

# **Twelfth Creolistics Workshop**

“Bridging time: Historical data and the dynamics of contact languages”

In memory of Philip Baker (1945-2017)

Aarhus University, 3-5 December 2025

Conference handbook

*Twelfth Creolistics Workshop – Aarhus University, 3-5 December 2025*

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**In memory of Philip Baker (1940-2017)**



Philip in Sri Lanka, 2007. Photo: courtesy of Guillaume Fon Sing

## 1. Programme

| <b>Twelfth Creolistics Workshop</b>   |  |
|---|--|
| Bridging time: Historical data and the dynamics of contact languages<br>In memory of Philip Baker (1945-2017)<br>Aarhus University, 3-5 December 2025                       |  |
| Wednesday 3 December  |  |
| M1, building 1427, room 149   |  |
| 8.00-   | Registration desk opens  |
| 08.45-9.00  | Conference opening   |
| Opening session: In memory of Philip Baker  |  |
| Chair: Peter Bakker   |  |
| 9.00-9.30   | Peter Stein (Universität Regensburg): <b>Philip Baker and Mauritian Creole</b>   |
| Aymeric Daval-Markussen, Xiaoying He (Aarhus University) and Anthony Grant (Edge Hill University): <b>Nominal agglutination in French creoles: a computational approach</b> |  |
| 9.30-10.00  |  |
| 10.00-10.30   | COFFEE BREAK   |
| Session 2: Pidgins I  |  |
| Chair: Aymeric Daval-Markussen  |  |
| 10.30-11.00   | Dieter Stern (Universiteit Gent) and Kapitolina Fedorova (Tallinn University): <b>Social requirements on pidginization: the possible impact of liminality</b>  |
| 11.00-11.30   | Mikael Parkvall (Aarhus University): <b>The bridge language on the River Kwai</b>  |
| 11.30-12.00   | Xiaohong Cheng (Aarhus University): <b>Kyowa-go: A Sino-Japanese Contact Language in Northeast China (First Half of the 20th Century)</b>  |
| 12.00-13.30   | LUNCH BREAK  |
| Session 3: Pidgins II   |  |
| Chair: Adrienne Bruyn   |  |
| 13.30-14.00   | Ana Paulla Braga Mattos and Peter Bakker (Aarhus University): <b>Portuguese Pidgin: A Sketch Based on a 1692 Text</b>  |
| 14.00-14.30   | Rachel Selbach (independent scholar): <b>Lingua Franca data from 1520-1830: Bridging 300 years of pidgin dynamics</b>  |
| 14.30-15.00   | Patrick O. Steinkrüger (University of Göttingen): <b>What kind of Spanish reached the Philippines – when, (from) where and how?</b>  |
| 15.00-15.30   | COFFEE BREAK   |
| Session 4: Processes of linguistic change   |  |
| Chair: Kristoffer Friis Bøegh   |  |
| 15.30-16.00   | Rasul Jasir Dent, Thibault Clérice, Pedro Ortiz Suarez and Benoît Sagot (Inria Paris Centre and Common Crawl Foundation): <b>Français Tirailleur and Tâý Bôï: Institution-Driven Pidginization?</b>  |
| 16.00-16.30   | Fábio Barcellos Granja and Glória Reis (Utrecht University): <b>Quantifying phonetic distances: lexicostatistical insights into Karipuna Creole phonology</b>  |
| 16.30-17.00   | Anne Wolfsgruber (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin): <b>‘Thrust’ is what holds it all together: on the role of diachronic semantic packaging and constructional networks in creolization processes</b> |

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| Bridging time: Historical data and the dynamics of contact languages<br>In memory of Philip Baker (1945-2017)<br>Aarhus University, 3-5 December 2025 |   |
| Thursday 4 December   |   |
| M2, building 1427, room 246   |   |
| Session 1: Carriols   |   |
| Chair: Patrick Steinkrüger  |   |
| 9.00-9.30   | Kristoffer Friis Bøegh, Fábio Barcellos Granja (Utrecht University), Mikael Parkvall (Aarhus University) and Bart Jacobs (Jagiellonian University): <b>The Ibero-Romance contribution in Carriols and its origins</b>                       |
| 9.30-10.00  | Joost Robbe (Aarhus University): <b>Phonological reconstruction of eighteenth-century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (Carriols)</b>  |
| 10.00-10.30   | Xiaoying He and Aymeric Daval-Markussen (Aarhus University): <b>Automated analysis and visualization of grammatical change in Carriols</b>  |
| 10.30-11.00   | COFFEE BREAK  |
| Session 2: Databases and data-driven approaches   |   |
| Chair: Joost Robbe  |   |
| 11.00-11.30   | Adrienne Bruyn (independent scholar): <b>Reviving the Suriname Creole Archive (SUCA)</b>  |
| 11.30-12.00   | Mikael Parkvall, Elena Miu, Arnault-Quentin Vermillet and Aymeric Daval-Markussen (Aarhus University): <b>How does demography impact language change? A population ecological approach to the emergence of creoles</b>                      |
| 12.00-12.30   | Peter Bakker (Aarhus University): <b>Mutations between lexifiers and creoles in universal properties of language</b>  |
| 12.30-14.00   | LUNCH BREAK   |
| Session 3: Typology   |   |
| Chair: Ana Paulla Braga Mattos  |   |
| 14.00-14.30   | Aymeric Daval-Markussen (Aarhus University) and Kristoffer Friis Bøegh (Utrecht University): <b>Creoles, morphology and mass comparisons</b>  |
| 14.30-15.00   | Stéphane Goyette (Acadia University) and Bart Jacobs (Jagiellonian University): <b>Romance creole personal pronoun alterity</b>   |
| 15.00-15.30   | Luis Miguel Rojas Berscia, Thomas Blake Ennever and Tanita P. Duiker (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen): <b>From Kukatja to Yingkutja: Apparent-Time Data of Predicational Strategies as a Window into Contact-Induced Change in Balgo, WA</b> |
| 15.30-16.00   | COFFEE BREAK  |
| Session 4: Miscellaneous I  |   |
| Chair: Rachel Selbach   |   |
| 16.00-16.30   | Peter Slomanson (Tampere University): <b>New subjunctive complements for object control verbs in a converted language</b>   |
| 16.30-17.00   | Angela Bartens (Universidad de Turku): <b>Spanish influence on the diachronic development of Western Caribbean English-lexifier creoles</b>   |

Book launch at the conference dinner

| <b>Twelfth Creolistics Workshop</b>   |   |
|---|---|
| Bridging time: Historical data and the dynamics of contact languages<br>In memory of Philip Baker (1945-2017)<br>Aarhus University, 3-5 December 2025 |   |
| Friday 5 December   |   |
| M2, building 1427, room 246   |   |
| Session 1: Romance creoles I  |   |
| Chair: Eduardo Tobar Delgado  |   |
| 9.00-9.30   | Audrey Noël (Université de La Réunion): <b>“Oté, lé gayor!”: representations and linguistic characteristics of Reunion Creole of the heights conveyed by the artistic productions of Pat’ Jaune and Super Yab</b> |
| 9.30-10.00  | Francky Lauret (University of Réunion Island): <b>The spelling of the authors who won prizes in the Lankréol literary competition (La Réunion)</b>  |
| 10.00-10.30   | Ye-Ye Xu (Indiana University Bloomington) and Ludovic Vetea Mompelat (University of Miami): <b>Éti in Martinican Creole: Functions and origins of a “martinicanisme”</b>  |
| 10.30-11.00   | COFFEE BREAK  |
| Session 2: Romance creoles II   |   |
| Chair: Sarah Roberts  |   |
| 11.00-11.30   | Oliver Mayeux and Hannah Davidson (University of Cambridge): <b>The Elephant and the Whale Speak Creole: Comparative linguistic analysis of a folktale from Mauritius and Louisiana</b>                           |
| 11.30-12.00   | Ye-Ye Xu (Indiana University Bloomington): <b>Reexamining “High” Kwéyòl in St. Lucia and the influence of English</b>   |
| 12.00-12.30   | Eduardo Tobar Delgado (independent scholar): <b>The functions of Zamboanga Chabacano <i>estába</i>: a case of contact-induced heterosemy</b>  |
| 12.30-14.00   | LUNCH BREAK   |
| Session 3: Malay varieties  |   |
| Chair: Aymeric Daval-Markussen  |   |
| 14.00-14.30   | Sarah Roberts (independent scholar): <b>New Texts of South Seas Jargon from Manuscript Nautical Journals (1820-1860)</b>  |
| 14.30-15.00   | Stéphane Goyette (Acadia University): <b>The Malay contact varieties of Eastern Indonesia: Sinicized Malay or Creolized Malay?</b>  |
| 15.00-15.30   | COFFEE BREAK  |
| Session 4: Miscellaneous II   |   |
| Chair: Peter Bakker   |   |
| 15.30-16.00   | Emmanuel Nwachi (Károli Gáspár University, Hungary): <b>Redefining Pidgin English in Nigeria: Balancing Standardisation with Inclusivity</b>  |
| 16.00-16.30<br>(online talk)  | Piero Visconte (The University of Texas at Austin): <b>Afro-Puerto Rican Spanish and the Myth of Decreolization: A Diachronic Perspective on Contact, Ecology, and Vernacular Universals</b>                      |
| 16.30-17.00   | Wilson Douce (Huntington High School, NY): <b>Historical Background (for the corpus-based variationist description of demonstratives in Haitian Creole)</b>   |

## **2. Abstracts**

Adrienne Bruyn (independent scholar)

### **Reviving the Suriname Creole Archive (SUCA)**

In the mid-2000s, a digital archive was initiated containing the relatively numerous early Surinamese creole texts that have been passed down to us: the Suriname Creole Archive (SUCA). Including both printed texts and manuscripts, collected and digitized by several scholars over the course of time, the collection comprises well-known sources such as Schumann's 1783 Sranan and Riemer's 1779 Saramaccan dictionaries as well as less accessible ones, e.g., Schumann's bible translations and the Saramaccan Maroon Letters by Alabi, Grego and others (1790-1818). Of some texts the digitization is not finalized however, and the finalized ones, a couple of which annotated, are not properly accessible anymore.

In order to make these texts available through the internet again, there are plans to revive SUCA. This involves making an inventory of the texts regarding completeness and format, and develop a plan to render them accessible – not only to linguists and others with an academic interest but also to a wider audience, including for example people from Suriname. This raises various issues and challenges, such as:

- How to present the materials in a way that renders them interesting for both linguists and a wider audience, e.g., regarding searchability and linguistic annotation vs. original layout?
- How to deal with various kinds of layered texts, such as dictionaries with example sentences, dialogues with translation, or annotations in manuscripts?
- What kind of institution could host the archive in a findable and accessible manner in the longer term?

I will report on the current state of SUCA, present more details on the texts and the issues they raise, and hope to have the opportunity to exchange ideas and experiences with similar enterprises.

