The Life of Language dynamics of language contact in Suriname

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door

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for my parents

for Asia

for Agnieszka

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Introduction

Suriname is home to more than twenty languages, spoken among its approximately half million people. Given the high degree of multilingualism in the country (ABS 2006), it is not surprising that languages spoken in Suriname have influenced each other and continue to do so in some way. This dissertation reports on several ways in which languages interact and on the outcomes of this language interaction, including creation of new languages, changes to linguistic structures, and language death.

Given that the majority of people in the world are multilingual, the study of the processes and outcomes of language contact have, and will likely continue to provide valuable insights beyond a traditional assumption in much of historical linguistics – that the main impetus for a language's development is system internal. Although this assumption often holds for some aspects of some languages' grammatical systems (e.g. regular sound changes well attested in the Indo-European family, or typical paths of grammaticalization, see e.g. Campbell 2004), a number of case studies (see Bakker and Mous 1994, Thomason 1997, Matras and Sakel 2007, to name but a few) have demonstrated that languages also influence each other in all areas of the lexicon and grammar.

The efficacy of bi- or multilingual interaction in bringing some sort of permanent change to a language is often attributed to language external (i.e. sociocultural) factors of a particular speech community and the wider sociolinguistic context in which a particular speech community is situated (cf. Thomason and Kaufmann 1988). The study of language contact in Suriname is advantageous in that there are a variety of speech communities with drastically different sociocultural circumstances, whose languages fill different societal niches and fall into different relative sociolinguistic scenarios. In short, Suriname has a great deal to offer to current understanding of language contact.

At the outset of this project, the range of possibilities for a research design seemed nearly endless. "Language contact in Suriname" was the point of departure which allowed for a rather free choice of languages to be included and methods to investigate issues pertinent to those languages. Since its inception as a subfield of historical linguistics, contact linguistics has diversified to include not only diachronic changes in grammatical systems as in historical linguistics, but also bilingual speech communities (sociolinguistics) and bilingual individuals (psycholinguistics). However, as Muysken (2013) notes, in academic practice, these assorted takes on language contact remain separate in terms of terminology, research questions, methodologies, conferences, etc., despite widespread agreement that individuals, speech communities, and linguistic structure all play an interrelated role

in the mechanisms and outcomes of language contact. In the following paragraphs, I will present the approaches of just a few scholars who have been most influential in both the field of contact linguistics and in my own approach to the topic.

Haugen (1950) – Haugen defines borrowing as the process of attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another, which can take two forms: importation and substitution. A feature is said to be imported if it is similar enough to the model that a speaker of the source language would accept it as his own. Substitution refers to the reproduction of a foreign feature 'inadequately' based on patterns of the speaker's own language. The results of borrowing are loanwords, calques, loanblends (combination of imported and substituted morphemes), loanshifts (morphemic substitution without importation), and creation of novel patterns. Haugen's model also attempts to correlate the intensity of bilingualism (from less to more) with substitution and importation, respectively. And although he was concerned primarily with lexemes and their phonetic / phonological representations, his model should also be applicable to other areas of linguistic structure.

Weinreich (1953) – In his pioneering work, Weinreich addresses contact in terms of interference (1950:1), 'those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. language contact'. In Weinreich's model, interference takes place in highly structured systems, e.g. most of morphology, syntax, and restricted areas of the lexicon (e.g. kinship terms), while changes in less structured subsystems (most of the lexicon) are better referred to as borrowing. Weinreich contends that structural features are responsible for the promotion and inhibition of interference, and suggests that the greater typological distance between two languages, the greater potential there is for interference. He describes not only addition and loss of features in contact settings, but possibilities for quantification of interference, and the role language external factors (psychological and sociocultural) in processes and outcomes of language contact.

Thomason and Kaufman (1988) – In their much cited work on language contact, Thomason and Kaufman argue that sociolinguistic history of a speech community – not a languages' structure- is the primary factor in outcomes of language contact. "Linguistic considerations are relevant but strictly secondary" (1988:35). It is rather the intensity of contact and type of interference that is largely responsible for the type and extent of linguistic outcomes. They distinguish two types of interference, borrowing and interference through shift, which occur respectively in scenarios of language maintenance and language shift. Borrowing is the incorporation of foreign elements into a a group's native language by speakers of that language, beginning with lexical items and only effecting structure after moderate-heavy occurrences. Interference through shift refers to incorporation of a group's native language features into a second language during a process whereby that group is shifting to another language. Unlike borrowing, interference through shift begins with phonology and syntax. Thomason and Kaufman further distinguish cases of normal transmission from abnormal transmission, the latter resulting in 'non-genetic languages' such as pidgins, creoles, and mixed languages.

Van Coetsem (1988) – In a similar model, van Coetsem introduces the concept of agentivity. In all cases of transfer a feature moves from its source language to a recipient language, but the speakers of either language can be the agents in the process. In this model, borrowing refers to when speakers import features into their own language (recipient language agentivity), and when speakers use features of their own language in another (source language agentivity) it is referred to as imposition. Van Coetsem argues that borrowing affects the least stable domains of grammar, has a tendency to enable 'preservation' (cf. Thomason and Kaufman 1988 on 'language maintenance), and is associated with more gradual changes to the recipient language, while imposition effects more stable domains and is associated with more abrupt changes.

Heine and Kuteva (2005) argue that transfer of grammatical structures and meanings are constrained by universal principles of grammaticalization. They argue that transferred elements represent instances of grammaticalization and that transferred elements motivate further grammatical developments in the recipient language.

Mougeon, Nadasdi, and Rehner (2005) – In their study on French in Ontario, Mougeon, Nadasdi, and Rehner introduce the distinction between covert and overt transfer. While overt transfer represents a qualitative development (i.e. the introduction of a new feature to a linguistic system), covert transfer describes a quantitative change in the distribution of a languages features based on another language's distribution.

Matras and Sakel (2007) – These authors use *borrowing* in a general sense to describe "the adoption of a structural feature into a language as a result of some level of bilingualism in the history of the relevant speech community". They distinguish two types of borrowing: matter (MAT) borrowing, where "morphological material and phonological shape" of a language are replicated in another, and pattern (PAT) borrowing, where "the organization, distribution and mapping of grammatical or semantic meaning" are replicated without the source language form.

Grosjean (2012) – Grosjean attempts to differentiate the concepts of transfer and interference (loosely equated with bilingual performance errors) by claiming the former is static and the latter dynamic. Static transfers leave a "permanent trace" of one language on another and become part of speakers' competence, while interference results from a speaker's processing, and is therefore more likely due to chance.

Muysken (2013) – Based on various proposals for the study of code-switching and creole formation, Muysken creates a model with four possible orientations for contact outcomes: those oriented to an L1, those which are a compromise between two languages, those that are oriented towards an L2, and those based on (psycho) linguistic universals. He contends that such a model allows for comparison of language interaction across sub-disciplines (e.g. between code-switching research and more historical takes on language contact), better organization and classification of contact phenomena within sub-disciplines, and the comparable study of other factors (such as typological distance, prestige and status, proficiency, and contact intensity) which operate in phenomena of different orientations.

Given the differences in terminology, focus, and scope of works within the realm of language contact, it is necessary to posit exactly what is meant by language contact in this dissertation. The definition presented here reflects aspects of all the influential works mentioned above.

Language contact refers to the influence of one linguistic system on another. This takes the form of either the addition or altered distribution of a linguistic feature which is the result of direct transfer, i.e. borrowing, of a feature from language one language to another, or indirect transfer through pressures exerted across linguistic systems, respectively.

For clarity:

Borrowing is the adoption of a new, linguistic feature in one language from another, be it a form and / or pattern, which is static, regardless of relative distributions compared to that language's 'native' feature.

Altered distribution refers to either (a) a marked change in the frequency of a feature native to one language (including loss) based on the frequency of an equivalent pattern in another, or (b) a shift in the distribution of items' grammatical categorization, either as a result of equivalent patterns in non native systems or by grammaticalization triggered by discord in the system due to borrowing or altered distribution of another feature.

The chapters in this dissertation address questions raised by (parts of) this definition: (a) which features are effected in which ways by language contact and (b) what factors drive these changes.

Suriname provides an ideal setting to address such general questions of language contact and change. Suriname is well known for its radical, as some would call them, creole languages, several of which have been the subject of descriptive work, and whose origins and development have been relatively well studied. Other Surinamese languages have been studied with a descriptive focus (cf. e.g. Marhé (1985) on Sarnami, or Carlin (2004) on Trio), while in some cases, the focus has been to compare the Surinamese language with its ancestral variety (cf. e.g. de Klein (1999) on Surinamese Dutch, or Wolfowitz (2002) on Surinamese Javanese). However, the way that the languages in Suriname influence each other has not been adequately investigated (but see Lie 1983, Migge and Léglise 2013). This dissertation is hardly comprehensive in terms of grammatical features or languages included, but represents a step in the right direction for linguistic research in Suriname. The chapters below are mainly concerned with contact induced developments in linguistic structure, but special attention is also paid to the sociocultural contexts which have instigated and facilitated these developments.

Guide to the book

This dissertation is a collection of articles, and with the exception of this introductory chapter and the conclusion, each has been written with a particular journal or book volume in mind. As will become apparent to the reader, the chapters vary in the manner with which they address the research questions in terms of methodology, theoretical focus, linguistic features, and languages involved. One commonality among the chapters of this dissertation is that they all rely heavily on data collected in Suriname in 2010 and 2011 by myself, Kofi Yakpo, and Stanley Hanenberg as part of the "Traces of Contact" research project at Radboud University Nijmegen. We employed a variety of data collection methods, from experimental and video elicitations to story telling and semi-structured interviews. We collected spoken data from most of the non-Amerindian Surinamese languages over a wide demographic and geographic range, some of which is currently still being analyzed.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the organization of the following chapters and part of the title was inspired by a series of ethnography monographs that I read regularly as a bachelor student of anthropology. Each monograph provided some general information about the group under study, then proceeded to describe sequential stages of life, from birth through adolescence, adulthood, and death. Analogously, I will address issues of language formation, language variation and change, and language death, which result from language contact in Suriname's multilingual context.

The following chapter, **The people and languages of Suriname** is meant to acquaint the reader with Suriname, its ethnic plurality and multilingualism. Written as a historical overview, the chapter first describes the various movements of people within and into Suriname which led to the development of new languages, diversification of the country's linguistic landscape, and current demographic makeup. Attention is also dedicated to language practices and language ideologies in Suriname, since this has a direct impact on the types of variables and directionality of linguistic influence.¹

The third chapter **Kumanti: Ritual language formation and African** retentions in Suriname addresses the formation of Ndyuka Kumanti, a ritual language spoken by a subset of Surinamese Maroons. Despite claims that Kumanti and other Maroon ritual languages are preserved West African varieties, I argue that Kumanti emerged as a result of language intertwining, involving elements from

¹ This chapter is intended for publication in the Traces of Contact group's edited volume (Muysken and Yakpo) dedicated to linguistic research in Suriname

Modern Ndyuka, archaic varieties of Surinamese creole, various West African languages, as well as linguistic innovation.²

Chapter four Linguistic archaeology, kinship terms, and language contact in Suriname, chapter five Tense, mood, and aspect in the languages of Suriname, and chapter six Particle verbs in Surinamese creoles address issues of variation and change in several Surinamese languages. The chapter on kinship terms analyzes semantic components of kinship terms in Dutch, Sranan, Sarnami, and Ndyuka, and provides linguistic evidence and a relative chronology of shifting linguistic targets in contact induced language change. Further, it is argued that contemporary variation within the languages reflect the sociolinguistic strata of Surinamese society.³ Tense, mood, and aspect in the languages of Suriname investigates TMA systems of the Surianmese creole languages, Surinamese Dutch, Sarnami and Surinamese Javanese with the specific question of feature borrowability and stability in mind. A number of borrowability and stability scales have been proposed in the literature with the idea that certain features are inherently more prone to transfer while others are inherently more stable. We find that the general trend of these various proposals hold in relation to TMA, but other factors external to the linguistic system can also regulate the development of TMA features.⁴ Particle verbs in Surinamese creoles argues that a construction based on Dutch particle verbs has been adapted in the creole languages in Suriname. Although these constructions which are not historically attested in the creoles still occur relatively infrequently, the consistency of the order of elements in the verb particle constructions are used and level of nativization of elements are indicative of a static change to the creoles.

The last chapter **Coppename Kwinti: the influence of adstrate languages on a Surinamese creole** investigates feature variation in language death scenarios. Variation in Kwinti, the language of a small group of Maroons in central Suriname, is arguably more pronounced than in other Maroon languages. However, the chapter illustrates the difficulty with which theoretical notions of language death can be applied to a language that is threatened mainly by a closely related language.⁵

After a brief summary of the chapters' findings, the research questions will be revisited with a more general perspective on contact in the Surinamese setting in the concluding chapter.

 $^{^{2}}$ At the time of this dissertation's printing, the chapter on Kumanti was under review for publication.

³ This chapter has been revised and edited for inclusion in *Anthropological Linguistics* 55, no. 1 (Spring 2013) under the title "Linguistic Archaeology, Kinship Terms, and Language Contact in Suriname." That publisher-authorized version is available for purchase from the University of Nebraska Press and online at Project Muse..

⁴ This chapter is to be published in the Traces of Contact project's volume on Suriname.

⁵ At the time of the printing of this dissertation the chapter on Kwinti was under review for publication.

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The people and languages of Suriname

1. Introduction

Like most places in the western hemisphere, the past five hundred or so years has brought the territory now known as Suriname drastic demographic changes under the administration of several colonial powers. With a number of Amerindian groups occupying the territory, Suriname was already alive with multiple civilizations and complex intra group relations when the Spanish claimed the territory in 1499. The place remained a sort of no-man's land, as far as Europeans were concerned, leaving the territory open for claims by other powers. Various unsuccessful attempts at settlement were made by various groups of Europeans, but the first successful settlement is attributed to the English Lord Willoughby, who equipped a group to relocate from Barbados to Suriname in 1651. Willoughby's settlement was conquered by a fleet of ships from Zealand led by Abraham Crijnssen in 1667 and was kept following a tentative end of hostilities between the English and the United Dutch Provinces with the treaty of Breda later that year. Except for another brief period of British occupation at the beginning of the 19th Century, Suriname remained a Dutch possession until its independence in 1975.

Settlement in Suriname was heterogeneous; it consisted of not only English and Dutch, but other Europeans, such as the French, Portuguese, and Germans, a strong contingent of Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews, and of course African slaves. These groups' interactions laid the foundation for diversity of Suriname, which was subsequently augmented by Indian, Indonesian and Chinese groups, leading to varying cultural and linguistic practices in modern Suriname. This chapter provides and overview of the historical events and migratory processes that have culminated in the demographic makeup, language practices and linguistic attitudes in Suriname as we know it.

1.1 Country Profile

Suriname is the smallest sovereign territory in South America, with 163,820km² (63,251mi²) (Statistische Jaarboek 2008). To the north, Suriname's coastline is adjacent to the Atlantic ocean. The country shares borders with Guyana to the east, French Guiana to the west, and Brazil to the south. There are two disputed land areas, the New River Triangle between the New and Kutari Rivers, where both Suriname and Guyana stake claim, and the area between the Litani and Marowini

Rivers, claimed by both Suriname and French Guiana. Suriname and Guyana also dispute the placement of their border in relation to the Corentijn River (currently on the western bank of the river, rather than the *thalweg*, or deepest central point) which also delimits the boundary between the two countries' maritime territory. Although international courts have recently ruled in favor of Guyana's maritime claims, all these disputes persist (Menon 1978, Donovan 2003, Aizenstatd 2011).



Map 1. Suriname and disputed territories, retrieved from Wikipedia Commons http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/eb/Suriname1991_Karte_umstrittene_ Gebiete.jpg 19 July, 2013.

At just a few degrees from the equator, Suriname is host to relatively warm temperatures (temp. range 2008, 23.1C (73.5F) – max 30.7C (87.3F) (Statistische Jaarboek 2008)), though land formation features, rather than climate, are responsible for ecological and forest diversity in Suriname. Although the majority of the country's interior is covered by tropical forests, there is also a savannah belt with open grasslands and dry / deciduous forest. The old coastal plain consists of sandy ridges, wetlands, and swamps. Mangrove forests, mudflats, estuaries, and coastal beaches are found on the young coastal plain (see also Biodiversity Steering Committee 2006:5, Namdar 2007:2 for more further details). A number of river systems cross Suriname. Flowing from south to north, and to the west in the north of the country, river systems tend to act as means of transportation and communication by indigenous peoples, rather than as borders as by colonial authorities.

The population of Suriname is just over half a million people (mid 2008 - 517,052 (Staatistische Jaarboek 2008), 539,910 - 2011 ABS website) and the overwhelming majority of the population is settled on the coastal plain. Despite its relatively small population, Suriname is characterized by a high cultural and linguistic diversity. Apart from the native Amerindian population, Surinamese people trace their roots to places in Europe, Africa, India, Indonesia, and China. The movements and circumstances surrounding the populating of the Surinamese territory and the various groups' linguistic contributions are summarized in the following section. Section 3 provides a discussion of language attitudes and linguistic practices among Surinamese people.

2. History and the influx of the country's people and languages.

Much work has been done on the history of Suriname, both generally and of several individual groups in particular. The following overview is meant to acquaint the unfamiliar reader with the origins of the ethnolinguistic diversity present in the country. Much of what is presented here is covered in greater detail elsewhere, where the curious reader is referred for additional information. Ideally, each group should be neatly described chronologically in its own subsection; however, due to the disorderly nature of Suriname's past, it is not practical to isolate groups completely. The following subsections will, therefore focus on the particulars of individual groups insomuch as possible, and will be presented in a rough chronological order. As the reader will notice however, so much of each group's developments are dependent on the others, that discussing them in complete isolation would not portray a realistic picture of developments in the territory.

2.1 Amerindians

Details of pre-Columbian Amerindian civilizations in the Guianas is not well understood. Much of what is known about the early Amerindians comes from accounts of explorers and early settlers in the area. Archaeological evidence tell us that Arawakan groups were engaging in some subsistence agriculture in the area at least a millennium before the Spanish began exploring the area (Jansen 1980). At the time of the Spanish arrival to the Guianas, another group, the Caribs, had apparently recently arrived to the area, hostilely taking over other groups' territory and resources (Boven and Morroy 2000:377). In the 17th and 18th centuries, several coastal groups were found in the Guianas, some of which also occupied neighboring areas in South America and the Caribbean: Arawakan groups – Lokono, Sepayo; Cariban groups – Kari'na, Parakoto, Yaos, Nepuyo; isolate –Warao (Carlin and Boven 2002:18).

Early attempts by the Spanish to settle the Guianas, e.g. Cayenne in 1568, were met with hostilities and subsequently stopped by the Kari'na and another Cariban group, the Parakotol, Subsequent attempts made by the Dutch, English, and French were also thwarted by Amerindians, e.g. English and French settlement destroyed in 1645 by Kari'na (Buddingh 1995:10, Carlin and Boven 2002:16-19). Soon after, however, it became clear to some Amerindians that, unlike the Spanish, non-Spaniards were primarily interested in trade rather than the spread of religion and subjugation of natives. A commercial relationship ensued, whereby all coastal Amerindian groups engaged in trade with the English, and later, the Dutch. Amerindians provided goods such as wood, hammocks, wax, balsam, spices, and slaves in exchange for firearms, cloth, machetes, knives, fishhooks, combs, and mirrors (Nelemans 1980:21, Carlin and Boven 2002:17), Then in 1651, two Kari'na chiefs traveled to Barbados to negotiate with the English about their settlement plans in the Amerindians' territory (Carlin and Boven 2002:18). The English would then be able to establish themselves in what would be the first 'permanent' settlement in what would become Suriname (see section 2.2).

As the English laid the foundations for what would eventually become large scale sugar cultivation, the Amerindians also used Europeans as pawns in their own conflicts amongst each other, and especially as advantageous allies in their own strife with the Spanish. The English were aware of their precarious position in the new settlement and did all they could to appease all groups of Amerindians in order to secure their economic interests. However, their efforts were hardly sufficient. The Amerindians became so dissatisfied with the colonists that just as the Dutch were taking over the colony, they began a series of 'fierce' attacks against the colonists in an effort to drive them out completely. These 'Indian wars' would have likely ruined the colony if not for van Aerssen van Sommelsdyk's peace efforts which culminated in a 1684 treaty declaring all Kari'na, Arowak, and Warao to be free and unenslaveable (Arends 2002:121, Carlin and Boven 2002:19).

Contact with Europeans and African slaves was not without consequence for the Amerindians. Amerindian settlement was much more extensive in the 17th century than it is today. Disease was a major factor in depopulation of Amerindian groups and their movement away from coastal areas (Carlin and Boven 2002:15, 19, 20). Although the Dutch colonial officials often called upon Amerindians to hunt runaway slaves, those who escaped to the forests en masse in the early 18th century drove Amerindian groups further south as they established their own free societies (Carlin and Boven 2002:16, 29). By the Mid 18th century, Maroons had reached the Tapanahony river and invited the Wayana to relocate further downriver in order to facilitate trade (Carlin and Boven 2002:23, Thoden van Velzen and Hoogbergen 2012). By the end of the 18th century, Maroons had completely monopolized commerce with Amerindians, blocking Europeans' access to them (Carlin and Boven 2002:21, 26).

A recurring characteristic of Amerindian societies, at least among those in the Guianas, is seemingly constant migration, regroupment, amalgamation of smaller groups (Carlin and Boven 2002:16). Naturally, this makes tracing the history, migratory paths, and settlement patterns of individual groups of non literate people notoriously difficult. Several groups mentioned above, such as the Warao, who died out in the 20th century, are no longer found in Suriname. Surinamese Amerindian groups and their approximate location as of the year 2000 are presented below (Carlin and Boven 2002:37).

<u>Arawakan</u>	Lokono Mawayana	coastal area Sipaliwini River
<u>Cariban</u>	Kariña	coastal area
	Trio	Palumeu, Tapanahony, and Sipaliwini
		Rivers
	Wayana	Palumeu, Tapanahony, Marowijne, and Lawa Rivers
	Alarivo	Tapanahony and Sipaliwini Rivers
	Akuriyo	
	Sikïiyana	Sipaliwini River
	Tunayana / Katuena	Sipaliwini River

Most recently, beginning in the 1960s, several of the Cariban groups of the interior have conglomerated on the Sipaliwini river. Though they continue to make ethnic distinctions among themselves, Akuriyo, Sikïiyana, Tunayana, and Mawayana all speak the Trio language and identify as Trio to non-Amerindians, leaving those languages moribund (Carlin and Boven 2002:37). In fact, non of the Amerindian languages are faring well in the face of pressure to use other languages like Dutch and Sranan.

As far as we can tell, Amerindian languages have been and continue to be ingroup languages in Suriname. Except for a trade pidgin that developed in the 18th century between the Trio and Ndyuka Maroons (Huttar and Velantie 1997), Amerindian languages tend to be recipients, rather than sources, of linguistic material in their contacts with other languages.

2.2 The English

The English are credited with establishing the first permanent settlement in the territory that would become Suriname, though their administrative authority in the area did not last even two decades. They had already begun exploring the Guianas in the 16th century and throughout the first half of the 17th century, the English competed with the Dutch and the French to secure an economic foothold in the Guianas (Sijpesteijn 1854, Goslinga 1971, Arends 2002:115, Carlin and Boven 2002:16, Meiden 2008). In 1630, for example, sixty Englishmen under Captain

Marshall settled on along the western Bank of the Suriname River, just upstream from modern Domburg, to grow tobacco. They reported that there were already some Portuguese or French in the area (Sijpesteijn 1854:3). The settlement did not last long, and Marshall tried again in 1643 without success (Arends 2002:115).

It was not until 1651 that a group of settlers arrived in the area of Paramaribo. Lord Willoughby, then governor of Barbados, equipped two ships with his own funds and settlers from Barbados, where they established themselves close to remnants of previous European settlement attempts and with the permission of the local Amerindians (Sijpesteijn 1854:7, Carlin and Boven 2002:18, Meiden 2008:19). Though the English settlers came from Barbados, it is likely that they originated in, or at least came via other English colonies in the Caribbean, such as St. Kitts, Nevus, and Montserrat (Arends 2002:117).

The English brought an established method of sugar cultivation and experienced planters and slaves from their other colonies in the Caribbean. They began to set up sugar growing operations right away without a typical phase of 'settlement society' (Arends 1995:237). Both indentured workers and African slaves provided labor in the English period, though there was still a relatively high ratio of Europeans to Africans between 1651 and 1680, from 1:1 – 1:3 (Arends 1995:259, Migge 2003:28). The English were augmented by a number of settlers of other European nationalities. In 1654, for example, a group of French were displaced from Cayenne by Amerindians; they were well received by Europeans in Suriname, which consisted of approximately 350 English at the time (Sijpesteijn 1854:8, Arends 1995:259). The settlement consisted of a large proportion of people with different nationalities, such as Dutch, German, and French.(van Lier 1971:38, Meiden 2008:13) which resulted in a range of non-standard, L2 varieties, and pidgin varieties of English among planters and laborers (Migge 2003:29-30, van den Berg 2007:6).

By 1663, the population had grown to approximately 4,000, slaves included (Gosling 1971:425, van den Berg 2007:5, Meiden 2008:22). Also in that year, the settlement was declared a new colony "Willoughbyland", whereby planters would be required to pay a certain percentage of goods to England (Meiden 2008:19-20). As a result, several hundred people left the colony by 1665, which by now had 40 - 50 productive sugar plantations (Sijpeseijn 1854:8, Meiden 2008:21-22). The new policies combined with infighting among the planters, slave uprisings, marronage and Amerindian revolts brought the new colony to a state of chaos, leaving it vulnerable to aggression by other European powers (Carlin and Boven 2002:19).

In February of 1667, Paramaribo was besieged by several ships and nearly 400 soldiers of the Dutch province of Zealand, commanded by Abraham Crijnssen. When the English refused orders to surrender, Crijnssen and his soldiers attacked abruptly. They allowed the remaining English soldiers to leave and settlers to either remain neutral in any further conflict with the English or to sell their property and leave (Sijpesteijn 1854:8-10, van Lier 1971:19). Willoughbyland was officially traded for *Nieuwe Nederland* (New York) and renamed Suriname, with the signing of the Treaty of Breda in July 1667. This arrangement was later ratified with the Treaty of Westminster in 1674 (Gosling 1971:426). English settlers who chose to stay were guaranteed equal rights in the colony under Zealandic administration (Sijpesteijn 1854:8-10).

Despite the obstructive policies of the new Dutch administration, many English did chose to leave, taking some theirs slaves purchased before 1667 with them (Smith 2010). Between 1668 and 1680, approximately 600 English and 1,700 slaves left Suriname for Barbados and Jamaica. Another 39 English planters stayed behind after the treaty of Breda and some of those who left later returned (Arends 1995:236). It is also a possibility that 'new' English arrived in Suriname after 1680 (Arends 2002:119-121). The English administrative influence did not end with the Dutch takeover of Suriname. They reoccupied Suriname from 1799 to 1816, during which a new group of planters established themselves in the Nickerie area and England abolished the slave trade in all its colonies (Arends 2002:126).¹

The linguistic legacy of the English is most notable in the etymological origins of the majority of the Surinamese creoles' lexical inventory. While English has not been maintained as a community language by any significant group of Surinamese, its influence on the creoles' vocabulary is paramount. Smith (1987:119) reports that basic vocabulary of Sranan and Ndyuka is approximately 75% derived from English, and approximately 50% in Saamaka.

2.3 Jewish settlement

The presence of Jews in Suriname possibly dates from as early as 1639, when there were apparently some settlers who arrived from Holland and Italy (Fontaine 1980:33). Meiden (2008:17), puts Jewish settlement beginning at 1643. However, it is unlikely that there was any significant Jewish population in the area before the 1660s. The first Jews often said to have arrived in the area came from Barbados in 1652 with the English. These quickly settled near Cassipora creek on the upper Suriname river and began to establish what would become the Joden Savanne (Fontaine 1980:33, van Lier 1982:19). According to Rens (1982:30), however, it is rather unlikely that any significant number of Jews came from Barbados. He argues Jews were not allowed to practice their religion in English territories and there are no records of Jews either living in Barbados or migrating from there to Suriname. He estimates that the population of Jews in Suriname was not more than 30 persons at any given time before 1665 (Rens 1982:30).

The next group came from Cayenne in 1665-66 and were later augmented by other Sephardic Jews from Amsterdam, Livorno, and possibly Essequibo. The English colonial government granted Jews a number of special privileges, including the right to worship, private civic guard, civil court (which could make binding decisions in cases up to the value of 10,000 pounds of sugar), schools, and 'churches' (Fontaine 1980:34, van Lier 1982:20). If the previous group had not established the Joden Savanne, these certainly did (Sijpesteijn 1854:4, Fontaine

¹ The slave trade continued illegally until the 1830s in Suriname.

1980:33, van Lier 1982:19, Arends 2002:118). It is controversial whether this group had previously been resident in North East Brazil (Pernambuco) and expelled from there by the Portuguese in 1654 (Fontaine 1980:33, Arends 1999, Ladhams 1999, Smith 1999). There is no evidence that Jews migrated directly from Brazil to Suriname (Rens 1980:36) and very little evidence that a significant number of those from Cayenne had previously been in Pernambuco (Arends 1999, Ladhams 1999), though Smith (1999) maintains that there was in fact a connection between North East Brazil and Suriname which best explains the Portuguese element in the Surinamese creoles, despite the scant documentary evidence.

