is involved in the formation of wh- questions and that the creole language allows for complex interrogative structures. In addition, influence from English is attested along with a construction that renders strong support to the Copy Theory of Movement.

Evidence for the existence of wh-movement in Louisiana Creole comes from the position wh-expressions occupy with respect to tense markers, as well as their fronting out of embedded clauses. Leaving wh-expressions in situ is limited to echo questions and marginally acceptable for embedded interrogatives. Louisiana Creole speakers tend to strand prepositions, a rather new development (Neumann-Holzschuh 2009) that appears to constitute the more unmarked option in recent data. We attribute this change to the close contact with English. Furthermore, there seems to be much variability with regard to multiple wh-questions and long-distance movements. As a tendency, questions containing more than two distinct wh- expressions are marginal, though generally accepted when the subject wh-word is fronted, more marked for fronted object expressions and rejected with fronted adjunct wh-expressions. Fronting multiple wh-expressions appears to be largely ungrammatical. Wh-words can often be found in intermediate positions in Louisiana Creole. This can be considered partial movement in some instances, though more often appears to be the same phrase spelled out in more than one position. This is considered evidence for the Copy Theory of Movement. Long-distance operations are possible, though not following a clear pattern with regard to which island constraints they obey.

Marivic Lesho (University of Bremen)

Social factors in the development of the Cavite Chabacano vowel system

t.b.a.

Carsten Levisen (Aarhus University)

Semantic Innovations in Creolization. The conceptual development of emotion words in Urban Bislama

This study explores the semantic aspects of innovation in creolization, through a detailed case study of urban Bislama, a creole spoken in Port Vila, the capital of Vanuatu (Meyerhoff 2013; Vandeputte-Tavo 2013; Willans 2011). The case study provides a lexicographic portrait of emotion words in Urban Bislama, with a special emphasis on the aspect of innovations. The paper discusses the concept of “innovation” and explores the different ways in which this concept can be useful for the emerging field of creole semantics (Stanwood 1997, 1999; Priestley 2008; Nicholls 2013; Author & Priestley, in press, Author & Jogie, in press). It opens up broader theoretical discussions about the intersection between creolistics, cognitive linguistics, and cultural semantics. It raises a series of new questions: How do creole words capture “emotion”? What happens to the “emotion domain” in the process of creolization? In what ways can creole languages help us advance the linguistic search for “emotional universals”? The study is based on i) linguistic fieldwork and semantic consultations with young speakers in Port Vila and ii) meaning-in-context analysis of postings on *Yumi Toktok Stret*, a Facebook group with 14.000 members, the largest Bislama-driven online forum. The analysis of Bislama provides an overview of emotion-related words, including descriptive emotion words such as *kros* (from English ‘cross’), *les* (from English ‘lazy’), *sem* (from English ‘shame’), or body-based words such as *jamjam* (from English ‘jump-jump’), and *seksek* (from English ‘shake-shake’), and expressive emotion words, such as emotive interjections. The paper provides a model study on how to approach the emotional semantics of a creole language, equipped with tools from cross-linguistic studies on emotions (Athanasidou & Tabakowska 1998, Wierzbicka 1999; Harkins & Wierzbicka 2001; Dewaele 2010; Dixon 2012). The study concludes that Bislama semantics has an emotional profile, which is neither identical to colonial English semantics or to traditional languages of Melanesia. It stands for a neo-Melanesian conceptual universe, which in itself is an innovation, created out of creolization, urbanization and postcolonial semantics.

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John H. McWhorter (Columbia University)

Quirky case in creoles, or creolization as a quirky case

In a language that emerged from a pidgin variety, or a variety deeply impacted by second-language acquisition, a reasonable hypothesis is that irregularity will be, as the new language exists over time, largely an innovation. That is, while any full language harbors a degree of irregularity, we might expect that creoles will be relatively low on irregularity because of their recent birth as pidgins.

An example of irregularity in language in general is quirky case, such as Icelandic's semantically incoherent use of accusative marking as in *Bátinnrak áland* 'boat-ACC drifted to shore' "The boat drifted to shore." While the theoretical syntax literature of quirky case tends to focus on Germanic languages, the feature is widespread elsewhere, such as Russian's often opaque usages of the instrumental (for verbs such as *obladat* 'to possess' and *byt* 'to be') and many other cases in several language families. Yet in creole languages, even with source languages that have quirky case marking (as English, Dutch, French and Spanish all do), quirky case marking is very rare. For instance, Saramaccan for *I want him to be able to go* is *Mi ke a(*ẽ) sá gó*, with the Exceptional Case Marking on English *him* replaced with a subject form. The reason cannot be identified as analyticity, as analytic languages harbor quirky case as well, such as in Polynesian and various Sino-Tibetan languages.