#### **Reference**

van den Berg, Margot & Adrienne Bruyn. 2008. 'The Early Surinamese Creoles in the Suriname Creole Archive (SUCA)'. *Linguistics in the Netherlands 2008*, ed. by Marjo van Koppen & Bert Botma, 25-36. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Ana Paulla Braga Mattos and Peter Bakker (Aarhus University)

### **Portuguese Pidgin: A Sketch Based on a 1692 Text**

While Portuguese-lexified creoles are relatively well documented, historical records of their earlier stages and of Portuguese pidgins remain scarce. This paper aims to contribute to the documentation of a Portuguese pidgin through a sketch analysis of a text dating from 1692. The text, produced by a gardener from Thuringia who had spent time in Java and in several other South and Southeast Asian countries, is reproduced in Schuchardt (1890) and consists of 303 words. It was glossed but not analyzed by Philip Maurer (2011).

The analysis focuses on morphological and syntactic features, with additional remarks on phonology and a lexical study. The analysed features include pronouns, numerals and demonstratives, possession, word order in noun phrases, as well as negation and TMA markers in verb phrases. While the majority of lexical items derive from Portuguese, the text also contains words from German, Dutch, French, Latin, and Malay.

Beyond the grammatical sketch, we aim to situate the text within the comparative context of pidgins in general (Parkvall & Bakker 2013, Parkvall 2020), including (scarcely documented) Portuguese pidgins (Ladhams 2006, Li 2016).

### **References**

- Ladhams, John. 2006. In search of West African Pidgin Portuguese. *Revista Internacional de Lingüística Iberoamericana* 4(1): 87–105.
- Li, Michelle & Matthews, Stephen. 2016. An outline of Macau Pidgin Portuguese. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 31(1): 141–183.
- Maurer, Philippe. 2011. *The former Portuguese Creole of Batavia and Tugu (Indonesia)*. London; Colombo: Battlebridge Publications.
- Parkvall, Mikael. 2020. Pidgins. In *The Oxford Handbook of Language Contact*, Grant, Anthony P. (ed.), 261–281. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Parkvall, Mikael & Bakker, Peter. 2013. Pidgins. *Contact Languages*, Bakker, Peter & Matras, Yaron (eds.), 15–64. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Schuchardt, H. (1890). Kreolische Studien IX: Ueber das Malaioportugiesische von Batavia und Tugu. *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Wien)*, 122, 1–256.

Angela Bartens (Universidad de Turku)

**Spanish influence on the diachronic development of  
Western Caribbean English-lexifier creoles**

In this study, I will examine the role of the prestige language Spanish on the diachronic development of Western Caribbean English-lexifier creoles. I am taking the creoles of San Andrés and Providencia as my point of departure and establish comparisons, whenever pertinent, with the other creoles of the Atlantic Coast of Central America on the one hand and Jamaican Patois, without almost any Spanish influence whatsoever, on the other. Spoken in another country where English is the official language, Belizean Creole stands out among the Central American creoles. More recently, however, it has been undergoing influence from Spanish, too. Like many minority languages world-wide, over the past few decades the creoles of San Andrés and Providencia have undergone emancipation from both Standard Caribbean English and Spanish, leading to debates on language purism and ownership.

The following levels and processes of the language system will be discussed: 1. Phonology/Phonetics; 2. Lexicon including Topo- and Anthroponyms; 3. Code-switching; 4. Calques, and 5. Morphosyntax. The use of creoles in the social media is taken as an empiric scenario for testing the extent to which Spanish influence has spread in mostly unmonitored language use. Another testing ground is constituted by linguistic landscapes, again focusing on San Andrés and Providencia.

To at least some extent, the future spread of Spanish influence is reflected in present language attitudes which, as stated above, are much more pro-Creole than, e.g., half a century ago. This, in turn, permits us to postulate an increasingly leaking diglossia.

Anne Wolfsgruber (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

**‘Thrust’ is what holds it all together: on the role of diachronic semantic packaging and constructional networks in creolization processes**

The paper looks at the question of why *p(o)u* < Fr. *pour* ‘for’ has been successful in creolization processes while other prepositional expressions, such as Fr. *de* and *à* have only survived in rather fixed chunks and were not used as a starting point for new grammatical constructions in creoles. *P(o)u* is an interesting case because it has developed from a preposition that marks semantic roles like BENEFICIARY and GOAL to a grammatical formative in French-based creoles that can also express PURPOSE/FINAL to introduce clauses as a complementizer (illustrated in (1))

- (1) pu mo amenn sa pu twa [...]  
for 1SG bring that for 2SG  
‘So that I bring you that’ (Syea 2017: 200)

and it also functions as a TAM marker to mark IRREALIS/MODALITY/FUTURE contexts (shown in 2):

- (2) šām lā pu bale  
room DEF for sweep  
‘The room will have to be swept’ (Koopman and Lefebvre 1982: 83)

A functional extension of *pour* is not limited to French-based creoles but is also found in English-based creoles and to some extent in structures that are introduced by *para* and an overt subject in infinitival clauses in Spanish(-based) varieties.

It seems that *pour*-constructions are more salient to language users in contact scenarios than other prepositional expressions. The hypothesis I am after in this paper is that a grammatical formative is more easily adapted as the starting point of further grammaticalization processes in newly emerging language systems if it is salient and accessible. In this line of thought, salience and accessibility are assumed to be provided if the formative shows up in a network of constructions that allows the language users/learners to trace the grammatical formative back to its older, more basic and therefore also more lexical meanings via a common and easy-to-decipher denominator. The common denominator or overarching meaning component that can be found in all of the constructions in which *pour* is thriving is the initial ‘direction’ or ‘thrust’ that is expressed by the preposition in combination with BENEFICIARY or GOAL; factors that are connected to salience, such as psychophysical salience, phonological substance and contingency also seem to play a role (cf. Ellis 2017). In its initial function to mark BENEFICIARY in (3), *pour* is embedded in a situation in which ‘direction/thrust’ is also clearly pragmatically anchored and therefore highly accessible to learners.

- (3) C’est pour toi  
this=be.3SG for 2SG  
‘This is for you’

This ‘direction/thrust’ is also present on a more abstract level in marking purpose clauses and on an even more abstract level in marking non-indicative, future events (shown in (4)):

- (4) Beneficiary/Goal → purpose, final → non-indicative → future  
preposition → complementizer → irrealis/modality (TAM) → future (TAM)

The perceivable connection to older and more lexical meanings and thus retrievable persistence of the overarching meaning component ‘direction/thrust’ keeps the constructions with *p(o)u* together in the network and this is assumed to be a vital cue for language learners to integrate the whole or large parts of the network into the newly emerging language system.

If a grammatical formative is already semantically too bleached for the perception of language users/learners to form a coherent network in its uses, it is less likely to be perceived as relevant and doomed to persist only in fixed chunks if at all. This would be the case for Fr. *à* and *de*, which already showed substantial semantic bleaching in Late Latin times.

Similar importance for the role of lexical persistence (Hopper 1991) in creole settings have been observed by Ziegeler & Lee 2019 and Salaberri & Wolfsgruber 2023, among others. The assumptions on which this paper is based are also closely tied to what has been suggested for the dynamics in polysemic networks where marginal meanings in the network without salient connections to a stable core meaning are more prone to being given up (see Ceuppens/De Smet 2023; Brenda 2014 among others).

To examine the exact course of the common denominator ‘thrust’ and the diachrony of its semantic packaging, this paper includes a corpus study on Gallo-Romance varieties and early creole sources.

## References

- Brenda, M. 2014. *The cognitive perspective on the polysemy of the English spatial preposition over*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Ellis, N. C. 2017. Saliency in Usage-based SLA. In Gass, S., Spinner, P., & Behney, J. (eds.), *Saliency in Second Language Acquisition*. New York: Routledge, 21-40.
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- Koopman, H./Lefebvre, C. 1982. Pu: Marqueur de Mode, Préposition et Complémenteur. In Lefebvre, C., Magloire-Holly, H./Piou, N. (eds.), *Syntaxe de L’Haïtien*. Ann Arbor: Karoma, 64-87.
- Salaberri, I./Wolfsgruber, A.C. 2023. A typological and diachronic analysis of replication: Body-part reflexives in Romance-lexifier pidgins and creoles. *Journal of Language Contact* 15(3-4), 512-561.
- Syea, A. 2017. *French creoles. A comprehensive and comparative grammar*. New York: Routledge.
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Audrey Noël (Université de La Réunion)

**“Oté, lé gayor!”: representations and linguistic characteristics of Reunion Creole of the heights conveyed by the artistic productions of Pat’ Jaune and Super Yab**

Reunion Island, a former French colony that became a department in 1946, sees several languages coexist, the two main of which are French, the official language, and Reunion Creole, resulting from a restructuring of dialectal forms of French spoken in the 17th century (Chaudenson, 2003; Watbled, 2021). Although Reunion Creole is still regularly marginalized, it is claimed and spoken (Dehon & Louguet, 2022) by more than 80% of the population.

Reunion Creole presents several variants (Beniamino, 1993), of a diachronic order (old Creole, modern Creole), linguistic (basilectal versus acrolectal Creole), or even geographic (Creole of the coast versus Creole of the heights). These different variants are associated with specific linguistic representations: basilectal Creole for example, the furthest form from standard French, is associated with certain socio-ethnic characteristics (spoken by Africans’ descendants and more in working-class neighborhoods). Acrolectal Creole, for its part, is sometimes confused with Creole of the heights: in linguistic representations, it is spoken by the white Creoles (“Yab”) living in the heights or in the south, and is marked by specific linguistic characteristics.

The acrolectal variant is less visible: for example, the pronoun “li” (basilectal form of the third person of the subject personal pronoun) is more classically attested in written productions than “lu” (acrolectal form). The basilectal variant seems to be considered as the “default” form of Reunion Creole. However, some artists have made the use of Creole of the heights their trademark: the musical group Pat’ Jaune, formed in 1987 and whose texts evoke the “Yab’s life”, and more recently the artist Super Yab, who has been publishing short humoristic videos on social networks since 2023 featuring “Yab” culture and its linguistic codes. What do these productions tell us about current representations and linguistic specificities concerning the variant of the heights? What are the developments compared to the first linguistic descriptions of this variant (Carayol, 1977; Cellier, 1985)?

We will rely on the analysis of productions by Pat’ Jaune and Super Yab, determining from a diachronic perspective the salient phonological, lexical and syntactic characteristics. We will then look at epilinguistic discourses and what they tell us about the evolution of linguistic representations.

## **Bibliography**

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Aymeric Daval-Markussen, Xiaoying He (Aarhus University)  
and Anthony Grant (Edge Hill University)

### **Nominal agglutination in French creoles: a computational approach**

A common phenomenon observed in all French creoles is the agglutination of the etymological article from their lexifier. For example, in Morisyen, the French lexicon creole of the Indian Ocean, we find nouns such as *dite* ('tea' < Fr. *du thé*), *later* ('earth' < Fr. *la terre*) and *lizur* ('daylight' < Fr. *le jour*), where the initial syllable corresponds to the respective definite or partitive article in French.

