



LOOKING BACK, MOVING FORWARD

Deconstructing notions of morphological ‘complexity’: Lessons from creoles and sign languages

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Abstract

Ideas about morphological complexity have been used to classify languages and to link complexity to language age and social structure. Creoles and sign languages are often framed as younger and structurally simpler than other languages. Concurrently, sign language morphology has been described as paradoxical, as both simple and complex. This paper is a critical examination of claims about morphological complexity and its relationship to language age and social structure. We show that the theoretical and empirical foundations of claims that sign language morphology is paradoxical are flawed. Specifically, argumentation and evidence supporting analogies between creole and sign language complexity adopt theoretically contested and ideologically problematic assumptions about creoles and uncritically apply them to sign languages. We identify four flaws in argumentation: (i) use of limited morphological data to generate claims about global complexity, (ii) association of binary language categories with categorical complexity differences, (iii) use of language age to motivate predictions about morphological complexity, and (iv) extrapolating from creole complexity to sign language complexity. Based on these flaws, we develop nine theoretical and practical recommendations for working with morphological complexity and discuss uncritical cross-disciplinary transfer of ideas.

1. Introduction

‘Sign languages and creoles are two kinds of young languages, and, as such, may be expected to be less complex than their older counterparts’ (Gil 2014: abstract). This and similar claims illustrate cross-fertilisation of ideas between creole and sign language linguistics that has led to predictions that sign language structure should be SIMPLE like creole structure is claimed to be. However, sign language structure, namely its morphology,

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Table of Contents Deconstructing Morphology

1. Understanding the eBook Deconstructing Morphology
 - The Rise of Digital Reading Deconstructing Morphology
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Deconstructing Morphology
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms
 - Features to Look for in an Deconstructing Morphology
 - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Deconstructing Morphology
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - Deconstructing Morphology User Reviews and Ratings
 - Deconstructing Morphology and Bestseller Lists
5. Accessing Deconstructing Morphology Free and Paid eBooks
 - Deconstructing Morphology Public Domain eBooks

- Deconstructing Morphology eBook Subscription Services
- Deconstructing Morphology Budget-Friendly Options
- 6. Navigating Deconstructing Morphology eBook Formats
 - ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
 - Deconstructing Morphology Compatibility with Devices
 - Deconstructing Morphology Enhanced eBook Features
- 7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Deconstructing Morphology
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking Deconstructing Morphology
 - Interactive Elements Deconstructing Morphology
- 8. Staying Engaged with Deconstructing Morphology
 - Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers Deconstructing Morphology
- 9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Deconstructing Morphology
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Deconstructing Morphology
- 10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
- 11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Deconstructing Morphology
 - Setting Reading Goals Deconstructing Morphology
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
- 12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Deconstructing Morphology
 - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Deconstructing Morphology
 - Distinguishing Credible Sources
- 13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
 - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
 - Exploring Educational eBooks

14. Embracing eBook Trends

- Integration of Multimedia Elements
- Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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