A cross-creole survey shows that in creoles, quirky case is generally an innovation, an example being Saramaccan's requirement that the third-person singular subject in nonverbal predications with the *da* copula be an oblique form: *Hẽ(*a) da dí mǝ́lǝ́ngǝ wǝ́* "He is the taller one," which can be demonstrated to have arisen via syntactic reanalysis over time after Saramaccan emerged. Ongoing contact with source languages, predictably, creates exceptions. However, from substrate languages, this is only as inherent (meaningful) rather than contextual (grammatical) inflection; e.g. the animate-marking "with" and "for" prepositions in Indo-Portuguese creoles and Phillipine Creole Spanish. This is consonant with findings that creoles retain the former rather than the latter. Meanwhile, the fact remains that among creoles that have developed largely in isolation from their source languages, quirky case is an innovation.

This supports the hypothesis that creole languages are born from radically interrupted transmission, rather than simply as language hybrids.

Susanne Maria Michaelis (MPI-EVA)

Interrogative constructions in creoles and sign languages

In this talk, I will explore potential commonalities in creoles and sign languages with regard to interrogative constructions. One question is whether similar cognitive constraints in creolization and sign language evolution may have given rise to similar linguistic structures. To be able to demonstrate significant commonalities between them, it is not enough to only look at features which are widespread in both types of languages, but at the same time the features should be rare in non-creoles/non-sign languages world-wide.

Interrogative constructions is one of the best researched topics in sign languages. There are not only language specific studies (e.g. Herrero 2009; Morgan 2006; Šarac et al. 2007), but also cross-sign typological work which relies on a large number of different sign languages world-wide (Zeshan 2004, 2005 on 35 sign languages). The creole data comes from the *Atlas of pidgin and creole language structures* (Michaelis et al. 2013), which covers 59 creoles.

I will look at (i) polar (yes/no) and (ii) content (wh-) questions. In polar questions, creoles heavily rely on intonation, whereas substrates and lexifiers often show different marking strategies (e.g. question particles or interrogative word orders). Moreover, compared to the world-wide distribution of intonational marking in polar questions, creoles show a much higher proportion of "intonation only" marking than other languages of the world.

In sign languages, polar questions are typically encoded with non-manual markers, as for instance eyebrow raising, eyes wide open, head forward position (often also in combination, see Zeshan 2004). Non-manual markers are often equated with intonation in spoken languages as they are also suprasegmental entities. It is now interesting to see that sign languages, too, strongly rely on non-manual markers to signal polar questions (only few sign languages show question particles).

Therefore in sign languages and creoles, "intonation" seems to be the most prominent strategy to mark polar questions, potentially pointing to similar cognitive constraints during creolization and sign language emergence.

However, the situation in content questions looks quite different. Creoles show either fronted or non-fronted (in situ) wh-phrases, i.e. they appear either initially in the sentence (English *What did you do?*) or in some other position, e.g. in a preverbal focus position, or in situ (lit. 'You did **what** today?'). There are clear areal patterns in that non-fronted wh-phrases mostly occur in Africa, South Asian and Melanesian creoles. However, sign languages show more diverse patterns in the placement of the wh-phrase. Besides the possibility to front it, many sign languages allow for a sentence-final position of the wh-phrase, that is at the very right edge of the sentence (CAKE EAT NOT **WHO** 'Who did not eat the cake?', Cecchetto 2012). Interestingly, this rightward placement strategy is unattested in creoles and is extremely rare in non-creoles (cf. Dryer 2005), and seems therefore to be a quirk in sign languages.

Given these facts, there is reason to be cautious also about the cognitive explanation of the similarities in polar questions, and one may want to reexamine the evidence from polar questions.

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Damaris Neuhof (Justus-Liebig-University)

**The Origin and Development of Tok Pisin:
What the German Colonial Sources Tell us**

Even though Pidgin English was widely spoken in the Pacific before the arrival of the German planters in New Guinea, the origins of Tok Pisin as a recognisable independent variety go back only to the second half of the 19th century, when the north-eastern part of New Guinea became a German colony. Under German rule, the large-scale importation of labour from other parts of German New Guinea and beyond increased the need for a contact language in the Bismarck Archipelago and particularly in Kaiser-Wilhelmsland (the mainland).