However, the agglutinated nominals are unequally distributed across the French creoles, both in terms of i) the proportions of agglutinated nominals (the Indian Ocean creoles having far more such forms than their Caribbean counterparts), ii) which terms have been affected (there is naturally an overlap between the languages, but some forms appear to be restricted to individual creoles or single areas) and iii) whether the initial syllable corresponds to the etymological gender (this occurs in e.g. Seselwa *lafwet* 'whip' < Fr. *le fouet*).

The issue has been investigated extensively, most notably by Baker (1984) and Grant (1995) and several explanations have been put forward. They attributed the existence of the phenomenon to phonological and semantic factors and to the relative frequency of occurrence of the affected lexemes.

This can be quantified and measured computationally against a large dataset. For this purpose, we will rely on parallel texts and corpora to investigate the distribution of agglutinated nominals in a sample of French creoles of the Caribbean and the Indian Ocean. In turn, we will assess the impact of the various factors suggested to have influenced the agglutination process.

### **References**

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- Grant, Anthony. 1995. *Agglutinated nominals in creole French. Synchronic and diachronic aspects*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Bradford.

Aymeric Daval-Markussen (Aarhus University) and  
Kristoffer Friis Bøegh (Utrecht University)

### **Creoles, morphology and mass comparisons**

Creoles are often characterized as being analytic languages with little or no morphology. In recent years however, this claim has been increasingly challenged. A core issue in the debate revolves around the categorization of preverbal markers, which are traditionally analyzed as phonologically free morphemes (i.e. particles), instead of clitics or affixes.

In turn, this has been linked to the recent development and application of automated mass comparisons in creole studies, where several large-scale comparisons of creoles and non-creoles have consistently pointed to a clearly distinctive grouping of creoles apart from other natural languages of the world. Provided these results can be upheld, they have implications for our general understanding of the emergence and development of creoles. A recurrent argument seeking to invalidate these statistical results, however, has been that the role of morphology is downplayed in such studies, thus creating skewed results.

In this talk, we will present results from a replication study of Daval-Markussen (2014), where the data from the original study were adjusted in order to increase the role of morphology in the comparison. Four morphosyntactic features from *The World Atlas of Linguistic Structures* (WALS, Dryer & Haspelmath 2013) were selected to compare a sample of creoles to a sample of non-creoles: the indefinite article (WALS 38A), tense-aspect inflection (WALS 69A), negation (WALS 112A) and predicative possession (WALS 117A). For each feature, we selected the value presenting the most synthetic possibility, thus enhancing the role of morphology.

In the original study, creoles consistently clustered separately from the non-creoles. Will creoles still show some cohesion despite the adjusted dataset? Has the role of morphology in creoles been downplayed because of orthographic conventions?

### **References**

- Daval-Markussen, Aymeric. 2014. First steps towards a typological profile of creoles. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia*, 45(2): 274-295.
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Dieter Stern (Universiteit Gent) and  
Kapitolina Fedorova (Tallinn University)

### **Social requirements on pidginization: the possible impact of liminality**

Our presentation is meant to introduce the concept of liminality as a critical aspect for the emergence of pidgins. It will be argued that pidginization requires some kind of shared experience of liminality to be set going. Starting out from the established notion of a radical break of transmission that is brought about by an imminent and pressing need for verbal communication, we will argue that this need may in fact be less pressing than it is usually imagined, as most of the joint activities that are associated with the emergence of pidgins would not necessarily require the coordination of action by verbal means.

We will further try to show that the inhibition to leave the comfort zone of one's rule-guided native language to enter into a playful mode of linguistic improvisation must not be underestimated, and that instead of a pressing need for verbal communication there must be something else that pushes all contacting parties involved, – be they speakers of the prospective lexifier or not –, to cross the threshold of proper language use and the associated practice of language learning.

We identify this something as the common awareness of being part of an evolving community that is constituted by an exceptional social situation on the margins of proper society. This basic insight is inspired by two decennia of our own field research along the Russian-Chinese border, which offered an abundance of different contact settings ranging from ephemeral touristic encounters to lasting mutual engagements in various fields of commerce and industry. We observed that the emergence of linguistic behaviour that was suggestive of the possibility of pidginization was restricted to those situations that involved a closed-knit community of practice which was defined by familiarity and a certain degree of intimacy among the parties involved.

We were able to broaden the basis of our claims by drawing on research on similar sites by Aikhenvald (2024), Driessen (2020), Gessler (2024) and Pozzi & Ghorashi (2021). In conclusion we suggest that liminality in the sense of Turner (1964) should be given due consideration in defining pidgins and pidginization, henceforward.

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Eduardo Tobar Delgado (independent scholar)

### The functions of Zamboanga Chabacano *estába*: a case of contact-induced heterosemy

Zamboanga Chabacano (ZC) is a Spanish-lexified creole, with Bisayan varieties serving as both substrate and adstrate languages, and important contributions from Tagalog. Today, ZC is spoken in a highly multilingual setting where Spanish is virtually absent, while English and Philippine languages exert growing influence.

This study examines the significant range of synchronic functions of ZC *estába* < Sp. *estaba* ‘BE.LOC.PST.3SG’, a development that, with few exceptions (e.g., Frake 1980), has received little scholarly attention. On the one hand, this element has retained its original functions as a past progressive auxiliary, a past locative, and a copula indicating temporary states in the past. More notably, however, in contemporary ZC, *estába* has undergone substantial functional expansion, now encompassing prepositional (1), verbal (2), adverbial (3) and adjectival (4) uses:

- (1) *Múchos bésos estába na Róma*  
many kisses from LOC Rome  
‘Many kisses from Rome’
- (2) *Estába yo na Malásia*  
come.from 1SG LOC Malaysia  
‘I come from Malaysia.’
- (3) *Pírme se ta-suséde estába...*  
always that IPFV-happen formerly  
‘That happened all the time in the past.’
- (4) *Según con el estába alcáde del ciudád...*  
according OBL DEF former mayor of.the city  
‘According to the city’s former mayor...’

Our findings suggest that these innovations are likely the result of semantic imitation (Michaelis & Haspelmath 2020), modeled on Philippine elements such as Tagalog *galing* (‘come from, from’), *dati* (‘formerly’), and *dating* (‘former’). The resulting network of related meanings and functions associated with *estába* might thus be described as a case of heterosemy (Lichtenberk 1991). Yet, these observations raise further questions: What are the triggers that led to these changes? Why was the element *estába* selected for these particular functions? Was the process of change gradual or accelerated? Can we formulate a diachronic hypothesis regarding the emergence of these innovations? Finally, we also need to see this case in a broader context: can we find comparable phenomena in other Iberian-lexified creoles?

A further theoretical issue arises with respect to the widely accepted unidirectionality of grammaticalization when we consider the change from a copula to a full verb or to an adjective. Could this be a rare instance of degrammaticalization (Norde 2009), or is it better understood primarily as a case of calquing? Ultimately, examining the multifunctionality of *estába* provides insight into the relationship between (de)grammaticalization processes and semantic imitation in creole languages.

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Emmanuel Nwachi (Károli Gáspár University)

### **Redefining Pidgin English in Nigeria: Balancing Standardisation with Inclusivity**

This study investigates the feasibility of standardising Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE) while preserving its inherent inclusivity across socio-economic and ethnic divides. In a country marked by linguistic diversity and deep-rooted colonial language hierarchies, NPE stands out as a widely spoken lingua franca, uniting millions of Nigerians across regional and class boundaries. However, despite its reach, NPE lacks official recognition and standardisation, hindering its integration into formal domains such as education and public policy. The central problem this research addresses is the tension between linguistic uniformity, necessary for formal adoption, and the preservation of the organic, inclusive, and variable nature of NPE that contributes to its national appeal.

This study aims to analyse public attitudes towards NPE standardisation, evaluate the socio-political and educational implications of formalising the language, and propose a practical path to a framework that balances structural codification with social inclusivity. Employing an approach that combines questionnaire-based survey of NPE speakers with a critical review of literature and policy documents. The empirical and theoretical analyses were guided by frameworks, including Haugen's model of standardisation, Milroy & Milroy's social model, and Hornberger's integrative model of language policy and planning.

Findings among the 98 respondents indicate strong support for recognising NPE as a national language, particularly among speakers who view it as a marker of identity and a tool for social cohesion. However, attitudes toward standardisation vary, with concerns about the marginalisation of indigenous languages and superiority of standard English. Linguistic challenges, such as the absence of a unified orthography and dialectal diversity, were also identified.

The research concludes that a pluricentric, descriptive approach to standardisation, rather than a prescriptive, homogenising model, offers the most viable pathway for integrating NPE into Nigeria's formal institutions. This model supports a flexible orthographic system and encourages codification that reflects real usage without marginalising linguistic diversity. While limitations such as the sample size and regional focus constrain generalisability; the study offers an initiatory framework that can serve as a pathway for language policy reform.

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Fábio Barcellos Granja (Utrecht University) and  
Glória Reis (Emílio Goeldi Museum)

**Quantifying phonetic distances:  
lexicostatistical insights into Karipuna Creole phonology**

Creole Phonology remains an understudied discipline when compared to other subfields of Creolistics (Smith 2008). In this study, we propose a mixed-methods analysis of diachronic phonetic changes affecting Karipuna Creole, a French-based contact language spoken in Amapá (Brazil). It is considered either a variety of French Guianese Creole or a separate language deriving from it - they differ mostly in Phonology and the Lexicon (Anonby 2007, Silva et al. 2023). Our main research question is: how close is Karipuna Creole to its French lexifier in phonetic terms?

With the goal of measuring phonetic distances between both languages, we have applied lexicostatistical methods to two phonetically transcribed Swadesh lists (Swadesh 1955). The first list had approximately 200 lexemes collected from Karipuna Creole dictionaries (Tobler 1987, Silva et al. 2023); the second contained their corresponding French cognates. These lists were subjected to the Cog software, which uses the Blair method (Daspit 2015). By contrasting the features of phonetically transcribed items in two languages (one deriving from the other), the software generates a similarity percentage representing a scale of phonological restructuring, with 100% matching complete stability.

This analysis resulted in a 60% value, meaning that Karipuna Creole shows considerable restructuring of its lexifier's phonological structures in the Swadesh list items. We have further analysed onset, nucleus and coda adaptation processes, which showed that Karipuna Creole speakers often use a phonological equivalent from their substrate languages or omit the elements altogether. Most readaptation patterns target the syllable nucleus, with some vowels being subject to assimilation. Nevertheless, consonants are also targeted: in rhotic adaptation, there is a common pattern of the French archiphoneme /R/ being adapted to the glottal /h/, setting Karipuna Creole apart from neighbouring Antillean French Creoles, in which /R/ is adapted to /w/ (Bollée 2015).

This work provides a novel approach to assessing the degree of the phonetic divergence of Karipuna Creole from its lexifier. The elevated degree of phonetic restructuring shows that even in basic vocabulary lexical items - which better preserve the phylogenetic signal (Greenhill et al. 2010) - we observe considerable divergence between the two varieties.