Putting their origins aside, and whether they brought slaves with them, the Jews who established the Joden Savanne brought wealth and an advanced knowledge of tropical agriculture (sugar). Although their numbers remained small for the duration of the period of English rule (approx. 200), they exercised considerable influence on the development of agricultural techniques and the emerging creole languages in Suriname (Gosling 1971:425, Rens 1980:30, Fontaine 1980:34, van Lier 1982:19). Van Lier (1982:19) reports that many Jews left following the colony's takeover by the Dutch province of Zealand, although this possibility seems rather unlikely since they were recent arrivals and the English would not have been eager to assist them in relocating over 'their own'. The Dutch were well known as tolerant of Jewish people and customs, and they actively tried to prevent any natural born Englishmen from leaving the colony (Rens 1982:36-37). The new administration by the province of Zealand left those privileges afforded to the Jews by the English in tact (Fontaine 1980:33).

The Joden Savanne flourished in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. It was the most prosperous township in the whole colony of Suriname. By 1694, there were 40 sugar estates and approximately 9,000 slaves owned by Jewish planters. There were 92 Portuguese Jewish families (about 570 individuals) and 10 German Jewish families in Suriname at the time (Fontaine 1980:34, van Lier 1982:19). The Portuguese Jews maintained their own separate community within Suriname, though they mixed socially with other planters and had a favorable reputation before the mid 18th century (van Lier 1982:21).

During the French invasion of 1712, Admiral Cassard demanded an enormous fee to keep his men from plundering the plantations. Jews paid the bulk of the wealth to him and never recovered economically. Further, the introduction of beet sugar, economic hardships in Europe, and the rise of anti-Semitism in Suriname meant that loan capital was no longer available to Jews (Fontaine 1980:36). In the colony as a whole, those estates that did not keep up with their interest payments were sold off by bankers. The Jews were particularly affected by this and lost approximately half of their collective property in the second half of the 18th century (van Lier 1982:22-23) Many left the Joden Savanne for the economic bustle of Paramaribo (Fontaine 1980:36). The Joden Savanne was almost completely abandoned by the 1830s (van Lier 1982:19).

The Sephardic Jews continued to use Portuguese (and to some extent Spanish) until 'far into' the 18th century as an in group language as well as with their slaves (Arends 2002:119). The non-standard, L2 varieties, and pidgin varieties of English spoken throughout the colony underwent influence by Portuguese (and Spanish) which was more intense in the Sephardic areas (Migge 2003:29-30). The origin of this Portuguese element, its nature and the extent of its use and influence in Suriname's formative years remain the subject of much debate. Arends (1999), Ladhams (1999), and Smith (1999) all propose a number of hypothesis which differ in details (e.g. if any significant proportion of the Cayenne Jews were first in Pernambuco, if they were able to bring slaves along with them, or if a Lusopidgin or -creole was imported to Suriname), but all maintain that the Jewish presence in Suriname was requisite for the Portuguese elements found throughout the Surinamese creoles. Saamaka is known to be the 'most Portuguese' of the Surinamese creoles, with 35.88% o basic vocabulary of Portuguese origin (c.f. Sranan 3.7%, Ndyuka 5.04% Smith 1987:119-120).

2.4 The Dutch

The Dutch were also involved in exploring the Guianas from 1581, when they made their first voyage there (Meiden 2008:17). They made several settlement attempts 1610s and 1630s (Arends 2002:115). The first attempt was made in 1613 by 50 families of Zealanders who settled along the Corantijn River to grow tobacco. Their settlement was destroyed and all its residents were killed by the Spanish (Goslinga 1971:79, de Bies 1994:7). Some Dutchmen had also attempted to settle Cayenne in 1615, though they abandoned it quickly for the area that would become Suriname (Goslinga 1971:79). In the area where Paramaribo is now, a trading post had been established by Dirck Claasz and Nicolaas Balistel in 1613 (Buddingh 1995:10). Apparently none of these settlements lasted for more than a couple of years.

After the English had established its colony and Willoughbyland had been conquered by Crijnssen and his fleet in 1667, the freshly renamed colony of Suriname remained under the jurisdiction of the Dutch province of Zealand (Arends 2002:119, Meiden 2008:13). Although many English planters left following seizure of their colony, the English continued to play an important role in the colony until at least the end of the 17th century (Meiden 2008:13). In this period, the European population was mainly augmented with Dutch convicts, vagabonds, and orphans (Arends 1995:239). The Dutch also stepped up slave importation (from European to African ratio of 1:3 under the English to 1:12) and large scale sugar cultivation activities before the end of the 17th century. This demographic and economic shift intensified social stratification where out group interactions were limited to work related dealings (Arends 1995:260, Migge 2003:30).

In 1683, the jurisdiction of Suriname was transferred from the province of Zealand to the *Societeit van Suriname* 'Society of Suriname' whose share holders

were the city of Amsterdam, the Dutch West India Company, and the van Aerssen van Sommelsdyk family (van Lier 1971:19, Arends 2002:119). The Society survived over a century of assorted conflicts, economic decline, and ethnolinguistic stabilization. By the mid 18th century, the population of Suriname consisted of approximately 1,500 Europeans and 30,000 slaves, who were largely situated in the countryside; there were still around 700 to 800 people in Paramaribo (Arends 1995:259, Meiden 2008:14). An economic downturn would lead to an increase in urbanization of Suriname before the beginning of the 19th century. After the liquidation of the Dutch West India Company in 1791, the Society of Suriname lasted just a few years, dissolving in 1795 and transferring jurisdiction of Suriname to the newly established Batavian Republic (van Lier 1971:20, Arends 2002:126). Suriname was again lost to the English in 1799, though it was returned to the Dutch with the institution of the Royal House of Orange in 1816 and remained in Dutch hands until its independence in 1975.

Despite their role in administering the colony, Dutchmen did not form the majority among Europeans in Suriname until 'well into' the 19th century (Arends 2002:119) and their language had served only a marginal role outside official domains of Surinamese society as a whole until the second half of the 19th century (Arends 2002:124). In 1876, the Dutch colonial government implemented compulsory education policy, called *leerplicht*, whereby children in the colony were required to attend school with Dutch as the language of instruction (Buddingh 1995:228). Following the *leerplicht*, use of languages other than Dutch in schools was forbidden (de Bies 1994:7). A more general Dutch only policy was enforced on a large scale, particularly in Paramaribo from 1878 (de Klein 2002:213). Dutch became, for many, associated with upward social mobility and has been adopted by a portion of the population as a main language.

2.5 African slaves

Slavery has played an integral role in the Guianas since the first Europeans began their explorations and settlement of the area. Before the arrival of the English in 1651, slaves were primarily Amerindian (Arawak), though African slaves cannot be ruled out during this period. The oldest Saamaka clan, for example, traces its earliest ancestors to Marshall's 1630 settlement attempt (Arends 2002:116-118). The English did import African slaves into Suriname, though the numbers remained relatively low. They preferred a system of indenture at the time in their colonies in the Caribbean. In fact, overpopulation of ex indentured whites in other colonies was among the motives to colonize Suriname. During the English period, the slave population grew to approximately 3,000 individuals, double that of the European population, and that attrition rates of slaves were very low (Arends 1995:259, van den Berg 2007:5, Migge 2003:28-29). Following the Dutch takeover, the

importation of Africans would increase exponentially in order to meet labor demands in the growing plantation colony.

Arends (1995) was the first to systematically survey slave imports to Suriname and attempt to link them to African slaves' ethnolinguistic affiliations. His work, based on extrapolations of data from Postma's (1990) survey of the Dutch slave trade, suggests a number of trends in the relative numbers of slaves' origins over time that have later been correlated with linguistic developments in the creoles of Suriname (e.g. Migge 2003, Bruyn 2009, Essegbey et al. 2013). Since Arends' (1995) article, a new resource has become available for the study of the Transatlantic slave trade, namely the Voyages Database (2008) which is a large scale, searchable, online database that archives all available information on any transatlantic slaving voyages. In the following paragraphs, I compare data on the origin of slaves imported to Suriname presented in Arends 1995 with data extracted from the Voyages database.

A few preliminary remarks are necessary. Firstly, there are some terminological differences between Arends (1995, A henceforth) and the Voyages database (2008, Vd henceforth) regarding African regions. Some of these overlap with only minor differences, allowing for a relatively simple comparison of data.

- 1. Sierra Leone defined in Vd as "Rio Nunes to just short of Cape Mount". In modern national terms, roughly the souther part of Guinea and modern Sierra Leone. A does not address this region.
- 2. Windward Coast defined in Vd as "Cape Mount south-east to and including the Assini river". This includes roughly modern Liberia and Ivory Coast and corresponds with A's use of Windward coast.
- 3. Gold Coast "the area east of [the Assini river] up to and including the Volta River" in Vd. A's use of Gold Coast only extends to Accra.
- 4. Bight of Benin from the Volta River to the Nun River according to Vd. In modern terms, this refers to the eastern part of Ghana, Togo, Benin, and Western Nigeria. A calls Togo, Benin, and the western part of Nigeria the Slave Coast.
- 5. Bight of Biafra and Gulf of Guinea islands in Vd, "East of the Nun to cape Lopez", roughly Eastern Nigeria to the northern part of Gabon. A does not address this area, though his area defined as Loango includes Equatorial Guinea and the northern part of Gabon.
- 6. Western Central Africa according to Vd is the area from Cape Lopez to the Cape of good hope, roughly 'the rest' of Western Africa. This corresponds in part to what A calls Loango, the area from Southern Camaroon to Cabinda, roughly Equatorial Guinea to the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The search of Vd for shipments to Suriname also returned two unspecified categories with respect to regional origin of slaves, "other Africa" which provides no information about embarkation point or regional origin of slaves, and what I call "unspecified" where these fields were simply returned empty. According to the database compilers (Eltis 2013:PC, Vos 2013:PC), "other Africa" always refers to voyages that acquired slaves along the Windward coast, which unlike other major embarkation points required stops at a number of ports of call where only small numbers of slaves could be negotiated for purchase (Vos 2010). I have conflated the Vd's "other Africa" and Windward coast figures for comparison with A's Windward coast figures.

The database was queried for shipments with a principle disembarkation region of slaves in the Dutch Guianas (this also returned shipments to pre 1667 Suriname) and shipments that did not disembark slaves in Suriname were eliminated. In some senses the data is a bit messy, e.g. a shipment lists multiple points of slave disembarkation, but provides no breakdown of the number of slaves disembarked at each port. In this case, the total number of slaves disembarked was included in the calculations. In some cases of multiple disembarkation points, a numerical breakdown was provided, in which case only the figure for Suriname was added to the calculation. The regional origin of slaves disembarked in Suriname was compiled per decade ranging from 1650 to 1839. Raw results, some charts, and results tailored for comparison with Arends (1995) are provided in the appendix.

The expectation would be that the overall numbers of slave imports to Suriname would increase with the additional sources utilized in the Vd. This is indeed the result for all decades except the 1690s and the 1730s. The overall decrease in slaves disembarked in Suriname in these decades is 344 and 227, respectively, which could easily amount just two shipments missing from returned results of the query. This could be caused e.g. by shipments with a principle disembarkation area other than Dutch Guianas which did actually disembark slaves in Suriname or shipments from other places in the Americas or Caribbean. These anomalies are negligible among the overall slave imports. Major differences between A and Vd in the overall imports occur in the periods from 1650 and 1679, and between 1790 and 1803. These increased figures in Vd, 8,401 (174% of A's figure) and 20,508 (418%) are the result of the inclusion of data other than that included in Postma (1990), which was Arends' source.

Arends noted in his later article (2002:121) that the origins of slaves before 1675 are not known in detail, adding that there is some indication that Calibar (Nigeria) was an important source of slaves shipped to Suriname in the early 1670s. Indeed, data presented in A indicates that the origin of 94.6% of slave imports pre 1680 is unknown. The remaining imports are attributed to the Loango area. The Vd provides additional information with regards to slaves' origins, such that just 13% of imports are listed with an unknown origin. The remaining imports from the Bight of Benin (9.7%), Bight of Biafra (25.7%), Gold Coast (9%), and West Central Africa (42.5%). Slave imports in this period from the Bight of Benin and the Gold coast only began in the 1670s. Arends' mention of the Calibar's role in slave imports to Suriname is confirmed by the data extracted from the Vd. Additionally, the new information on slave origins pre 1680 will be of particular interest to those who invoke Mufwene's (1996) founder principle in their explanations of creolization.

In the latter half of the 1660s, both the European and the African population had decreased by two-thirds due to emigration prompted by the Zealanders' occupation, and increased death rates from an epidemic. The population began to rise agin in the 1670s and from the 1680s, there was a steady increase in both the number of slaves, slave imports and ratio of African slaves to Europeans for the next century (Arends 1995:259-260, van den Berg 2007:6-17 Migge 2003:30-35). Mortality rates of slaves also increased significantly from the 1680s due to the brutal nature of slavery in Suriname. This meant that newly arrived Africans drastically outnumbered locally born slaves; nativization of the African population in Suriname was extremely slow (Arends 1995:235).

Thanks to A's work, the general consensus is that from 1650 to 1720, the majority of known slave imports to Suriname came from the Slave coast (Gbe languages) and the Loango (Bantu languages) area and just a very small percentage (less than 5%) originated from the Gold Coast (Kwa languages, esp. Akan varieties). The Vd shows us that, in addition, there was a formidable ratio of slaves imported from the Bight of Biafra and Gulf Islands between 1660 and 1690, which means that additional African languages and possible early Gulf of Guinea creole varieties may have played a more prominent role in the Early Surinamese contact setting. The Gold Coast would become the major source for Surinamese slaves in from 1720 to 1740. In this time Slave Coast slaves were still well represented and Loango imports dwindled.

After 1740, the Windward Coast (Kru, Souther Mande, and Southern Atlantic languages) became a major source area for slaves, though Gold Coast slaves and Loango slaves continued to be imported in large numbers (Arends 1995:243, 278-281). The last major difference between Vd and A is in the final 13 years of the comparison period (1790-1803), when the Vd indexes 15,601 more slaves disembarked in Suriname than Arends. In the entire comparison period, total slaves disembarked in Suriname rise 27,695 individuals from A's number of 181,591 in the Vd, and for all years, up to 1830, the Vd provides a total of 221,776 slaves disembarked in Suriname. Despite this, at its height in 1775, the slave population was just shy of 60,000, and just before abolition in the 1860s African/Afro-Surinamese population did not exceed 40,000 (Arends 1995:259, Arends 2002:122-23).

The slave trade was officially abolished in 1808 in all English colonies, which also applied to Suriname, as it had recently come under the English (Buddingh 1995:179), though it continued illegally into the 1830s (Arends 2002:126). Labor to man the plantations remained a concern for the planters. With the end their labor supply, planters and the government took measures to keep better track and improve the well being of existing slaves. In the 1820s, for example, efforts were made to register all the colony's slaves (Budding 1995:182), From 1839, slaves could no longer be sold as individuals; families were kept together (Lamur 1987:39). In 1856, a bill passed in the Dutch house by which slavery was to be abolished in all its colonies (van Lier 1971:179). For Suriname, all slaves were officially declared free persons as of July 1, 1863, though they were required to continue working on a plantation of their choice for the next ten years (van Lier 1971:180-181). Following this period of government supervision, many of these former slaves opted to leave the plantations for wage labor in Paramaribo or engage in small scale agriculture, leaving the planters to search for a new source of labor to man their plantations (Buddingh 1995:220-222, Arends 2002:127).

With the increased importation of African slaves from 1680, there was decrease in both access to English varieties spoken in the colony as well as in motivation for Africans to acquire them (Migge 2003:30). As a result of this constant influx of African slaves continued to speak African languages in group contexts until the late 18th century (van den Berg, in prep). These Africans and their languages are also partly responsible for the formation of the creoles spoken in Suriname, though the early groups of Gbe and Kikongo speakers appear to have exerted the most influence on the emerging creole due to their founding role (Arends 1995:250, Arends 2002, Migge 2003:35, Mufwene 1996). Examination of data provided in the Voyages database (2008) tells us that slaves originating in the Bight of Biafra and Gulf of Guinea Islands were more prominently represented in Suriname's early years.

2.6 Maroons

As long as enslaved Africans were brought to the New World, some attempted to flee. Success rates for escape and avoiding recapture varied per colony. Suriname was among the most likely places where a slave could escape and maintain his freedom in the Caribbean. Slaves had been rebelling against their bondage, rising up, and presumably forming Maroon communities since the English period (Hoogbergen 1983:76, Carlin and Boven 2002:19). The earliest group that we know of, the Karboegers, was of mixed Amerindian and African origins and spoke a Cariban language, Kari'na . This group was already well established by the end of the 17th century. The Karboegers were protected under the 1684 treaty with the colonial government which acknowledged the rights of certain Amerindian groups, and were subsequently employed in the bush patrols intended to catch runaway slaves (Carlin and Boven 2002:19, Price 2012:12)

The Karboegers have long since disappeared, however Suriname is currently home to one of the largest Maroon communities in the whole of the Caribbean and South America. Generally speaking, massive slave uprisings were unusual in Suriname, though occasionally slaves did leave a plantation en masse, often killing the owner or overseer (Lamur 1987:17-18, Migge and Léglise 2013:76). Slaves often left plantations from time to time as a means of protest, staying for a time in the nearby forest, or to visit family on other plantations. This phenomena is known as petit marronage, and planters generally accepted this type of behavior as part of the system; usually these folks would return after a time due to hunger or some other factor (Hoogbergen 1983:77).

Those slaves who wished to remain away from plantation life permanently did so in several ways: to escape and join an already established group, to be recruited / kidnapped by an existing group, or to become established gradually in stages (Hoogbergen 1983:78). Marronage in stages, first involved the establishment of a *kapuwari* 'garden plot' where –mostly single men– would spend the days working, fishing and trapping small game. These Kapuwarimen were still heavily reliant on contacts with the plantations and sometimes returned to the slave quarters for the night (Hoogbergen 1983:78). The next step was the formation of small groups, not usually more than 8-10 individuals, who survived on the produce of their *kapuwari* and by hunting and trapping fish and small game. These groups would also establish shelters and provision grounds and shelters further from the plantations in the rainforest and coastal wetlands. Once the new provision grounds produced sufficient amounts, the settlements near the plantations would be abandoned – the final stage. Supplemented their numbers by relocating family still on plantations or by abducting women from plantations (Hoogbergen 1983:79-80).

From the rainforest and coastal marshes they would continue to take measures against plantations, raiding for supplies and new recruits. Marronage became a large problem for the colony. Planters relied on patrols of the colonial government to deal with runaways, and also took matters into their own hands, attempting to recapture or kill runaways with the help of their own armed slaves (Hoogbergen 1983:75) Due to the financial burden of fighting the Maroons, the colonial government concluded a peace treaty with three groups of Maroons, the Ndyuka, Saamaka and Matawai, in the 1760s. According to the agreement, the newly 'pacified' Maroons were to put an end to plantation raids and return new runaways to the colonial government. In return, they were to receive a number of essential goods on a yearly basis. These treaties effectively ended the possibility for slaves to escape to established groups, since 'pacified' groups were meant to return runaways, and the second cycle of Maroon groups that formed quickly thereafter depended on a high degree of secrecy for their survival. Many runaways were executed in the years following the peace treaties in an unsuccessful attempt to deter runaways by setting examples of those who tried (Hoogbergen 1983:76-78).

Group	Time of flight	Current location
Karboegers	English period	Extinct or assimilated
Saamaka	ca 1690	Upper Suriname River
Matawai	ca 1700	Saramacca River
Ndyuka	1712	Tapanahony, Marowijne, and Cottica Rivers
Aluku	Before 1760	Lawa River
Kwinti	ca 1760	Coppename River
Pamaka	1800	Marowijne River
Brosu	1820	Assimilated to Nddyuka

Table 1. Known Maroon groups, based on Smith (2002)

A number of groups emerged in the early history of Suriname. Known groups are presented, along with their approximate time of marronage, and their location in Table 1. The Saamaka and the Matawai, commonly referred to collectively as Western Maroons, fled plantations of Sephardic Jews on the upper reaches of the Suriname river, also known as the Jodensevanne, between 1690² and 1710 and initially formed a single group (Green 1974:31, Migge and Léglise 2013:77). The other groups, Ndyuka, Aluku, Kwinti, and Pamaka, fled at different time periods in the 18th century from the north eastern part of the plantation area, the area around e.g. the Cottica, Commewijne, and Tempati Rivers (Migge and Léglise 2013: 78-83).

The flight and isolation of the Maroons was decisive along cultural and linguistic lines. As each group left the plantations, they took with them a variety of plantation creole, which could then develop relatively freely from Sranan and influence from other languages like Dutch. Intelligibility between Western and Eastern Maroon languages, largely as a result of a higher degree of Portuguese derived elements in the former as a result of their origins in the Jodensevanne. Until relatively recently, Maroon languages were largely used for in group communication within the communities. Construction of the Afobaka Dam and the civil war, the *Binnenlandse Oorlog*, drove a large number of Maroons to Paramaribo and other coastal centers, causing wider recognition and the use of, particularly Eastern Maroon varieties, by non-Maroons (cf. Léglise and Migge 2006, Migge and Léglise 2013).

For additional information about the histories of individual groups, see e.g. Price (1983) for Saamaka, Green (1974) or de Beet and Stermen (1981) for Matawai, Thoden van Velzen and Hoogbergen (2011) for Ndyuka, Hoogbergen (1989) or Bilby (1990) for Aluku, van der Elst (1975) or (Hoogbergen (1992) for Kwinti, Lenoir (1973) for Pamaka.

2.7 The Hakka

In anticipation of the end of slave labor, the colonial government began seeking alternative options to fill the impending labor deficit on the plantations. In 1853, the first Chinese contract laborers (18 individuals) were imported to Suriname from Java. In subsequent years, up to 1870, several thousand workers were imported directly from China's Guangdong Province (Buddingh 1995:213, Tjon Sie Fat 2002:233-234). Poor social and economic conditions in Southern China provided the

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 $^{^2}$ 1690 is the year that these groups were first mentioned in archival material, therefore the nascent group must have been in existence for some time before warranting attention from the colonial government.

impetus for contract labor (Tjon Sie Fat 2009:67). The vast majority of these men³ were Hakka, a not entirely straight forwardly definable ethnic group, who were speakers of some variety of the Kejia language which is a dialect continuum related to the Min and Yue languages (Tjon Sie Fat 2002:239, Tjon Sie Fat in prep).

Most Chinese workers neither renewed their contracts nor stayed in the agricultural sector after the initial period of indenture. As a result, the colonial government ended indenture contracts for the Chinese (van Lier 1971:183, Tjon Sie Fat 2002:234). Surinamese indenture contracts did not include an option for paid passage back to China, and the vast majority stayed. It is estimated that across the Caribbean, only 0.1% of indentured workers paid their return to China (Tjon Sie Fat 2009:68). This initial group quickly established social and economic networks, engaging largely in retail trade and other mercantile activities (Tjon Sie Fat 2009:68). Due to the lack of Chinese women in Suriname, many of these men took Creole wives; it is unlikely that Kejia played any significant role in these mixed households (Tjon Sie Fat 2002:234).

From the time of the earliest Chinese immigrants in Suriname, Kejia was the prominent Chinese language in Suriname until the 1960s (Tjon Sie Fat 2002:236). In Suriname, a local variety of Kejia developed, which, compared to the baseline variety has a reduced tonal system, archaic vocabulary, and a number of Sranan loanwords (Tjon Sie Fat 2002 & Tjon Sie Fat in prep). Many ethnic Chinese have assimilated to Surinamese society and no longer speak Kejia. Resumed migration from the 1960s, and a third wave of immigrants from China, beginning in the 1990s, has brought additional Chinese languages to Suriname, and Kejia has since been replaced by varieties of Mandarin and Cantonese as the main Chinese language spoken in Suriname.

Although the Hakka imported to Suriname were rather insignificant numerically and perhaps ethnolinguistically, they formed the kernel of what would become Chinese identity and supported chain migrations from other Hakka in the Guangdong lasting until the 1930's. Preceding WWII, migration from china stopped & Suriname became isolated from China. In the 1960s and 70s immigration from Southern China and Hong Kong resumed to some extent, but as a result of the Cultural Revolution in China (to which the Surinamese were not privy) there was a certain amount of cultural and linguistic difference between these and the old Chinese in Suriname (Tjon Sie Fat 2002:234-236, Tjon Sie Fat 2009:66).

³ Just 3% Of all migrants from China in this period were women (Tjon Sie Fat 2009:68)

2.8 Indentured East Indians

After the inadequacy of the indentured workers from China, the colonial government continued to ensure a cheap labor supply to man the plantations following the abolition of slavery. A deal was negotiated with the British to ensure indentured labor from India in 1870 (Ministry of External Affairs 2000:223). The first ship with indentured workers from India arrived in 1873, and through1916, approximately 34,000 (male and female) laborers were shipped to Suriname from India (van Lier 1971:217, Marhé 1985:7). Labourers were recruited from a wide area in central and eastern north India, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Jharkhand (Damsteegt 1988, Damsteegt 2002:255). Approximately 17% of the migrants were Muslim (Buddingh 1995:215). Following their indenture, the majority of Indians (approx. 66%) remained in Suriname (van Lier 1971:8-9, 217).

Contract laborers were required to work on a full time basis, earned wages regulated by the colonial government, and were entitled to free accommodation and a plot of land for their own use (van Lier 1971:219). Children from ages ten to fifteen years old were required to work half time, which caused conflict with Suriname's educational requirement. An additional problem was that from 1876 the government required education to be given in Dutch. Special schools for Hindustani children were opened in 1890 to overcome the language barrier and scheduling conflicts (Buddingh 1995:229). The schools provided lessons in the children's own languages until 1906, after which Hindustani children were integrated into the regular school system (van Lier 1971:193).

The initial agreement included a paid return to India following the period of indenture however workers forfeited their right to a free passage home by settling as farmers. The government became increasingly interested in expanding its population, and in 1895, the colonial government revised their agreement to allow the retention of right of return despite a period of independent farming following indenture, but offered a premium of 100 florins to renounce right and take up residence and work on a government faming settlement, rent free for 6 years (van Lier 1971:234). Hindustanis (and to a lesser extent Javanese) were subsequently responsible for the expansion and economic viability of independent small scale agriculture, and thus the transition of Suriname from a large scale plantation economy in the early 20th century (van Lier 1971:221).

The Hindustani community displayed a high degree of entrepreneurship and the desire to get off the government plots and become independent land owners. They produced high quality crops for market and rapidly expanded their economic prospects (van Lier1971:235), though they remained relatively inactive politically until the 1940s (van Lier 1971:339). In the years building up to and the onset of the second world war, the buildup of foreign troops and a defense industry to protect against possible German hostilities led to rapid urbanization by Hindustanis, leaving the agricultural sector for defense work (Buddingh 1995:274).

In the area where the majority of Indian laborers came from, several languages, including Avadhi, Bhojpuri, and Magahi, are spoken and comprise a linguistic continuum. These languages mixed and leveled, forming a koiné, before extraction from India, resulting in a language which is not like any present day Indic language found in India (Krishna 1983, Damsteegt 2002:249, 254). Since there was no majority language among the indentured Indians, structures and forms common to their languages prevailed in the their language, Sarnami (van Lier 1971:217, Damsteegt 2002:249-255). "Simplification" is not a tenable hypothesis in explaining the formation of Sarnami. While some forms are simple compared to Bhojpuri, compared to Avadhi on the other hand, Sarnami is more complex. Non-indic languages appear to have played no role in the formation of Sarnami (Damsteegt 2002:261). Sarnami is an in group language par excellence which displays a relatively low level of prestige versus other indic languages such as Hindi and Urdu, as well as Dutch (Marhé 1983, Damsteegt 2002:251).

2.9 Javanese labor

While recruitment of contract labourers from India was successful, there was a growing opposition to Indian contract labor because the colonial government found it undesirable that such a large percentage of its labor force remained British subjects (de Waal Malefijt 1960:24). Being British subjects, the Hindustanis could theoretically undermine the Dutch colonial government's and planters' authority with complaints of mistreatment to the British council (Hoefte 1998:19). As a result, the government continued to look for additional sources of labor. The decision was made to tap the labor pool of the island of Java, which was part of theDutch colony of Oost-Indië and at the time had an extremely high population density (Hoefte 1998: 26). Between1891 and 1839, over 32,000 Javanese were contracted to work in Suriname, of which approximately 7,500 returned to their home country before the Second World War and another 1,000 in 1954 (de Waal Malefijt 1960:24, van Lier 1971:218, Hoefte 1987:3).

Conditions for Javanese contract laborers were much the same as those of the Hindustani immigrants (van Lier 1971:220). Laborers were contracted for a term of five years, and were to work six days per week, either seven hours per day in an agricultural field or ten hours per day in a factory. Employers were to provide free medical care and shelter & provisions for the first three months on loan, and paid passage to the home country following indenture. Contracts could be renewed for an additional year at a time for a 20 guilder bonus for each year. The government also encouraged Javanese workers to stay in Suriname with the same 100 florins and a plot of land to renounce their passage home (Hoefte 1998: 29).

Contrary to the Hindustani immigrants, Javanese did not flourish economically in their new environment. They had a tendency to be satisfied remaining on government farm settlements and producing only what they needed to get by (van Lier 1971:235). For some time, they remained the most 'backward' [achtergebleven] group in Suriname with extremely poor living conditions (Buddingg 1995:240-241). The Javanese themselves did not have positive attitudes about Suriname; many Javanese men reported being tricked into their indenture and women reported being sold into indenture (Hoefte 1998:31-35).