As Tok Pisin has its roots in the German colonial era, German travel accounts, biographies, missionary and government reports etc. from that time can potentially contribute a great deal to our knowledge of the origins and development of Tok Pisin. So far, however, only a small number of researchers have used German sources for the analysis of early Tok Pisin (e.g. Mühlhäusler). My paper is an attempt to fill this gap by analysing the German sources in the Deutsche Kolonialbibliothek, the library of the German Colonial Society, now housed in Frankfurt University library. The material relating to German New Guinea comprises approximately 300 items, covering the time period from 1875 to 1933.

The primary aim of the paper is to describe the key features of the structure of New Guinea Pidgin English. I will first discuss characteristic linguistic features of early Tok Pisin as attested in the colonial sources. I will also investigate variation in grammar and vocabulary as well as possible superstrate or substrate origins of features.

The second part of my paper is devoted to assessing the two main theories regarding the origin of Tok Pisin. One theory assumes that it has its origin on the German plantations in Samoa (Mühlhäusler 1978). Another theory locates its predecessor on the plantations in Australia (Baker 1987). I will consider whether the evidence in German colonial sources can shed light on these theories of origin: the Tok Pisin data will be compared with attestations of Samoan Plantation Pidgin English, also collected in the Kolonialbibliothek, and with data of Australian Pidgin English, kindly provided by Philip Baker. The aim of comparing the grammatical structures and the lexicon of the three varieties is to establish their similarities and dissimilarities and to answer the question whether early Tok Pisin shows closer affinities with Samoan Plantation Pidgin English or Australian Pidgin English of that time.

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Victoria A.S. Nyst (Leiden University), Margot van den Berg (Radboud University and University of Utrecht) & Jean-Jacques Tano Angoua (Leiden University)

Contact and morphology in Sign Languages and Creole Languages

Language contact and morphology play a pivotal role in both Sign Linguistics and Creolistics. While spoken creole languages emerge in situations of intense contact, sign languages are claimed to emerge in the absence of contact with other languages. Creole languages were thought to have little morphology, whereas newly emerging sign languages quickly develop complex simultaneous morphology. These contrasts are central to our paper, in which we explore the differences and similarities in Sign Linguistics and Creolistics with regard to morphology and language contact

Despite the lack of contact with other (sign) languages, the emerging Nicaraguan Sign Language (LSN) quickly developed complex simultaneous morphology in the form of classifier predicates of motion and location and in the form of spatially inflecting verbal agreement (Kegl et al. 1999). As such, LSN patterns like most other sign languages studied (Aronoff et al. 2004). The fact that unrelated sign languages use the same type of complex simultaneous morphology suggests that there is a universal, modality specific tendency to exploit channel-specific affordances.

Other emerging sign languages –all evolving in communities with a high incidence of hereditary deafness- have not (yet) developed this complex simultaneous morphology. Thus, Providence Island Sign Language and Al-Sayyid Bedouin Sign Language do not make use of classifier predicates for the expression of motion (Washabaugh 1986; Aronoff et al. 2004) and Kata Kolok does not make use of spatial inflections to mark verb agreement (de Vos, 2012). As such, these emerging sign languages resemble alternate sign languages like Aboriginal sign languages (Kendon, 1988), which may be considered manual relexifications of spoken language substrates. In other words, the lack of simultaneous morphology in alternate sign languages seems to be the result of a direct transfer of linguistic structure from a spoken language to a signed language.

In our paper, we will present the various instances of restricted or absent use of complex simultaneous morphology described in the literature. We will discuss to what extent the restricted use of simultaneous morphology is an effect of an emerging state, like in LSN, or of language contact, like in alternate sign languages. In addition, we will consider the question to what extent cross-linguistic variation in the gestural substrate of emerging sign languages may be responsible for the variation found in the particular types of simultaneous constructions used. As such, we hope to shed light on the interplay of two major factors impacting on sign language morphology; universal channel-inherent tendencies and sociolinguistic features allowing or impeding their emergence.

We will conclude with an evaluation of the comparability of morphology in spoken creoles and sign languages and the possible links between creole language and sign language genesis on the basis of our findings, and suggest new venues for cross-modal research around the theme of innovations.

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Mikael Parkvall (Stockholm University)

The feature pool in pidginisation

In recent years, the intuition-based so-called "feature pool hypothesis" (promoted in a large number of publications by Salikoko Mufwene) has finally been subject to scrutiny (Plag 2011, McWhorter 2012), and its explanatory value has been shown to be, to put it mildly, limited.