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Francky Lauret (University of Réunion Island)

**The spelling of the authors who won prizes  
in the Lankréol literary competition (La Réunion)**

All anthologies since *La littérature réunionnaise d'expression créolophone* (Armand and Chopinet, 1984) indicate that the dynamics of literary production in the Creole language began to flourish in the second half of the twentieth century. Until then, Creole writings adopted French spelling and adapted it to the Reunionese linguistic system. It was not until 1963 that phonological codifications were systematized in 1974, 1977, then in 1983, 2001, 2017, and 2020. Our research explored this development initiated by Reunionese cultural journals (Lauret, 2017, 2020).

This enthusiasm is evident in the launch, success, and continued existence of the Lankréol regional literary competition, created in 2004, which awards the Pri Honoré to Réunion Island each year. To celebrate the competition's twentieth anniversary, the Council for Culture, Education, and the Environment (CCEE) published the Vintan anthology in 2024, bringing together 26 literary texts: 13 short stories, 11 poems, 1 slam, and 1 tale, written by twenty people born between 1949 and 1988.

The question of the use of written forms for Réunion Creole has been addressed for "spontaneous writing" (Georger, 2009) and "ordinary writing" (Ledegen, 2009), but what about the literary use of written forms? This is what is analyzed here within the

Communication focuses on the penetration of graphic propositions into the uses of written production of literary texts. From a methodological perspective, it involves analyzing, using lexicographic software, the solutions chosen for the transcription of phonemes. The results allow us to identify what is a consensus and what remains under discussion based on personal positions.

Is there a shared literary codification that could serve as a standard? What language variety do authors use? How do they position themselves in relation to the different existing codification systems?

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Joost Robbe (Aarhus University)

**Phonological reconstruction of eighteenth-century  
Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (Carriols)**

Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, also known as Carriols, is a Dutch-lexifier contact language that arose on the Danish West Indies (now the U.S. Virgin Islands). Despite its extinction in 1987, the language is exceptionally well documented compared to many other creoles: at least 26 hymnals and other printed books from 1764–1833 survive, and audio recordings of the last speaker were made in the 1970s–80s. Yet the actual pronunciation behind the largely Dutch-based eighteenth-century spelling has remained uncertain.

This paper presents the first systematic phonological reconstruction of eighteenth-century Carriols, conducted within the project Digital Demography, Creole Creation, Light on Letters. Using large corpora of rhyme pairs from hymnbooks compiled by two independent missionary societies, the study applies data-driven rhyme analysis to address long-standing questions: Did Carriols indeed maintain a contrast between short and long vowels, as has often been claimed? Are there traces of nasal vowels? Which vowels merged, and which Dutch consonants were retained?

The written rhyme evidence is evaluated against twentieth-century sound recordings to test historical hypotheses and refine the reconstruction. The approach demonstrates how richly attested early texts, combined with quantitative methods, can illuminate the phonological history of a contact language and shed light on processes of vowel length retention, merger, and consonant stability.

By integrating eighteenth-century textual data with modern acoustic evidence, the paper exemplifies how diachronic corpora can reveal the dynamics of creole phonologies over time. It contributes to broader discussions of contact-induced sound change and the methodological potential of rhyme analysis for historical creolistics.

Kristoffer Friis Bøegh, Fábio Barcellos Granja, (Utrecht University),  
Mikael Parkvall (Aarhus University) and Bart Jacobs (Jagiellonian University)

### **The Ibero-Romance contribution in Carriols and its origins**

Carriols, or Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, is the extinct Dutch-lexifier creole once spoken in the former Danish West Indies and current US Virgin Islands. The language emerged on St. Thomas in the late 17th century and became extinct in 1987, and it is among the most extensively diachronically documented creoles (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996). Carriols has a lexical component of Ibero-Romance origin (Stein 2002). It is small to moderately sized (roughly 130 items), but includes some core vocabulary, including a few Swadesh list items. There is also at least one basilectal grammatical item (the completive aspect marker *kaba*), and possibly more. Our presentation aims to identify the agents plausibly responsible for introducing this Ibero-Romance component and to investigate the specific varieties (Spanish, Portuguese, or related creoles) that are the most likely donors.

Based on historical-demographic evidence and linguistic comparison, we argue that the core-like part of the Ibero-Romance contribution dates back to the early stage of the language, and we emphasize the role of contact with Curaçao and thus early Papiamentu in this connection. We trace an early possible Ibero-Romance input to a group of enslaved individuals seized from a Portuguese slave ship wrecked near St. Thomas in 1675, three years after the onset of the island's colonization by the Danes and six years before the earliest known text fragment of incipient Carriols was recorded (Bøegh et al. 2025). With this ship included, at least five distinct groups emerge as possible sources of Ibero-Romance influence: the shipwreck survivors from 1675; Sephardic Jewish planters on early Danish St. Thomas (some of whom may have arrived via Brazil); sailors and colonial administrators with a Dutch linguistic background, many of whom may have mastered a (restructured) variety of Ibero-Romance; Spanish speakers from nearby Puerto Rico; and immigrants from Curaçao. The distribution of Portuguese- and Spanish-derived forms suggests several temporal strata. Some forms look clearly Hispanic, others Lusophone, while others (some 20%) unmistakably point to Papiamentu. Forms originating (ultimately) from Portuguese and Spanish are about equally common.

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Luis Miguel Rojas Berscia, Thomas Blake Ennever and  
Tanita P. Duiker (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen)

### From Kukatja to Yingkutja: Apparent-Time Data of Predicational Strategies as a Window into Contact-Induced Change in Balgo, WA

In Australian contact linguistics, languages such as Pitjantjatjara have been described both in terms of convergence, attrition, and mixing (Bowe 1990; Langlois 2004; Hansen 1984), and in terms of maintenance and internal change (Wilmoth 2022). Kukatja, a closely related variety, presents a particularly compelling case for contact studies, as its consolidation as a linguistic unit coincides with the relatively late arrival of Pallottine missionaries in the late 1940s and the establishment of a boarding school. This timeframe allows the use of apparent-time methods to track ongoing dynamics of language change under intense contact.

Despite its shallow time-depth, contemporary Kukatja displays structural features traceable to unrelated or distantly related languages. Like other Australian contact settings, Kukatja has witnessed innovations in predication, particularly with respect to the increased uptake of light-verb strategies (Wohlgemuth 2009; Thomason & Kaufman 1988) involving the integration of borrowed lexical material into a Kukatja verbal frame. This has led to the formation of a variety known as Yinkutja (1).

Drawing on fieldwork conducted between 2019–2024, this study examines coverb constructions in Kukatja-Yingkutja using EDED video stimuli (Caudal & Mailhammer 2018). Data from 17 speakers across three age groups in Balgo reveal both continuity and change in predicational strategies. Across generations, we observe a shift from reliance on Kukatja non-inflecting verbs to increasing incorporation of Kriol- and Australian English-derived coverbs and transitivity markers. Moreover, a cross-generational shift in the size (and membership) of inflecting verbs follows a path not accounted for by structural properties of the languages in the mix.

Our findings highlight how Kukatja-Yingkutja draws simultaneously on Ngumpin-Yapa and English/Kriol, exemplifying **multi-source borrowing** in a multilingual ecology. This case illustrates how convergence across several contributing systems can reshape predicational strategies, offering comparative insights into broader debates on restructuring, borrowing, and innovation in contact languages, including creoles.

- (1) Tja timana de-lu and emu **payit-im** **ma-nu** tja litul man.  
DEF horse there-ERG and emu bite-TRANS grab-PST DEF little man  
'The horse there and the emu bit the child.'

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Mikael Parkvall (Aarhus University)

### **The bridge language on the River Kwai**

Between June of 1942 and October of 1943, a railway was built between Thailand and Myanmar by a highly multinational work force.

Asians (recruited with varying degrees of consent) formed the largest group, but as little is known about them, the focus here is by necessity on the Western prisoners of war – mainly British, Australian and Dutch. They served under the supervision of Japanese and Korean guards.

As neither side had much previous exposure to the language(s) of the other, some method of communication had to be devised during the construction.

A sizeable number of autobiographies from surviving Western prisoners are available and together, they permit a sketch of the linguistic situation. From 72 sources, I managed to cull 820 multi-word utterances and 850 different lexical items.

It seems that no stable pidgin developed, but rather what could be labelled a “jargon” or “pre-pidgin”. Disappointingly, perhaps, but then again, even negative evidence is evidence. And some interesting conventions can be gleaned from the material, including a novel pronoun.

Mikael Parkvall, Elena Miu, Arnault-Quentin Vermillet  
and Aymeric Daval-Markussen (Aarhus University)

**How does demography impact language change?  
A population ecological approach to the emergence of creoles**

What are the necessary conditions for the emergence of creole languages? This question has long been central in creole studies, but to date, no satisfactory account of creole genesis has been put forward. Some factors suggested to determine whether a creole language will emerge or not are:

1. an optimal range of linguistic diversity
2. a population imbalance between different socio-linguistic groups
3. degree of exploitation (as revealed by an important death rate, a low birth rate and a high immigration rate)
4. the internal growth of the overall population

In order to investigate the role of these factors, we will use mathematical models from population ecology (Integrated Population Models) to estimate parameters (such as birth rates, death rates, immigration rates) underlying the demographic dynamics of 15 territories where a contact variety emerged – in roughly half the cases, a creole language arose from the contact situation, whereas the other half resulted in a semi-creole or a local dialect of the lexifier.

The selection of those territories was based on the conditions that i) the contact variety emerged in-situ (i.e. independent genesis), ii) there should be a sufficient amount of documentation of the territory's demography and iii) extensive grammatical descriptions of the languages involved should be available. We ended up with the following 15 locations: Cape of Good Hope (Afrikaans), Barbados, Bermuda, Cape Verde islands, French St. Kitts, Hawaii, Louisiana, Mauritius, Pitcairn, Réunion, São Tomé, St. Helena, St. Thomas, New Caledonia (Tayo) and Virginia.

Most of these sites are islands, therefore clearly delimited areas geographically, lending themselves well to the assumptions of ecological population models. Moreover, enough data was available and gathered to provide good estimates of the population numbers of different socio-linguistic groups year after year. By looking at the relative ratios of growth rates between these groups, and the relative ratios of birth and immigration rates, we will see if any clear pattern exists between societies that developed a creole language and those that did not.

Oliver Mayeux and Hannah Davidson (University of Cambridge)

**The Elephant and the Whale Speak Creole:  
Comparative linguistic analysis of a folktale from Mauritius and Louisiana**

This study undertakes a comparative analysis of two historical folktales, one in Mauritian Creole (MC) and the other in Louisiana Creole (LC). The Mauritian story comes from Charles Baissac's (1888) collection *Le Folk-lore de l'Île-Maurice: texte créole et traduction française*, comprising 28 folktales, traditional Mauritian riddles (*sirandann*) and songs. The Louisiana collection by Alcée Fortier (1895): *Louisiana Folk-tales in French dialect and English translation* is remarkably similar, comprising 27 animal stories and folktales. One folktale in both collections, assumed to be of West-African origin, retells a strikingly similar story involving an elephant and a whale: this point of convergence between the two geographically and historically distinct contexts serves as a basis for our analysis. We compare the texts in terms of their provenance, content and structure before focusing on their linguistic insights.