Like the other groups brought to Suriname, the Javanese also brought their language along to their new country. Due to the isolation of Surinamese Javanese from Java, a local variety of the Javanese language developed. Surinamese Javanese is an in-group language and its use is severely declining in recent years. Many Sranan and Dutch loanwords can be found in Surinamese Javanese, and perhaps the most salient feature of the language is the disuse of formal registers employed systematically in Java (de Waal Malefijt 1975, Wolfowitz 2002). There is also some evidence of morphosyntactic influence from Sranan on Surinamese Javanese. In particular, the Surinamese variety makes use of serial verb constructions for describing motion events (Lestiono 2012).

2.10 New immigrants and post colonial developments

In the years leading up to and following Suriname's independence from the Netherlands in 1975, fears that the country would quickly become a failed state gave way to mass emigration of Surinamese residents. In that year, the peak year for emigration, around forty thousand Surinamese left for the Netherlands, the majority of which were Creoles and Hindustani from the Paramaribo district (Choenni & Harmsen 2007).In 2010, some 345.000 individuals in the Netherlands were classified as Surinamese by the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics (2011).

A second major migratory movement within and out of Suriname was triggered by the civil war which ravaged large parts of the interior between 1986 and 1992 (Hoogbergen and Kruijt 2005, de Vries 2005). Amerindians and Maroons alike shared a similar fate: depopulation of traditional territories, war trauma, undermining of traditional political structures, and interrupted education. Violence and economic deprivation led to refugee movements to places such as Paramaribo, French Guiana and the United States, along with a renewed trend for emigration to the Netherlands. A large number of Surinamese Maroons left the country for its Eastern neighbor. This led to the firm establishment of the Maroon Saamaka and Eastern Maroons in French Guiana leading to a heightened cross-border mobility (Migge & Léglise 2013). The connections established by Maroons in Paramaribo during the war and the subsequent economic take-off in the interior led to an increase in ease and frequency of circular migrations between the interior and the coast (Léglise and Migge 2006, van Stipriaan 2011; to appear). One consequence of these demographic developments has been the establishment of patterns of circular migration between the Netherlands and Suriname for diverse motives such as business and work, family and leisure, and arts and culture. This has led to a transatlantic Surinamese economic, cultural, and linguistic area, in which goods, people, ideas, and, in particular, language practices are continuously exchanged across the Atlantic (cf. Oostindie & Schoorl 2011). A second consequence has been the establishment of Sranantongo as an important and highly visible heritage language in the Netherlands and its acquisition of local characteristics and influence on other language varieties in Suriname (e.g. *straattaal* 'street language', see Cornips 2004). Concentration of Maroons in centers in Paramaribo and western French Guiana has also been leading to increased contact and convergence among the various Maroon creoles and Sranan (Léglise and Migge 2006, Migge & Léglise 2013;chaps. 7-9).

A number of internal and external factors have led to new migratory currents into Suriname since the 1990s, most prominently including, Brazilians and a number of different 'Chinese' peoples. Chinese immigration in Suriname began to rise again in the 1990s, following the People's Republic of China easing restrictions on emigration. These new Chinese are non-Hakka and refuse to learn Kejia, while the Surinamese Hakka often don't speak any other language (Tjon Sie Fat in prep.). Brazilians are famous in Suriname for their involvement in artisanal gold mining. A relatively large number of Brazilians, estimated between 20,000 and 40,000 individuals, have entered Suriname since 1995 (de Theije 2008:152). Most migrants come from the northern districts of Pará and Maranhão (de Theije 2008:153) in what began as semi-legal, or illegal, small time mining operations in the interior of Suriname. Brazilian migration is a 'come-and-go' type affair involving largely undocumented peasants and labourers (de Theije 2008:152). Due to increasing settlement in Paramaribo, there has been a sharp increase in the economic visibility of other Brazilians who cater to the miners - sale of mining equipment, gold smelters, bars and restaurants, and brothels (de Theije and Heemskerk 2009:13). These miners, or graimpeiros who began to trickle into Suriname from the 1980s are responsible for the introduction of modern mining equipment, such as hydraulics bulldozers, excavators, etc, to the interior (de Theije and Heemskerk 2009: 14).

Recent waves of immigration into Suriname have further diversified the linguistic landscape. In some areas of Paramaribo, Brazilians tend to congregate in large neighborhoods where Portuguese is highly present in both spoken and written form. The Surinamese government has done little to introduce Portuguese as a foreign language in the educational system, the linguistic impact of this language on the Surinamese landscape is understudied. Some non-Brazilian merchants in areas heavily populated by Brazilians have taken it upon themselves to learn enough Portuguese for commercial interaction (Borges 2011 field notes) and some Maroons have also begun to use Portuguese at different levels in their interactions with miners in the interior (de Theije p.c.). New immigrants from China come from a number of ethno-linguistic backgrounds, and along with their own languages, they often use Mandarin or Putonghua as a lingua franca among them. There is a sharp ethnolinguistic rift between these new immigrants and the old Hakka in Suriname and the new Chinese have spurred a severe restructuring of 'Chineseness' (if such a thing exists) in Suriname (see Tion Sie Fat 2009).

2.11 Language development in Suriname: summary and conclusions

The various historical events which spawned movements of people into, within, and out of Suriname that have had an impact on the contemporary linguistic landscape of Suriname have been described in the preceding sections and are summarized in Table 2.

Event	Languages involved	Linguistic process / outcome
amalgamation and decline of indigenous populations	all indigenous languages	shift and death
arrival of European planters and African slaves	English, Portuguese, and Dutch varieties. Akan, Gbe and Kikongo varieties.	language creation, creolization
mass escapes of slaves	plantation creole	language divergence; differentiation of Maroon creoles. Saamaka, Matawai, Nduyka, Aluku, Kwinti, Pamaka

Table 2. Development of Suriname's linguistic landscape

Event	Languages involved	Linguistic process / outcome
institution of Dutch only policy in Education	Dutch	increased access and prestige of Dutch among the Afro-Surinamese (non- Maroons); divergence of Surinamese variety of Dutch
arrival of Asian and Indian contract laborers	Sarnami, Javanese, Hakka	diversification of Suriname's linguistic landscape
WWII economic turn	all Surinamese languages	increased access and prestige of Dutch among non-Afro-Surinamese; divergence of Dutch variety of Sranan
independence from the Netherlands and introduction of national politics	all Surinamese languages	expansion of Sranan and Dutch; convergence and language shift; increased access to European Dutch
the <i>Binnenlandse Oorlog</i> and subsequent urbanization patterns	Maroon languages	leveling of Maroon creoles in / around Paramaribo
arrival of new immigrant groups	Brazilian Portuguese, Hatian Creole, Mandarin, Cantonese, and other 'Chinese' languages	diversification of Suriname's linguistic landscape

The intention of this section has been to orient the reader with the complex origins of Suriname's ethno-linguistic composition. In the last five hundred years, or so, Suriname has been home to a number of ethnic groups whose languages are involved in a range of contact related linguistic processes, from simple lexical borrowing to the complexities of structural interference and creolization, and from language creation to language endangerment and death.

3. Language attitudes and practices

There has been no systematic study of language practices in Suriname. Several studies, such the census from Suriname's General Statistics Bureau, and Kroon and Yagmur (2010) have attempted to quantify language use, though they have largely noted subjective speaker assessments, i.e. what speakers think and say they do,

rather than what they actually do. These studies therefore, contain valuable information on language attitudes among Surinamese people. When Surinamese are asked about the languages they *use*, they name the languages they *prefer*.

The 2004 census of the General Statistics Bureau is the only census so far to list Surinamese households of all districts by language use. Households were asked to name the "language spoken most often" and the "second language spoken". The resulting figures are reproduced in Table 3.

Sranantongo and Dutch are the only languages that display large differences between the language used "most often" and the "second language". These languages also appear to display the largest discrepancy between actual language behavior and reported behavior when compared to ethnic composition in Suriname. Such high scores for Dutch as a home language, and low scores for Sranan, especially as a primary language, do not tally with the admittedly impressionistic observations I have made and those of other linguists who have worked on the languages of Suriname (e.g. de Bies p.c., Eersel p.c., Migge p.c., Yakpo p.c.). They therefore seem unlikely indicators of actual language use, particularly in the area outside of Paramaribo.

	Language spo	oken most ofte	n Seco	nd language	spoken
Language	Number	In %	Number	In %	Total %
Dutch	57.577	46,6	29.163	23,6	70,2
Sranantongo	11.105	9,0	45.634	37,0	46,0
Sarnami	19.513	15,8	8.121	6,6	22,4
Javanese	6.895	5,6	6.846	5,5	11,1
Maroon languages*	18.797	15,2	2.493	2,0	17,2
Others	6.501	5,3	4.030	3,3	8,6
No 2nd language**	NA	-	23.754	19,2	19,2
Unknown	3.075	2,5	3.422	2,8	5,3
Total	123.463	100	123.463	100	200

Table 3. Languages spoken in households

(Source: SIC 213-2005/02. Zevende algemene volks- en woningtelling in Suriname, landelijke resultaten, volume I, demografische en sociale karakteristieken (7th general population and household census in Suriname, national results, volume 1, demographic and social characteristics). Paramaribo: Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek)

* Named: Saramaccan, Aucan, Paramaccan in the census, **NA= Not applicable

Another recent survey (Kroon and Yagmur 2010) provides the top fourteen home languages reported in a large sample of primary and secondary school students across Suriname in a study supported by the Nederlandse Taalunie (the Dutch language treaty organization of which Suriname, the Netherlands and Belgium are members). They show that on average, children report the use of more than two languages in their household. Their high figures for Dutch and low figures for Sranan also appear to be inconsistent with impressionistic expectations.

Léglise and Migge (to appear) explicitly point to the attitudinal nature of the figures rendered by their recent survey conducted amongst school children. They also report the usual combination of unexpectedly high figures of reported Dutch usage and surprisingly low reports of Sranan usage, even after inquiring specifically about unreported use of Sranan. The figures in all three surveys appear to report somewhat more balanced scores for other languages, suggesting that people have strong attitudes about Dutch and Sranan. Dutch, as a highly prestigious language in Suriname is overrepresented among all three surveys discussed here, while Sranan appears to he known and used by the vast majority of Surinamese is highly underreported (see also Essed 1983, Charry 1983, and Eersel 1983). High scores for Dutch may also tell us something about the *perceived presence* of Dutch in multilingual interactions in households, which may range from the sparse use of single Dutch lexical items, light to heavy code-switching with Dutch, or monolingual use of Dutch. Similarly, covert prestige of Sranan means that its *perceived presence* within households is lower.

Another way in which Sranan and Dutch usage differ from the other languages in Suriname is that they are the most frequently used languages for interethnic communication among Surinamese, and index social distance, depending on how they are used and by whom (Westmaas 1983). The other languages provided in Table 3 are similar in that they are primarily used for in group communication. In some cases, like Sarnami, the 2008 census data nicely shows a correspondence between those claiming "Hindoestaan" ethnicity and Sarnami as a mother tongue in some districts. However, this type of correspondence does not work consistently for all in group languages or in all districts of Suriname. The data on "mother-tongue" background alone could allow the conclusion that Sranantongo is also chiefly an ingroup language. It also gets exceedingly low scores as a mother-tongue, namely 1% and 2% respectively for those who self-identify as "Hindostaan" (Indo-Surinamese) and Surinamese Javanese respectively. Even more surprisingly, Sranantongo even gets a low score of 13% as their mother-tongue within the Afro-Surinamese group - with more than 80% claiming Dutch as a mother-tongue.

Although a strong allegiance with Dutch and a symbolic rejection of Sranantongo as a primary language (cf. Essed 1983) may be typical of these two (peri-)urban districts, research in the district of Saramacca for example, revealed older patterns of multilingualism beyond the Sranantongo-Dutch axis. Quite a few people with whom Yakpo and Hannenberg conducted extended sociolinguistic interviews in 2011 claimed that their parents or grandparents above fifty years of age had a good command of Sarnami and Javanese although they did not self-identity as the corresponding ethnicity. Even though qualitative and quantitative data are not easily correlated, these observations demonstrate the complex relationship between language attitudes and actual practices and the difficulty researching them.

As a consequence of the respective overt and covert prestige of Dutch and Sranan, these languages function as "attractors", exerting influence on the other languages in a non-reciprocal or unbalanced way. Sranan and Dutch act as agents of change and targets of convergence and language shift, providing lexical items and structural patterns to both each other, as well as other languages of Suriname. The presence of Afro-Surinamese language practices and features is highly visible in the Sranan and Dutch spoken by all ethno-linguistic groups of Suriname.

For example, de Bies et al's Dictionary of Surinamese Dutch (2009) exhibits a large number of Sranan loans and calques. Since a large proportion of Surinamese history Afro-Surinamese language practices have dominated the linguistic space of Suriname thereby establishing a "standard-setting" role (cf. Mufwene 1996 on "founder effect"). Most people in Paramaribo have a good command of Dutch and the percentage of native Dutch speakers has increased substantially since the second half of the 19th century due to its increasing position as a prestige language and its institutionalization as sole language of education. As a direct result of widespread multilingualism in Suriname, however, other Surinamese languages have had an effect on the variety of Dutch spoken there (de Klein 2002:209). Surinamese Dutch is considered by de Bies to be the result of language acculturation within the construct of Surinamese society, and is particularly reflected in the lexicon of the language (1994:9). De Bies states "...Dutch in Suriname is still Dutch, although vocabulary is largely supplemented with words that are specific to the Surinamese context and culture. Overall, the Surinamese have enriched Dutch with their contribution" (1994:7-8).⁴

Many Surinamese speak Sranan as a second or third language on a daily basis, but will not admit to this when asked. Sranan usage is also expanding, but this fact is only reflected in the correspondingly high second language allegiance. Structural patterns from Sranan have influenced a number of other Surinamese languages. Furthermore, the increase in access to Dutch and its prestigious position in Surinamese society means that Dutch also exerts a demonstrable influence on most other languages in Suriname, including Sranan.

4. Conclusion

In its strategic and prosperous position as a plantation colony, first of the English and later the Dutch, Suriname has attracted many who either went voluntarily to make their fortune, or were taken to the colony to provide cheap labor. In this chapter, I have outlined the complex processes that have led to Suriname's current diverse linguistic landscape, which as Eersel (1983:169) notes, is still developing. Available information suggests that language attitudes and practices are at least partly responsible for patterns of linguistic variation and language change over time in Suriname. The remaining chapters of this work all address, some more explicitly than others, the relationship between these factors, which remains ill understood in the Surinamese case.

⁴ The original passage reads "...want het Nederlands in Suriname is nog steeds Nederlands, zij het dan dat de woordenschat van het Nederlands op grote schaal werd aangevuld met "woorden" die de specifiek Surinaamse context en culturen benoemen. Al bij al heeft de Surinamer het Nederlands verrijkt met zijn Surinaamse bijdrage."

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	Bight of Benin	Bight of Biafra	Gold Coast	Sierra Leone	West- Central Africa	Windward Coast	unspec.	total imports
1660-1669		1126			980		705	2811
		40.06%			34.86%		25.08%	100.00%
1670-1679	816	1034	758		2591		391	5590
	14.60%	18.50%	13.56%		46.35%		6.99%	100.00%
1680-1689	3460	1125	175		5095		417	10272
	33.68%	10.95%	1.70%		49.60%		4.06%	100.00%
1690-1699	3736				3049		220	7005
	53.33%				43.53%		3.14%	100.00%
1700-1709	5201		421		2111		834	8567
	60.71%		4.91%		24.64%		9.74%	100.00%
1710-1719	5035		174		1780		837	7826
	64.34%		2.22%		22.74%		10.70%	100.00%
1720-1729	4183		5008		632		417	10240
	40.85%		48.91%		6.17%		4.07%	100.00%
1730-1739	7009		9573		544	276		17402
	40.28%		55.01%		3.13%	1.59%		100.00%
1740-1749	478		1839		7193	5941	8281	23732
	2.01%		7.75%		30.31%	25.03%	34.89%	100.00%
1750-1759	752		7359	204	7344	9178	1408	26245
	2.87%		28.04%	0.78%	27.98%	34.97%	5.36%	100.00%
1760-1769	690		5570		15410	13434	1601	36705
	1.88%		15.18%		41.98%	36.60%	4.36%	100.00%
1770-1779	286	45	4587		8400	12849	654	26821
	1.07%	0.17%	17.10%		31.32%	47.91%	2.44%	100.00%
1780-1789			3803	296	462	904	97	5562
			68.37%	5.32%	8.31%	16.25%	1.74%	100.00%
1790-1799		212	4509	982	1069	597	742	8111
		2.61%	55.59%	12.11%	13.18%	7.36%	9.15%	100.00%
1800-1809	470	7056	2600	1716	4813	1834	4193	22682
	2.07%	31.11%	11.46%	7.57%	21.22%	8.09%	18.49%	100.00%
1810-1819	2.0770	624	11.1070	389	21.22/0	0.0770	10.1770	1013
		61.60%		38.40%				100.00%
1820-1829		01.0070		20.10/0			1192	1,192
1020 1029							100.00%	100.00%
Total	32116	11222	46376	3587	61473	45,014.778	21,991.402	221776
iotai	14.48%	5.06%	20.91%	1.62%	27.72%	20.30%	9.92%	100.00%

 Table 1. Slave imports to Suriname by principle region of embarkation from the

 Voyages database

		Bight of Benin	Bight of Biafra	Gold Coast	Sierra Leone	West- Central Africa	Windward Coast	unspec.	total
1650-	Vd	816	2160	758		3571		1096	8401
1679		9.71%	25.71%	9.02%		42.51%		13.05%	
	Α					260		4574	4834
						5.38%		94.62%	
1680-	Vd	3460	1125	175		5095		417	10272
1689		33.68%	10.95%	1.70%		49.60%		4.06%	
	Α	3854		325		4561		1032	9772
		39.44%		3.33%		46.67%		10.56%	
1690-	Vd	3736				3049		220	7005
1699		53.33%				43.53%		3.14%	
	Α	3147				2999		1203	7349
		42.82%				40.81%		16.37%	
1700-	Vd	5201		421		2111		834	8567
1709		60.71%		4.91%		24.64%		9.74%	
	Α	5587		657		1147		528	7919
		70.55%		8.30%		14.48%		6.67%	
1710-	Vd	5035		174		1780		837	7826
1719		64.34%		2.22%		22.74%		10.70%	
	Α	5020				1589		668	7277
		68.98%				21.84%		9.18%	
1720-	Vd	4183		5008		632		417	10240
1729		40.85%		48.91%		6.17%		4.07%	
	Α	2695		6261		251		380	9587
		28.11%		65.31%		2.62%		3.96%	
1730-	Vd	7009		9573		544	276		17402
1739		40.28%		55.01%		3.13%	1.59%		
	Α	5602		9462		1097	276	1192	17629
		31.78%		53.67%		6.22%	1.57%	6.76%	
1740-	Vd	478		1839		7193	5941	8281	23732
1749		2.01%		7.75%		30.31%	25.03%	34.89%	
	Α	478		1626		4941	3796	11093	21934
		2.18%		7.41%		22.53%	17.31%	50.57%	
1750-	Vd	752		7359	204	7344	9178	1408	26245
1759		2.87%		28.04%	0.78%	27.98%	34.97%	5.36%	
	Α			5125		5927	11959	2517	25528
				20.08%		23.22%	46.85%	9.86%	
1760-	Vd	690		5570		15410	13434	1601	36705
1769		1.88%		15.18%		41.98%	36.60%	4.36%	
	Α	320		6001		12686	14003	2517	35527
		0.90%		16.89%		35.71%	39.42%	7.08%	
1770-	Vd	286	45	4587		8400	12849	654	26821
1779		1.07%	0.17%	17.10%		31.32%	47.91%	2.44%	
	Α			4840		8193	11293	654	24980
				19.38%		32.80%	45.21%	2.62%	
1780-	Vd			3803	296	462	904	97	5562
1789				68.37%	5.32%	8.31%	16.25%	1.74%	
	Α			1165		500	2719		4384

 Table 2. Slave imports to Suriname. Arends (1995, A) and the Voyages database

 (2008, Vd) compared

		Bight of Benin	Bight of Biafra	Gold Coast	Sierra Leone	West- Central Africa	Windward Coast	unspec.	total
				26.57%		11.41%	62.02%		
1790-	Vd	470	4088	5205	2779	2510	1738	3718	20508
1803		2.29%	19.93%	25.38%	13.55%	12.24%	8.47%	18.13%	
	Α			1137		902	2652	180	4871
				23.34%		18.52%	54.44%	3.70%	100.00%
total	Vd	32116	7418	44472	3279	58101	44320	19580	209286
		15.35%	3.54%	21.25%	1.57%	27.76%	21.18%	9.36%	100.00%
	Α	26703		36599		45053	46698	26538	181591
		14.71%		20.15%		24.81%	25.72%	14.61%	100.00%

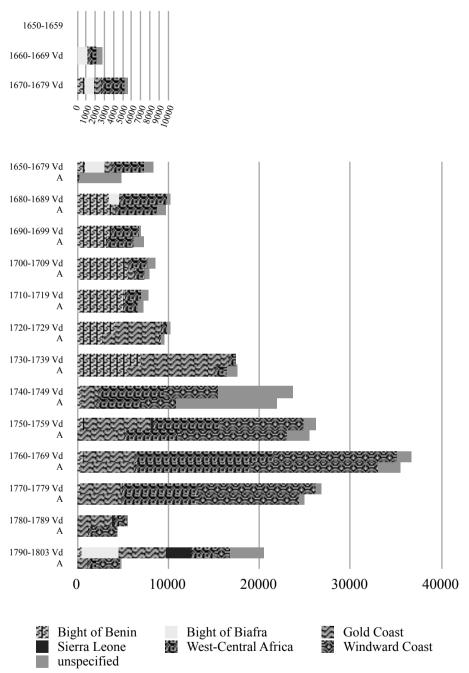


Figure 1. Comparison of slave imports in Arends and the Voyages database

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Kumanti: Ritual language formation and African retentions in Suriname

This article contextualizes and describes the Kumanti language, used by a group of highly specialized warriors and healers in Suriname. Kumanti is found among all Afro-Surinamese groups, though I focus on Kumanti as spoken by Ndyuka practitioners. The material presented here demonstrates that the Kumanti language is highly mixed, with grammar consistent with other Surinamese creoles and a lexicon derived from a wide variety of sources. I conclude with the suggestion that mixed ritual languages form a unique sub type of mixed languages.

1. Introduction

In both the academic literature on Suriname and in popular opinion, where there is reference to Maroon ritual languages, it is claimed that such languages are remnants of the Maroons' ancestral (i.e. West African) languages (van der Elst 1975:14, Stephen 1985:19, Pakosie 2000:6, Zichem 2003, Konadu 2010). Such claims, made without sufficient substantiation, echo those of early anthropologists, who claimed that Maroon societies were somehow carbon copies of cultural and sociopolitical 17th century West Africa (Herskovits and Herskovits 1934, Kahn 1939). More recent anthropological studies (Lenoir 1973, Green 1974, de Beet and Sterman 1981, Thoden van Velzen and van Wetering 1998, 2004, Price 2001, Thoden van Velzen and Hoogbergen 2011, van Wetering and Thoden van Velzen 2013) have demonstrated that Maroon societies have been persistently refined and developed. Price (2001:9254) remarks that "no Maroon social, political, religious, or aesthetic system can be reliably traced to a specific African ethnic provenience". Price's statement is surely applicable to language as well.

Discussion of African retentions are not unique to the Surinamese context. Other African American and Afro-Caribbean cultural and linguistic traits are also claimed to be African retentions. Worth mentioning here is the case of Jamaican Kramanti, which displays some common lexemes despite the limited data available for comparison. Other linguistic and historical evidence suggests a common origin with the Surinamese varieties of the language (Bilby 1983, Smith 2002, 2010), though it is not yet clear whether the two varieties originate from a common source elsewhere in the Caribbean or if the Jamaican variety originates from Suriname and was transported to Jamaica with the English settlers' slaves who left following the Dutch takeover of Suriname.¹ In any case, the claim for Jamaican Kramanti is similar to the African retention hypotheses for the Surinamese variant. Devonish (2005) states "at least one West African language survived" in the isolated communities of Jamaican Maroons and that the language "*is* an Akan language" (my emphasis). Scholars in Jamaica continue to treat Jamaican Kramanti as a West African retention (Devonish 2009, Harvey 2011).

Others who have worked on Maroon ritual languages in Suriname have stated their claims more carefully, e.g. Smith (1987:88), who says only that Maroon ritual languages are based on West African languages; in fact, in 1983 he found only 19 out of 108 items to have an African etymology (Labadie 1995:77). The main claim here echos Hurault's statement about Kumanti as spoken by the Aluku (1983:38), that the ritual language has no grammar of it's own; it is built on the pattern of ordinary Aluku and shares the same pronouns and verbal system. A description of Ndyuka Kumanti lexicon and morphosyntactic features will demonstrate that the language's origins can be traced to a number of contributing languages, and that these elements are unevenly distributed in a manner consistent with language mixture (Bakker and Mous 1994, Bakker and Muysken 1995, Bakker 2003, Matras and Bakker 2003). Additionally, the study of Kumanti and other ritual languages potentially provides us with evidence for a number of processes and features relevant to the understanding of creole development in Suriname. This point will be elaborated further in section 2.

It is not completely unwarranted that Maroon ritual languages, Kumanti in particular, are linked with Akan languages. Both the Kumanti gods as well as the etymology of the word, are said to come from Cormantine, a Dutch slave fort along Ghana's coast populated by speakers of the Akan languages Fanti and Asanti (Price 2008:341). These groups were in a position of power at the time of slave deportation to Suriname (thus more involved as brokers in the slave trade and less likely to be sold into slavery), making linguistic influence from these groups less likely. Akan slaves at that time likely consisted of Twi and Abron speakers rather than Fanti or Asanti and were less numerous than a number of other groups (Arends 1995:249). While Gbe and Kikongo languages provide the most likely linguistic input for the substrate of Suriname's creole languages, having been the dominant groups among slave imports in the early formative years and providing the linguistic basis for future imports (the so-called founder effect; Mufwene 1996, Arends 1995:253), it is not unreasonable to assume, given the peculiar nature of Kumanti as a ritual language, that the dominance of those West African languages which played the most important role in the formation of Sranan and Suriname's other creoles was less potent in the formation of the ritual languages.

Of the approximately 37,000 slaves recorded entering Suriname before 1720, just under a thousand (982) originated from the Gold Coast (Arends 1995:243). If not for the numbers of slaves who escaped and subsequently joined the Ndyuka following their initial formative escapes in the beginning of the 18th century,

¹ Smith (2002:133) argues against this idea on the basis that the part of Jamaica where those from Suriname settled was too far from the Western Maroons' territory and their slave population was too small to exert any linguistic influence in Jamaica.

influence from Akan would be rather unlikely. These late comers² to the Ndyuka scene however, up to, and following the peace treaty with the colonists (1760) would have allowed for the incorporation of features from sources besides the Gbe and Kikongo languages. Lexical evidence (Huttar 1985) and possible syntactic evidence (Huttar 1981) indicates that Akan languages have made a contribution to the Ndyuka language. Therefore the hypothesis that Kumanti is related to Akan (Smith 1987:88) cannot be immediately ruled out on the basis that there were too few Akan slaves imported to Suriname before the formative years of the Ndyuka (cf van den Berg to appear). However, it will be shown below that, as with Ndyuka, there have been lexical and morphosyntactic contributions from several other African and non-African languages to Kumanti.

Working with a Maroon ritual language like Kumanti does not come without a peculiar set of challenges for a field linguist. Even the most successful and experienced anthropologists voice difficulties in working with Maroons (Price 1983:14, Thoden van Velzen and van Wetering 2004:49-50, 263-276), particularly when it comes to sensitive topics like Maroon history, names of important ancestors, and religious and ritual matters. Given the histories of these peoples' deportation from Africa, flight from plantation slavery, then hiding and fighting to maintain their independence, it is not surprising that they would keep their most valued heritage from outsiders. Additionally, the status quo in Maroon information sharing practices is to tell a little piece now, and the next piece next time³ which further complicates research that must be carried out in a relatively short time. In fact, several informants claimed that a researcher should stay for several years if a proper understanding of Kumanti were to be attained.

Despite warnings of researchers familiar with the area that no Maroon would allow their ritual language to be recorded, networking assisted by professors Thoden van Velzen and van Wetering, perhaps along with a bit of tact and luck lead to several recordings of the Kumanti language in 2010 and 2011. In addition, several older recordings of Kumanti (2006, '07, '08, and '09), graciously provided by Thoden van Velzen, are included in this work which should be read as a scratch on the surface of one extremely intricate corner of the complex world of Maroon religion (see Thoden van Velzen and van Wetering 2004, Thoden van Velzen and Hoogbergen 2011, and van Wetering and Thoden van Velzen 2013 for more information on Ndyuka religion).

In section 2, I will contextualize Kumanti within the wider world of Ndyuka religion, describe the practice of Kumanti, and the context for linguistic creativity

² Some highly regarded ancestors are said to have joined with the Ndyuka quite late in their history (post treaty) e.g. Ma Susana (Thoden van Velzen and Hoogbergen 2011:259). Konadu (2010:6) also argues that the Akans' skills in war, political organization, knowledge of medicinal plants, and spirituality outweighed their relatively small population's cultural and linguistic influence among other enslaved Africans in the new world.