Since few contact linguists work with pidgin (as opposed to creole) data, could it be that the pool theory works better when applied to pidgin languages?

As it turns out, it does not.

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Russian-Chinese Pidgin and Russian “inter-languages”

The presentation is a contribution to the debated problem of the correlation between the process of pidginization and results of a Second Language Acquisition. Existing data on the Chinese Pidgin Russian, which existed up to the 1950s, were compared with Russian “inter-languages” of different groups of Chinese native speakers. The following groups of Chinese speaking Russian as a second language were analyzed: 1) students learning Russian in a classroom in Russia, 2) people who work with Russian shuttle traders in China, including 2a) those who had some previous classroom training and 2b) those who did not.

The “inter-languages” of those who acquired the language through oral communication without special classroom learning turned out to have a significant number of features attributed to the Pidgin. Typical mistakes of those who had classroom learning are also similar to certain features of the Pidgin. However, in both cases, the similarity is limited to “unmarked” features, i.e. the lack of overt expression of certain categories (gender, number, case).

An important common feature of the Chinese Pidgin Russian and the “inter-languages” of those Chinese-speakers who acquired Russian without classroom training, is the extensive use of the Chinese focalizer *-la /-lə*. Most likely, the appearance of this particle in “inter-languages” is a result of independent parallel processes of language contact.

Analyzed “inter-languages” would not be characterised as a pidgin. Typical distinctive features of Chinese Pidgin Russian: (i) formal differentiation of word classes with nouns often having an ending *-a /-ə*, and verbs having an ending *-i /-j*; (ii) the unique form for personal and possessive pronouns; (iii) absence of prepositions; (iv) predominant word order SOV. These features are not characteristic for the “inter-languages” in question.

It is concluded that pidginization is a special process and that its results cannot be reduced to the results of the incomplete language acquisition.

Danae Perez-Inofuentes (University of Zurich)

Morphosyntactic innovations in Afro-Yungueño Spanish

Afro-Yungueño Spanish (AY) is a restructured variety of Spanish spoken in the Bolivian Yungas valleys by a small community of descendants of former coca slaves. Due to its stigmatized status and intense contact with Bolivian Highland Spanish, AY is experiencing rapid decreolization. As a consequence, a considerable body of literature (Lipski 2008 and related work, Sessarego 2014 and related work) deals with the variation found in, for instance, the AY noun phrase and verb phrase, while no systematic description of this variety has been elaborated.

In the present paper I set out to describe three innovative features of AY on the basis of my own corpus that are not discussed in the aforementioned works. These features were overlooked, I believe, because their meanings and functions do not correspond to the meanings and functions of their apparent Spanish counterparts. One such feature is the reanalyzed Spanish adjective *limpio* ‘clean’, which is used with the meaning of ‘all’ and thus replaces *todo*. Another innovative AY feature is the item *la*, which Lipski (2008: 84) describes as a feminine article that (randomly) precedes masculine nouns. In my corpus, this item is predominantly used in locative constructions, such as *nohotro taba la puente* ‘we were on the bridge’. For this reason, I would like to propose that it is in fact a locative marker rather than an article. A third innovative AY feature that needs closer analysis is the use of *pue* from Spanish *pues* ‘thus, alright’. The data show that this item is frequently used in questions, such as *Tío Ramón taba pue?* ‘was Tío Ramón there?’, which suggests that it functions as an interrogative particle in AY. The detailed description of these three features in different grammatical contexts shall contribute to a more complete picture and understanding of this vanishing Afro-Hispanic variety.

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Rajiv Rao (University of Wisconsin-Madison)
& Sandro Sessarego (University of Texas-Austin)

On the Declarative Intonation Patterns of Two Afro-Hispanic Varieties

This study employs the Autosegmental Metrical (AM) model of intonational phonology to examine the declaratives of *Yungueño* Spanish (YS) and *Choteño* Spanish (CS), two Afro-Hispanic dialects spoken in Bolivia and Ecuador, respectively (Lipski 2008; Sessarego 2011, 2013a, 2014). It addresses gaps in research because: (i) outside of Lipski (2007, 2010) and Hualde & Schwegler (2008), we know little about Afro-Hispanic intonation; (ii) we use free rather than controlled speech.