In both Louisiana and Mauritius, the respective Creoles have been in contact with French and English: our study aims to investigate the differing contact outcomes in each contact, considering the respective influence of these lexifier and non-lexifier superstrates. We provide a brief overview of differences in phonemic inventory, morphology, syntax, and lexicon in the texts. Although on the surface the two languages diverge in fairly obvious ways, a more considered examination of the verbal domain reveals particularities and questions for the diachrony of LC and MC and French-lexifier Creoles in general. For example, contemporary MC and LC both feature long/short verbal alternation, a phenomenon with divergent diachronic explanations: in MC, it is attributed to a Bantu substrate during creolization (Van Der Wal & Veenstra, 2015), while in LC it has been attributed to the French superstrate during decreolization (Neumann, 1985). We find that verbal alternation is present throughout the MC text, while in the LC text this phenomenon appears only sporadically; we explore the roles of grammaticalization and contact in explaining verbal alternation in each context, with implications for our understanding of the diachrony of each language and of verbal alternation in Creoles in general.

Ultimately, the study reveals how a single folktale can illuminate both the shared heritage and divergent trajectories of two French-lexifier Creole languages and provides scope to expand this kind of study to a wider range of texts and Creoles.

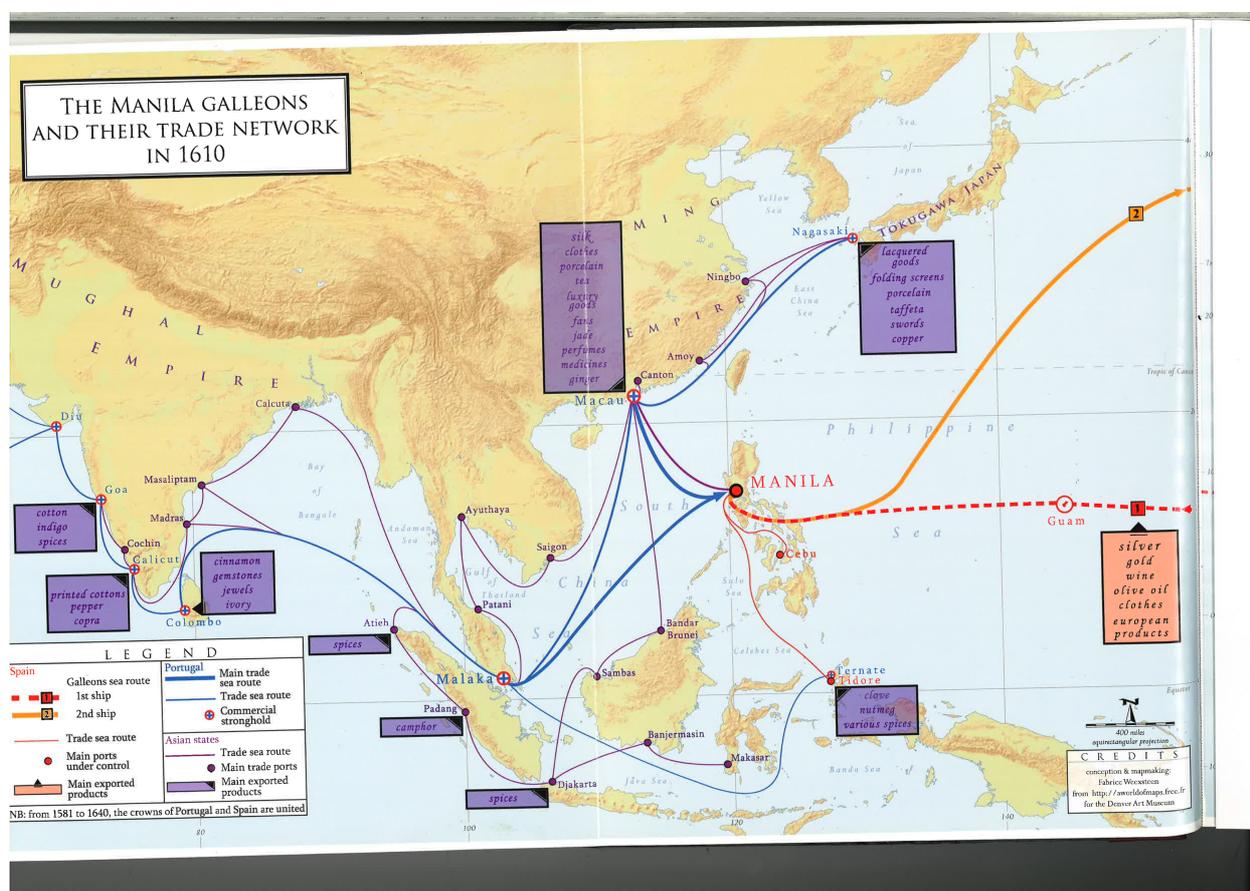
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Patrick O. Steinkrüger (Göttingen University)

### What kind of Spanish reached the Philippines – when, (from) where and how?

In my talk I will argue that Chabacano and Philippine Spanish is not a simple encounter of Spanish and different Philippine languages but that the scenario of the past is very much complex. And the lack of documentation before the 19th century makes it even more difficult to reconstruct the linguistic situation of the time between the 16th and 18th centuries (documentation starts in the 19th c.). The current Chabacano and Philippine Spanish (own fieldwork data & from the literature) and loans in the Philippine languages let us permit to look back to complex cultural and linguistic scenario involving Amerindian, Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Philippine and even Indian people in Early Modern times with the influence of Portuguese in the Philippines.



Map from Pierce & Otsuka (2009)

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Peter Bakker (Aarhus University)

### **Mutations between lexifiers and creoles in universal properties of language**

There are major controversies in our field about the origin of creoles. Did they emerge suddenly (within a few generations), or slowly (a hundred years or more)? Do the creoles continue the grammatical properties of the lexifier, or of the substrates, or a combination of both, or were these properties newly created? Was there a preceding phase of severe reduction of the lexifier (e.g. a Basic Variety, an unattained L2, a pidgin) or was there an unexceptional transition from the lexifier to the creole, following common changes in languages?

This presentation focuses on one set of universal properties of languages, formulated in a famous paper on language evolution by Pinker & Bloom (1990). These linguistic universals entail (rephrased) the expression of types of events and states, participants, intentions, truth values, time of events, temporal distribution, speech acts, and ways of focusing and backgrounding information. Being present in all natural languages, these are all, unsurprisingly, expressed in creoles as well as in their lexical source languages.

In our paper, we compare the concrete manifestations of these properties in lexifiers and in a set of unrelated creole languages, in order to map the transition between the lexifiers and the ensuing creoles. It appears that most of the universal properties, despite the fact that they were present in the lexifiers, appear in the creoles in quite different manifestations.

These results suggest that grammatical innovation is much more characteristic of creoles than ordinary intergenerational transmission. Creoles are not continuations from the lexifiers and substrates. This is most likely a consequence of an interruption of transmission because of traumatic historical events such as forced dislocation of the creators of the creole. Our results shed no light, however, on the speed of emergence of creoles.

Peter Slomanson (Tampere University)

### New subjunctive complements for object control verbs in a converted language

One of several properties making Malay in Sri Lanka an outlier among Malay varieties, including contact varieties elsewhere, is infinitival complementation. This paper concerns a previously undocumented construction involving a subjunctive marker in complement clauses that alternate with infinitival complement clauses.

This language exhibits a range of clausal complement types, the selection of which is determined by a matrix verb. For example, some verbs take clausal complements that are finite and tense-marked, while those clauses are assigned (morphological) accusative case. The language also has a range of control verbs that take infinitival complements. This includes a number of object control verbs with obligatorily dative objects (1). The dialect spoken natively by most inhabitants of Kirinda features frequent alternation between the infinitival construction and a finite construction associated with a subclass of the object control verbs. In the latter construction, a bound subjunctive marker appears on the embedded verb (2). In that type of sentence, the visible relationship of the matrix object to the null subject of the complement clause is identical to what we find in the comparable infinitival complement clause.

The subjunctive marker is homophonous with the past tense marker *si-* (based on *su*, the truncated form of Malay/Indonesian *sudah*). The construction is ungrammatical with subject control verbs, such as *sumpa* ('promise'), but always available with those object control verbs whose semantics favor this type of complementation, such as *biilang* ('tell', in the sense of 'instruct'). The modal interpretation of *si-* is only associated with the complements of this subset of verbs. It is unavailable in non-complement clauses, in which *si-* can only mark past tense, and is also unavailable in complement clauses lacking a visible subordinator.

The selecting verbs resist ordinary tense-marked complements, so the subjunctive marker cannot be replaced by a marker of tense. The interpretation of the subjunctive marker can be characterized as hortative-irrealis, in the sense that the event in question has not yet happened, may or may not happen in the future, and is called into future existence by the subject of the matrix clause ("..., that ~~she~~ should V").

The type of relationship between the two predicates exemplified in (2) is not unusual cross-linguistically, and can be viewed as additive in a contact vernacular amenable to functional elaboration. The historical strategy in the language is to select and adapt existing (i.e. Malay) phonological shapes to new functions, rather than borrowing functional elements from the co-territorial languages acquired by the speakers after early childhood. The modal meaning conveyed by this construction is expressible in Tamil, but the syntactic conditions for its expression are different.

- (1) *Itu pompang podiyen-nang a-biilang* [*Mulbar me-blajar nang*] INFINITIVAL COMPLEMENT  
DET woman boy-DAT PRS-tell Tamil INF-learn INF  
'That woman is telling the boy to learn Tamil.'
- (2) *Itu pompang podiyen-nang a-biilang* [*Mulbar si-blajar kata*] SUBJUNCTIVE COMPLEMENT  
DET woman Miflal-DAT PRS-tell Tamil SBJ-learn CMP  
'That woman is telling the boy that he should learn Tamil.'

Peter Stein (Universität Regensburg)

### **Philip Baker and Mauritian Creole**

Philip Baker's career as a creolist began in Mauritius where he arrived in 1965 as a film cutter, and then worked at a broadcasting station for adult education. He had not done any linguistics or academic studies, but he became aware of the central position of Creole in communication and education in the still widely illiterate Mauritian society. He observed and collected data on the multiethnic and multilingual Mauritian society, and especially on the creole language of the island. He became aware of the central role of the creole for adult education and alphabetization. He then published his article "The Language Situation in Mauritius" (1969), followed in 1972 by *Kreol. A Description of Mauritian Creole*. Moreover, he proposed an orthography, he prepared a language course for foreigners using his orthography, and he took note of all words and expressions he heard when talking with Mauritians to prepare a dictionary, which was finally published in 1987.

When Chaudenson presented his *Bourbonnais Theory* on a common origin of Réunion (Bourbon) and Mauritian Creole, Philip did not agree; the differences between both were too important in his view, and he engaged in researching historical documents on the slave trade and in studying old creole texts and documents. He spent much time in the archives.

He acquired an academic degree when he presented his B Phil dissertation at the University of York in 1976, which was not published, but gave matter for long disputes with Chaudenson. Several papers and articles followed and finally, together with Chris Corne, *Isle de France Creole. Affinities and Origins*, was published in 1982. In the same year he obtained his PhD with a thesis of more than 800 pages, *The Contribution of Non-Francophone Immigrants to the Lexicon of Mauritian Creole*, SOAS, University of London. He then was one of the main authors of volume 2 of the DECOI (*Dictionnaire étymologique des créoles français de l'Océan Indien, Mots d'origine non-française et inconnue*), published in 1993.