³ There are several expressions for this practice in the Ndyuka language, such as *ala nyannyan bun fu nyan ma ala taki nái bun fu taki lit.* 'it's good to eat all the food, but not to speak all the speak' and *ná sooi sama pe i kiibi yu podo* 'don't show people where you hide your gunpowder'.

and variation in the Kumanti language. Section 3 addresses a number of aspects of Kumanti's linguistic structure. The makeup of Kumanti's lexicon will be discussed briefly in section 4, followed by a summary discussion of Kumanti's grammatical features and lexical makeup, strategies for linguistic camouflage, and a comparison with other types of conscious language manipulation and another mixed ritual language, Kallawaya, in section 5. I conclude with a tentative typology of mixed ritual languages as a particular subtype of mixed languages.

2. Contextualizing Kumanti

Since ritual languages are not used for everyday communication, it is important to contextualize their position and relevance within the larger religious worldview, as well as the circumstances surrounding their usage. In section 2.1, an overview of the religious worldview of the Maroons (especially the Ndyuka) will be presented with special reference to the position of the Kumanti gods, followed by a number of specific traits of the Kumanti gods and practices surrounding their worship in section 2.2. Section 2.3 contextualizes the use of ritual languages within a wider proclivity for linguistic creativity and provides a number of details surrounding Kumanti usage and variation.

2.1 Maroon religious ideologies

The Ndyuka have a three tiered system of deities. The highest of the high gods is *masaa gadu* 'master god', also known by the name *Nana*, the creator of the universe, who finished his creation and departed to reside elsewhere. *Masaa gadu* has almost no involvement in earthly affairs and subsequently, there are no cults dedicated to his worship despite frequent mention of his name during religious activities (Thoden van Velzen and van Wetering 2004:28). *Nana* has delegated management of terrestrial matters to several of his underlings that Thoden van Velzen and Hoogbergen (2011:133-162) call *middelaargoden* 'mediator gods' such as *Agedeonsu* also known as *Ndyuka gadu* 'god of the Ndyuka' (god of fertility), *Sweli/Gaan Gadu* 'god of the oath / great god' (protective god against witchcraft⁴), and *Tata Ogii* 'father danger' (presides over the forest).

These *middelaargoden* occupy a superior position to particular groups of low gods; the reptile spirits known as *Papa* and the *Ampuku* forest spirits are said to be the foot soldiers of *Agedeonsu* and *Tata Ogii*, respectively (Thoden van Velzen and Hoogbergen 2011:133, 152). The relationship between Kumanti (gods associated with celestial bodies and prey animals) and *Gaan Tata* is less direct than the others, though there are a number of reasons to connect them. *Gaan tata* and the Kumanti gods are both said to have been transported directly from Africa, both are

⁴According to the Ndyuka, *wisi* 'witchcraft' is the main cause of human death. Although *wisi* certainly exists among the Saamaka, they attribute the main cause of human death to *kunu* 'avenging spirits'. The Kwinti Maroons claim to be free of witchcraft all together (Thoden van Velzen and van Wetering 2004:31). The underlying cause for these differences has not yet been explored by anthropologists.

instrumental in protection from various dangers and particularly adverse to *wisi* (Thoden van Velzen and van Wetering 2004:70, Thoden van Velzen and Hoogbergen 2011:147, 324). With the expansion of the *Gaan Tata* cult in the 1890s, the "old obiya" (read: *Papa* and *Ampuku* paraphernalia) were thrown into the river (Thoden van Velzen and van Wetering 2004:72), but the Kumanti shrines were left alone; the two are most certainly related (Thoden van Velzen 2013:pc).

This expansion of *Gaan Tata*'s cult extended far beyond the Ndyuka's traditional territory, with shrines established among the Saamaka, Matawai, Coppename Kwinti, as well as a reputation among the city Creoles in Paramaribo (Kraag 1903:44, Thoden van Velzen and van Wetering 2004:72). Maroon religious systems do not exist in isolation; Thoden van Velzen and van Wetering (2004:29-31) suggest a "wider ideological world" in which the religions of the different Maroon groups form a single cultural area. They note that during the *Binnenlandse oorlog*, Suriname's civil war fought mostly in the late 1980s, Ndyuka fighters had no difficulty using *obiya* 'harnessed spiritual energy that serves a particular purpose' from other groups.

Another important and relevant example of the spread of religious phenomena across Maroon ethic boundaries is Wensi, and (one of) his possessing spirit(s), Amanfu, whose prophetic movement of the 1930s, "a full-scale assault on the Cottica region's Ampuku shrines" is detailed in Thoden van Velzen and van Wetering (2004:177-194). According to informants in 2011, it was Wensi's assault that led to Kumanti's subjugation of the *Ampuku* gods who had previously been superior in the perpetual struggle between the two groups of lower gods (van Lier 1939:195). This shift in power relations among the lower gods spread to the other Maroon communities and is noted, for example, by Green (1974:247, 1978:260) among the Matawai Maroons.

2.2 Kumanti practitioners

Kumanti is best known as a cult of warriors. Not only do practitioners make the best weapons, but they are also superior healers. The Ndyuka and the Aluku are known among the Surinamese to be the best Kumanti practitioners, though other Maroon groups also know the cult (Price 2008:341). During times of turbulence, such as the *loweten* 'runaway time', the Boni war (1792-1793), and the *Binnenlandse oorlog*, Suriname's civil war (1986-1992), Kumanti practitioners were the most successful fighters (Thoden van Velzen and Hoogbergen 2011:324); their *obiya* made them invulnerable to bullets and machetes. Their superior abilities as healers are also highly sought after among Maroons and non-Maroons alike.

Although described thus far as a single entity, Kumanti practices are not uniform either across the different Maroon groups nor within the Ndyuka realm. There are a number of sub groupings of Kumanti deities associated with particular animals that acts as a vehicle for the deity (a possessed practitioner imitates the movements of his possessing deity's animal) (Green 1978:258). There are young Kumanti gods and more mature gods. Ndyuka informants also describe a major division among the Kumanti practitioners: the *Bifo* 'before' Kumanti, an older variant, and the *Amanfu* Kumanti, whose practitioners who follow the teachings of Wensi and his possessing spirit (see above). 'Like your Protestants and Catholics', as one informant put it, there are a number of differences in these two sects of Kumanti, e.g. preferred (clothing) colors (*Bifo* - Black, Amanfu - red) and initiation rituals (*Amanfu* is significantly shorter).

Unlike the other groups of lower gods, Kumanti initiation and spirit mediumship is elective, or as Lenoir (1973:93) puts it "entirely vocational". Not all men chose to become specialists, some only wish to maintain some sort of *obiya* which offers the practitioner protection from various dangers like bullets or knives, though the practitioner must strictly observe set taboos, *kina*. Failure to do so will result in, at the very least, the loss of one's spiritual insurance policy, along with possible retribution from the offended god (Green 1978:258, Lenoir 1973:131). Universal *kina* is menstruating women and anything which may have come into contact with menstrual blood. Additional *kina* are often required and depend on the particular god and protection sought by the practitioner (Green 1978:258). After a period of initiation rights lasting at least several months, practitioners can choose to become a medium for a subset of Kumanti gods (Green 1978:258), while other gods will choose their medium "out of love"(Vernon 1980:13).

Entertainment value is seen as a sign of Kumanti gods' ambivalent nature. Publicly accessible rituals are highly theatrical and may include songs, dances preformed on broken glass or fire / hot coals, and other demonstrations of the effectiveness of their *obiya* such as picking up / biting glowing hot axe heads and cannon balls, chewing glass, climbing heavily thorned trees, breaking glass bottles with bare feet, and self inflicted machete blows (van Lier 1939:195, Vernon 1980:13). The Kumanti language is also to be heard on such occasions when practitioners use their *telinen* 'count name' to relate their position in time and space to important ancestors, historical events and future generations. A *telinen* is most often very long and detailed in the first person historical narrative style of Ndyuka oral histories, stretches of which are untranslatable (the speakers themselves either can not translate or are unwilling to share such valuable information). See Thoden van Velzen and Hoogbergen (2011:259) for an example of the *telinen* of one important spirit.

2.3 Kumanti: occult linguistic practices and language historians

Commerce in religious commodities and the spread of religious developments are accompanied by the sharing of linguistic material, especially related to the esoteric languages associated with cults dedicated to the lower gods. Price and Price (1976:39) note that Ndyuka Kumanti practitioners draw heavily on the Saamaka language, and vice versa, for contributions to their respective ritual languages. Just as the cults dedicated to the lower gods fit into a larger context of Maroon religion, the ritual languages associated with the cults are but a few examples of a larger tendency toward metalinguistic awareness, and language manipulation and redesign.

Kumanti displays an apparent multidimensional linguistic variability. Informants and researchers (e.g. van der Elst 1975:14) indicate that "each river has it's own Kumanti". That is to say that, like the Maroon creoles, there are differences in the Kumanti of one Maroon group and another, though the varieties remain similar. Price's list of Kumanti words spoken among Saamaka (2008:341-46) was checked with an Ndyuka Kumanti speaker by Thoden van Velzen and approximately 80% of those lexemes were accepted. Informants also referenced Kumanti varieties within the Ndyuka system, whereby one variety, *tapu wataa* 'above water', was accessible and learnable to everyone who chose to take up such an undertaking. On the other hand there are also non *tapu wataa* varieties whereby acquisition is attained via the speaker receiving a possessing spirit. These informants also indicate that spoken varieties of the non *tapu wataa* Kumanti are dependent on the particular spirit i.e. non *tapu wataa* varieties are not homogeneous; rather they represent idiosyncrasies of particular gods and Kumanti ancestors. It is not clear however, if systematic linguistic variation exists between the *tapu wataa* varieties of *Bifo* and *Amanfu* Kumanti, or among those who venerate the different sub groupings of the Kumanti gods.

As mentioned above, variation in, especially non *tapu wataa*, Kumanti represents idiosyncrasies of particular possessing spirits and Kumanti gods. Bilby (1983:38-40) notes for Maroon spirit language in Jamaica that possession by particular ancestors represents the language variety of the time when that ancestor lived. One Ndyuka informant relays a similar notion with regard to Kumanti sprit possession in Suriname, adding that the language you use in trance is that of your own possessing spirit, but if you get 'deeper' sometimes you may end up with the language of that individuals possessing spirit. It seems, therefore, that an in depth study of Kumanti, including the language as well as a chronology when particular possessing spirits were living, could provide invaluable information about historical linguistic variables in Suriname. As an example of the type of historical awareness, the following anecdote is presented from my 2011 fieldnotes.

I was checking an examples from Early Sranan (Schumann 1783) with various people to see how they interpreted the modal marking and what the modern equivalent would be if it should be different. After putting it to several Sranan speakers (city Creoles and Javanese) I found that I usually had to provide a breakdown of the morphemes for informants to understand. When I put the example to one Ndyuka informant, probably since most of our work together revolved around Kumanti, I think he thought that I thought it was a Kumanti example. He replied quickly with a modern Ndyuka equivalent, and warned me 'but that's not Kumanti. That's Sranan from the time of the runaways.' 'How do you know that?' I asked. He replied only that he 'pay[s] close attention when [his] elders teach'.

Linguistic awareness, creativity, and adaptability are valued among Maroon societies. Young children in the Ndyuka village of *Diitabiki*, for example, are able to convincingly (as a non-speaker of Chinese) imitate the sounds, rhythm, and tonal patterns of the Chinese shop keepers living on the island. Young Maroons (mostly men) are also keen to show off their skills in foreign languages they have acquired while away from their village. Maroons also make use of ever developing and disappearing play languages known as *akoopina* 'secret play language'. An *akoopina* may be associated with a particular village, membership in a particular social group, or used practically, simply to keep certain information from certain people. While *akoopina* play a large role in Maroon societies (and are in fact attested in all Surinamese Maroon societies) by enriching one's highly valued linguistic

repertoire and adding further delimitations in the intricate bounds of speakers' social space, they are rarely investigated.

Mous & Haabo (2002:163) describe two such languages spoken among the Saamaka: the *p*-language, where every syllable is doubled and second syllable's onset replaced with /p/, and the *sk*-language, every syllable is doubled, the resulting first syllable's vowel lengthened & the onset of the second syllable replaced with / sk/. Price and Price (1976) describe seven such *akoopina* that they encountered working among the Saamaka Maroons along with their main means of creation, including syllabic/phonemic rearrangement, syllable or word repetition, infixation, and importantly, a foreign base for these operations to be preformed on, e.g. Ndyuka or French Guianese Creole.

(1)	akoopina: <i>mi 'pí ta 'pá wa 'páka 'pá</i>	
	Saamaka: mi tá wáka	
	'I'm walking.'	(Mous and Haabo 2002:163)
(2)	akoopina: <i>kóóskotííski</i>	
	Saamaka: kóti	
	'cut'	(Mous and Haabo 2002:163
(3)	akoopina: bobolologogo a wowololo bambalalata	ta
	Saamaka: mbó-u-gó a wóto bánda	
	'Let's go to the other side of the river.'	(Price and Price 1976:41)
(4)	akoopina: wimililiwowo	
	Saamaka: wómi	
	'man'	(Price and Price 1976:42)

Price and Price also suggest that *akoopina* reinforce certain peer group solidarities as do ritual languages and, importantly, the incorporation of foreign elements accounts for at least part of the linguistic camouflage in both the ritual languages and *akoopina* (1976:39). Thoden van Velzen shares a similar sentiment, relating Maroon ritual languages to *akoopina*:

A few decades ago a younger generation would develop ever new *akoopina's* 'secret play languages' to distinguish themselves from the common herd. Why would the 18th century Maroons not have done the same? The peace treaty negotiators noted that suddenly their Aucan counterparts were discussing things in a language they didn't know. (Vieira, one of the negotiators, who had grown up with children of slaves in the Commewijne region and therefore was a good speaker of Okatongo, as he dubbed it, couldn't make sense of it). Kumanti Vodú and Ampuku were other opportunities of setting themselves off from the common herd. (Thoden van Velzen 2011;pc)

Of the several types of language varieties created via intentional manipulation of linguistic systems described by Kiesling and Mous (2004:327-328), *akoopina*, as depicted by Thoden in the quote above, and by extension, the ritual languages, resemble antilanguages, though the latter also bear some semblance to guild languages. Both antilanguages and guild languages are sociolects, i.e. they mark the distinct social group of their users, though they differ in several important respects.

While antilanguage is associated with a stigmatized social identity such as street youths, criminals, or in the *akoopina* case, youngsters at odds with their (in their view) overly traditional environment, guild languages reinforce established social order and mark niche type positions within that system, like blacksmiths, professional hunters, and ritual experts. The two types of varieties also differ in creative mechanisms with antilanguage aiming at obfuscation as opposed to semantic precision intended in the use of guild languages. These points will be addressed again following a description of the Kumanti language.

3. Description of the Kumanti language

This section will describe the grammatical structure of *tapuwataa Kumanti* 'above water Kumanti', which is the register of Kumanti that can be learned by a person. Other registers (*Dipi Kumanti*) require that the speaker be in a trance. It was reported by informants that a speaker himself may not be able to translate or repeat what he has spoken while in a trance. Not all informants were able to become possessed, i.e. *abi winti* 'have winti', and it is less likely that those who do *abi winti* would share the deeper registers of their language with a *bakaa* 'outsider'. This combined with the fact that no data is considered from any informant while in a trance, I feel confident that what is presented here is representative of *tapuwataa Kumanti*.

As the reader will see in the following sections, there are multiple origins of the elements comprising Kumanti. Especially since many elements are of Ndyuka and older stages of Sranan, the question arises whether or not informants are code switching. Several arguments to the contrary. Firstly, during translation tasks I often pointed out lexemes that are identical in Sranan or Ndyuka; this was met with either strong disagreement – *nái foto tongo* 'it's not Sranan' – or assurance that it was good Kumanti – *kiin kiin Kumanti ai taki* 'he's speaking Kumanti perfectly'. During lesson style recordings, one informant in particular, who is well educated by European standards, relatively proficient in abstracting about grammar, and knew our interests in the language went beyond lexical information, produced examples with a similar style of mixing as the other informants. This suggests that the position of particular elements has been grammaticalized into a system which, despite many similarities, also displays some differences with the Ndyuka system.

In the introductory section of this chapter, I have claimed that Kumanti is not a replica of an 18th century West African language. But just what is it then? The rest of this section explores basic grammatical structures of the language which will allow for an adequate characterization of the Kumanti language.

3.1 Phonology

There are some important differences among the segmental inventories and phonotactics of Kumanti and Ndyuka. The consonants of Kumanti are provided in Table 1.

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal	dual art.
plosive	рb	t d		k g		gb
affricate			ty dy			
fricative	f v	S Z			h	
nasal	m	n				
lateral		1				
tap		r				
glides	W		У			

Table 1. Consonants of Kumanti

NOTE: Consonant segments are represented with the practical orthography developed for Kumanti. The orthography is used throughout this work. Segments appearing to the left of a pair in the table represent voiceless sounds, while those on the right side are voiced. Elements not found in Ndyuka are in bold.

Immediately noticeable to those familiar with /r/ less Maroon languages like Ndyuka, is the presence of /r/ in Kumanti. The /r/ is relatively frequent in the data. All voiced fricatives are relatively infrequent in the data, though informants did not accept reproductions with a voiceless variant. Also in line with Ndyuka, the double articulations do not occur with a high frequency.

The Kumanti vowel inventory has additional contrasts than the Ndyuka inventory. Vowels are presented in Table 2. Minimal pairs are attested for all non-Ndyuka segments (5), though it appears some amount of variation occurs with /e/ and $/\hat{e}/$ in variants of certain lexemes, e.g. (6).

Table 2. vowels	of Kumanti	
i		u
î		
e		0
(ê)		ô
	а	

Table 2.	Vowels	of Kuma	nti

NOTE: As with consonants, vowels are displayed with the orthography used in this work. Vowels with a circumflex represent open variants.

(5)	<u>în</u> iba	'come'	<u>in</u> ii	'each'
	<u>ôkô</u> kôlô	'rooster'	<u>oko</u> limpin	'hammok'
	sê <u>men</u> i	K. spirits '	sê <u>mên</u> twasi	'boat'

(6) (h)obutábela 'tobacco'

Long vowels occur word medially and word finally. Vowels /i/, /e/, /a/, occur in both environments, while $\hat{e}/, o/$, and /u/ are only attested word medially. Vowels /î/ and / ô/ are not attested in a lengthened form. Some (near) minimal pairs are provided in (7):

(7)	a <u>baab</u> iã	'hand'	<u>bab</u> alabêntu	'onset of possession'
	han <u>kaa</u>	COPULA	dyakodya <u>ka</u>	'loincloth'
	a <u>been</u> kuma	'daybreak'	benziê	'kaolin
	fiibanen <u>gee</u>	'native'	ôyêle	'kaolin'
	<u>kiim</u> blofuduampõ	'sailboat'	Okiminimi	'person
	Busukii	'god srt.'	bleki	'smoke'
	a <u>poon</u> yawé	'big kola'	grin <u>pon</u> u	'earth'
	duudru	'night'	kiindukoduampõ	'airplane'
	<u>duu</u> dru	'night'	kiin <u>du</u> hoduampõ	'airplane'

The most common syllable structure is CV, though nasals can occur syllabically in the word initial position or at the end of a syllable. Consonant clusters can occur syllable initially, and vowel lengthening and sequences exist. All consonants except /v/ and /r/ can occur word initially. The sound /r/ does not occur word medially. An /r/ can only occur as the second member of a cluster.⁵ Like Ndyuka, syllable initial clusters can consist of a homorganic nasal + obstruent. Obstruents may also be followed by glides word initially. Unlike Ndyuka, Kumanti allows obstruent + liquid clusters in both word initial and word medial position (8). The following combinations are attested in the data set.

(8)	#blV bleku	VblV	ablowa	VprV	kôprô
	#brV brobi	VplV	domplo	VdrV	duudru
	#srV srampani	VflV	afladu	VgrV	adankagri
	#grV grinponu	VklV	kaklawa	VkrV	hankra

In some lexemes, the liquid in obstruent + liquid clusters varies freely between /r/ and /l/. Additionally, there are also just a couple of cases of word initial /dz/, as in *dzamaampeéko* 'Kwadyu, king of the vultures'.

A full analysis of the suprasegmental system will not be attempted here, but there are several points worth mentioning. Both stress and tone play a role in Kumanti. Stress is not fixed and can occur on any syllable. Tone has two contrastive levels and plays some role in the structure of Kumanti (9); preverbal negation, for example, is accomplished as in Ndyuka by using morphemes with a high tone that carry a different meaning from those without high tone. Informants were careful to ensure that the researcher correctly understood where high tones occur on a number of other words.

(9)	á	NEG	а	3sg		
	ná	NEG	na	LOC		
	bóbo	'child'	bobó	'vagina'	bobo	'broken'

⁵ One speaker sometimes breaks up these clusters with an epenthetic vowel.

In the remainder of this work, tone is marked only where it is contrastive, or on lexemes where informants were adamant that it was noted correctly by the researcher.

3.2 Grammatical categories.

Kumanti distinguishes nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions, and possibly ideophones. Because there appears to be little productive morphology, grammatical categories in Kumanti must be identified by their meaning, relative position in a phrase, and occasionally on the basis of a word's etymology.

3.3 Nouns and the noun phrase

Nouns are not marked for number or gender. An overwhelming majority of nouns begin with *a* or o / \hat{o} , mirroring the vestigial Kwa like noun class system (Aboh 2007:81). These are not used consistently, i.e. both prefixes can occur with the same lexeme, or they can be dropped from the lexeme altogether (10).

(10)	atyuwa / ôtyuwa	'dog'
	aminto / minto	'stool'
	ôkôkôlô / kôkôlô	'chicken'

Singular nouns are optionally marked for indefiniteness with *wan* (11), from the Ndyuka indefinite determiner with the same form. Singular and plural nouns can also be marked for definiteness with the markers *a* and *den*, respectively (12). These are also cognate to Ndyuka determiners.

(11)	wan	duampõ	
	DET	boat	
	ʻa boa	t'	
(12)	а	nen	
	DET	name	
	'the n	ame'	
	den	bifo	pipli
	DET	before	people
	'the a	ncestors'	

Some (mostly animate) nouns and gods are preceded with an honorific title: *tata* 'father', *mama* 'mother' or *basi* 'boss' (13).

(13)	tata kobua	'drum'
	tata ôtyuwa	'dog'
	tata ôkôkôlô	'rooster'
	mama Akwapoba	'Ms. Akwapoba'

tata Înzilidankwi 'Mr. Înzilidankwi'⁶

Attributive adjectives precede the noun. In adjectival strings, adjectives of quantity precede others (14).

(14) ablowa mama old mother 'old mother' *iniiwan pipli* each person 'each person' *iniiwan dompo tata* each old father 'every old man'

Kumanti cardinal numbers are the same as Ndyuka numerals plus ten. In the following example, the Kumanti numeral *tinafo* 'four' is the same as Ndyuka 'fourteen' (15). This is also noted by Hurault (1983:38). No ordinal numbers occur in the data.

(15) *Tata ôtyuwa hankaa tinafo osònu.* father dog COP four foot 'The dog has four feet.'

Subject pronouns share forms with Ndyuka subject pronouns in (16):

(16) mi 1SG wi/u 1PL yu/i 2SG a 3SG den 3PL ibiiwan 'everyone'

These pronouns can combine phonologically with the following words. No object pronouns are attested in the data. Only first person possessive pronouns are attested in the data. Given the parallels between the Ndyuka and Kumanti pronominal system, it is likely that the third person possessive and object pronouns have a different form than the subject pronouns, *en* in Ndyuka.

Possessive constructions are formed by juxtaposition of possessor and possessed, or the possessed noun is followed by fu + possessor as in (17) - (19).

(17) ôbrofô dani white.man house 'white man's house'
(18) basi nana akrobi god child 'God's child'

⁶ Mama Akwapoba and Tata Înzilidankwi are ancestors in the Kumanti mythology, third and second generation, respectively, from the first humans.

(19) *Mi kôtôkoiboi fu mi dômpo tata anga mi dômpo mama* 1sGdescendent FU 1sGold father and 1sGold mother 'I am my father's and mother's descendent.'

3.4 The predicate

With present nominal predicates, no verbal element is necessary (20).

(20) *mi kôtôkoiboi* 1SG descendant 'I'm a descendent.'⁷

However, it is more common that predicates involve a verbal element. Kumanti makes use of two copulas, (*n*)*a* and *hankaa*⁸ (< Ndy. *ankaa*, Saa. *hánka* 'anchor'), which are in complimentary distribution. Na mirrors the Ndyuka copular form in both form and its semantics, only used to link present predicate nominals (21) and in possessive constructions (Migge 2003:69). *Hankaa*, on the other hand, is used in other contexts parallel to the Ndyuka copula *de*, as in (22).

(21)saafuboi mi а 1SG COP youngster 'I'm a voungster.' (22)hankaa mi minto na LOC 1SG COP stool 'I'm sitting on the stool."

There is also much overlap between the Kumanti and the Ndyuka tense mood and aspect system. No past tense marker has been attested, though as in Ndyuka, unmarked verbs, particularly non-stative verbs, convey a past interpretation. Kumanti and Ndyuka share the future tense marker o (23).

(23) *mi o sêêmba* 1SG FUT leave 'I will leave.'

Modality is marked with preverbal particles, such as sa 'shall', and mu 'must', which are also similar to the Ndyuka forms (24).

(24) *troki m- sa ndama* talk 1SG- MOD understand 'I'll (be able to) understand your talk.'

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⁷ The sense of (20) is something like, 'I'm one point in the line of descent, neither the first, nor the last.'

⁸ Hankaa has several variants, including (h)akala, (h)ankla, (h)ankra, (h)ankara, and (h) angwa.

Imperfective is marked with preverbal e as in Ndyuka (25). Like Ndyuka, e combines phonologically with other functional elements in Kumanti, notably 3SG pronoun and negation to ai and $(n)\dot{ai}$ respectively (see also ex. (32)).

(25) *y- e ke madasi* 2SG- IPFV cry thank 'You're thanking.'

Perfective aspect is marked with post verbal *brobi*. It is somewhat difficult to determine the status of *brobi* because of its infrequent appearance and because it always appears after *hankaa* in the corpus. Therefore, it is not certain if *brobi* would convey this aspectual meaning in conjunction with other verbs. It is analyzed here as an aspect marker (thus not a main verb) based on the translation into Ndyuka. Given the other parallels between Ndyuka and Kumanti TMA, it is not completely outlandish to assume that there is a perfective category in Kumanti, though additional data would certainly be helpful in solving this problem. The form is not an Ndyuka form and its usage, while post verbal as Ndyuka *kaba*, does not completely coincide with the Ndyuka form concerning syntactic placement. The pattern in (26b) is considered strange, if not completely unacceptable, by informants.

(26a)	mi	hankai	ra br	o bi na	minto	Kı	umanti
	1SG	COP	PF	V LC	C stool		
(26b)	*mi	sidon	kaba	na	bangi	No	dyuka
	1sg	sit	PFV	LOC	stool		
(26c)	mi	sidon	na	bangi	kaba	No	dyuka
	1sg	sit	LOC	stool	PFV		
	ʻI'm a	lready so	eated.'				

Negation in Kumanti is also accomplished with a structural parallel to Ndyuka, namely preverbal $(n)\dot{a}$, as in (27) which can combine with certain elements such as pronouns and aspect markers.

(27) *w- á mu sabalabasa-bu fanga biiku* 1PL NEG MOD mistake make? receive decline 'We mustn't make mistakes or we won't survive.'

3.5 Complex sentences

The constituent order of Kumanti is relatively fixed as SNEGAUXVO.⁹ There is some variability in word order, i.e. some clauses are verb final (28). There are very few cases of OV in the current corpus. It is not yet clear if a particular order conveys any specific meaning. It does not appear that OV constituent order is triggered by a particular set of verbs.

⁹ In other words, the subject is the usual first constituent in a sentence. Words that modify the verb, such as tense, mood, and aspect auxiliaries or negators follow the subject and precede the verb. Object phrases come at the end of the sentence.

(28) *basi nana akrobi mintua îniba* HON god son earth come 'God's son came to earth.'

Strings of verbs occur in the data (29).

(29) mi a saafuboi îniba klobidyani kôntôn fu troki na monti sie 1SG COP youngster come between bolster COMP sing LOC good way 'I'm a youngster who comes between (the generations) to bolster (my people / culture) that sings nicely.'

Coordination in Kumanti is accomplished with a number of elements cognate to those in the other Surinamese creoles (30) - (32). Noun phrases are coordinated with the conjunction (*n*)*anga* 'and'. At the clause level, *da* 'then' and *ma* 'but' are used.

(30)	<i>minta</i> earth	wô han COP		<i>dankagri</i> onfusion		0	<i>ôkumudya</i> evil			
	'Ther	e is confu	sion and e	vil in the	world.'					
(31)	te	bronsik	in abong	zai mi	ntua	abe	enkuma	da	troki	kaba
	when	sun	meet	ea	rth	dus	k	then	talk	finish
	'Whe	n the sun s	sets, (we)	finish tal	king.'					
(32)	tata	otyuwa	hankaa	tinafo	osònu	ma				
	HON	dog	COP	four	foot	but				
	а	nái	dablan	naningete	e tina	fo	amainsa			
	3sg	NEG.IPFV	walk		four		path			
	'The	dog has fo	ur feet bu	t doesn't	walk fo	ur pa	aths.'			