Ten informants from the rural communities of Los Yungas and Chota Valley participated in the study. All were older than eighty, spent their entire lives in their respective area, and did not speak any other language of their country (e.g. Quechua or Aymara). Data were collected through sociolinguistic interviews in which speakers talked about any topic and were asked follow-up questions, in line with the principle of Tangential Shift (Labov 1984: 37). The goal was to reduce the Observer's Paradox (Labov 1972), and thus, obtain naturalistic speech samples. All recordings were done with a laptop computer, Praat software, and a Plantronics DSP-400 microphone.

Our analysis of 1016 stressed YS words, and the prosodic phrases to which they belong, demonstrates phenomena that are not commonly attested in most previous work on Spanish declaratives. Fundamental frequency (F0) peaks, or highs reached by F0 rises from valleys anchored at stressed syllable onsets, are nearly exclusively located within stressed syllables in both nuclear (i.e., final; 100%) and prenuclear (96%) phrase position. The latter is particularly noteworthy, given that in most varieties of Spanish, prenuclear peaks in broad focus show displacement to a post-tonic syllable (L*+H or L+>H* pitch accent; cf. Face & Prieto 2007). In AM notation, our alignment findings translate to an overall predominant use of the L+H* pitch accent, which, in declaratives of most Spanish varieties, is only expected in nuclear position or under prenuclear narrow focus conditions. We also fail to notice the downstepping of peaks typical of most Spanish varieties. Across phrases, peaks and valleys are either at similar F0 levels as preceding ones or upstepped (denoted \uparrow) to higher levels. Regarding intermediate phrase (ip) boundaries (i.e., non-terminal juncture), where H- phrase accents are common, our data contain 67% L- accents and only 25% H-. On the other hand, the 89% frequency of L% intonational phrase (i.e., IP; terminal juncture) boundaries, corresponding with final F0 suppression, reflects general Spanish trends. A preliminary analysis of the CS data (analysis in progress) has yielded similar patterns to those just outlined.

In conclusion, we will draw connections between our results and those of Spanish in contact with other languages (e.g. Colantoni & Gurlekian 2004; O'Rourke 2005; Michnowicz & Barnes 2013), after which we will discuss the study's overarching implications. Specifically, we claim that our observations reflect a lack of mastery of the prosody/pragmatics interface, consisting of a simplification of pitch and phrase accent inventories (Zubizarreta & Nava 2011). This supports recent proposals classifying Afro-Hispanic varieties as "advanced conventionalized interlanguages" (Sessarego 2013b), meaning (de)creolization was not a phase in their evolution.

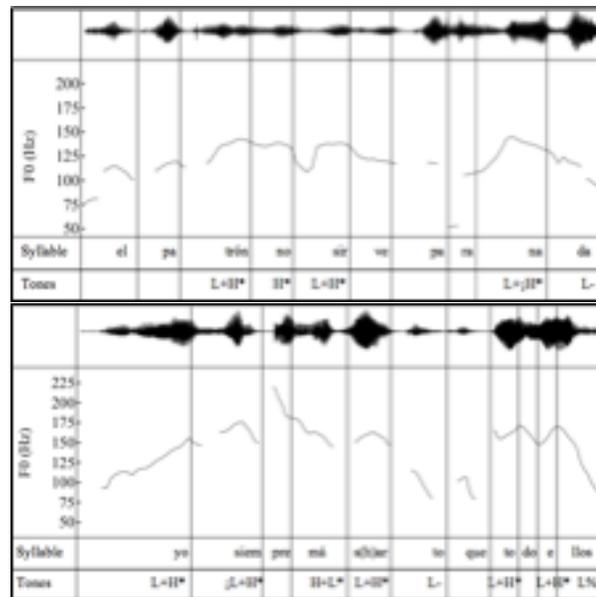


Figure 1: Sample F0 contours from YS data

El patrón no sirve para nada. Yo siempre más harto que todos ellos.
 ('The owner is useless') ('I'm always more fed up than all of them')

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**Diachronic development of endemic features in Hawai'i Creole English:
new insights on the role of substrate models**

Hawai'i Creole English (HCE) has held an important place in creole studies ever since Bickerton (1981, 1984) promoted this variety as proof of the catastrophic formation of creole languages. Roberts (2005) instead argued that HCE arose gradually over several decades and identified three principal phases of development: (1) a pidgin phase with worldwide features (Baker & Huber 2001) drawn largely from South Seas Jargon and Chinese Pidgin English, (2) an early creole phase involving bilingual locally-born speakers systematizing earlier grammatical features (especially past tense *been*, infinitive *for*, and indefinite article *one*), and (3) a later creole phase involving increasingly English-monolingual LB speakers who added endemic innovations reflecting a combined Hawaiian-Chinese-Portuguese substrate, while leveling out many older WW features. The intermediate phase was attested only in texts between 1900 and 1920 and the more elaborated creole did not appear until after 1920.