Piero Visconte (The University of Texas at Austin)

**Afro-Puerto Rican Spanish and the Myth of Decreolization:  
A Diachronic Perspective on Contact, Ecology, and Vernacular Universals**

The Afro-Hispanic varieties of the Caribbean occupy a central place in debates on the emergence, persistence, and alleged “decreolization” of contact languages. In Puerto Rico, the speech of coastal settlements such as Loíza – founded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by free and enslaved Africans alongside Spanish colonizers and Taíno descendants – offers a privileged window onto earlier stages of contact language formation in the Americas.

This paper reconstructs the diachronic trajectory of Afro-Puerto Rican Spanish by integrating archival documentation, folkloric texts, and contemporary sociolinguistic evidence (Mintz, 1953; Giusti-Cordero, 1994; Author 2022a,b; Author 2024a,b; Author et al. 2024). First, I situate Afro-descendant communities in their colonial context, drawing on parish records and municipal archives to illustrate early contact ecologies. Second, I examine folkloric sources from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – songs, ritual texts, and oral traditions – which register vernacular speech patterns and highlight the persistence of African-influenced features. Finally, I present contemporary evidence from sociolinguistic interviews and perception studies, focusing on two variables often characterized as “creole-like”: subject pronoun expression (morphosyntax/pragmatics) and declarative intonation (phonology/prosody).

Comparative analyses show that Afro-Puerto Rican Spanish converges closely with island-wide Puerto Rican Spanish. Subject pronoun expression patterns do not differ categorically, undermining the claim that Loíza speech represents a decreolized system (cf. Granda, 1978; Lipski, 1994; Holm, 1989). Similarly, declarative intonation aligns with broader Antillean contours (cf. Willis 2010; Armstrong 2012; Rao & Sessarego 2016, 2018; Butera et al. 2020; Korfhagen et al. 2021). These findings challenge the decreolization hypothesis and suggest instead that such “creole-like” features are better understood as vernacular universals arising from contact-rich learning environments.

The evidence confirms a layered ecology: Spanish provided the grammatical core (Lipski, 1994), African languages contributed morphosyntactic and phonological patterns (Granda, 1978; Holm, 1989), and Taíno supplied a lexical substratum that persists in terms such as *yuca*, *hamaca*, and *huracán* (López Morales, 1992; Vaquero, 2002). Rather than remnants of a lost creole, these features constitute integral dimensions of Caribbean Spanish.

This study traces Afro-Puerto Rican Spanish from colonial archives through folkloric corpora to present-day sociolinguistic patterns, situating the variety within a diachronic continuum and repositions Loíza speech as central – not marginal – to the Caribbean linguistic landscape. More broadly, it demonstrates how the integration of historical, folkloric, and contemporary evidence can illuminate the emergence and long-term development of contact varieties.

Rachel Selbach (independent scholar)

### **Lingua Franca data from 1520-1830: Bridging 300 years of pidgin dynamics**

The Lingua Franca of the Mediterranean (LF) is an exception amongst documented contact languages in that it is considered to be a pidgin while its documentation (at least 1520-1830) spans over more than three centuries. Such longevity is atypical for a pidgin. Variation accompanies LF throughout the centuries of its documentation, as is expected of a pidgin. This confronts us with the question of relative stability versus diachronic internal development, as a pidgin is assumed to be prone to neither.

The idea that LF may have developed into a creole has been entertained yet repeatedly rejected, such as by Operstein (1998), claiming that “*notions of the internal evolution of LF or its 19th century creolization are unnecessary as a means of explaining it.*” However, upon closer scrutiny, we find a move from inflectional morphology to periphrastic expression. While some aspects of LF grammar remain stable over the documented time frame, a clear tendency towards a more analytical system also emerges (Operstein 2021, Selbach 2009).

We see patterns of regularization of LF at their height in the latest source qualified as LF, the *Dictionnaire de La Langue Franque* of 1830. The shifting patterns include:

1. possession marked first by pronominal clitics shifts towards analytical marking with means of the possessive marker/ preposition *di*.
2. object marking with *per* becomes extended and regularized.
3. verbal inflection gets streamlined such that all person and number marking disappears.

These findings are discussed in light of Bakker’s “*sensational finding that pidgins tend to show more inflectional morphology than creoles*” (Bakker 2003: 27). If, as seen in LF, there is a stage where the pidgin system sheds remnant inflectional morphology and becomes reorganized structurally into a more orderly analytical / periphrastic system, such a tipping point is of great interest for language genesis.

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Rasul Jasir Dent, Thibault Clérice, Pedro Ortiz Suarez  
and Benoît Sagot (Inria Paris Centre and Common Crawl Foundation)

### **Français Tirailleur and Tây Bồi: Institution-Driven Pidginization?**

For decades, the pidgin-creole life cycle hypothesis was considered the standard account for the development of both pidgins and creoles. Key aspects of this account include the belief that pidgins emerge from communicative necessity in multilingual environments, while creoles are the outcomes of the stabilization of pidgins, especially via nativization. This account has been critiqued from various directions, with French-based Creoles often serving as the crux of the debate.

For these languages, a major point of contention has been the similarity between the languages of the Americas and the Indian Ocean despite the apparent absence of a stable precursor pidgin. For example, McWhorter (2000) defends the life cycle model by hypothesizing that French-based Creoles ultimately descend from an unattested 17th century slave castle pidgin. In contrast, Mufwene (2020) maintains that pidgins mostly formed after the development of creoles during the during a colonial transitional period in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific.

Despite these canonical debates regarding French-based Creoles, French-based pidgins remain underexplored. While Skirgård (2013) has compiled and analyzed a corpus of Français Tirailleur, a variety closely associated with West African soldiers, there is still debate about whether it represents a “real” contact variety from the late 19th and early 20th centuries Parkvall (2018) or a stereotypical projection of otherness (Vigouroux (2017)). In contrast, there is more consensus that Tây Bồi, or Vietnamese Pidgin French, developed in French Indochina during roughly the same time period and fell out of use when the French military presence ended. Although Français Tirailleur and Tây Bồi share many features, they are often assumed to be mostly independent developments, and to our knowledge, no extensive comparison has been conducted.

In this work, we first review descriptions of Tây Bồi and Français Tirailleur to highlight their close structural affinity. Then, we introduce textual data showing that they were largely consolidated by 1890. Finally, we revisit some contemporary accounts of language education in French colonies. Taken together, these documents suggest that, far from being spontaneous solutions to communicative barriers, Français Tirailleur and Tây Bồi were heavily shaped by top-down instruction of ostensibly simplified French. Rather than disproving the existence of pidginized varieties, the codevelopment of regionalized Frenches in West Africa and Southeast Asia underscores the contradictions and instability of the colonial-era two-track approach to language education.

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Sarah Roberts (independent scholar)

### **New Texts of South Seas Jargon from Manuscript Nautical Journals (1820-1860)**

On the basis of published documentary sources, Ross Clark proposed an early Anglophone contact medium in the South Pacific that was ancestral to later Pacific pidgins and creoles like Bislama and Tok Pisin, which he called South Seas Jargon (Clark 1979). Philip Baker in a number of studies compiled further texts from various locations in the Pacific, identifying the first attestation dates for selected lexical and grammatical features, which helped to show that SSJ was the medium through which ‘worldwide’ features of pidgins/creoles were diffused from the Atlantic (Baker 1993; Baker & Huber 2001).

However, documentation of SSJ is very scanty and if new data could be obtained, it would furnish more accurate and representative attestation dates of distinctive structures, including the innovation and propagation of endemic ‘Pacific’ features. Meanwhile, Drechsel (2014) has questioned the use of SSJ as an Anglophone pidgin in the early 1800s (with Pacific pidgins only arising in the second half of the 19th century), suggesting that most of the published texts cited by Clark (1979), and by extension Baker (1993) and Baker & Huber (2001), represent mere stereotypical depictions and literary translations from a Polynesian-based pidgin that he believes was used mainly in the early period.

To improve the historical documentation of interethnic communication in the Pacific before the 1860s, I conducted research in 2019 and 2022 at several different repositories of nautical journals and logbooks: The New Bedford Public Library, the New Bedford Whaling Museum, the Nantucket Historical Society, and the Library of Congress. This was supplemented in 2025 with additional nautical journals that have been scanned and uploaded online. These sources are exceedingly laconic and comment on linguistic issues is quite rare. Nevertheless, this research has produced new important texts representing speech between Anglophones and speakers of Polynesian and Micronesian languages.

The evidence indicates that the linguistic landscape of the period from 1820 to 1860 encompassed multiple contact languages, but with an English-lexifier SSJ having an important status as a medium between Pacific Islanders and British and American mariners. It is clear from the descriptions of language use as well as the recording of SSJ texts that the attribution of SSJ to Pacific Islanders was not a mere literary affectation; these are fragments of real-life conversations recorded in diaries on the day they occurred. The texts show typical WW features found in later Pacific pidgins, such as *all same* ‘like, as,’ *bimeby* ‘later’ as a time adverb, *what for* ‘why,’ *suppose* ‘if,’ and *one* as an indef. article. In some cases, the new material constitutes the earliest evidence of pidginized speech on a given island.

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Stéphane Goyette (Acadia University)

**The Malay contact varieties of Eastern Indonesia:  
Sinicized Malay or Creolized Malay?**

Ever since the pioneering research of Adelaar and Prentice (1996) the matter as to whether the Eastern Malay contact varieties (Hereinafter: EM) are to be considered creolized varieties of Malay (we will refer to this as the pidginization hypothesis: Hereinafter PH) or not has been amply discussed in the scholarly literature. Despite this, no consensus exists today on the matter. While McWhorter (2008) has claimed that EM and indeed all Low Malay varieties are nativized pidgins (i.e. creoles), several other scholars (Wolff 1988) are skeptical, with Paaus (2008) being seemingly agnostic on the issue.

A core methodological issue relates to the ambiguity of the evidence. A case could thus be made that EM owes its isolating typology to contact with Hokkien Chinese. We may call this diachronic scenario the Hokkien Chinese hypothesis (Hereinafter: HCH). Both hypotheses predict the same observed outcome (namely, near-total loss of earlier Malay morphology in EM varieties).

The goal of the proposed presentation is to break the stalemate. It will be argued that the PH accounts for the data much better than the HCH. This is due to the following features of EM:

1-None shows any borrowed Hokkien Chinese phoneme. More broadly, EM exhibits a reduction of Malay phonology. Such loss of phonological distinctions is typical of pidginization/creolization, but not typical of language contact, where convergence between distinct phonological systems rather than unilateral reduction in phoneme inventory is far more typical.

2-Near total loss of the older Malay classifier system in EM. This fact is utterly incompatible with the HCH: considering the rich classifier system of Hokkien Chinese, it would be expected (if the HCH were true) that EM would exhibit a classifier system typologically intermediate between those of earlier Malay and of Hokkien Chinese. The near-total absence of classifier systems in EM is, however, wholly explicable via the PH. Loss of grammatical gender is typical of pidginization.