Locative phrases in Kumanti are introduced with what in Ndyuka is referred to as a general location preposition (Huttar and Huttar 1994:185) *na* (33). Unlike Ndyuka, however Kumanti PPs do not include a location word to specify the relation between figure and ground. Locative constructions are also employed in Kumanti in conjunction with the copula *hankaa* with the meaning 'be at' (34). This type of construction with the locative copula *de* exists in some Ndyuka idioms, e.g. *ana de a mofu* lit. hand at the mouth 'I'm eating [so leave me alone]', but would otherwise be considered awkward or ungrammatical if translated directly from Kumanti (see also ex. (22)).

(33)	1pl	COP		LOC	HON	<i>nana</i> god	0 1
	'We're	here on	God's gree	n earth.	,		
(34)	а	troki	hankaa	boobi	na	bũsum	а
	DET	talk	COP	PFV	LOC	people	
	'Peopl	e are tal	king.'				

Several types of adverbial phrases are attested in the data: interrogative (35), locational (36), and temporal (37). The temporal adverb *te* 'when' is cognate in Ndyuka and interrogative *hofasi* 'how' is an older variant in the Surinamese creoles

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(van den Berg 2007:253), though it is no longer used in Sranan or the Maroon creoles. *Gini* 'here' has no cognate among the creoles.

(35)	hofasi	hanka	а						
	how	COP							
	'How a	are you'	?'						
(36)	mi	0	sêêmba	gi	ni				
	1sg	FUT	leave	he	re				
	'I will	leave he	ere'						
(37)	te	bronsi	kin abong	gai	mintua	abeenkuma	da	troki	kaba
	when	sun	meet		earth	dusk	then	talk	finish
	'When	the sun	sets, (we)	finis	h talking				

Complement phrases are introduced, as in Ndyuka, with the complementizer fu (39).

(39) Tata ôkôkôlo troki **fu** abeenkuma father chicken sing COMP dusk 'Rooster sings of daybreak.'

3.6 Compounding and derivation

A number of compounds are attested in the data. Complex forms are considered compounds when the constituents involved are able to occur as independent lexemes (40).

(40)	Atekelebutiki 'paddle'	atekelebu 'back and forth motion' + tiki 'stick'
	osinaweiduampo 'sailboat'	osinawei 'wind' + duampo 'boat

In contrast, derived forms consist of one or more dependent constituents. In (41), several strategies are exemplified which parallel those of Ndyuka derivation in pattern but not form. Note that *-boi*, like Ndyka *-man*, does not indicate gender of the referent.

(41)	saafuboi 'youngster'	saafu 'soft', and boi 'boy'
	mlekuboi 'baby'	<i>mleku</i> 'milk', and <i>boi</i> 'boy' ¹⁰
	montisie 'nice way, nicely'	monti 'nice', and sie <fasi 'manner'<="" td=""></fasi>
	afladunuplasi 'safe place'	<i>afladu</i> 'trustworthy person' + <i>plasi</i> 'place'
	kwauplasi 'the village of Mainsi'	kwau '?' + plasi 'place

In Ndyuka, *-fasi* derives nouns/adverbs from other nouns, verbs, or adjectives. Kumanti uses an identical pattern with *-sie*. Some locational nouns, including a number of village names, are derived by means of the suffix *-plasi* (cf. Migge 2003:79-84).

¹⁰ This refers to a child who is still breast feeding, typically younger than one year.

3.7 The question of ideophones

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There is some evidence for a class of ideophones in Kumanti. Two lexemes are provided by Labadie (1995) which are similar in form and meaning to Ndyuka ideophones. *Fan* indicates the extreme whiteness of something, and *pika*, which indicates that an object is very black. *Fan* is an ordinary Ndyuka ideophone with the same meaning, while the Ndyuka equivalent to *pika* is the ideophone *pii*. Neither of these appear in the current corpus, though there is one similar lexeme *fantã*. Unfortunately, the environments in which this word appears would not be translated by informants which could provide evidence for or against the category by means of syntax, though they did provide *witi fan* 'very white' as the Ndyuka translation.

4. The Kumanti lexicon

Kumanti's lexicon has it's origins in multiple sources. While the main thrust of this work has not been to exhaustively identify the etymologies of Kumanti lexemes, many are easily identifiable and several sources can be helpful in roughly determining the composition of the lexicon. Price (2008),¹¹ for example, lists a number of words originating from several West African languages: Akwapem, Akyim, Anyi, Ewe, Fanti, Ga, Kikongo, and Twi. Of Hurault's (1983) list of 108 Papa and Kumanti words, 25 were found to be of Baule, Ewe, or Twi origin. Hurault identifies two Wayana (Carib) lexemes in his wordlist, *yeu* 'eye' and *kololo* 'bench', though no Amerindian words have been identified in the present data sample. The rest of the etymologically identifiable lexemes are of Surinamese origin, either Eastern Maroon Creole, Saramaccan¹², or Sranan. Interestingly, a number of the latter are anarchisms, i.e. lexemes attested in 18th century Sranan but no longer used in modern Sranan (van Dyk 1765, Schumann 1783, Weygandt 1798, van den Berg 2007).

The etymologies of Kumanti lexemes are distributed unevenly across grammatical categories. Elements with a high functional load, e.g. pronouns, TMA particles, and conjunctions are nearly all of Ndyuka origin. The overwhelming majority of content words, i.e. nouns and verbs, not Ndyuka. This distribution is reminiscent of language intertwining which leads to mixed languages (Bakker and Muysken 1995:41-42), where a language has the majority of its lexical morphemes from one language but it's grammatical ones from another. This point will be addressed in more detail int he following section.

¹¹ Price's list of Kumanti words was collected among Saamaka informants. Recall that approximately 80% of Price's lexemes were accepted by Ndyuka informants.

¹² Price (2008) also notes several words of Ndyuka origin in his Saramaccan Kromanti word list.

5. Discussion

In sum, the previous sections have shown that the majority of Kumanti's structure parallels that of Ndyuka. The structural composition of Kumanti is summarized in table 3.

Table 3. Composition of Kuman	nti
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structure / category	compared with Ndyuka		
phoneme inventory	Ndyuka + restricted /r/, + /î/, /ô/, and maybe /ê/		
phonotactics	expanded possibilities for consonant and vowel combinations		
tone	similar functional load (e.g. negation) as Ndyuka, and limited contrastive capacity in the lexicon		
nouns	not Ndyuka		
noun class markers	not Ndyuka		
determiners	Ndyuka form and position		
honorifics	use of honorifics on non-human / non-deity nouns not Ndyuka		
pronominal system	Ndyuka		
adjectives	forms mostly non-Ndyuka, Ndyuka position in NP		
nominal predication	not Ndyuka		
copulas	two copulas, one non-Ndyuka form, overlap with Ndyuka copulas' functional load		
verbs	not Ndyuka		
TMA	mostly Ndyuka, form and function		
negation	Ndyuka		
constituent order	Ndyuka and VO		
coordinators	Ndyuka		
adpositions	Ndyuka na w/o 'location word'		
derivation	Ndyuka patterns, non-Ndyuka forms		

Main differences between Kumanti and Ndyuka include several additional phonemes and expanded phonotactic possibilities, nominal predication, use of honorifics for non human referents, occasional OV word order, and the lack (from an Ndyuka perspective) of a 'location word' in locative constructions. The possibility of a fossilized noun class system was also noted, though this does not appear to be obligatory or used productively. The lexicon is highly mixed with an unbalanced distribution; the majority of content morphemes are of non Ndyuka origin, while Ndyuka contributes the majority of morphemes with a high functional load. No patterns of lexical manipulation have been identified as in the *akoopina* languages mentioned in section 2.3.

Except for these grammatical differences, the strategy for the creation of Kumanti was to pair African (of various etyma), African sounding,¹³ and other non Ndyuka content morphemes with Ndyuka grammar. If the non-Ndyuka elements are removed, Kumanti as such ceases to exist as a separate entity, leaving only a few structural peculiarities, while if the Ndyuka elements are removed from the system, the language would become unintelligible. Based on these observations, Kumanti can best be characterized as a mixed language (Bakker and Mous 1994, Bakker and Muysken 1995), more specifically, a symbiotic intertwined language (Bakker 2003:111-116, 125). Such languages are characterized by a grammatical system from one language and a lexicon from another and are spoken within the same territory as, and by a subset of speakers of, one of its component languages. Bakker and Muysken (1995:50-51) note that creators of a mixed in-group or secret language, such as Kumanti, will rely on the grammatical system of the immediate surroundings, the system they know best and that fluency in the languages contributing lexical material is not necessary.

Their assertion about speakers' aptitude in languages contributing lexicon is particularly relevant to Kumanti, since the lexicon consists of a trail mix of lexemes rather than a single source. There is some evidence that (at least some) mixed languages arise from deliberate manipulative efforts by speakers (see e.g. Golovko 2003), therefore it is worthwhile to reexamine Kiesling and Mous' (2004) typology of language manipulation with reference to Kumanti. While language manipulation does not imply language mixing, the two often go hand in hand. As mentioned in section 2.3, they mention two types of manipulated language that share characteristics with Kumanti, antilanguages and guild languages.

Functionally speaking, the lexicon in a guild language aims at precision beyond that of a layman, while that of an antilanguage is specifically engineered to obfuscate intended meaning from outsiders. Like Kumanti, they are both sociolects used primarily for in group purposes and delimit social boundaries and reinforce established social orders, though their manipulative strategies differ. Kiesling and Mous (2004:329) argue that anarchisms, paraphrase, and composition are the main strategies in guild languages, but are almost completely absent in antilanguages, which utilize truncation, morphological hybridization, hyperbole, dysphemism, and phonotactic operations. Except for perhaps dysphemism, all strategies noted to be

¹³ Several Ghanians who were presented with recorded Kumanti reacted by saying "it sounds like my language, but I can't understand any of it".

prominent in both guild languages and antilanguages played a role in the formation of Kumanti.

Given the high propensity for new language varieties to be constructed by antilanguage strategies (Kiesling and Mous 2004:329) and since antilanguages occupy a regular part of Maroon sociolinguistic space, with *akoopinas* being created by each generation (see 2.3) one possible explanation for Kumanti's guild and antilanguage traits could be that Kumanti began as a sort of early Afro Surinamese rebel antilanguage, and was later stabilized and incorporated into the developing religious system as a guild language of ritually prepared warriors.

Another mixed language called Kallawaya (aka Callawaya, Callahuaya, or Machaj Juyay), spoken in Bolivia, shares a number of important social and functional traits with Kumanti. Kallawaya possibly arose during major demographic and political shifts which led to large scale Ouechuization of native populations (Muysken 1997:429). Compare this with the slave trade and slavery which led a number of Africans to shift to creole languages in their new circumstance in Suriname. Like Kumanti, Kallawaya is used by an in-group specializing in ritual medicine. Although the input languages to Kallawaya and Kumanti are typologically very different, there are a number of linguistic similarities between the two. Kallawaya, like Kumanti, displays a high level of lexical admixture somewhat uncommon in mixed languages developed for everyday communication. Kallawaya's grammar is also loosely based on the local language (Ouechua), though there are a number of inconsistencies that are similar to Kumanti, such as phonological changes, semantic modifications, and word order fluctuations (Muysken 1997, Hanns and Muysken in prep.). Even this short comparison would suggest that mixed ritual languages could form a subtype of mixed languages, with similar social functions and formative processes.

6. Conclusion

There are many more avenues to investigate with regard to Kumanti and ritual languages. This work has described the basic morphosyntactic structure and the composition of the lexicon and demonstrated that Kumanti displays all the telltale signs of an intertwined language, with the majority of its grammar roughly based on Ndyuka and its lexicon derived from a number of African and non-African sources. A brief comparison of Kumanti with another mixed ritual language, Kallawaya, reveals a set of similarities suggesting mixed ritual language may form a specific subtype of mixed languages. These characteristics are compared in Table 4. Kumanti also makes use of strategies that overlap several types of consciously manipulated languages, possibly indicative of stages of a developmental cycle from antilanguage to guild language. The continued study of Kumanti and other ritual and secret languages are invaluable to refine our understandings of both types of language intertwining and processes of creative manipulation in their formation.

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ritual	non-ritual
grammatical 'mirror' of a local language	rough grammatical correspondences between ritual language and a local language
one grammar contributor language and one lexicon contributor language	one grammar contributor language and a high degree of lexical admixture and semantic manipulations
new language used primarily for communication	(perceived as) an ancestral variety as a primary means of maintaining a degree of secrecy

Appendix: Selected Kumanti word list

a	 third person singular subject pronoun < SU creole definite article < SU creole COPULA 	
4		
á	preverbal negation marker	
abaabiã	hand	
abaita	big shell called Kola from the sea	
abeenkuma	daybreak	
ablabia	good day	
ablowa	old	
abrôfô	white man < Twi: <i>borôfo</i> - white people	
abongai	1. meet	
	2. hammock	
abuwe	to fall on the ground $<$ Twi: bu -to fall off	
adankagri	confusion	
adowé	outsider < Ndy: <i>a doo se</i> - outside	
adyaíni	jaguar or puma; the deity that uses 'tigii' as a vessel	
adyálawa	type of rattle used in a Kumanti play	
adyamisimidasi	please < Ndy: a de ya mi si mi it's here, I see, I	
2	< Twi: <i>ndasi</i> - thank	
adyasu	rabbit	
adyema	sickness	
afaná	machete < Twi: <i>afana</i> - sword	
afia	trust	
afiimun	ankle band with obia in it	
afladu	friend, trustworthy person	
afladunuplace	haven	
aflan	machete	
aflang	to cut (off)	
aflangawo	bush rum	
afofi	tobacco	
afofia	tabacco box	
afradutongo	non human speach during spirit possession	
agódu	drinking calabash	
agónkima	friend	
akankantua	outsider	
akasá	gunpowder	
akáusu	Kumanti broom	
akema	drum < Twi: ôkyerema -drummer	
akésua	egg < Twi: kosua -egg	
akrobi	child	
akrowa	rice	
akukúa	paddle	
	daughther of Mama Okiminimi and Tata Izikidankwi	
Akwapoba alinka	6	
	sweet	
aluwê	tiger	

ámawô	Leftover cloth from the clothes of the loweman, a
, .	certain type of cotton used to make Obia.
amaíni	spear, point of a spear, rice
amainsa	path
amainsawo	path to <i>dedekondre</i> 'land of the dead'
amaulî	tiger
améku	woman
amékuboi	daughter, young woman
amélia	young woman
améosu	smoke, fire
a'mînsu	ash < Twi: <i>nso</i> -ash
amintó	stool
ampê(n)	central pillar in a Kumanti shrine
ampuna	tobacco in a pipe, smoking pipe < Twi?: <i>abua</i> -pipe
Anana	Masaa gadu
ándo	young man, age mate
andya	Kumanti tree
anga	and \leq SU creole
animbáw	cemetery
ankama	axe
ankumáno	obia
antama	white piece of fabric worn as a loincloth
anumá	angel
anyenkómu	son of god < Twi?: agyenkwa -savior
apoonyawé	big kola
asamaká(n)	money
asamándo	world where the Yooka (ancestors) live < Twi:
	saman -ghost, spirit
Asinibobwe	Daughter of Mama Okiminimi andd Tata
	Izilidangkwi
asóónu	foot
asyandanalikamawebũsũ	Lawa river
atekelebu	back and forth motion
atekelebutiki	paddle
awidya	ritual broom
ayêmbu	vexed
ayêmpẽ	sharp thing < English: <i>iron pin</i>
ayenkudaí	jaguar
azámadadi	firefly
azeáá	clothing made from forest material
babalabêntu	the first manifestation of Obia, the onset of
	possession
badibó	Kumanti
badyabadya	quickly < Twi: bagya -four footed animal
balúa	dead
bantifó	1) Kumanti spirits
	2) ancestor

basi	boss < SU creole
be	past tense morpheme < SU creole
	kaolin
benzie bidámi	bench
bifo	before < SU creole
bika	because < SU creole
bleki	smoke
blèku	round
blibla	foot, leg
Blodiyee	The one who prepares Obia in Moitaki village
bobi	belief
bobo	broken < Twi: <i>bubu</i> -to be broken by hardships
bobó	vagina
bóbo	child
bofó	outsider < Twi: ôbofo -destroyer, mischievous
	person
-boi	young person, the doer or possessor of the noun
	stem
bombo	wife
bosokolobowiê	the god called Dyebi
brobi	already
bronsikin	sun < English <i>burn skin</i>
Bunsukii	a god from the Bantifo pantheon
bũsũ	water < Twi: <i>nsuo</i> -water
bũsuma	people < SU creole <i>bun suma</i> - good people
busiman	runaway < SU creole: busiman -lit. forest person
busúú	water < Twi: <i>nsuo</i> -water
buwé	Papagadu snake
da	then
dablamaningête	to walk
dablamaningêtekumini	to walk
dadi	moon
dama	hear
dani	house, place, setting < Twi: ôdani - house
danifo	house < Twi: ôdani - house
dankagri	confusion
dasi	thank < Twi: <i>ndasi</i> - thank
den	1. third person pronoun < SU creole
	2. definite plural article
dînta	light
domplohablowa	old man
domplomama	old woman
domplotata	old man
dômp(l)o	old, big < Twi: ôdomfo -kind person
donsá	obia, medicine
duámbo	boat
duampõ	boat
uuumpo	oout

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duanfran boat duudru forest, night dvadodvaka loincloth worn by adult males dvaki beard dyankulunie the man who prepares (ritual) herbs dvima tobacco Dzamaampeéko Kwadyu, king of the vultures IMPERFECTIVE marker e faka knife fang very white < Ndyuka: fang -very white fanga receive februagi fire fiibanengee natives one of the children of Mama Okiminimi and tata fowleiiawayawando Înzilidankwi fu 1. used to link possessor and possessed 2. complementizer here gini goonpliki penis grinponu earth grontapu earth 1. fire hadva 2. medicinal plant tobacco in a cigaret hampona hankaa copula hantroki to smoke rifle hantuwe hofasi how < Early Sranan: *hoefasi* -how second person pronoun i sopi (type of rum) ienza come < Twi: *ba* - come îniba each inii iniiwan each inzii iron înzilitankwi son of mama Okite and tata Kuntai iyamudadipantanplan sun kaba to finish kaklawa finished kama axe kamandadi pieces kangwi star kapi ship kapiduali slave ship katáasu hunting sack kataki heart Kentînmausu Alalu kibongola sparkle

sailboat kiimblofuduampõ kiinbaafuduampõ sailboat kinduhoduampõ airplane klobidvani between kobua drum koko head hen < Twi okókolo - rooster kôkôlo African born slave kolonton konfo priest bolster < English *come strong* kôntôn kontonbafuando several koontiki curved stick that acts as a resting place for the Bantifo spirits kôtôkoiboi voungster Kwadyu Kramasu kuku paddle Biblical Adam Kuntai kutuku belly kwantaki breath Kwauplasi the village of Mainsi la glass lîlîntîn strings first person singular pronoun mma but The god called Tebu Madomalía tobacco maíndyima mother mama The village of Gaanboli Mamadòògoon mamalava sparkle mamiyé to eat mamsatiki reed Mamuna the village of Kondi manfuabobai warship mantîn stick in a weaving loom sugar cane manzatiki matándu egg yolk matu thorn -mawe big place Mbenpenimausu Alalu first person singular pronoun mi mîntaini earth earth mintawo stool minto mintuwa earth daughter of mama Okiminimi and tata Izilidankwi Miziê mlekuboi baby the village of Moitaki Monimatrokigoon

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monti nice montisie nicelv munsukumudvima rain mutuamutua source locative preposition na ná preverbal negation marker naki knock < SU creole nana 1. Masaa gadu 2. female Kumanti tree nanamu ancestors and < Sranan: nanga -and nanga ndama hear <Twi: dam -to be heard neen then \leq SU creole: neen -then name < SU creole nen vulture nyankatabina future < SU creole 0 obia protection from guns and machetes obêngeleblikiti obingèlè broken bottle obogini trash heap obolowá old woman: earth mother ôbrofô white man < Twi: ôburoni -white man obutábela tobacco odáni house tree with whitish bark that Busunki uses as a throne odufankáiya silk cotton tree ofiyabendi parrot ôfiyakotoyakandai loincloth worn by adult males Okiminimi the daugter od mama Okite and tata Kuntai Okite Eve (biblical sense) ôkôkôlô rooster okolinpin hammock ôkôntôafambudvíma six nations of Kumanti okontonklèmu old rusty rifle okrobosi stone ôkumudya evil okusukwamala the first man that the Dyu lo knew; gaanda Kumanti okusumantafodai Dyebi ôntôlô gun ôntonu gun ontronukansámbli gun ontuô gun first person plural pronoun onu modern day rum onumukunumuanuasategunte finished opoku osêsenananbêtekumandyande Masaa gadu wind ôsinawei ôsinaweiduampô sailboat

osònu	foot
	apinti
otaksankamafukonatuataaya	-
otinfudiamwapinpintwadyani	Dyebi
otitiyî otoklo	to sip fire fly
	fire fly
ôtramblêdyu	beer
ôtyuwa ovudabukafutakalaseudyani	dog
	propeller kaolin
ôyêle pakwê	ears
palasi	village < Du: <i>plaats</i> - place
pamudyakadyande	loincloth worn by adult males
pasini	cassava
pika	very black
·	person < Early Sranan: <i>pipli</i> - peolple
pipli plasi	village < Du: <i>plaats</i> - place
sa	irrealis modal morpheme < SU creole
sabalabasa	deminish
saafuboi	youngster
sawa	wash
sêêmba	to go
sêmení	Kumanti spirits collectively
sêmêntwasi	boat
sêpetu	seed
sêwênu	seaboat
si	to see < SU creole
sie	way < SU creole <i>fasi</i> - way
siisímamba	pleasure
singa	to pull
srampani	chat
súami	Kumanti charm worn on the calf.
tando	ancestors
tata	father
troki	to sing
tyobo	dirty, trash \leq SU creole
tyofi	little
tyofie	a little
umudya	evil
utupanusalanungête	ears
vulá	ears
wan	indefinite article
wawố	drunk
wi	first person plural pronoun
-WO	away, in the sense of 'pass away'
yawalú	tongues
yeyek	ears
yôko	sick

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yóó	eye
yu	second person singular pronoun
zinkó	important ancestors

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Linguistic Archaeology, Kinship Terms, and Language Contact in Suriname

As a relatively young linguistic area, Suriname offers great possibilities for understanding the processes that produce complex outcomes of language contact. In this article, directionality, mechanisms, and relative chronology of contact-induced changes are reconstructed by examining synchronic variation and diachronic changes in the semantics of kinship terminology for a sample of Surinamese languages.

1. Introduction¹

As the smallest country in South America, and with nearly the lowest population density on the continent, Suriname has a relatively wide range of cultural and linguistic variation. It is not surprising that a history of multiple colonizers, slavery, and indentured labor, in addition to several viable indigenous population groups, would lead to such extreme diversity as one can observe in modern Suriname. With no less than sixteen distinct languages of significant typological diversity, one finds a high degree of multilingualism and substantial interaction among various cultural and linguistic groups while individual group identity is largely maintained. This, unsurprisingly, has consequences for the languages involved. These consequences are the subject of this article.

Suriname, particularly the area in and around Paramaribo, fits definitions of a linguistic area (Thomason 2000:311-16, 2001:99; Muysken 2008), albeit a relatively young one. In order to qualify as a linguistic area, there must be a number of (at least three) unrelated languages that share a common geographic area that have been in sufficiently intimate contact to result in shared structural features. While it is not necessary that all languages in the area are un- related, or that all shared features are found in every language in the area, it is crucial that shared features are structural

¹ Abbreviations: DuAN, European Dutch; DuFd, Surinamese Dutch field data; DuSéw, Dutch according to Séwel (1691); DuSur, Surinamese Dutch; Ndy, Ndyuka; NdyFd, Ndyuka field data; SarFd, Sarnami field data; SarSil, Sarnami according to the Summer Institute of Linguistics; SarSN, Sarnami according to Santokhi and Nienhuis (2004); SraFd, Sranan field data; SraBD, Sranan according to Blanker and Dubbledam (2005); SravD, Sranan according to van Dyk (1765); SraSch, Sranan according to Schumann (1783);SraSil, Sranan according to the Summer Institute of Linguistics; SraWey, Sranan according to Weygandt (1798).

rather than lexical.² Table 1 details the languages and shared features involved in five well studied linguistic areas. As the last column of the table shows, the main focus in the study of linguistic areas has been phonological and morphosyntactic structures.

Linguistic area	Languages involved	Examples of shared features
The Balkan Sprachbund	Rumanian, Bulgarian, Macedonian, (southeastern dialects of) Serbian, Albanian, Greek, Romani, Turkish	presence of high or mid central vowel, vowel harmony, (partial) loss of infinitive, postposed articles, pleonastic object markers, dative - genitive merger, future construction formed with <i>want</i> , perfect construction formed with <i>have</i>
The Sepik River Basin	Yimas, Alamblak, Enga	palatal consonants, complex tense systems, plural pronominal suffix, temporal adverbial clause where inflected verb takes additional suffix <i>-n</i> , elaborate verb compounding, causative construction, bound adverbial forms, multiple central vowel, switch reference construction
The Pacific Northwest	Salashan (about 21 languages), Wakashan (6 languages), Chimakuan (2 languages)	labialized dorsal consonants, velar - uvular distinction, lateral obstruents, complex word structure (many suffixes, few prefixes), minimal case system, possessed noun takes possessive pronominal affixes, verb initial word order, sentence initial negation, yes/no question particle, weak noun/verb distinction, root pairs referring to singular vs. plural action states, optional plural marking, distributive plurals formed by reduplication, numeral classifiers, system of lexical suffixes, pharyngeal consonants, sound change where voiced oral stops replaced nasal stops

Table 1. Notable linguistic areas

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 $^{^2}$ Given contact intense enough that structural features can be diffused, it is likely that loanwords will also be found, though these should not be used as a defining characteristic of a linguistic area. Otherwise, as Thomason puts it, "the whole world would be one huge linguistic area, thanks to such widely shared words as email, hamburger, democracy, pizza, Coca Cola, and television" (2000:312).

The Ethiopian Highlands	multiple Cushitic, Semitic, and Nilo- Saharan languages	labialized dorsal stops, alveopalatal consonants, prothetic glides before mid vowels, separate future tense, causative with double affix, negative perfect formation, lack of dual number category, optional plural marking, SVO word order, verb auxiliary order, adjective noun order, relative clause noun order, postpositions, subordination by non-finite gerund constructions, shared lexicon (also in basic vocabulary), derivational suffixes, vocative particle
South Asia	multiple Dravidian, Indic, and Munda languages	retroflex consonants, agglutinative noun declension, echo-word formation, quotative construction, absolute constructions, syntax of discourse particles, SOV word order, morphological causatives, "second causative" construction

NOTE: adopted from Thomason's (2000:317-323) "survey of five 'representative' linguistic areas". See Muysken 2008 edited volume for additional case studies on linguistic areas.

This chapterinvestigates the semantic components of kinship terms; since the main mechanisms of sharing of structures in this domain are semantic and lexical borrowing, the latter of which is not considered a diagnostic criterion for a linguistic area, it is worth mentioning that there are other, more traditional, structural features shared as a result of contact, such as constituent order and tense-mood-aspect morphemes (Yakpo, van den Berg, and Borges forthcoming). One of the main objectives of this article s to add to our understanding of linguistic areas by highlighting lexicosemantic shift as an additional domain in which structures can be diffused and shared among languages. Suriname is advantageous for this purpose, in that, as a young linguistic area, it facilitates our reconstruction of the layering of processes involved in its formation.

Generally speaking, lexicosemantic shift refers to a change in the meaning of a word, or in one or more of its meanings. There are a number of ways in which the meaning of a word can change, such as narrowing or widening, metaphor, metonymy (meanings change as a result of temporal or spatial proximity), synecdoche (two meanings are related as a whole and part), litotes (strengthen- ing of meaning), hyperbole (weakening of meaning), and degeneration or elevation of meaning (Bloomfield 1935:426-27). The mechanisms of such changes have also been explored, though language contact is often only treated in pass- ing in works on semantic change.³ Ullmann (1962:165-66, 209-10), for example, dedicates a few pages to what he calls "foreign influence" in the development of polysemy and meaning changes. In a later typology of motivations of semantic change, Blank,

³ However, Huttar, Essegbey, and Ameka (2007) investigate the role of West African semantic structures in the formation of the structures found in Suriname's creole languages. In their examination of lexical semantics, they provide important information on the layering effects of different substrate languages in the creolization process.

rather than further developing the idea of "foreign influence" as a mechanism (or mechanisms) of semantic change, includes foreign influence under the heading "new concept (need for a new name)" (1999:71). Another of Blank's mechanisms for semantic change is "sociocultural change"; he uses the example of the loss of the paternal-maternal distinction in Latin kinship terms due to adaptations in the legal system which made this distinction obsolete (1999:72-73). The present article shows that there have been numerous cases of semantic shift and borrowing within the kinship paradigms in the sample that are not well accounted for by Blank's typology. Foreign elements in the Surinamese cases hardly represent "new concepts," nor do they solely involve "socio- cultural change" in his terms. One simple addition to the manners and mechanisms of semantic change would be loan translation, where the semantic structures of one language are copied into another language while being realized with native lexical material. It is the goal of this article to add to our understanding of the diachronic development of languages in Suriname, as well as the role of language contact in semantic change, by investigating semantic shift in the development of kinship paradigms in a sample of Surinamese languages.