However this account is flawed and needs revision. A new source documenting the intermediate phase has been discovered, dating to 1888-1889. This pushes the date of emergence back some 20 years. The texts were attributed to Hawaiians or Part-Hawaiians, so the variety is still linked to the LB population, and Hawaiians were the first to shift to English (later joined by Portuguese, then Chinese, and finally Japanese). Substratal explanations for the origin of HCE endemic features were pursued in Roberts (2005) and Siegel (2000, 2008); Portuguese models loomed large in the analysis of two features: IP-complementation with *for* (e.g. *My mother tell for I stop home*, 'My mother told me to stay home') and progressive/imperfective *stay VERB (-ing)*. With respect to the complementizer, Portuguese models alone cannot explain the feature's origin, as it occurs in the new corpus — too early for substantial Portuguese influence (as it represents the speech of Hawaiians and Portuguese became numerous only in the 1880s). If Bickerton's Edict is to be respected, a potential substrate model should be sought in Hawaiian.

Hawaiian has a multivalent marker *e*, which marks both infinitives and imperatives (Elbert & Puku'i 1979:61). In reported directives (RD), the embedded request may contain a nominative subject that is co-referential with the implied object of the main verb. This matches the pattern in HCE of *for* marking both infinitives and IP complements with nominative subjects. The first attestation of this feature in 1889, in fact, is in a RD. The Irwin corpus from 1915-1918 also shows a bias towards RDs (see also the above example from 1921). Later texts contain mainly non-RDs. The Portuguese model cited in Roberts and Siegel may have contributed to the generalization of this feature beyond directive sentences.

Although the HCE aspect marker *stay* closely resembles Portuguese *estar* in form and function, the earliest examples of preverbal *stay* in the 1910s (in the intermediate variety) better reflect Hawaiian models (idioms in which the locative verb *noho* combines with other verbs).

These and other facts indicate that Hawaiian had an early decisive influence, later supplemented by Portuguese and Chinese when proto-HCE spread from Hawaiians to the wider LB population.

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Sign languages and sociolinguistic typology

This paper sets out to examine the relationship between proposed social determinants of morphological ‘complexity’ (Trudgill, 2011) and the typological nature of the sign languages of deaf communities. We sketch how the notion of linguistic ‘complexity’ applies to American Sign Language (ASL), British Sign Language (BSL) and Auslan (Australian Sign Language). First, all three sign languages exhibit low levels of irregularisation. There is a small set of related irregular negative forms in each language, for example, but many other grammatical forms appear predictable. Second, there is limited morphological opacity, with little unpredictable allomorphy. Third, there is limited syntagmatic redundancy, with plural marking of most nouns being optional, for example, although there are two subsystems of verbs which share some characteristics with agreement and classifier systems in spoken languages. Fourth, there is limited marking of morphological categories: none of these sign languages employ morphological markers for gender, tense, or voice, while the marking of aspect, for example, does not appear highly grammaticalized. Overall, it might be argued that three sign languages represent, as already claimed for ASL by Liddell (2003), languages with relatively little inflection. This last point is, however, controversial and not one shared by all sign language researchers (e.g., Aronoff, Meir & Sandler, 2005), but, we will argue, that counterclaims rest on assumptions that abstract away significantly from the nature of sign language data (Cormier, Schembri & Woll, 2010). Indeed, previous analyses have compared these three sign languages to spoken language creoles (Fischer, 1978; Ladd & Edwards, 1982; Johnston, 1989), based on earlier analyses of their grammar and the assumption that these sign languages are relatively young languages. Drawing on the apparent ‘simplicity’ of core argument marking and tense/aspect marking in sign languages, Gil (2014) has again suggested that both sign languages and creoles, as young languages, are less ‘complex’ than older established languages.