In conclusion, it will be argued that the most prudent hypothesis on EM genesis should be the PH, and not the HCH.

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Stéphane Goyette (Acadia University) and  
Bart Jacobs (Jagiellonian University)

### **Romance creole personal pronoun alterity**

In several Romance languages, standard and non-standard varieties alike, composite plural pronouns have been created by attaching a reflex of Late Latin/Early Romance ALTEROS to a simplex pronoun: Spanish nosotros 'we', non-standard Portuguese vos-outros 'you (pl)', colloquial French eux-autres 'they', and so on. Such composite 'other'-pronouns also appear to be quite typical of creole languages lexified by Spanish, Portuguese and French, both in the Pacific and in the Atlantic.

The goal of this presentation is to examine the distribution of ALTEROS-pronouns in the various Romance-lexicon creoles and compare them to their distribution in non-creole Romance varieties, including in the respective lexifiers of the Romance creoles examined. It will be shown that the distribution of reflexes of ALTEROS as personal pronoun plural reinforcement markers in Romance creoles is very much at odds with the distribution of this element in their respective lexifiers and in other non-creole Romance varieties. We will identify several salient patterns of the distribution of reflexes of ALTEROS with plural pronouns among Romance creoles, provide (tentative) explanations for these patterns, and discuss potential implications for creole genesis.

Regarding the last point especially, we will show that the distribution of ALTEROS-pronouns in Romance creoles is quite easily explicable only if it is accepted that Romance creoles are nativized pidgins.

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Wilson Douce (Huntington High School)

**Historical Background (for the corpus-based  
variationist description of demonstratives in Haitian Creole)**

This paper provides the historical background for a dissertation that develops a corpus-based variationist description of demonstratives in Haitian Creole (HC). It highlights a central strand of the dissertation's argument, situating the study within the historical emergence of the Haitian nation, the origins of Creole languages, and the broader study of Creoles as social phenomena with linguistic implications. To frame the discussion, key terminologies – such as creolistics, creology, creoleness, creolity, and creolists – are clarified and contextualized.

An addendum to the historical background draws on a corpus of 137,850 words derived from HC news broadcasts. The news broadcasts data are paramount and crucial, as they represent a genuine linguistic performance in HC, which has been described as a prototypical representation of Creole languages (DeGraff, 2009). This corpus supports a detailed description of demonstrative determiners in HC and their functional roles. The analysis centers on the primary demonstrative forms—singular *sa a*, plural *sa yo*, and their alternatives *sila a* and *sila yo* – using a transformative mixed-methods approach that combines quantitative and qualitative analysis. Five functional uses of demonstratives are identified, following Grylling's (2019) framework: spatial deictic, background deictic, affective, spatio-temporal, and anaphoric/cataphoric.

By situating this linguistic analysis within Haiti's socio-historical context, the study examines the interplay of HC and French, the shaping of Haitian education through language policy, and the broader implications of linguistic ideology and identity. Finally, the dissertation adopts Creswell's (2017) transformative paradigm to advance an action agenda that underscores the defensive yet necessary role of Creole advocacy. This agenda emphasizes sustaining and expanding the HC corpus to ensure ongoing, viable research in creolistics, while engaging with Michel DeGraff's (2003) critique of Creole exceptionalism within the framework of the Saussurean linguistic mandate.

Xiaohong Cheng (Aarhus University)

**Kyowa-go: A Sino-Japanese Contact Language  
in Northeast China (First Half of the 20th Century)**

Kyowa-go was a Sino-Japanese contact language that developed in Northeast China from the early twentieth century, reaching its peak during the Manchukuo period (1932–1945). It originated from the encounters between Japanese soldiers, subsequent settlers, and the local population, and it was mainly spoken between these groups. Although the exact scope of the term “Kyowa-go” remains debated, it is generally understood to encompass two pidgin varieties, one Japanese-centered and the other Chinese-centered, each reflecting different degrees of linguistic influence from the other language. This study focuses on the Chinese-centered variety, which served not only as a key communication tool at the time but also as an important part of the collective memory for a generation in that region. Though no longer spoken, its legacy continues today, with remnants still visible in modern film, television, and literature.

Drawing on prior studies and historical documents such as Nakaya Shikaji (1926) and military postcards, this study examines the lexical, phonological, and grammatical features of Kyowa-go. The findings indicate that the lexicon of the Chinese-centered Kyowa-go is marked by significant two-way borrowing between Japanese and Chinese. In terms of phonology, the documentation for the language is characterized by the use of the Japanese kana syllabary for transcribing and pronouncing Chinese words by Japanese speakers, a practice that local Chinese would also imitate in their interactions with them. Syntactically, Kyowa-go reveals a mostly Japanese-based structural framework, manifested in altered word order, the use of repetition, and the adoption of Chinese lexical forms with extended syntactic functions. In addition, it displays several distinctive markers, most notably the generalized use of 的 *de* and the sentence-final particle 有 *you*, etc.

This study not only provides a case study in language contact, but it also serves as a resource for studies in other fields such as sociolinguistics and colonial history. Most previous research has been published in Chinese and Japanese, with little attention to literature in other languages on contact linguistics. This paper seeks to address that gap by situating Kyowa-go within the broader typology of contact languages.

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Xiaoying He and Aymeric Daval-Markussen (Aarhus University)

### **Automated analysis and visualization of grammatical change in Carriols**

*Carriols*, also called Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, was historically spoken on the former Danish Virgin Islands and is the best-documented creole in historical terms, with over 250 years of records (van Rossem and van der Voort 1996). This extensive corpus provides an ideal large-scale dataset for computational and visual analysis.

We present preliminary results from an automated study of a subset of these texts, studying especially the first handwritten letters authored by enslaved Christianized Africans between the 1730s and the 1760s. Based on an analysis of various grammatical features, each individual letter exhibits differing degrees of alignment with its lexifier and with Creole patterns. The results enable us to track grammatical change in Carriols relative to its lexifier, namely Dutch, in a crucial period of the development of a creole. The analysis focuses on key features relating to morphology and function words, where Dutch and Carriols display clearly different forms, for example negators (*no* vs. *niet*), reflexives (*amself* vs. *zichzelf*), reciprocals (*maerkanne* vs. *malkander*), place adverbs (*hieso* vs. *hier*), personal pronouns (*ju* vs. *Ue*, *mi* vs. *ik*, *am* vs. *hij* etc.) and the expression of tense and aspect (preverbal particles vs. affixation and auxiliaries).

By using computational methods and visualizations, this study represents the first large-scale digital investigation of language change in Carriols based on manuscripts produced during the early stages of creole formation, providing quantitative insights into diachronic shifts in morphology, lexicon, and grammar.

### **References**

- Bakker, Peter, Borchsenius, Finn, Levisen, Carsten & Sippola, Eeva (eds). 2017. *Creole Studies – Phylogenetic Approaches*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, <https://doi.org/10.1075/z.211>
- Rossem, Cefas van & Voort, Hein van der (eds). 1996. *Die Creol Taal: 250 Years of Negerhollands Texts*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Ye-Ye Xu (Indiana University Bloomington)

### Reexamining “High” Kwéyòl in St. Lucia and the influence of English

St. Lucian *Kwéyòl* is a French-based Creole language that interacts consistently with English, the official language of the island. While numbers of Kwéyòl speakers may be diminishing over time due to the rise of English (Midgett 1970; Garrett 2012), Kwéyòl is still being used today in both formal and informal contexts, and evolving in response to English contact. Among the language varieties in St. Lucia is a “high” register of Kwéyòl increasingly employed by well-educated speakers in such formal contexts as TV and radio, where English would otherwise be exclusively used (Garrett 2000).

Speakers try to preserve Kwéyòl using this high register; they enrich the language by innovating new words and constructions. Paradoxically, this register is noticeably anglicized. Some authors argue that this contributes to the overall attrition of Kwéyòl (*Ibid.*). Here, the processes at play are the “kwéyòlization” of English-origin words as in *wèyalab* ‘reliable’ (*ibid.*: 84), and the “de-kwéyòlization” of Kwéyòl as in *ni an bon jounen* ‘have a good day’ (*ibid.*: 86). Altogether, these processes produce both English-influenced lexical and syntactic constructions, and kwéyòlized English terms.

My corpus of modern St. Lucian Creole comprises six episodes of *Weflechi* (2016-2020), a series of news summaries produced by the Government of St. Lucia. Videos and audios were extracted from YouTube by pytube. The audios were fed through a Whisper speech-to-text model that was fine-tuned to Haitian Creole and which automatically transcribed the audios into text. Transcriptions were corrected and translated manually by two native speakers of St. Lucian Creole and the author, and checked against dictionaries.

Results confirm the presence of English-influenced (1) calques, (2) verb phrases and (3) kwéyòlized lexical items and code-switching hitherto undocumented:

(1) anbwase efò (w\_2020\_05\_29, a21)  
“embrace efforts”

(2) [...] etabli djib ki kay **pwan ka** manman ki gwo bouden, ki ka **soufè epi** maladi Zika (w\_2016\_11\_18, a45)  
“[...] establish guides which will **look after** (= **take care of**) women who are pregnant, who are **suffering from** (= **with**) the Zika virus.”

(3) Code-switches to English capitalized; kwéyòlized lexical items in bold:

Tout PATIENTS **wòd opstètriks**, GYNAECOLOGY, eben **wòd mateniti** kay trouve **bil peyman** apre yo trouve DISCHARGE. (w\_2020\_05\_29, a53-54)  
“All patients in the obstetrics ward, gynecology, and maternity wards will find bill payments after being discharged.”

This small dataset presents additional high Kwéyòl phenomena in St. Lucian Creole. Anglicized calques and phrases, and kwéyòlized English words co-exist with Kwéyòl/French-based lexical items and morphosyntax (e.g. *wòd opstètriks*). This suggests that speakers of high Kwéyòl are creatively adapting their language to formal contexts, producing an ever-evolving variety.

**References**

- Garrett, Paul B. 2000. “High” Kwéyòl: The Emergence of a Formal Creole Register in St. Lucia. In McWhorter, John (ed.). *Language change and language contact in pidgins and creoles*. 63-102. The Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Garrett, Paul B. 2011. Language Socialization and Language Shift. *The Handbook of Language Socialization*. 515-535.
- Midgett, Douglas. 1970. Bilingualism and Linguistic Change in St. Lucia. *Anthropological linguistics*. 12(5). 158-170.

Ye-Ye Xu (Indiana University Bloomington) and  
Ludovic Vetea Mompelat (University of Miami)

### ***Éti* in Martinican Creole: Functions and origins of a “martinicanisme”**

Martinican Creole (MC) is a French-based Creole in which one word, *éti*, has been associated with a wide range of functions. Its hypothesized origin is the French interrogative phrase *Où est-il ?*, reanalyzed in earlier French varieties and grammaticalized in MC. Related forms occur in other French-based Creoles, including *oti* in Haitian Creole (Librova 2021), though these do not span the same range of functions as *éti*.