Kinship terminology has been chosen as the semantic field to be investigated for several reasons. It is often implied that kinship terms are a relatively stable subset of the lexicon. The AUSTKIN project on Aboriginal Australian kinship terms, for example, lists as one of its objectives "reconstructing a significant portion of the vocabulary of earlier linguistic stages of the Pama-Nyungan languages, thus solving problems in the linguistic prehistory of Australia." Reconstructions of linguistic prehistory would only be possible if kin terms demon- strate some degree of stability over time. Similarly, in a loanword typology by Tadmor, Haspelmath, and Taylor (2010), kinship terms rank very low on the scale of borrowability according to semantic domain. It is shown in the present article that as little as several centuries is a sufficient span of time for drastic shifts in the semantics of kinship terms (including loss of some forms and bor- rowing of form and or meaning). This is not to exclude the possibility of recon- structing earlier stages of kin systems given a favorable sociohistory; the Surinamese example demonstrates, however, that kin terms are not inherently stable.

Kin terms are also available in a variety of sources: from the most modern ethnographies to centuries-old records of missionaries, and from multilingual dictionaries to descriptive grammars. The fact that many scholars have been interested in kinship systems over a long period of time means that there is a potential wealth of historical and modern data. Perhaps more importantly, for each language there is a finite set of lexical items that fully describe everyone in one's kin group. Thus, a complete set of kin terms can be more easily analyzed semantically than certain other fields. For example, a native speaker of Ndyuka might find his term *baala* 'brother' in his Ndyuka-English dictionary and assume that English brother, like *baala*, includes not only male children of the same parents, but also the male children of the siblings of his parents. But after a close look at the full paradigm of English kin terms, he would realize that English has another term, *cousin*. So, while the domains of *brother* and *baala* do not completely overlap, that of *brother* can be ascertained by the surrounding terms in the full paradigm.

Two components are considered important for the semantic analysis presented here – relative age distinctions and gender dependencies. Relative age distinctions

play an obligatory role in the kin terms of many languages. Hindi *taauu* 'father's older brother' is not the same as *caacaa* 'father's younger brother'. Gender is more often encoded in a kin term than relative age. Gender dependencies may involve the gender of alter, e.g., English *mother*, which implies that alter is female (while ego's gender is irrelevant). Some languages reference the gender of the ego, or a combination of ego and alter, though ego dependencies may also relate to the gender of a connecting relative, e.g., Ndyuka *baalapikin* 'brother's child'. Conversely, terms may indicate no gender dependencies. The Ndyuka term *swagi* 'sibling-in-law' can indicate either siblings of spouses or spouses of siblings, but in no case can it be told from the term alone whether it is a man or a woman that is referenced.

In order to code the semantic components of each term, several anthropological concepts are employed. The reader has already encountered two such terms, "ego" and "alter." Basic definitions of those concepts, most adapted from Morgan's (1871) classic work on kinship, are introduced briefly here.

Ego: the root of a kinship paradigm; in a kinship diagram, the center from which all relationships are traced (Morgan 1871:10).

Alter: the person with whom ego has a particular relationship. (Thus, if person A is ego, and person B is the brother of the father of person A, then person B is alter in an avuncular relationship.)

Parallel kin: kin related through a main line of descent, e.g., English brother, sister, mother, father, son, daughter, etc. (Morgan 1871:29).

Collateral kin: kin outside the main line of descent, e.g., English cousin, aunt, uncle, niece and nephew (Morgan 1871:30). Affinal kin (affines): kin related by marriage; affinal kinsmen can be related via ego, as well as parallel and collateral kin (Morgan 1871:11).

0, +1, \square 1 (etc.) generation: numbers indicate distance from ego-the 0 generation is ego's generation, the +1 generation is that of the parents of ego, and the \square 1 generation is the generation of the children of ego; larger numbers indicate greater distance from ego's generation.

To understand the diachronic changes in the semantics of kin paradigms in the sample, each language is investigated individually, attempting to track changes in it using sources from different time periods. These changes can then be looked at in the wider context of language change in Suriname. The sample considered here consists of several languages spoken in Suriname, namely, Dutch, Sranantongo, Sarnami, and Ndyuka. Where possible, both synchronic and diachronic data are addressed. While it would certainly be interesting to investigate all Surinamese languages, the sample presented here is representative of the major players in the

Surinamese context.⁴ What we know of American Indian languages, for example, is that several are endangered to varying degrees; thus, while we would expect large scale interference from more prominent languages involved in the shift, the types of data available do not provide information on variation and actual usage of terms in the kinship domain. This study has therefore been restricted to languages sharing a high degree of social and numerical prominence in Suriname for which information is also available on variation and practices of use. Dutch functions as the national language. Sranantongo, or simply Sranan, the language of Paramaribo's Creole population, is Suriname's lingua franca and is spoken by the majority of Surinamese people. Numerically speaking, the Hindustani population is Suriname's largest ethnic group and presumably speaks Sarnami (Hindustani). Similarly, the Ndyuka are the largest and, in many ways, most influential of Suriname's six Maroon groups. The data presented here are limited to the -1, 0, and +1 generations. In fact, these are the generations where the most interesting phenomena are found. Data comes from a variety of written sources as well as the author's field data from 2010 and 2011.

The present article demonstrates that kin terms are not stable in the Surinamese context. There have been numerous cases of semantic shift resulting from language contact. Additionally, language attitudes in Suriname continue to motivate synchronic variation within languages; that is, people choose between variable forms based on how they wish to be perceived in a given circumstance. By examining diachronic data and synchronic variation within the domain of kinship terminology, we discover the type of layering processes and a rough chronology that resulted in the shared semantic structures evident in Suriname.

2. Dutch

As a result of Suriname's colonial past, Dutch functions as the country's national language. The Dutch presence in the territory dates back as early as 1613, when fifty Dutch families settled along the Corantijn River to grow tobacco (de Bies 1994:7). These initial settlements did not last very long, and the Dutch did not secure a more permanent foothold until after a period of English colonization. Following the 1667 treaty of Breda, the Dutch took control of the territory that is now Suriname from the English (Buddingh 1995:12). That is not to say that Dutch then began to play a significant role in the daily lives of most Surinamese people. For some two hundred

⁴ Suriname is home to a number of typologically diverse languages. American Indian languages include several languages from the Arawak and Carib families. Dutch is the language of the colonial period. Six Maroon creole languages are spoken in Suriname (Aluku, Kwinti, Matawai, Ndyuka, Pamaka, and Saramaccan). Additionally, the city creole and lingua franca, Sranan, is widely spoken. Following the abolition of slavery in Suriname, contract laborers were imported to fill the labor gap, thereby establishing Sarnami-, Javanese-, and Hakka-speaking communities. Other more recent immigrant groups, such as Brazilians, Haitians, and Mandarin- and Cantonese-speaking Chinese, continue to contribute to the linguistic diversity Suriname. For more information on the languages of Suriname, see Carlin and Arends's Atlas of the Languages of Suriname (2002).

years, Dutch was largely limited to governmental affairs, the most elite sector of society, and Dutch nationals.

In 1876, the Dutch government implemented a compulsory education policy, called *leerplicht*, whereby children in the colony were required to attend school with Dutch as the language of instruction (Buddingh 1995:228). Following the *leerplicht*, use of languages other than Dutch in schools was forbidden (de Bies 1994:7). At the time, the majority of pupils entering schools spoke a language other than Dutch as their primary language. This mismatch between the children's mother tongues and the language of instruction is likely to have influenced the Surinamese variety of Dutch (de Klein 2002:214). Due to restricted access to the language, children incorporated features from their native languages into the emerging local variety of Dutch, producing the unique character of Surinamese Dutch.

A more general Dutch-only policy was enforced on a large scale, particularly in Paramaribo from 1878 (de Klein 2002:213). Dutch became, for many, associated with upward social mobility and was adopted by a portion of the population as a main language. Nowadays, Dutch is more commonly used than two hundred years ago and has acquired a significant community of native speakers. Most people in Paramaribo have a good command of Dutch and the percentage of native Dutch speakers has increased substantially since the second half of the nineteenth century due to its position as a prestige language. As a direct result of widespread multilingualism in Suriname, however, other Surinamese languages have had an effect on the variety of Dutch spoken there (de Klein 2002:209). Surinamese Dutch is considered by de Bies to be the result of language acculturation within the context of Surinamese society, and is particularly reflected in the lexicon of the language (1994:9). De Bies states "Dutch in Suri- name is still Dutch, although vocabulary is supplemented to a great extent with words that are specific to the Surinamese context and culture. Overall, the Surinamese have enriched Dutch with their contribution" (1994:7-8).⁵ De Klein remarks (2002:209) that the semantics of Surinamese Dutch differ "significantly" from European Dutch. Many of those typical Surinamese Dutch features have their roots in Sranan and are commonly calques from Sranantongo (de Bies 1994:8). In the rest of this section, several examples of these uniquely Surinamese word choices and differences in semantics are presented from the domain of kinship terminology.

2.1. The 0 generation

As it is closest to ego, the root of the kinship paradigm, the 0 generation is the logical place to begin the description of kin terms in Surinamese Dutch (DuSur). Parallel kin are *broer* 'older brother', *broertje* or *kleinbroertje* 'younger brother', *zuster* 'older sister', and *zusje* or *kleinzusje* 'younger sister'. While it is possible to apply an ordinary Dutch diminutive suffix to form *broertje* and *zusje* in European Dutch (DuAN), or to form a construction with *klein* 'small', it is not systematically

⁵ "...want het Nederlands in Suriname is nog steeds Nederlands, zij het dan dat de woordenschat van het Nederlands op grote schaal werd aangevuld met "woorden" die de specifiek Surinaamse context en culturen benoemen. Al bij al heeft de Surinamer het Nederlands verrijkt met zijn Surinaamse bijdrage."

applied to indicate an age difference.⁶ In his work on Surinamese Dutch, however, Donselaar (1977) specifically indicates that this is the strategy for Surinamers. Séwel's (1691) Dutch-English dictionary (DuSéw) indicates that, as in modern European Dutch, there was no age distinction within the 0 generation parallel kin terms in an older form of Dutch. The semantic coding is indicated in table 2.

	DuSéw	DuAN	DuSRN	DuFd
gender distinction	+	+	+	+
alter dependent	+	+	+	+
ego dependent	-	-	-	-
relative age distinction	-	-	+	+

Table 2. Semantic Coding of Dutch 0 Generation Parallel Kin

NOTE: + = presence of a feature; - = absence of a feature.

The 0 generation collateral kin terms are slightly less complicated and are referenced in all three varieties of Dutch by the two terms *neef* 'male cousin' and *nicht* 'female cousin'.⁷ Thus, the semantic coding for all three will look as in the DuAN column in table 1. Affinal relations are slightly more complicated, since within a single generation there are multiple affinal relations. The ego can have a spouse, as well as the parallel and collateral kin. Often there are also terms to describe the parallel kin to those spouses.

In Surinamese Dutch, the spouse is called *echt*, while in both varieties of European Dutch, there are terms that distinguish gender of alter. Man 'man' and vrouw 'woman' exist in both seventeenth century and contemporary Dutch with the meaning 'husband' and 'wife', respectively. These lexical items can also be found in Surinamese Dutch, though they indicate a different relationship entirely, namely, a male or female partner in an extramarital relationship.⁸ Modern European Dutch also

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⁶ I use the term "construction" to skirt the issue of whether these forms are com- pounds or noun phrases. This is a very important distinction to make for some purposes, but it is not pertinent to the semantics of kin terms.

⁷ *Neef* and *nicht* are also employed for other relationships in Dutch. The translation 'cousin' is given here because in this section we refer to that specific relationship. The reader will notice that in the following section, the terms are translated as 'nephew' and 'niece', respectively. It is true that the Dutch terms carry both meanings, but when referring to 0 generation collateral kin, the translation 'cousin' is used while the translation 'nephew/niece' for -1 generation collateral kin are applied solely for the readers' clarity.

⁸ An anonymous reviewer of this article rightly asks: "Is it really possible to neatly distinguish between extramarital and marital relationships in the case of Suriname? Do the latter only include those that have been officialized in front of the law or also longterm stable relationships that follow local ethnic customs. Do extramarital relationships only refer to 'buitenvrouw' relationships or also to any kind of relationship not officialized in front of the law?" Unfortunately, these points are not topics that I investigated with my informants, nor are they explicitly covered by the sources for Surinamese Dutch. This is a very interesting question, but it is one that I unfortunately cannot answer at this time.

makes use of another pair of words for spouse that are indicative of alter's gender, *echtgenoot* 'male spouse' and *echtgenote* 'female spouse'.

The terms *schoonbroer* 'brother-in-law' and *zwageres* 'sister-in-law' are used in Suriname much as their English translations are - to indicate the siblings of a spouse, or the spouses of a sibling. In contemporary European Dutch, the terminology is nearly the same, but formally inverse. The terms *zwager* 'brother-inlaw' and schoonzus 'sister-in-law' are commonly applied in the same circumstances as the Surinamese schoonbroer and zwageres. Schoonbroer can also be used in European Dutch, though it is not clear if there are differences in the semantics of these terms.⁹ According to Séwel, *zwager* was used specifically for one's husband's brother and schoonzus was used only for one's spouse's female siblings. While a brother's wife is listed as broersvrouw, there are two important gaps in this part of the paradigm, namely, terms for one's sister's husband and one's wife's brother. One could speculate as to what these terms may have been, but the fact that Séwel was so specific about the other terms seems to indicate that the Dutch system was more complex in the seventeenth century. Unfortunately, given that the DuAN and DuSur lexical sets have identical semantic coding in this area, despite their formal anomaly, the historical Dutch data do not provide insight to understanding what happened to the Surinamese forms.

2.2. The -1 generation

The parallel kin of the -1 generation remain consistent across the varieties of Dutch, with terms *zoon* 'son' and *dochter* 'daughter'. The affines of parallel kin – *schoonzoon* 'son-in-law' and *schoondochter* 'daughter-in-law' – are also consistent. Things are different in the collateral kin of this generation. Whereas in the modern and historical sources for European Dutch the terms *neef* 'nephew' and *nicht* 'niece' are used to reference this relationship, the Surinamese employ an entirely different strategy. The terms *broerskind* 'brother's child' and *zusterskind* 'sister's child' are standard in Surinamese Dutch. The semantics are detailed in table 3.

	DuSéw	DuAN	DuSRN	DuFd
gender distinction	+	+	+	+
alter dependent	+	+	-	-
ego dependent	-	-	-	-
0 parallel dependent	-	-	+	+
relative age distinction	-	-	-	-

Table 3. Semantic Coding of Dutch -1 Generation Collateral Kin

This table shows that Surinamese Dutch has lost the alter-dependent gender distinction present in European Dutch. In other words, using the Surinamese terms *broerskind* or *zusterskind*, the speaker gives no indication of the gender of the child

⁹ Van Dale (2002, s.v. schoonbroer) notes that *schoonbroer* is mainly a Belgian convention.

in question. The gender of the 0 generation parallel kin –alter's related parent- is communicated, however.

2.3 The +1 generation

There is little indication of variation among the varieties of Dutch in the +1 generation kin terms with the exception of one formal difference. *Moeder* 'mother' and *vader* 'father' cover the parallel kin in this generation. In modern European Dutch and Surinamese Dutch, the collateral kin and their affinities, *oom* 'uncle' refers to males and, *tante* 'aunt' is used for females. Séwel's dictionary lists a different form *moeye* in place of the modern *tante*. This form, however, covers the exact same relationships as its modern counterpart *tante*. Thus, while we can observe a formal discrepancy for the +1 collateral kin (and affinities), the semantic components coded for this research are the same. Table 3 shows that Surinamese Dutch has lost the alter dependent gender distinction present in European Dutch. In other words, using the Surinamese terms *broerskind* or *zusterskind*, the speaker gives no indication of the gender of the child in question. The gender of the 0 generation parallel – the alter's related parent – is communicated in such an utterance.

2.4. Summary

Several differences from European Dutch can be noted in Surinamese Dutch. There is an addition of a relative age distinction in 0 generation parallel kin. The gender distinction for affines of ego are lost. Within the -1 generation collateral kin, the alter-dependent gender distinction has been lost and a 0 generation parallel-dependent gender distinction has been introduced. Additionally, we see an interchange of terms for affines of parallel kin and parallel kin of affines in the 0 generation as well as a difference between historical *moeye* and modern *tante* in the +1 generation.

3. Sranantongo

Sranantongo is the traditional mother tongue of Suriname's Creole population as well as the lingua franca of the country. Sranan is perhaps the most widely spoken language in the country and the majority of Surinamese people have at the very least some familiarity with the language. Sranan speakers have a variety of ethnic and linguistic backgrounds and use the language for day-to-day communication. Sranan is an English-lexifier creole that emerged in Suriname from the early 1650s. Sranan was the most commonly used language in Suriname during the days of slavery: it was not only the language of slaves on the plantations, it was also the language spoken among upper-class Europeans of different backgrounds. Use of Sranan in such a stratified society resulted in many varieties of Sranan (Eersel 2002; van den Berg 2007).

Contemporary Sranan is a language with much internal variation (Lie 1983). Just as language choice is governed by a number of social factors, variation within

Sranan can be linked to ideas of prestige. As mentioned in section 2, Dutch is the ideal language choice in many contexts within Suriname; however, social forces also play a role in the choice of features used in a nonprestige language such as Sranan. Differences in the varieties are noted as needed below, where the topic of prestige is also discussed in more detail. Unfortunately, the historical sources for Sranan are less detailed than those for Dutch, though some information can be ascertained about the kinship terminology of the past and is included where possible.

3.1. The 0 generation

Parallel kinsmen are not too different from those of English or European Dutch. The terms *brada* 'brother' and *sisa* 'sister' are free from any relative age distinctions. Gender dependency relates solely to alter. In the historical sources, there is some indication that a relative age distinction played a role in early Sranan. Van Dyk ([ca. 1765] 1995) (SravD) lists *ouwere brara* 'older brother' and *ouwere ziza* 'older sister', but no age-neutral term.¹⁰ Similarly, Schumann ([1783] 1983) (SraSch) lists *pikin brara* 'younger brother' without an age neutral term, though *sisa* is given as simply 'sister'.

There are some differences in the terms for collateral kin in the modern Sranan sources. Summer Institute of Linguistics (2007) (SraSIL) lists nefo 'male cousin', while Blanker and Dubbeldam's Prisma dictionary of Sranan (2005) (SraBD) lists omupkin 'uncle's child' and tantapkin 'aunt's child'. The Summer Institute of Linguistics' word list contains no term for female alter correspond- ing to nefo, though their definition of nefo is specific enough to imply that there should be a term such as nicht to indicate 'female cousin'. Field data align with SraBD. Most informants were rather amused by the term nefo and none pro- duced a counterpart meaning 'female cousin'. Nicht is, of course, recognized as a term for the relationship, but is also consistently identified as Dutch, not Sranan. This does not mean that there is an error in SraSIL, but rather demon- strates that my informants were speakers of one variety of Sranan and that the boundary between languages is not always easily recognized in the Surinamese context. This variation in terminology has serious semantic consequences, detailed in table 4.

	SraSIL	SraBD	SraFd
gender distinction	+	+	+
alter dependent	+	-	-
ego dependent	-	-	-
'+1 collateral dependent	-	+	+
relative age distinction	-	-	-

Table 4. Semantic Coding of Sranan 0 Generation Collateral Kin

As the table shows, the terms of SraSIL have an alter-dependent gender distinction, while those terms listed in SraBD indicate gender of the +1 collateral kin rather than the gender of the actual person referenced. Unfortunately, the historical sources are not so informative for this set of relationships. Only van Dyk lists a term *kombi*,

¹⁰ In the modern language, this would refer instead to a very young boy.

meaning 'father's brother's son' or 'father's sister's son'. The absence of the rest of this portion of the paradigm makes it difficult to draw conclusions about the semantics of this term, and because there is no modern cognate, a historical comparison for 0 generation collateral kin is not possible.

Affinal relation terms in Sranan do not show a large degree of variation, either in the modern or the historical sources. Affinities to ego show an alter- dependent gender distinction, *masra* 'husband' and *frow* or *trowfrow* 'wife' in modern Sranan and mann or *masra* 'husband' and *weifi* 'wife' in earlier sources. Though the modern Sranan (*trow*)*frow* has been borrowed from Dutch, this has no effect on semantic components. As in the modern Dutch case, Sranan employs one set of terms to denote spouses' siblings and siblings' spouses, *swagri* 'brother-in-law' and *swageres* 'sister-in-law'. Historical sources, however, indicate encoding of additional components in the terms. Weygandt (SraWey) (1798) lists one term *wefie brara* 'wife's brother' and van Dyk lists *brara wijfie* 'brother's wife' and *ziza man* 'sister's husband'. Semantic coding is detailed in table 5.

It is unfortunate that none of the historical sources gives a complete description, but from the data presented, it appears that early Sranan drew more distinctions in the kin terms it employed. Parallel kin's affines were distinguished from affines' siblings in the 0 generation. Furthermore, additional information about how alter was related to ego was given, namely, the 0 generation parallel kin gender reference or ego's affine's gender reference.

	Srav	vD	Sra	Wey	modern*
par's aff and aff's par distinguished	+		+		-
	par's aff	aff's par	par's aff	aff's par	
gender distinctions	+	0	0	+	+
alter dependent	+			+	+
ego dependent	-			-	-
ego's aff dep.	-			+	-
0 parralel dep	+			-	-

Table 5. Semantic Coding of Sranan 0 Generation Affinal Kin

NOTE: 0 = absence of data; dep = dependent; par = parallel kin; aff = affine.

*Since there is no variation for this set of relationships in the modern sources or the field data, a single column, "Modern," suffices for contemporary data.

3.2. The -1 generation

The parallel kin terms in the -1 generation are consistent across the board, employing a strategy to indicate the gender of alter. Modern Sranan uses *manpkin* or *boy* 'son' and *umanpkin* or the Dutch word *meisje* 'daughter'. Schumann and Weygandt both list similar forms, though the orthography varies. Van Dyk, however, lists terms with

inverse compounding – for example, *pikien buy*¹¹ 'boy child' and *pikien homen* 'woman child'. Despite the orthographic, and perhaps phonological, differences, our semantic components are coded in the same way for all sets of terms for this relationship.

As with 0 generation collateral kin, we find discrepancies between SraSIL and SraBD in -1 generation collateral kin. Again, SraSIL lists the term *nefo* 'nephew' while SraBD employs a strategy similar to that described in the case of 0 generation collateral kin – the terms *bradapkin* 'brother's child' and *s'sapkin* 'sister's child'. These differences in terminology also exhibit a semantic difference, shown in table 6. As with the 0 generation, field data pattern with SraBD.

The reader will notice that the terminology of SraSIL indicates an alterdependent gender distinction, while the terms given by SraBD indicate a 0 generation parallel gender dependency. Weygandt's terms actually indicate both gender dependencies. He lists four terms *siesa man piekien* 'sister's son', *siesa oema piekien* 'sister's daughter', *brara man piekien* 'brother's son', and *brara oema piekien* 'brother's daughter'.

	SraWey	SraSIL	SraBD	SraFd
gender distinction	+	+	+	+
alter dependent	+	+	-	-
ego dependent	-	-	-	-
0 parallel dependent	+	-	+	+
relative age distinction	-	-	-	-

Table 6. Semantic Coding of Sranan -1 Generation Collateral Kin

3.3. The +1 generation

In the +1 generation, there is very consistent representation across all varieties of Sranan in the sample (see table 6); *mama* 'mother' and *tata* 'father' are listed in all sources. *Omu* 'uncle' and *tanta* 'aunt' indicate both +1 collateral kin and +1 collateral's affinal kin in modern Sranan. Weygandt also lists these terms, though he does not specify whether they also refer to the affinal kin of the collateral +1 generation as in modern Sranan. Van Dyk indicates an entirely different strategy for +1 collateral kin. He lists *mama brara* 'mother's brother' and *mama ziza* 'mother's sister'. Unfortunately, there are no corresponding terms for the father's siblings. Nonetheless, we can deduce that semantically, this category of kinsman was represented in a very different way. Van Dyk's work indicates that at some point in the past, Sranan employed a more descriptive method of naming certain relationships. This strategy can still be seen in some modern Sranan kin terminology, for instance, the +1 parallel kin to ego's affinal kin are *wefi p'pa* 'wife's father', *wefi m'ma* 'wife's mother', *masra p'pa* 'husband's father', and *masra m'ma* 'husband's

¹¹ A number of North Indian languages are considered dialects of Hindi if one uses the term Hindi in a broad sense, while in a narrower sense it refers only to a standardized variety. In the latter case, these dialects are then considered languages in their own right. For more information, see Kellog (1955:65-80).

mother'. Unlike English *mother-in-law* and *father-in-law*, these terms add an additional level of semantic distinction.

3.4. Summary

The data suggests that Sranan has lost an age distinction in the 0 generation parallel kin terms that was present in eighteenth-century Sranan. One can also notice a simplification in contemporary Sranan terms for affine's parallel kin and parallel kin's affines. The -1 generation collateral terms listed by Weygandt indicate both 0 generation parallel-dependent gender and alter-dependent gender. We see variation in the modern sources for this relationship. While in SraSIL the alter dependency is maintained and the 0 generation parallel dependency is lost, the opposite effect appears in SraBD. There is also variation among the historical sources in +1 generation collateral kin, though the modern sources are consistent in this regard.

What do these data say about the varieties of Sranan represented in the various sources? Based on the etymologies of the terms involved, as well as their underlying semantics, it appears that the SraSIL lexicon represents a more prestigious variety, while SraBD, at a further distance from Dutch, lists terms with less overt prestige. For the historical sources as well, differences in the lexicon and in semantics indicate that van Dyk represents a less prestigious variety than the other sources. Based on a number of additional criteria, van den Berg arrives at a similar conclusion regarding variation among these historical sources, noting that Weygandt's manual displays a larger number of features that can be regarded as a bakratongo 'European tongue' register of Sranan (van den Berg 2007:26). Further, she notes that some differences between van Dyk and Weygandt do not represent different diachronic stages of the language, but rather different registers (van den Berg 2007:28).

4. Sarnami

Sarnami is the language of the Indian community in Suriname, which was formed by indentured laborers imported to man the plantations in the late nineteenth century following the abolition of slavery (Marhé 1985:5-6). Between 1873 and 1916, thirty-four thousand such indentured laborers were transported from northern India to Suriname. Despite the stipulation that following their indenture laborers would receive transportation back to India, many were persuaded to stay in Suriname (Damsteegt 2002:249). The majority of Indian laborers came from a wide area in northern central India where at least five languages exist, comprising a linguistic (dialect)¹² continuum (Damsteegt 2002:255).

Sarnami is itself a mixed language, composed of elements from a number of north Indian languages, including Avadhi, Bhojpuri, and Magahi. These languages mixed before the speakers left India, resulting in a language that is not like any

¹² A number of North Indian languages are considered dialects of Hindi if one uses the term Hindi in a broad sense, while in a narrower sense it refers only to a standardized variety. In the latter case, these dialects are then considered languages in their own right. For more information, see Kellog (1955:65-80).

present-day Indic language found in India (Damsteegt 2002:249). According to Damsteegt, "no influence from Sranan or Dutch has been demonstrated beyond doubt in the structure of Sarnami" (2002:262), though there are plenty of lexical borrowings that are well integrated into the linguistic system. Some semantic shifts are also noted below. As with Sranan, multiple modern sources are available for Sarnami. Field data have also been collected from working class informants in the Paramaribo area. Differences are pointed out below where necessary.

There is no single reference point for Sarnami. Since it is a mixed language deriving from several languages–languages for which good data are scant–and the mixing process had possibly already begun in a pre-Suriname Indian setting, one cannot be sure which elements of Sarnami come from which Indic languages nor can we be certain that a feature that looks "Surinamese" is not also a feature of one of these Indic languages that played a role in the formation of Sarnami. Following Damsteegt (2002:252), Sarnami is compared with a standard variety of Hindi,¹³ despite the above-mentioned problems. Below I assume that Hindi is representative of the Indic languages involved in the formation of Sarnami.

4.1. The 0 generation

For the parallel kin terms in this generation, obvious cognates are observable in contemporary Sarnami sources and Hindi, such as *bhaaii* 'brother' and *bahin* 'sister'. Sarnami differs from Hindi in that there is a separate lexical item to indicate 'older sister', namely, *didi* or *bubu*. During the author's fieldwork, Sarnami informants indicated that there is more to the age distinctions in this kin category. In each interview, *ba*[*ka bhaaii*/*bahin* 'older brother/sister' and *cho*[*a bhaaii*/*bahin* 'younger brother/sister' were produced by informants before any questions indicating relative age was of interest. Nonetheless, all informants agreed that relative age was not obligatory in discourse.

The collateral 0 generation kin terms are much more complicated. There are significant differences among the sources for Sarnami, illustrated in table 7. The word list of Santokhi and Nienhuis (SarSN) (2004) shows the greatest deviation in semantics. In their rendition of Sarnami, only alter's gender is indicated and the terms are not distinguished from the 0 generation parallel kin. The terms in the Summer Institute of Linguistics dictionary (2003b) (SarSIL) make the same semantic distinctions as in Hindi, namely, an alter distinction and a +1 generation collateral kin distinction, though the two varieties employ different strategies. Both Hindi and SarSIL include terms for the +1 generation collateral kin that make a distinction within the 0 generation; however, Hindi employs com- pounding, while Sarnami uses a possessive NP construction (ke is a possessive marker in these constructions, though it has other functions in the language as well). To distinguish alter's gender, Hindi uses 0 generation parallel kin terms, while the SarSIL references the -1 generation parallel kin. Thus, 'mother's brother's son' would literally translate from Hindi as 'maternal uncle-brother' and from Sarnami as 'maternal uncle's son'.