However, the unique sociolinguistic situation of sign languages in which only a minority of signers (possibly no more than 5% of the adult deaf community) acquire them as a first language from signing deaf parents may also be relevant here, as has been noted (e.g., Fischer, 1978). Many deaf adults acquire these sign language varieties as delayed first languages (e.g., Emmorey, 2002). Trudgill (2011) has suggested that key social characteristics of communities may influence the typological nature of their languages. Although many deaf communities are relatively small and may involve dense social networks (both social characteristics that it is claimed may lend themselves to linguistic ‘complexification’), the highly variable nature of the sign language acquisition process for most adults may also mean that there is ongoing contact between native signers, hearing non-native signers and those deaf individuals who only acquire sign languages in later childhood and early adulthood, a factor that may work against the emergence of linguistic ‘complexification’. Together with language age and the iconic properties of language in the visual-gestural modality, this key social factor may contribute to the nature of sign language grammar in a way perhaps not fully appreciated until now.

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**Creoles and sign languages in comparison with non-creole spoken languages:
A preliminary survey**

For several decades, scholars have proposed that there are a number of significant parallels between creoles (Cs) and sign languages (SLs). Observations have been made that SLs are so similar to Cs structurally that, since the two language types are not genetically related and not in contact, both of these groups show evidence innate nativization processes (e.g. Fisher 1978, Gee & Goodhart 1988). Typical features quoted include reduplication, an associative plural, no tense marking (but a rich aspect system), no passives, a topic-comment word order, serial verb constructions, among others. The contributing factors to these similarities are proposed to be: (i) the acquisition processes, which are argued to involve a break in transmission from the ancestral languages and an impoverished and inconsistent linguistic input (e.g. Fisher 1978, Aronoff et al. 2005, Kegl 2008, Adone 2012), closely resembling the scenario proposed for Cs in the Language Bioprogram Hypothesis (e.g. Bickerton 1984); (ii) the origin of the languages, which are argued to “arise spontaneously when people who do not share a common language communicate” (Aronoff et al. 2005: 307) mirroring situations where pidgins emerged; and (iii) the young age of the languages (e.g. Aronoff et al. 2005, Meir et al. 2010). These proposed similarities rest on a host of assumptions, all of which have been variously challenged within the study of pidgin and creole languages, namely that Cs are young languages that have their origin in pidgin languages, that the principle agents of creolization were children who received inadequate linguistic input from their caretakers, and that Cs form a structurally unique type of language. Typological surveys of SLs are still sparse and these claims are usually made on the basis of a few SLs only. This survey will investigate whether Cs and SLs do in fact share structural similarities that set them apart from non-creole spoken languages by comparing a sample of Cs and a sample of SLs for features covering all domains of the linguistic system (from phonology over morphology and morphosyntax to pragmatics) with language samples found in the World Atlas of Language Structures Online (WALS; Dryer & Haspelmath 2013). The selection of features rests firstly on what has been commonly referred to as typical for Cs (e.g. lack of tone, an invariant negation marker, polar questions through intonation only) and secondly on the compatibility of the features for comparison with WALS.

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4. Practical information

ATM cash machine

An ATM can be found by the cafeteria entrance at the conference venue.

Phone numbers

Aymeric Daval-Markussen: 4157 1674

Peter Bakker: 3137 8251

Taxi service: 89 484848

Emergency numbers

Ambulance and Police can be reached at the Alarmcentral: 112.

WI-FI access

Internet access to the university's wi-fi network is provided at the registration desk. You can also use your home university's eduroam account.

General website for visitors

<http://www.visitaarhus.dk>

Selected suggestions

FOOD

☐ inexpensive all you can eat cafeteria

Det Grønne Hjørne

Frederiksgade 60

Aarhus

The buffet is open until 22 / 10PM every day.

tel. 86 13 52 47

This is right downtown, and not far from City Hall

☐ brunch (excellent, but expensive)

Emmery's

Guldsmedgade 24

tel.: 86 13 04 00

☐ brunch buffet (good, inexpensive)

Globen Flakket
Åboulevarden 18

tel.: 87 31 03 33

☐ **Danish food**

Raadhuus Kaféen
Sønder Allé 3
Aarhus

The kitchen is open from 11:30 to 22:00 / 10PM.

Highly recommended for anyone who would like to try traditional Danish food, including really good smørrebrød, all the different kinds of herring, and Danish draft beers. It has a green facade and is located diagonally across from City Hall.

☐ **pizza**

Good take-out / delivery pizza with a few in-house tables:

Uni Pizza
Kaserneboulevarden 35

tel.: 87 30 02 08

Just walk for about five minutes down Langelandsgade from the conference site, on the way downtown.

recommended: number 12 (Quattro Stagioni)

Mackie's
Clemens Torv
Aarhus

tel.: 86 12 36 61

Excellent American-style pizza with huge portions and lots of in-house tables.

