## Predicting grammatical substrate features in creole languages

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In this talk I start out from the observation that creole languages, the result of recent language shift situations during the European colonial expansion between the 16th and 19th centuries, differ in a great number of grammatical features from one another (e.g. obligatory vs. optional subject pronouns; presence vs. absence of serial verb constructions; double-object constructions vs. indirect-object constructions). But when rigorously comparing a large number of unrelated creoles with each other (as in Michaelis et al. 2013, *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures*, apics-online.info), a striking picture emerges. Whereas the bulk of the lexical material of creole languages goes back to the European (or other) lexifier languages (for instance, verbs in Seychelles Creole stem from dialectal 18th century French: *manze* 'eat', *koze* 'speak', *gete* 'look' etc.), valency and event framing patterns cannot be traced back to the lexifier languages, but consistently derive from the relevant substrate languages (Blasi et al. 2017, Michaelis 2019). Some characteristic patterns are shown in the following table.

VALENCY/EVENT	CREOLE	(AFRICAN)	LEXIFIER(S)
FRAMING		SUBSTRATE(S)	
PATTERNS			
ditransitive	double-object	double-object	indirect-object
	'Peter gives	'Peter gives	'Peter gives a
	Marcel a	Marcel a mango'	mango to
	mango'		Marcel'
experiencer	body part is	body part is	experiencer is
	subject	subject	subject
	'My head is	'My head is	'I have a head-
	aching (me)'	aching (me)'	ache'
raining	rain is subject	rain is subject	expletive
	'Rain falls'	'Rain falls'	subject
			'It is raining'
motion-to/-from	identical	identical	different
	marking	marking	marking
	'I go/come	'I go/come	'I go to/come
	Leipzig'	Leipzig'	from Leipzig'

I propose that due to universal processes of second language use the creole creators systematically *impose* valency and event framing patterns from their African, Indic, Oceanic etc. native languages (substrates) onto the nascent creoles (Siegel 2008). Therefore, the results of such language change processes of imposition are to a large extent predictable during creolization scenarios.

## References

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