¹³ Hindi also plays a role in Suriname as a religious language in the Hindu community. There are Hindi language schools, and Hindi is a prestige language, the ideal for many Hindus.

	SarSIL	SarSN	SarFd	Hindi
FaBrSo		bhái	bhai	
FaBrDa		bahin	bahin	
FaoBrSo	ba t ka daada ke be t a			tayeraa bhaaii
FaoBrDa	barka daada ke bietia			tayeraa bahan
FayBrSo	kaaka ke be t a			cacera bhaaii
FayBrDa	kaaka ke bie t ia			cacerii bahan
FaSiSo	phoewa ke be t a	bhái	bhai	phupheraa bhaaii
FaSiDa	phoewa ke bietia	bahin	bahin	phupherii bahan
MoBrSo	maama ke be t a	bhái	bhai	mameraa bhaaii
MoBrDa	maama ke bietia	bahin	bahin	mamerii bahan
MoSiSo	mausi ke beta	bhái	bhai	maseraa bhaaii
MoSiDa	mausi ke bie t ia	bahin	bahin	maserii bahan

Table 7. The 0 Generation Collateral Kin Terms in Sarnami and Hindi

While all informants recognized the terms given by SarSIL, the strategy of SarSN was preferred. For the informants interviewed, SarSN indicates the normal strategy for referencing this relationship in Suriname. Of course, anyone can say *ba*t*ka daada ke bie*t*ia*, just as one might say *father's older brother's daughter* in English, but the fact is that no one would use such a detailed description unless a very specific reference is needed.

	SarSIL	SarSN	SarFd	Hindi
WiBr	saa r h, swagri	sár	sar, swagri	saalaa
WiBrWi	swagri		sa r haj, swagri	salhaj
WiSi	swagri	sári	swagri	saalii
WioSi	swagri		ba t ki, swagri	
WiySi	swagri		sari, swagri	
WiSiHu	saa t hoe, swagri	sa ť hu	sarhubhaai, swagri	i saa r huu
HuoBr	dje [h, swagri		swagri	je ť h
HuyBr	dewar, swagri		swagri	devar
HuBrWi	nanad, swagri		swagri	
HuoBrWi	ba r kie, swagri		ba t ki, swagri	je t aanii
HuyBrWi	tjho t ki, swagri		co t ki, swagri	devaranii
HuSi	nanad, swagri	nanad	nanad, swagri	nanad
HuSiHu	nandoi, swagri	nandoi	nandoi, swagri	nandoi
BrWi	bhaabie, bhaudjie, swagi	ribhauji, bhabi	swagri	bhaabhii
oBrWi	swagri		phoji, swagri	
yBrWi	swagri		cotki, swagri	
SiHu	swagri	bahnoi	bahnoi, swagri	bahnoii
oSiHu	bahanoi, swagri		swagri	jiijaa
ySiHu	tjho t koe, swagri		swagri	

Table 8. The 0 Generation Affinal Kin Terms in Sarnami and Hindi

Just as English speakers prefer cousin, *bhai* and *bahin* are preferred to the more descriptive SarSIL terms.

SarSIL provides more detailed information than SarSN about the relationships for 0 generation affinal kin. Nonetheless, the information provided by the two sources roughly corresponds to the field data on Sarnami as well as Hindi. One interesting difference is that Sarnami informants indicated a couple of additional relative age distinctions that are not provided by either Sarnami sources or the Hindi sources. Also, informants provided several words that refer to more than one relationship, e.g., *ba*t*ki* 'husband's older brother's wife' or 'wife's older sister'. See these terms in table 8.

All varieties distinguish between siblings of affinal relations of ego and ego's siblings' affinal relations. Gender of alter is also distinguished and there are several relationships where relative age is distinguished. Additionally, there are some formal differences between Sarnami and Hindi, for instance, 'husband's older brother's wife' is *ba*t*ki* in Sarnami and *je*t*aanii* in Hindi. SarSIL and the informants consulted also give the term *swagri*, a loan from Sranan that covers all the relationships detailed in table 8. Semantically, *swagri* is very different from the other terms for 0 generation affinal kin. It references neither gender, relative age, nor the distinction between ego's affine's siblings and ego's sibling's affine. *Swagri* is a clear example of semantic influence of Sranan on Sarnami by means of a loanword.

4.2. The -1 generation

Both -1 generation parallel kin and their affines are consistent in the Hindi and Sarnami varieties. Beta 'son', beti 'daughter', patoh 'son-in-law', and damaad 'daughter-in-law' all reference the gender of alter. Collateral kin terms in this generation are more problematic. Both Hindi and Sarnami sources indicate some consistencies, though none correspond completely with the others. Table 9 shows variants of this particular relationship. The Sarnami lexicon appears to be Indic, that is, the variation shown in the Sarnami sources does not appear to be the result of loans or other contact phenomena. Brother's son and sister's daughter are named with the same term in each of the Sarnami sources represented in table 9 something that is problematic for the semantic components assumed in the present article. Further, the grammatical gender in the Hindi terms for sister's son and sister's daughter does not match the gender of the actual alter. As paradoxical as this may seem for a linguist, speakers, too, have difficulty with these terms. Several hours were spent with different groups of Sarnami informants in Suriname trying to work out exactly how to name these relationships with no final consensus regarding the terms shown in table 9.

Only one informant was able to work out the first set of terms listed in the field data column. After his request to consult a family member who studied classical Hindi was refused, he spent about twenty minutes writing out the paradigm and consulting with another nearby Sarnami speaker before hesitantly indicating that these were the right terms for the -1 generation collateral kinsmen. Other informants were able to quickly access *bhatijin* 'brother's daughter' and *bhanja* 'sister's son', but terms for 'brother's son' and 'sister's daughter' were not accessible during the interviews. SarSIL provides another strategy for naming this set of kin, namely,

possessive constructions. *Bhaai ke be*ta 'brother's son', *bhaai ke bie*tia 'brother's daughter', *bahien ke be*ta 'sister's son', and *bahien ke be*tia 'sister's daughter' are all transparent constructions, which provide an unambiguous reference without the confusion of the other set of terms. SarSIL's strategy was also the preferred strategy of other informants and was used in the above-mentioned conversation where the two men were trying to figure out the other set of terms.

	SarSIL	SarSN	SarFd	Hindi
BrSo	bahiene,	bhaine	bhatija,	bhatiijaa
	bhaai ke be t a		bhai ke be t a	
BrDa	bhatiedien	bhatiji	bhatijin,	bhatiijii
	bhaai ke bietia		bhai ke bietia	
SiSo	bhatiedj	bhánja	bhanja,	bhaamjii
	bahien ke be t a		bahien ke beta	
SiDa	bahiene	bhaine	bhaine,	bhaamjaa
	bahien ke be t ia		bahien ke betia	-

Table 9. The -1 Generation Collateral Kin in Sarnami and Hindi

4.3. The +1 generation

Aside from showing finer grained distinctions in several areas, the Hindi +1 generation kinship terms are reflected in the Sarnami terms with the exception of those for father's brother and father's brother's wife. A full list of terms is provided in table 10.

	SarSIL	SarSN	SarFd	Hindi
Parallel				
Mo	ma, maai, maata	mái, má, maiyá	ma, matadji, amadjan	maam
Fa	baap, pieta	báp, bappá, pitá	bap, pita, abadjan	baap, pita
<u>Collateral</u>				
FaoBr	ba r ka daada	ba r ka dádá, ba r ka báp	ba t ka dada	taauu
FayBr	kaaka	káká, caccá	kaka	caaca
FaSi	phoewa	phuwá	phuwa	phuuphii, buaa
MoBr	maama	mámá, mámu	mama	maamaa
MoSi	mausie ,khaala	mausi, khálá	maosi	mausii
<u>Affinal</u>				
FaoBrWi	ba r ki maai, thattjie	ba ť ki mái	ba ť ki mai	taaii
FavBrWi	kaakie	káki	kaki	caacii
FaSiHu	phoeppha	phupphá	phupha	phuuphaa
MoBrWi	maamie	mámi	mami	maamii
MoSiHu	mausa	mausa, khálu		mausaa
WiFa	sasoer	sasur	sasur	sasur
oBr				taayasraa
Si				phuphiya sasa

oBrWi SiHu WiMo	saas	sás	sas	taayas phuphiya khusar saas
HuFa	sasoer	sasur	sasur	sasur
oBr				taayasraa
Si				phuphiya sasa
oBrWi				taayas
HuMa	saas	sás	sas	saas

4.4. Summary

Sarnami differs from Hindi in several important aspects. The 0 generation parallel kin terms in Sarnami include an age distinction where Hindi does not. SarSN and informants indicate no terminological difference between 0 generation parallel and 0 generation collateral kin, while SarSIL lists a different grammatical strategy for naming such relationships that is semantically the same as Hindi in terms of the components of the present analysis. The 0 generation affinal kin terms are also alike in Hindi and Sarnami, but the SarSIL and informants in the field provide an additional term *swagri*, a loan from Sranan, as a conflated cover term for all affinal kinsmen. Possibly as a result of the confusing set of terms for -1 generation collateral kin, SarSIL's data and field data offer an additional transparent strategy which can be coded according to the components used in the present article.

In addition to the differences from Hindi, the Sarnami sources differ significantly from each other and, like the Sranan sources, represent different registers of the language. As in Sranan, variation can partially be attributed to language attitudes, where forms closer to Hindi are viewed as being better. However, the fact that Sarnami is principally used in informal settings (i.e., with family and close friends; Yakpo, van den Berg, and Borges forthcoming) has rendered more formal registers inaccessible to many speakers. Data collected from working-class informants in Paramaribo and the similar data presented in SarSN then represent a more informal register of Sarnami. Informants seemed at least to be aware of the register differences, even if they were not actually able to produce the variants. During elicitations, informants often wished to contact relatives who studied Hindi to clarify points of usage and provide alternatives. The variation noted in Sarnami appears to reveal a diachronic change in progress, whereby informal variants are becoming more pervasive.

5. Ndyuka

Several mass escapes of slaves from plantations occurred in Suriname in the beginning of the eighteenth century. These runaways fled to the interior and formed their own communities in the forests of Suriname. There are several groups of such Maroons, as they are called. However, the descend- ants of many of those who fled in in the beginning of the eighteenth century came to comprise those known as the Ndyuka Maroons. These runaways likely spoke a variety of plantation Sranan in addition to African languages. Ndyuka is one of three closely similar and highly mutually intelligible language varieties that are referred to as Eastern Maroon Creole

(henceforth, EMC); the others are Pamaka and Aluku. As a result of their historical connection, Ndyuka, along with other EMC varieties, shares certain lexical similarities with Sranan (Huttar and Huttar 1994:4). Since the Maroons had relatively little contact with outsiders, their varieties of plantation Sranan were subject to much less influ- ence from other languages (Migge 2003; van den Berg 2007:30). Thus, we may assume that EMC varieties are more similar to eighteenth-century Sranan than to contemporary Sranan. Ndyuka kin terms are briefly presented for comparison.¹⁴

5.1. The 0 generation

Ndyuka makes an age distinction among 0 generation parallel kin, using the terms *gaan baala* 'older brother', *pikin baala* 'younger brother', *gaan sisa* 'older sister', and *pikin sisa* 'youger sister'. The 0 generation collateral kinsmen are referred to using the same lexical items, though, without an age distinction. Thus, *baala* is any son, and *sisa* the daughter, of any sibling of either parent of ego. Ego's affinal relations, *uman* 'woman' and *man* 'husband', both distinguish the gender of alter. In more formal contexts, however, the terms *boliman* 'cook' and (*h*)*ontiman* 'hunter' are used to designate ego's affine. Sibling's affines and affine's siblings are all referred to by a single gender-neutral term *swagi*.

5.2. The -1 generation

If necessary, children are also distinguished terminologically for gender by *manpikin* 'male child' and *umanpikin* 'female child', though *pikin* is often used for without any particular reference to gender. Collateral kin in this generation are not distinguished for alter's gender. The terms *baalapikin* 'brother's child' and *sisapikin* 'sister's child' convey the gender of the 0 generation parallel kin related to the -1 generation collateral, but not that of alter. Affinal relationships of -1 generation parallel kin are distinguished only with an alter dependent gender. Thus, *mai* 'daughter-in-law' and *pai* 'son-in-law' make a gender reference only to the person in question. In fact, without context, these terms do not even pin down a generation, as they are also used in reference to +1 generation parallel kin of ego's affinities. Nonetheless, the alter-dependent gender distinction remains and the terms can also be translated as 'mother-in-law' and 'father-in-law', respectively.

5.3. The +1 generation

Kinsmen in the +1 generation all share an alter- dependent gender distinction, *mma* 'mother' and *dda*, *ppa*, or *tata* 'father' for parallel kin. Meanwhile, *tiyu* or *tii* 'uncle' can refer to father's or mother's brothers and father's or mother's sisters' husbands.

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¹⁴ Since no significant differences in the terms or their meanings were noted in the Ndyuka sources and field data, variation within Ndyuka is not addressed here.

Similarly, *tiya* 'aunt' refers to the sisters of parents or the wives of brothers of parents.¹⁵

6. Discussion

A number of changes in Surinamese languages are discussed in sections 2-5. The present section examines the changes noted in preceding sections in relation to each other, in terms of directionality and chronology, elucidating the type of layering processes that can occur in a linguistic area. Table 11 shows the semantic components coded for all languages discussed thus far for a sample of relationships in the 0 and -1 generations. Some points of interest in the table are indicated by bold type.

An interesting method for visualizing the semantic similarity of the kin paradigms in the languages presented here is a network diagram (see figure 1). It should be stressed that this diagram is not intended to indicate any evolutionary history of the languages involved, nor have I made any attempt to em- ploy phylogenetic methods such as often underlie networks (Bryant and Moulton 2004; Huson and Bryant 2006; Huson, Rupp, and Scornavacca 2010). Figure 1 simply represents the distances of the features—in this case the semantic components of -1, 0, and +1 generation kinship terms—for each source. What we then see are varieties that share a greater number of features in clusters.

The network shows three main clusters. The most clearly defined of these is the Hindi-Sarnami group on the right side. Although these four varieties group together, variation is still represented diagrammatically by reticulations within the group. Several differences between Hindi and Sarnami are arguably the result of semantic influence from Sranan. Interestingly, SravD patterns with the Hindi-Sarnami group. While somewhat unexpected, this instance is easily explained. SravD indicates relationships with a more intricate pattern of gender distinctions, e.g., siesa man piekien 'sister's son', which are not unlike Hindi and Sarnami in terms of the specificity of the referent. This is perhaps the clearest instance where, had the lexical forms also been included in the making of the network, the nodes would be represented in a way more consistent with the genealogical history of the languages involved.

The remaining portion of the network is dividable horizontally into a Dutch-like group on the top and a creole-like group on the bottom. The upper portion is comprised of our two European varieties of Dutch and the SIL's Sranan data. The SIL data seems to show that the semantic structure of Sranan kinship terms has more in common with European Dutch than with other (older) varieties of Sranan. The creole-like group, on the other hand, is comprised of Ndyuka, Blanker and Dubbledam's variety of Sranan, and Surinamese Dutch. This indicates that the kin terms of Surinamese Dutch have more in common with those of the creole languages.

¹⁵ According to the SIL's Aukan-English dictionary (2003a), *tiyu* and *tiya* are of Iberian origin, *tio* and *tia* (same meanings), respectively.

Table 11. Comparison of Semantic Coding of Select Kin Terms in All Languages	
Considered	

		Dutch			Indic						Sra	nan			
	Séw	AN	Fd	SN	Sar SIL	Sar SN	Sar Fd	Hi	Ndy	vD	Wey	Sch	SIL	BD	Fd
0 generation parallel															
gender distinction	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
alter dependent	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ego dependent	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
relative age distinction	-	-	+	+	+	+	+/-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
0 generation collateral	+	+	+	+	+	1	-	+	-	+	0	0	+	+	+
gender distinction	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	+	+	+
alter dependent	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	+	-	-
ego dependent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	0	-	-	-
+1 collateral dependent	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	0	0	0	-	+	+
relative age distinction	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	0	0	0	-	-	-
ego dependent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	0	-	-	-
+1 parallel/collateral	_	_		_	+	_	_	+		0	0	0	_		_
dep.	<u> </u>	_	_	-	'	_	_	'	_	0	0	0	_	_	_
0 generation affinities															
Siblings of affinities to															
ego															
gender distinction	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	0	+	0	+	+	+
alter dependent	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	0	+	0	+	+	+
ego dependent	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	0	-	-	-
relative age distinction	0	-	-	-	+	-	+/-	+	-	0	-	0	-	-	-
Affinities to parallel	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	0	0	-	-	-
gender distinction	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	0	0	+	+	+
alter dependent	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	0	0	+	+	+
ego dependent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	-	-	-
parallel dependent	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	0	0	-	-	-
relative age distinction	-	-	-	-	+/-	-	+/-	+	-	-	0	0	-	-	-
ego dependent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	-	-	-
parallel dependent	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	0	0	-	-	-
-1 generation collateral	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
gender distinction	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+
alter dependent	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	0	+	-	-
ego dependent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	-
0 parallel dependent	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	0	-	+	+
relative age distinction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	-

NOTE: The coding of terms in table 11 is not without complications. Variation within a single source is not accounted for. For example, while -1 generation collateral kin can be named using different strategies in SarFd, only the more commonly used strategy is coded here. On the other hand, *swagri* is not coded in place of the Indic terms for 0 generation affinal kin; despite the fact that some informants preferred *swagri*, all recognized the word as a loan and were able to produce the Indic alternatives.

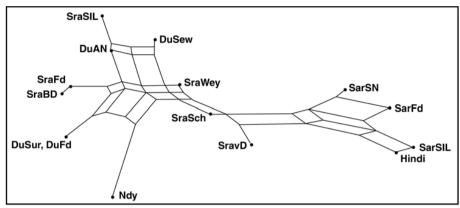


Figure 1. Network diagram representing the semantic components of kinship terms of the languages discussed.

Schumann and Weygandt are also known to represent varieties with more prestigious features, i.e., Dutch-like (van den Berg 2007:28); however, their place in the network is not as clearly defined as the other varieties. It must be noted that Schumann and Weygandt did not provide full sets of kinship terms, which likely affected the outcome of the network dia- gram. Athough the disgram allows us to visualize the similarities among the semantic structures behind kinship systems, a more detailed representation is necessary to reconstruct the specific changes and in what order they occurred.

Figure 2 graphically represents the layering of the transferred semantic features in Dutch, Sranan, and Sarnami for each relationship category and gen- eration using shading to represent features originating in a particular variety and indicating a rough chronology for when particular features were trans- ferred. The 1876 *leerplicht* can be viewed as the catalyst for the transfer of Sranan features to Surinamese Dutch. Presumably, Sranan adopted European Dutch—type features somewhat later, though no evidence is presented here to indicate just how much later this happened. Similarly, it is possible that all features did not enter into Sranan at the same time. It has also been suggested here that older Sranan features have made their way into Sarnami, something that also presumably took place before the introduction of European Dutch features into Sranan.

Several authors have claimed that Surinamese Dutch obtained its unique features from Sranan (de Bies 1994, de Klein 2002). The differences among the Dutch varieties in table 11 show that changes have occurred in the 0 generation parallel kin relative age distinction, and in the 0 generation affinal kin and -1 generation collateral kin gender distinctions. While contemporary Sranan does not make an age distinction in the 0 generation parallel kin, eighteenth-century Sranan, as seen in the data of van Dyk and Schumann, indicates such an age distinction. Ndyuka also distinguishes age in this relationship. The gender dis- tinction swap of the ¤1 generation collateral kin in Surinamese Dutch also follows the pattern of the historical Sranan sources, Ndyuka, SraBD, and SraFd. Additionally, Surinamese Dutch calques the pattern of Sranan and Ndyuka, a construction in which a term for 'brother' or 'sister' is combined with one for 'child'. This suggests that Surinamese Dutch borrowed some of its semantic features from an older variety of Sranan.

		1600	1700	1800	1850	1900	1950	2000	type of change	variation
Dutch	+1 P									
	+1 C]								
	+1 A]								
	0 P]							-age	
	0 C	1								
	0 A	1							-gender	
	-1 P	1								
	-1 C	1							calque	
	-1 A	1								
Sranan	+1 P									
	+1 C								-gender	
	+1 A									
	0 P								-age	
	0 C	-							calque	Х
	0 A								conflation	
	-1 P									
	-1 C								calque	Х
	-1 A									
Sarnami	+1 P									
	+1 C	1								
	+1 A	1								
	0 P	1							+age	
	0 C	1								Х
	0 A	1							calque?	
	-1 P	1							- ^	
	-1 C	1							+gender	Х
	-1 A	1								

Figure 2. Graphic representing the layering, directionality, and relative chronology of semantic changes in kin terms in Dutch, Sranan, and Sarnami. (The following conventions are used: light shading = Dutch-type traits; medium shading = Sranan-type traits; dark shading = Hindi-type traits; A = affinal; C = collateral; P = parallel. A plus sign (+) in the last column indicates that variation is found in modern Surinamese data.)

Sarnami also shows some significant differences from Hindi. Similar to Surinamese Dutch, there is an age distinction in the 0 generation parallel kin terms of Sarnami which is not noted in the Hindi sources. Collateral kin of the 0 generation, according to the Santokhi and Nienhuis word list and field data, are not distinguished from parallel kin. This is not the case for modern Sranan. And, while there is no specific indication of this relation in the early Sranan records, an absence of terms such as

those that appear in modern Sranan could indicate that such a distinction was not made in seventeenth-century Sranan. Ndyuka also shares this trait of not terminologically distinguishing 0 generation parallel and collateral relationships. In the 0 generation affinal kin, the Santokhi and Nienhuis data show a loss of relative age distinctions, following the pattern of all the other languages in the sample for Suriname. More indicative of Sranan influence is the term swagi, found in the SIL dictionary and produced by my informants, which carries the same meaning in Sarnami as in Sranan. Finally, the ¤1 generation collateral kin in both Sarnami and Hindi share rather opaque semantics, though the SIL dictionary lists an additional set of possibilities, which resemble early Sranan, Ndyuka, and SraBD in meaning. It appears that, at least in part, Sarnami also copied semantic strategies of an older variety of Sranan.

Changes demonstrated between modern Sranan and historical records- notably, the loss of age distinction in 0 generation parallel, possible addition of gender distinction in 0 generation collateral-pattern with European Dutch. If Surinamese Dutch gets many of its defining characteristics from a massive shift of Sranan speakers following the leerplicht in the 1870s, how can apparent Euro- pean Dutch features be present in modern Sranan? Ouite simply, Suriname has never been out of contact with European Dutch, and while the local variety of Surinamese Dutch developed under substrate influence, features present in European Dutch that were perceived as prestigious were incorporated into Sranan. likely at a later stage due to increased access to Dutch, a higher degree of bilingualism, and the integration of Dutch as a Surinamese language. Pres- tige, both covert and overt, perhaps plays the most significant role in the social motivation for feature variation, though European Dutch is not the only model language contributing overtly prestigious features to Surinamese languages. For Hindu Sarnami speakers, Hindi is idealized; it is studied by many who can afford to and viewed as a purer basis of Sarnami (Damsteegt 2002:251). Although variation in Sarnami kin terms was often explained by informants as a result of particular family's practices, it is clear that Hindi is viewed as the prestigious ideal, as is indicated by the fact that informants often wished to con- tact a family member or friend who studied Hindi to clarify particular points about the terms under investigation. Suffice it to say that SarSIL patterns more closely with Hindi, and thus is a variety which employs more prestigious fea- tures than the data collected by the author from working-class informants and SarSN.

7. Conclusion

In the Surinamese context, kinship terms have undergone, and continue to undergo, changes in both form and meaning. In the timespan of just a few hundred years, a number of changes, dramatic in some cases, have occurred within the domain of kinship terminology. Description of this demon- strable instability in the domain of kin terms in Suriname is not in any way meant to confute the work of those utilizing kinship terms in reconstructions, such as the AUSTKIN project mentioned in section 1. Stability of kinship terms, and perhaps other linguistic features, is likely situationally determined; a num- ber of social and linguistic factors facilitated changes in the domain of kinship in Suriname.

Shared features in the sample of Surinamese languages have not spread unidirectionally. Sranan and Dutch have both contributed material to the shared structure of kinship terms in the Surinamese linguistic area. Sranan elements have been incorporated into the Surinamese Dutch system via sub- strate transfer, and into Sarnami via bilingual interference (loans and calques), which was facilitated by the new social setting of the Indian immigrants in Suriname and which added transparency to semantically opaque terms. Ideas of prestige appear to be the driving force behind maintenance of formal registers in Sarnami, though the fact that Sarnami is now used mainly in informal domains will likely lead to the loss of these registers. This has also encouraged the development of Sranan registers that employ more Dutch strategies in their kinship systems.

Thus, the present article not only demonstrates that several diachronic developments can be traced in the domain of kinship terms in Suriname, it also shows that this kind of contact-induced language change did not end with the formation of the country's creole languages. Surinamese languages continue to develop and change under each other's influence. This article, along with work by others (e.g., Migge and Léglise 2011; Yakpo, van den Berg, and Borges forthcoming), indicates that Suriname's languages are converging, possibly leading to the recognition of Suriname as a linguistic area in the near future. It has also been possible to add some transparency to the processes by which linguistic areas develop. In particular, the layering of changes and shifts in directionality of contactinduced changes have been demonstrated for the Surinamese case through a close examination of diachronic data, along with synchronic variation and information about language attitudes. Layering of contact-induced changes deserves more attention in the field of contact linguistics, particularly with re- gard to reconstructing complex outcomes like linguistic areas. Finally, this work has shown that semantic shift is also a promising area for linguists to investi- gate, alongside more typical avenues of grammatical structure, in our investi- gations into the intricacies of contact-induced language change in general, and linguistic areas more specifically.