This is just down the street from the Cabinn hotel on a busy pedestrian corner.

☐ **Thai**

Restaurant White Elephant
Klostergade 1

tel.: 86 12 94 99

☐ **Moroccan**

Kif-Kif Gallorant Restaurant
Mejlgade 41

17:30 (5:30PM)-22:30 (10:30PM) seven days a week

<http://www.kif-kif.dk/>

☐ **French**

Restaurant L'Estragon
Klostergade 6

tel.: 86 12 40 66

open from 18 (6PM) Tuesday through Sunday

<http://www.lestragon.dk/>

GROCERIES AND PERSONAL CARE ITEMS

Løvbjerg
Trøjborg Center
Otte Ruds Gade 98-100

Large supermarket (also for toiletries and other non-food items)

This is located directly across from the university guest house, about a ten minute walk headed to your left as you leave the conference site.

open 9-21 on weekdays

In the same building, Trøjborg Center, there is also a chain store that sells personal care products (somewhat more expensively than the supermarket for equivalent products), a good bakery with coffee and tables, a falafel stand, and a beauty salon.

Diagonally across the intersection is a smaller supermarket called Rema 1000.

Rema 1000
Aldersrovej 33

open 9-21 seven days a week

If you keep walking for about ten minutes, past the Trøjborg Center, you will come to a shopping street with all sorts of businesses, including pubs, cafés, a cinema, a used book shop, and supermarkets that stay open until ten or eleven. The street is called Tordenkjoldsgade.

MUSEUMS AND SIGHTS

▣ **ArOs - Aarhus Art Museum**

Aros Alle 2

General information:

<http://en.aros.dk/>

▣ **Den Gamle By / The Old Town**

<http://www.dengambleby.dk/eng/den-gamle-by/>

Den Gamle By was founded in 1909 as the world's first open-air museum of urban history and culture. 75 historical houses from all over Denmark shape the contours of a Danish town as it might have looked in Hans Christian Andersen's days, with streets, shops, yards, homes and workshops. Den Gamle By consists of several museums and exhibitions. You can visit living rooms, chambers, kitchens, workshops and museums all year round, and you can meet the people and characters of yesteryear throughout the site.

▣ **Kvindemuseet i Danmark / The Women's Museum in Denmark**

Domkirkepladsen 5

tel.: 86 18 64 70

10-16 (4PM)

Wednesdays 10-20 (8PM)

<http://kvindemuseet.dk/uk/>

▣ **Vikingsmuseet / The Viking Museum**

The museum is located in a cellar underneath Nordea Bank at Sankt Clemens Torv 6, Aarhus, just across from the cathedral (which is just across from the Cabinn Hotel).

<http://www.vikingsmuseet.dk> (in Danish only)

☐ **Besættelsemuseet Aarhus / Aarhus Museum of the Occupation 1940-1945**

Mathilde Fibigers Have 2

tel.: 86 18 42 77

☐ Aarhus Domkirke / Aarhus Cathedral (Sankt Clemens Kirke)

Store Torv

☐ **Vor Frue Kirke / Church of Our Lady**

Vestergade 21

CAFES AND NIGHTLIFE

☐ **wine bar with good coffee and books in Danish**

Løve's Bog- og Vincafé / Løve's Book and Wine Café (highly recommended)
Nørregade 32

9-24 Monday through Friday

10-24 Saturday

10-17 Sunday

☐ **large upscale café in a larger bookshop**

Sigfred's Kaffebar (good pastries)
Ryesgade 28

tel.: 86 18 08 19

Monday-Thursday 8-18 (6PM)

Friday 8-19 (7PM)

Saturday 9:30-17 (5PM)

☐ **nighttime café and hangout bar with cigarettes**

Ris Ras
Mejlgade 24

Café Under Masken
Bispegade 3
Aarhus

▣ **bryggeriet Sct. Clemens**

Small local brewery located across the Theater offering a wide variety of beers

<http://bryggeriet.dk/eng>

▣ **LGBT nightlife**

G-bar
Skolegade 28

tel.: 86 12 04 04

Friday and Saturday 22:00 (10PM)-5AM

24 HOUR PHARMACY

Løve Apoteket
Store Torv 5

tel.: 86 12 00 22

just across from the cathedral

Consult the following website in the event of medical emergencies:

http://www.aarhus.com/health_and_emergency.asp