In current descriptions, *éti* can serve as a locative interrogative or a relative particle. It may also appear as an oblique relative pronoun as in *Fanm-la (éti) ou ka palé mwen an*. “The woman you are telling me about.” (Pinalie & Bernabé 1999: 35) or next to the optional object/subject relative pronoun *ki* as in *Boug-la (éti) (ki) ka mennen loto wouj la...* “The man who is driving the red car...” (Bernabé 1987: 89). In this context, scholars disagree whether *éti* is the expletive and *ki* the true relative marker (Bernabé 1987), or the reverse (Librova 2021). This ambiguity underscores the need for a closer look at *éti*’s behavior.

Our corpus comprises articles published in the magazine *Kréyolad* (2004–2021) and from *Montray Kréyol* online, extracted by a web scraper. Sentences containing *éti* totaled over 500 occurrences. We analyzed (i) *éti*’s functions, attested and unattested; (ii) its syntactic contexts; and (iii) whether specificity in the antecedent was relevant for *éti*’s presence.

Results confirm all functions previously described in the literature, while revealing additional ones. These include (1) a temporal relative function and (2) a complementizer function:

(1) ...sé an prenses karayib an tan **éti** [...] péyi-nou an té ni an bel soukramétan dianman anlè’y... (c.35)  
“...she’s a Caribbean princess at a time **when** [...] our land was covered in beautiful diamonds.”

(2) Man fè sé touris-la konprann **éti** nou té adan an sel LIANNAJ épi Lagwadloup...(c. 394)  
“I made the tourists understand **that** we were in one sole League with Guadeloupe...”

Preliminary findings show *éti* occurring more frequently in relative functions, particularly following direct or indirect object antecedents; here it almost always follows a [+specific] antecedent, but we have yet to confirm whether *éti*’s presence depends on specificity. Therefore, in this work, we focus on *éti*’s role as a relative pronoun and complementizer, including the distribution of subject vs. object relatives, antecedent type, and specificity. Finally, we consider whether the full range of functions can be attributed to the grammaticalization of a single morpheme, or whether they point to two homonymous morphemes of distinct historical origins.

#### **References**

- Bernabé, Jean. 1987. *Grammaire créole / Fondas kreyol-la*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Librova, Bodhana. 2021. Une série interrogative - relative, les morphèmes en - ti dans les créoles des Petites Antilles : aperçu diachronique et essai de systématisation synchronique. *Créoles : enjeux éducatifs et culturels. Actes du XVIème colloque international des études créoles, Seychelles*. 422-450.
- Pinalie, Pierre & Jean Bernabé. 1999. *Grammaire du créole martiniquais en 50 leçons*. Paris: L'Harmattan.



## **4. Practical information**

### **ATM cash machine**

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

### **Phone numbers**

Peter Bakker: 3137 8251

Aymeric Daval-Markussen: 4157 1674

Taxi service: 89 48 48 48

### **Emergency numbers**

Ambulance and Police can be reached at the Alarmcentral: 112

[www.brs.dk/en/what-you-can-do/in-case-of-an-emergency/1-1-2-and-other-useful-phone-numbers/](http://www.brs.dk/en/what-you-can-do/in-case-of-an-emergency/1-1-2-and-other-useful-phone-numbers/)

### **WI-FI access**

You can access the internet through the university's eduroam network. In case you can't use eduroam, there is also a guest network for visitors. To do so, follow the instructions given here:

<https://medarbejdere.au.dk/en/administration/it/guides/network/wirelessnetwork>

### **Useful general website for visitor information**

<http://www.visitaarhus.com/>

### **Selected suggestions**

#### **FOOD**

#### **☒ 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.

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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**

Uni Pizza

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

Just walk for about five minutes down Langelandsgade from the conference site.

Kaserneboulevarden 35

tel.: 87 30 02 08

Jerry's pizzeria

Cozy restaurant located close to the conference venue.

Jordbrovej 11

tel: 8616 1888

### ✕ **Thai**

Restaurant White Elephant

Klostergade 1

tel.: 86 12 94 99

open Tuesday to Saturday 17-21.30 (5-9.30PM)

[www.white-elephant.dk](http://www.white-elephant.dk)

### ✕ **Moroccan / Middle Eastern**

Falafel King

Kebabs and more. Great Moroccan harira soup (vegan).

Fredensgade 45a, at the bus terminal

tel: 23 47 84 49

### ✕ **French**

Restaurant L'Estragon

Klostergade 6

tel.: 86 12 40 66

opens 17.30 (5.30PM) Tuesday through Sunday

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

Oli-Bistro

Mejlgade 35

tel: 86 18 53 14

open daily 12-15 (12AM-3PM) and 17.30-22 (5.30PM-10PM)

Cheap and excellent food with temperamental chef.

✕ **world food**

Aarhus Street Food

Food court style, where you can taste food from all over the world. Located in old bus garages close to the bus terminal.

Ny Banegårdsgade 46  
open Monday to Sunday 11.30-21.00 (11.30AM-9PM)

**GROCERIES AND PERSONAL CARE ITEMS**

Løvbjerg  
Trøjborg Center  
Otte Ruds Gade 98-100

Small shopping mall with supermarket (Løvbjerg, open 7-22 every day), toiletries and other non-food items. In the same building, there is also a chain store that sells personal care products (somewhat more expensively than the supermarket's equivalent products), a good bakery with coffee and tables, a falafel stand and a hairdresser.

[trojborgcentret.dk](http://trojborgcentret.dk)

If you keep walking for about ten minutes, past the Trøjborg Center, you will come the fashionable Trøjborg neighbourhood, with 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**

ARoS is an art museum housing collections of modern art, an art shop and a café and restaurant. Vouchers for visiting the museum are available. Please get in touch with one of the organizers to hear more.

Aros Alle 2  
tel: 6190 4900

Tuesday-Friday 10.00-20.00 (10AM-8PM)  
Saturday-Sunday 9:00-17:00 (9AM-5PM)

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

✕ **Den Gamle By / The Old Town**

*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 like 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,

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chambers, kitchens, workshops and museums all year round, and you can meet the people and characters of yesteryear throughout the site.

Vouchers for visiting the museum are available. Please get in touch with one of the organizers to hear more.

Viborgvej 2  
tel: 8612 3188

Open all week 10.00-17.00 (10AM-5PM)

[www.dengamleby.dk/en](http://www.dengamleby.dk/en)

### ✕ **KØN – Gender Museum Denmark**

The museum originated from a grassroots movement, a museum society called Kvindemuseet (the Women's Museum), which purpose was to portray women's cultural history in recent times. The museum was renamed KØN ('gender' in Danish) to reflect the change in gender perception since Kvindemuset was founded.

Domkirkepladsen 5  
tel.: 25 45 45 10

Tuesday to Friday 10-17 (5PM)  
Wednesdays 10-18 (6PM)

[www.konmuseum.dk/english](http://www.konmuseum.dk/english)

### ✕ **Vikingemuséet / 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). After archaeological excavations in 1964.

Current exhibit: Vikingernes Aros (Viking-Age Aarhus), where you can travel back to the year 934 for a moment.

[www.vikingemusset.dk](http://www.vikingemusset.dk) (in Danish only)

### ✕ **Besættelsemuseum Aarhus / Aarhus Museum of the Occupation 1940-1945**

The museum tells the dramatic story of Aarhus during the occupation in the Second World War.

[www.besaettelsesmuseet.dk/the-occupation-museum](http://www.besaettelsesmuseet.dk/the-occupation-museum)

Mathilde Fibigers Have 2  
tel.: 86 18 42 77

### ✕ **Aarhus Domkirke / Aarhus Cathedral (Sankt Clemens Kirke)**

Store Torv

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### ✕ **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

#### ✕ **cozy tapas bar**

*bar'habla*

Jægergårdsgade 67

tel: 93 95 76 67

kitchen open Monday to Sunday 17.00-22.00 (5-10PM)

#### ✕ **nighttime café and hangout bar with cigarettes**

*Ris Ras*

Mejlgade 24

*Café Under Masken*

Bispegade 3

Aarhus

#### ✕ **LGBT nightlife**

*G-bar*

Skolegade 28

tel.: 21 35 35 61

open Friday and Saturday 22.00-5.00 (10PM-5AM)

#### ✕ **Café Mellefolk**

Run by volunteers from ActionAid Denmark, a community of activists fighting against social, political and economic inequality.

Serve vegan food and drinks at reasonable prices in a cozy atmosphere.

Mejlgade 53, 1. floor

tel: 25 12 12 24

open Monday to Saturday 10-22 (10AM-10PM)

[ms.dk/mellefolk](https://ms.dk/mellefolk)

▣ **Institut for [X]**

Institut for [X] is a cultural melting pot in the middle of the city, built on the old grounds of the train freight center. It is a self-mnaged community, where you can find a lot of activities and cafés.

Exners Plads 9  
Godsbanen

[institutforx.dk](http://institutforx.dk)

**24 HOUR PHARMACY**

*Løve Apoteket*  
Store Torv 5  
tel.: 86 12 00 22

For emergencies, located just across the cathedral.

## **4. Announcements**

### **I) SUMMER UNIVERSITY BA COURSE ON ERUPTING LANGUAGES**

In the summer of 2026, Aarhus University will be the home of a Summer University course on “erupting languages”, or in full "Erupting languages: the spontaneous development of new languages: pidgins, creoles, mixed languages and twins’ languages”, at the BA level, for 10 ECTS credits. Please refer your BA students to this course, which requires (1) reading of the course material in advance (2) attending the course (3) writing an exam essay. The course will be taught by members of the Creole Project in Aarhus, along with selected guest lecturers and will take place from 27 July - 14 August 2026.

More information can be found here. It is open to students from all over the world. A description:

<https://kursuskatalog.au.dk/da/course/139622/Erupting-languages-the-spontaneous-development-of-new-languages-pidgins-creoles-mixed-languages-and-twins-languages>

When the course will open to international students, the information can be found here:

<https://international.au.dk/education/admissions/summeruniversity/course>

### **II) SPCL/ACBLPE SUMMER MEETING, AUG. 26-28, 2026**

Aarhus University will proudly host the joint meeting of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics (SPCL) and the Association of Portuguese and Spanish-Lexified Creoles/Associação de Crioulos de Base Lexical Portuguesa e Espanhola (ACBLPE) for their summer conference August 26–28, 2026 at Aarhus University.

The theme of the conference is: Futures of the Past. This expresses both the historical dimension of the genesis and development of contact languages as well as the different aspects of the future, including education. Papers are welcome in all areas of the study of pidgins, creoles, mixed languages and contact languages. Panel proposals are encouraged. Ideally, no more than four papers should be part of a panel. Correspondance should be addressed to: [pidgincreole@cc.au.dk](mailto:pidgincreole@cc.au.dk)



Aarhus is one of the few cities in the world with a commemoration sign for a speaker of the Lingua Franca. Drakenberg was a slave in North Africa. The sign can be found in Fiskergade 32/ Mindegade 32 in Aarhus center.

There is also a sign for Karl Verner (famous among linguists for Verner's law) in Vestergade nr. 5. He discovered this Law in this city.