Appendix: Kin terms in the current language sample

	DuSéw	DuAN	DuSRN	DuFd
0 generation				
Br	broeder, broêr	broer, broeder		
oBr			broer	broer, broeder
yBr			broertje, kleinbroertje	broertje
Si	zufter	zus, zuster		
oSi			zuster	zus, zuster
ySi			zusje, kleinzusje	zusje
Spouse			echt	echt
Wi	wyf, huysvrouw, vrouw	vrouw, echtgenote		
Hu	man	man, echtgenoot		
WiBr		zwager, schoonbroer	schoonbroer	schoonbroer
WiSi	schoonzuftr	schoonzus	zwageres	zwageres
HuBr	zwager	zwager, schoonbroer	schoonbroer	schoonbroer
HuSi	schoonzuftr	schoonzus	zwageres	zwageres
BrWi	broersvrouw, fnaar	schoonzuz	zwageres	zwageres
SiHu		zwager, schoonbroer	schoonbroer	schoonbroer
FaBrSo	neef	neef	neef	neef
FaBrDa	nicht	nicht	nicht	nicht
FaSiSo	neef	neef	neef	neef
FaSiDa	nicht	nicht	nicht	nicht
MoBrSo	neef	neef	neef	neef
MoBrDa	nicht	nicht	nicht	nicht
MoSiSo	neef	neef	neef	neef
MoSiDa	nicht	nicht	nicht	nicht
-1 generation				
So	zoon	zoon	zoon	zoon
Da	dóchter	dochter	dochter	dochter
SoWi	schoondochter	schoondochter		
DaHu	schoonzoon, behuuwdzoon	schoonzoon		
foster/adopted child			kweki kind	

Kin Terms in Surinamese Dutch, Contemporary European Dutch, and the Historical Variety

100				
BrSo	neef	neef	broerskind	broerskind
BrDa	nicht	nicht	broerskind	broerskind
SiSo	neef	neef	zusterskind	zusterskind
SiDa	nicht	nicht	zusterskind	zusterskind
+1 Generation				
Мо	moeder	moeder		moeder
Fa	vader	vader		vader
MoHu (not Fa)		stiefvader		
FaWi (not Mo)		stiefmoeder		
foster/ adoptive			kweki moeder/	
parent			vader	
FaBr	oom	oom	oom	oom
FaSi	moeye, meutje	tante	tante	tante
MoBr	oom	oom	oom	oom
MoSi	moeye, meutje	tante	tante	tante
FaBrWi	moeye, meutje	tante	tante	tante
FaSiHu	oom	oom	oom	oom
MoBrWi	moeye, meutje	tante	tante	tante
MoSiHu	oom	oom	oom	oom
WiFa	schoonvader,	schoonvader	schoonvader	schoonvader
WiMo	behuuwdvader schoonmoeder,	schoonmoeder	schoonmoeder	schoonmoeder
HuFa	behuuwdmoeder schoonvader,	schoonvader	schoonvader	schoonvader
HuMa	behuuwdvader schoonmoeder, behuuwdmoeder	schoonmoeder	schoonmoeder	schoonmoeder

Kin Terms in Present-day Sranan and Ndyuka

	SraSIL	SraBD	SraFd	Ndy	NdyFd
0 generation					
Br	brada	brada	brada	baala	baala
oBr				gaan baala	gaan baala
yBr				pikin baala	pikin baala
Si	sisa	sisa	ssa	sisa	sisa
oSi				gaan sisa	gaan sisa
ySi				pikin sisa	pikin sisa
Wi	frow, trow	wefi		uman, tiya	uman, tiya
	frow, uma,		~	sama	sama
	wefi		wefi		
Hu	masra	masra		man, tiyu	man, tiyu
			man, masra	sama	sama
WiBr	swagri	swagri	swagri	swagi	swagi

WiSi	swagares	swagares	swagares	swagi	swagi
HuBr	swagri	swagri	swagri	swagi	swagi
HuSi	swagares	swagares	swagares	swagi	swagi
BrWi	swagares	swagares	swagares	swagi	swagi
SiHu	swagri	swagri	swagri	swagi	swagi
FaBrSo	nefo	omupkin	omupkin	baala	baala
FaBrDa		omupkin	omupkin	sisa	sisa
FaSiSo	nefo,	tantapkin	tantapkin	baala	baala
FaSiDa		tantapkin	tantapkin	sisa	sisa
MoBrSo	nefo	omupkin	omupkin	baala	baala
MoBrDa		omupkin	omupkin	sisa	sisa
MoSiSo	nefo	tantapkin	tantapkin	baala	baala
MoSiDa		tantapkin	tantapkin	sisa	sisa
-1 generation					
So	manpikin, boi	manpikin, boi	boi	manpikin	manpikin, boi, bia
Da	pikin, umanpikin	pikin, umanpikin	umanpkin	umanpikin	umanpikin
SoWi	1	1		mai	mai
DaHu				pai	pai
foster/adopted child				kweki pikin	kweki pikin
BrSo	nefo	bradapkin	bradapkin	baala pikin	baala pikin
BrDa		bradapkin	bradapkin	baala pikin	baala pikin
SiSo	nefo	s'sapkin	s'sapkin	sisa pikin	sisa pikin
SiDa		s'sapkin	s'sapkin	sisa pikin	sisa pikin
+1 Commention					
Generation Mo	mama	m'ma		mma	mma
Fa	papa, tata	p'pa, t'ta	ma	dda	dda
MoHu (not	pupu, uuu	p pu, t u	tata	kweki dda	uuu
Fa)				in one dau	
FaWi (not				Kweki/Pikin	
Mo) EoDr				mma	time amou
FaBr	omu	omu	omu	tiyu, omu	tiyu, omu
FaSi	tanta	tanta	tanta	tiya	tiya
MoBr	omu	omu	omu	tiyu, omu	tiyu, omu
MoSi	tanta	tanta	tanta	tiya	tiya
FaBrWi	tanta	tanta	tanta	tiya	tiya
FaSiHu MaDrW	omu	omu	omu	tiyu, omu	tiyu, omu
MoBrWi	tanta	tanta	tanta	tiya	tiya
MoSiHu	omu	omu	omu	tıyu, omu	tıyu, omu

WiFa	wefi p'pa	wefi p'pa	wefi p'pa	pai	pai
WiMo	wefi m'ma	wefi m'ma	wefi m'ma	mai	mai
HuFa	masra p'pa	masra p'pa	masra p'pa	pai	pai
HuMa	masra m'ma	masra m'ma	masra m'ma	mai	mai

Kin Terms in Eighteenth-Century Sranan

	SravD	SraWey	SraSch
0 generation			
Br		brara	
oBr	ouwere brara		
yBr			pikin brara
Si		siesa	sisa
oSi	ouwere ziza		
Wi		wefie	weifi
Hu			mann
WiBr		wefie brara	
BrWi	brara wijfie		
SiHu	ziza man		
FaBrSo	kombi		
FaSiSo	kombi		
-1 generation			
So	pikien buy	man piekien	manpikin
Da	pikien homen	oema piekien	umanpikin
SoWi		piekien em oema	
BrSo		brara man piekien	
BrDa		brara oema piekien	
SiSo	ziza pikien	siesa man piekien	
SiDa	ziza pikien	siesa oema piekien	
+1 Generation			
Mo	mama	mama	mamma
Fa	tata	tata	tatta
MoHu (not Fa)		kroektoe tata	
FaWi (not Mo)		kroektoe mama	
FaBr		oomoe	
FaSi		tanta	
MoBr	mama brara	oomoe	
MoSi	mama ziza	tanta	

	Sarnami and Hind	SarSN	SarFd	HiSW	HiPl
0 generation					
Br	bhaai	bhái	bhái	bhaaii	bhaaii
Si	bahien	bahin	bahin	bahin, bahan	bahan
oSi	boeboe, diedie	didi, bubu	ba r ka didi		
Wi	aurat, biebie, biehautie, ghar waalie, patanie	gharwáli, patni	aurat, bibi(mosl.)	patnii	patmii
Hu	aadmie, bhataar, biehauta, ghar waala, patie	admi, pati	mared, mardana, shower (mosl.)		pati
WiBr	saa (h, swagri	sár	sar	saalaa	saalaa
WiBrWi	swagri		sa r haj	salhaj	salhaaj
WiSi	swagri	sári, ba ť ki		saalii	saalii
WioSi			ba [ki		
WiySi			sari		
WiSiHu	saa (hoe, swagri	sa r hu	sarhubhaai	saa d huu	saadhu
WiSiHuoBr	ba t koe, dje t h, swagri			je t h	
WiSiHuyBr	dewar, swagri			devar	
HuBrWi	nanad, swagri				devar(aanii)
HuoBrWi	ba r kie, swagri		ba r ki	je t aanii	jet ^a h
HuyBrWi	tjho t ki, swagri		cotki	devaranii	
HuSi	nanad, swagri	nanad	nanad	nanad	nanad
HuSiHu	nandoi, swagri	nandoi	nandoi	nandoi	nanadoii
BrWi	bhaabie, bhaudjie, swagri	bhauji, bhabi, cho † ki		bhaabhii	bhabi
oBrWi	Swagii	споркі	phoji		
yBrWi			coţki		
SiHu oSiHu ySiHu	swagri bahanoi, swagri tjho t koe, swagri	bahnoi	bahanoi	bahnoii	bahnoi jiijaa
FaBrSo	.,	bhái	bhái	cacera bhaaii	caceraa
FaBrDa		bahin	bahin	cacerii bahan	bhaaii cacerii bahan

Kin Terms in Sarnami and Hindi

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FaoBrSo	barka daada ke beta				tayeraa bhaaii
FaoBrDa	barka daada ke bietia				tayeraa bahan
FayBrSo	kaaka ke be t a				
FayBrDa	kaaka ke bie t ia				
FaSiSo	phoewa ke be t a	bhái	bhái		phupheraa bhaaii
FaSiDa	phoewa ke bie t ia	bahin	bahin		phupheri bahan
MoBrSo	maama ke be t a	bhái	bhái		mameraa bhaaii
MoBrDa	maama ke bie t ia	bahin	bahin		mamerii bahan
MoZSo	mausi ke be t a	bhái	bhái	maseraa bhaaii	maoseraa bhaaii
MoZDa	mausi ke bietia	bahin	bahin	maserii bahan	maoserii bahan
SoWiFa	samdhie	samdhi	samdhi		
DaHuFa	samdhie	samdhi	samdhi		
DaHuMo		samdhin	samdhin		
SoWiMo		samdhin	samdhin		
-1 generation					
So	beta, betwa	betá, betwá	beta, betwa	betaa	bet ^a aa
Da	beție, bieția	beti, bitiyá	be t i, bi t iya	beții	bet ^a ii
SoWi	motoh				
	patoh	patoh	potoh	bahuu, patohuu	bahu
DaHu	damaad	damád	damaad	patohuu daamaad	daamaad
DaHu BrSo	•	•	•	patohuu daamaad	
	damaad bhaai ke be t a,	damád	damaad bhaai ke be t a,	patohuu daamaad	daamaad
BrSo	damaad bhaai ke beţa, bahiene Bhaai ke bieţia,	damád bhaine	damaad bhaai ke beţa, bhaine bhaai ke beţia,	patohuu daamaad bhatiijea	daamaad bhatiiyaa
BrSo BrDa	damaad bhaai ke beta, bahiene Bhaai ke bietia, bhatiedien bahien ke beta,	damád bhaine bhatiji	damaad bhaai ke beţa, bhaine bhaai ke beţia, bhatiji bahien ke beţa,	patohuu daamaad bhatiijea bhatiijii	daamaad bhatiiyaa bhatiijii
BrSo BrDa SiSo SiDa +1	damaad bhaai ke beta, bahiene Bhaai ke bietia, bhatiedien bahien ke beta, bhatiedj bahien ke betia,	damád bhaine bhatiji bhánja	damaad bhaai ke beţa, bhaine bhaai ke beţia, bhatiji bahien ke beţa, bhánja bahien ke beţia,	patohuu daamaad bhatiijea bhatiijii bhaamjii	daamaad bhatiiyaa bhatiijii bhaa ŋ jaa
BrSo BrDa SiSo SiDa +1 Generation	damaad bhaai ke beta, bahiene Bhaai ke bietia, bhatiedien bahien ke beta, bhatiedj bahien ke betia, bahiene	damád bhaine bhatiji bhánja bhaine	damaad bhaai ke beţa, bhaine bhaai ke beţia, bhatiji bahien ke beţa, bhánja bahien ke beţia, bhaine	patohuu daamaad bhatiijea bhatiijii bhaamjii bhaamjaa	daamaad bhatiiyaa bhatiijii bhaa n jaa bhaa n jii
BrSo BrDa SiSo SiDa +1	damaad bhaai ke beta, bahiene Bhaai ke bietia, bhatiedien bahien ke beta, bhatiedj bahien ke betia,	damád bhaine bhatiji bhánja	damaad bhaai ke beţa, bhaine bhaai ke beţia, bhatiji bahien ke beţa, bhánja bahien ke beţia,	patohuu daamaad bhatiijea bhatiijii bhaamjii	daamaad bhatiiyaa bhatiijii bhaa ŋ jaa
BrSo BrDa SiSo SiDa +1 Generation	damaad bhaai ke beţa, bahiene Bhaai ke bieţia, bhatiedien bahien ke beţa, bhatiedj bahien ke beţia, bahiene	damád bhaine bhatiji bhánja bhaine mái, má,	damaad bhaai ke beţa, bhaine bhaai ke beţia, bhatiji bahien ke beţa, bhánja bahien ke beţia, bhaine ma, matadji,	patohuu daamaad bhatiijea bhatiijii bhaamjii bhaamjaa	daamaad bhatiiyaa bhatiijii bhaa n jaa bhaa n jii

FaoBr	ba r ka daada	ba r ka dádá, ba r ka báp	ba r ka dada	caaca	taauu
FayBr	laala	káká, caccá	kaka	taauu	caacaa
FaSi	phoewa	phuwá	phuwa	phuuphii, buaa	buaa
MoBr	maama	mámá, mámu	mama	maamaa	maamaa
MoSi	mausie ,khaala	mausi, khálá	maosi	mausii	mausii
FaBrWi					caacii
FaoBrWi	ba r ki maai, thattjie	ba r ki mái	ba r ki mai	caacii	taaii
FayBrWi	maamie	káki	kaki	taaii	
FaSiHu	phoeppha	phupphá	phupha	phuuphaa	phuuphaa
MoBrWi		mámi	mami	maamii	maamii
MoSiHu	mausa	mausa, khálu		mausaa	maosaa
WiFa	sasoer	sasur	sasur	sasur	sasur
WiFaoBr					taayasraa
WiFaSi					phuphiya sasa
WiFaoBrWi					taayas
WiFaSiHu					phuphiya khusar
WiMo	saas	sás	sás	saas	saas
HuFa	sasoer	sasur	sasur	sasur	sasur
HuFaoBr					taayasraa
HuFaSi					phuphiya sasa
HuFaoBrWi					taayas
HuMa	saas	sás	sás	saas	

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Tense, Mood, and Aspect in Suriname

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Various proposals have been made with regards to stability, or conversely borrowability, of particular aspects of languages' lexicons and structures. In this paper, we investigate the stability and borrowability of forms and patterns of tense, mood, and aspect systems of the Surinamese creoles, Surinamese Dutch, Sarnami, and Surinamese Javanese. Our investigation reveals that Sranan and Dutch tend to be the source language in the crosslinguistic transfer of forms and patterns in the Surinamese context, and that typological distance and socio-cultural factors play a role in determining contact induced developments in the languages studied. This suggests that, although our results loosely match various stability scales, language system external considerations so far largely preclude the construction of universally applicable stability and borrowability scales.

1. Introduction

The general aim of this chapter is to investigate the stability of forms, meanings, and structural patterns surrounding the expression of tense, mood, and aspect (TMA) in the languages of Suriname. Despite its prominent position in the creolization debate and occasional mentions in the literature on linguistic areas, studies on TMA in (non creolization) contact settings are relatively few. TMA is well studied in the world's language, in descriptive terms (Bakker et al. 1994, Barbiers et al. 2002; van den Berg and Aboh 2013, Essegbey et al. 2013), in typology (Dahl 1985, 2000; Dahl and Velupillai 2011a-d; Dryer 2011), and historical development & grammaticalization (Bybee et al. 1994). In a relatively short period of time, Suriname has seen numerous, often radical, linguistic developments due to its many languages, pervasive multilingualism, and well distributed array of contact scenarios. We will investigate the vulnerability of features to contact induced changes in the TMA systems of the Surinamese creoles, Surinamese Dutch, Sarnami, and Surinamese Javanese.

Although some linguists believe that any type of borrowing or structural influence is possible in a contact setting (e.g. Thomason and Kaufman 1988), much

work has been done in attempting to determine which forms are most borrowable (e.g. Muysken 1981, via van Hout and Muysken 1994) and which structures are most stable (e.g. Cysouw et al. 2008). Despite this, there are some areas within borrowability and stability hierarchies where there is still little agreement. These points will be discussed in more detail below.

1.1 Borrowing hierarchies

Several general borrowing hierarchies have been proposed for concrete lexical or morphological forms (e.g. Haugen 1950, Weinreich 1953, Muysken 1981, Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Matras 2007). Muysken (1) and Matras (2), for example, propose hierarchies based on case study data. Muysken's study investigates Spanish borrowings in Quechua, while Matras' findings are based on a wide range of geographic areas and genetically affiliated areas specifically targeting structural effects in language contact scenarios. Though they arrive at somewhat different outcomes, there are some important similarities, e.g. nouns are most borrowable while bound functional elements tend to be more difficult to borrow. Other methods also provide inconsistent results for general borrowability scales.

 van Hout & Muysken (1994:41) nouns > adjectives > verbs > prepositions > coordinating conjunctions > quantifiers > determiners > free pronouns > clitic pronouns > subordinating conjunctions
 Matras (2007:61-62) nouns > conjunctions > verbs > discourse markers > adjectives > interjections> adverbs > other particles, adpositions > numerals > pronouns > derivational affixes

Other work, e.g. Tadmor et al. (2010), shows similar trends, where nouns are more borrowable than verbs and content words more borrowable than function words. They also demonstrate that grammatical categories are not the only factor determining borrowability; certain semantic fields are more frequently borrowed than others. Others (Pagel and Atkinson 2007, Pagel 2009:411) suggest that the frequency with which words are used predict their resistance to change.

Perhaps because TMA is expressed through a variety of means in different languages – e.g. supersegmentals, adverbs, clitics, inflectional morphology – and within individual languages, it plays, at most, a marginal role in the proposed borrowing hierarchies and discussions on vocabulary stability.

1.2 Further distinctions: matter (MAT) and pattern (PAT) borrowing

Borrowability (the likelihood that a language will take a form from another language) and stability (resistance to change) are fundamentally different since one necessarily involves language contact and the other does not. Borrowing and stability are different in that studies on the former tend to deal with external processes involving some component of language contact while the latter tend to target internal developments. Matras and Sakel (2007) have helped refine our perception of borrowability by systematically distinguishing borrowing of forms and

copying of patterns in contact settings. Based on their 27 language sample, Matras (2007) proposes a number of micro-hierarchies for matter and pattern replication. Of particular relevance here are those relating to TMA. Modality is more susceptible to contact induced change than aspect, which is more susceptible than future tense, etc. A further hierarchy was also posited for modal categories.

(3) Matras 2007:45-46
 a. TMA: modality > aspect > future tense > other tenses
 b. modality (esp.MAT): obligation > necessity > possibility > ability > desire

With this, Matras provides yet another possible hierarchy for the borrowability (and by implication, stability) of both forms and structures in the realm of TMA.

1.3 Stability of structures

Recently, linguists have taken an interest in stability of linguistic structure with the idea that certain features are more resistant to change. Structural features would thereby provide insights into language evolution at a greater time depth than possible through the comparative method (cf. Dunn et al 2005). While others (e.g. Greenhill et al. 2010) contend that structure is more susceptible to change than vocabulary, a number of efforts have been made to determine whether there are universally stable linguistic structures (and if so, what are they), and/or whether stability of particular features depends on language families. Since the methodologies and results of these studies do not always lend themselves to user friendly comparison, Dediu and Cysouw (2013) have reviewed a number of such studies and made their outcomes comparable through statistical conversion. Each of the works they included applied measures to data from the World Atlas of Linguistic Structures and despite that all used the same source of data, none concluded with the same stability hierarchy. Those WALS features pertaining to TMA have been extracted from the studies in Dediu and Cysouw (2013) and are presented in (4)-(8), from most to least stable.

(4) Cysouw, Albu, and Dress (2008)

Congruence test: position of tense-aspect affixes > past tense > morphological imperative > future tense > perfect > epistemic possibility > perfective / imperfective > overlap b/w situational and epistemic modal marking > imperative-hortative system > prohibitive > optative > situational possibility

Coherence method: optative > imperative-hortative system > morphological imperative > situational possibility > position of tense-aspect affixes > future tense > perfective / imperfective > epistemic possibility > perfect > prohibitive > overlap b/w situational and epistemic modal marking > past tense

Rank method: optative > future tense > perfective / imperfective > perfect > imperative-hortative system > position of tense-aspect affixes > situational possibility > morphological imperative > past tense > overlap b/w situational and epistemic modal marking > epistemic possibility > prohibitive

(5) *Dediu (2011)*

optative > perfective / imperfective > future tense > past tense > overlap b/w situational and epistemic modal marking > morphological imperative > perfect

(6) Parkvall (2008)

P1 (all families contained in WALS): position of tense-aspect affixes > past tense > optative > morphological imperative > prohibitive > imperative-hortative system > future tense > situational possibility > overlap b/w situational and epistemic modal marking > perfective / imperfective > epistemic possibility > perfect
P2 (subset of "most widely accepted families" in WALS): position of tense-aspect affixes > past tense > morphological imperative > perfective / imperfective > prohibitive > situational possibility > future tense > imperative-hortative system > epistemic possibility > optative > perfect > overlap b/w situational and epistemic modal marking

- (7) Wichman and Holman 2009
 optative > past tense > position of Tense-aspect affixes > perfective / imperfective >
 situational possibility > epistemic possibility > future tense > morphological
 imperative
 > prohibitive > perfect> imperative-hortative system > overlap b/w situational and
 epistemic modal marking
- (8) Maslova (2002, 2004)

optative > perfective / imperfective > position of Tense-aspect affixes > future tense > past tense > situational possibility > imperative-hortative system > morphological imperative > epistemic possibility > perfect > prohibitive > overlap b/w situational and epistemic modal marking

With just a glance at these hierarchies, one will notice that there are important trends and contradictions among them. Dediu and Cysouw used a principal component analysis to rank shared features according to their stability and relative consistency in each of the methods they investigated combined. The TMA features they mention can be ranked as follows:

(9) Dediu and Cysouw (2013) optative > past tense > perfective / imperfective > future tense > perfect > overlap b/w situational and epistemic modal marking

Each of the eight methods applied to the same (sub)set of data has produced a unique result and Dediu and Cysouw's (2013) analysis of the eight combined outcomes provides yet a ninth ranking of the features. This suggests that a universal scale of feature stability either (a) does not exist, or (b) has not been satisfactorily demonstrated by quantitative methods. None of the methods mentioned in this section have accounted for social factors, such as frequency of use of particular linguistic features or the broad socio-cultural setting in which speakers of a particular language find themselves. Thus another possibility is that (c) universals of feature stability are (partially) determined by the social setting of the languages speakers.

1.4 The present study

The present study specifically targets stability / borrowability of TMA systems in situations of intense language contact by investigating both the transfer of forms and the patterns surrounding realization of TMA in a sample of Surinamese languages:

the creole languages of Suriname (Anglo-creole), Surinamese Dutch (Germanic), Sarnami (Indic), and Surinamese Javanese (Austronesian). While the sample is much too small to propose yet another hierarchy for borrowing / stability tendencies in TMA systems in general, we will be able to provide detailed inter- and intralanguage family developments within a single multilingual society.

Our investigation is mainly diachronic, in that we intend to trace the development of the various TMA systems, though we also use a large set of synchronic data to supplement our findings, and in some cases, propose possible changes in progress. For some languages, diachronic data is available e.g, Sranan and Saramaccan, while for the other Surinamese creoles, we have to rely on reconstructions based on synchronic linguistic data, socio-historical data, and what we know about early Sranan (from which all Surinamese creoles appear to descend). In the other cases, Dutch, Sarnami, and Surinamese Javanese, a diachronic component can be inferred from comparison with closely related / ancestral varieties of the Surinamese variety, i.e. European Dutch for Surinamese Dutch; Avadhi, Bhojpuri, and other overseas Hindi varieties for Sarnami; Javanese as spoken on Java for Surinamese.

Suriname affords us a great opportunity to investigate a number of typologically different languages as well as several genetically related languages (creoles). Our sample covers the spectrum of contact scenarios: maintenance, shift, stable bilingualism, and creole formation within a single multilingual society. Conveniently, the TMA systems have been somewhat of an obsession of creolists. Similarities in creole TMA systems had been initially noted as evidence supporting the monogenisis hypothesis. But TMA (sub)systems were later also provided as evidence for other theories of creole genesis (e.g. superstratist, substratist, bioprogram). We see creole formation as an ongoing complex layering of contact processes, involving elements from both substrate and superstrate as input, as well as language internal developments. The creoles continue to develop under pressure from contact with other creole and non-creole languages. Therefore, it is worth systematically tracing the TMA developments in the creole languages for comparison with other languages with which they interact.

The other three languages in our sample will help us to determine the extent to which the structure independent factors determine borrowability / stability of TMA forms and patterns. While the specifics of social, attitudinal, and practical aspects surrounding the Surinamese creoles, Dutch, Sarnami, and Surinamese Javanese differ, each languages is an integral part of Surinamese society. And since universals are hardly agreed upon (see above), parallels we see across the languages of Suriname are more likely indicative of a strong influence of the languages' setting rather than universal tendencies or purely internally driven developments.

In section 2 we will provide general definitions of tense, mood, and aspect. Section 3 will describe the development of TMA in theSurinamese creoles. Surinamese Dutch TMA will be contrasted with European Dutch in section 4, followed by developments of Sarnami and Surinamese Javanese in sections 5 and 6. We will then summarize and compare the developments in order to see (a) where changes have occurred in TMA systems and (b) if those developments can be attributed to contact or internal development.

2. Definitions and methodology

2.1 Definitions

Despite relatively agreed upon theoretical definitions, TMA categories are not always neatly separable in practice. Markers of TMA often overlap. For example, multiple categories can be conveyed with a single form, or meanings of one category can be conveyed by a marker of another depending on context. Tense and aspect are particularly linked in this respect; they both express types of temporal relationships. Temporal meaning can also be inferred from modal categories. TMA markers (or lack thereof) are often combined to derive additional meanings. Further, lexical semantics, aktionsart, stativity/dynamicity, discourse context, and others all play a role in the conventionalized expression of temporal relations and speakers' perception and intention. Nonetheless, we are able to differentiate the concepts of tense, mood, and aspect and in some cases exemplify them in a less blurry fashion than is evident in everyday spoken language. The following subsections provide basic definitions of TMA, though for convenience, Tense and Aspect will be discussed in sequence and modality saved for the end.

2.1.1 Tense

Tense refers to one way in which languages conventionalize the expression of an event in time. As Mueller (2013:29) puts it, tense 'is a representation of the relationship between three points in time'. These three points, first coined by Reichenbach (via Mueller 2013, Boland 2006), are the points of speech (S), event (E), and reference (R). In some cases, the point of reference coincides with one of the other points, or according to Comrie (1985), is absent, called absolute tense.

Consider (10)–(12), from McWhorter and Good (2012:118-121), where there is a simple relationship between S and E, past, present, and future, respectively.

(10)	Mi	á	bi	kë	
	1SG	NEG	PST	want	
	'I didn			so).' (Sa	aamaka)
(11)	Mi	lobi	ë	tui	ituu
	1SG	love	3sgO	tru	e
	'I love	him so	much'. (Saamal	ka)
(12)	Mi	seéi	ó	bói	ë
	1sg	self	FUT	cool	3sgO
	'I will	cook it 1	nyself.'	(Saama	ka)

Comrie distinguishes absolute tense from relative tense, where all three points are distinguished. In (13, Mcwhorter and Good 2012:118), the use of the marker *bi* with a non-stative verb indicates past before past. In other words, R precedes S but is later than E.

(13)	и	bi	si	písípísi	fëë	aki	kaa
	1pl	PST	see	piece	POSS.3SGO	here co	MP
	'we ha	d seen 1	bieces so	cattered around	here' (Saamak	a)	

Another collocation, in (14, Winford and Migge 2004:504), demonstrates another order whereby R and E are also both pre S but the E takes place after the R.

(14)Efu mi hen ahi moni mi ho hai wan oto if have money 1SG PST PST.FUT 18G buy DET car 'If I had money, I would have bought a car.' (Sranan)

Languages differ in the means by which they mark tense. English for example has a tendency to use inflectional suffixes to mark past and unmarked verbs are interpreted in the present. In the Surinamese creoles however, unmarked dynamic verbs are interpreted as past events and past is marked on stative verbs by a preverbal auxiliary. Similarly, languages differ in the number of grammaticalized strategies for marking different time references. Mueller (2013:46-57), for example, discusses a number of South American indigenous languages that morphologically mark several levels of temporal remoteness (e.g. in the past, just now, weeks/months ago, years ago).

2.1.2 Modality

Of the three TMA categories, modality is by far the most difficult and disagreed upon category of TMA. Most basically, modality is a "grammaticalization of speakers' (subjective) attitudes and opinions." (Palmer 1986:16). Modality "presents a statement about the truth or realization of a state or event. It refers to the attitude of the speaker or one of the persons involved in the situation described" (Bakker and van der Voort 1994:247). Beyond these most basic types of definitions, the specifics of modality become muddled with a multitude of strategies and sets of terminologies from different disciplines which tend to only partially overlap and outright conflict with each other.

Boland (2006) presents modality, quite clearly, as an interplay between three parameters: sense, source, and scope. Sense consists of a linear continuum, and though she acknowledges that the number of distinctions made in the continuum depend on the language, Boland (2006:69) lists those four distinguished by English: possibility, disposition, weak necessity, and necessity. The source describes the origin of modality. Boland (2006:72) describes 3 sources: Epistemic (having to do with knowledge), speaker-internal (where modality is ascribed to some internal characteristic of the participant), and speaker external (where modality is ascribed to external characteristics of the participant). The latter can also be divided into two sub types: deontic, i.e. necessity or possibility of acts preformed by morally responsible agents, and non-deontic. The interaction of sense and source are detailed in Table 1.

According to Boland (2006:74) the various combinations of sense and source account for the majority of modal distinctions, but in some cases, a third parameter – scope– is useful for understanding more fine grained semantic distinctions. Scope refers to which part of the utterance a modal governs. There are three possibilities of scope: the predicate (where "the description of the relation or property predicated of the argument(s) is modified" thereby defining the relationship between the participant and the state of affairs in which it is involved, also called participant oriented or inherent modality), the predication ("the event is situated in the real or

imaginary world" also called event oriented or objective modality), or the proposition ("the truth of the propositional content is evaluated" also called proposition-oriented or subjective modality). Scope also combines with sense and source, though there is some disagreement on the possibilities. One point of contention is whether there is a one to one correspondence between scope and source – i.e. epistemic modality would be proposition oriented. Further not all logical combinations of scope and source are possible, e.g. participant internal modality can only be participant oriented. See Boland (2006) for an extensive discussion of the different types of modality.

Table 1: Interaction of modal parameters sense and source (Dotand 2000.75)								
	sense							
source	potential	disposition	weak necessity	necessity				
Internal	ability	volition	weak internal need	internal need				
External deontic	permission	desirability	weak obligation	obligation				
External non- deontic	root possibility	root-disposition	weak root necessity	root-necessity				
Epistemic	epistemic possibility	epistemic disposition	epistemic probability	epistemic necessity				

Table 1. Interaction of modal param	ters sense and source (Boland 2006:73)
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2.1.3 Aspect

While tense locates an event in time, aspect specifies the temporal structure of an event itself (Comrie 1976:3). Like tense, languages differ in the number of aspectual categories they distinguish and the means by which aspect is conveyed. Commonly, two macro categories are often utilized by tyologists: perfective and imperfective. The former conveys an event as a whole, while the latter "pays essential attention to the internal structure" of an event (Comrie 1976:16). Examples (15)–(16) (Sranan from Winford 2006:91) exemplify this difference.

(15)	A	djuku	wan	man	boro	en	here	bere
	3sg	stab	ART.	man	cut.open	3SG.POSS	whole	belly
	'He sta	ubbed th	e man a	and cut of	pen his who	le belly.' (Pe	rfective)	
(16)	one tv 'Are	woof	the-PL of gra	child of	granny II	wroko g PFV work g Ilso cultiva	ground no	

In the Surinamese creoles, unmarked verbs are read with perfective aspect (15). Preverbal *e* marks imperfective aspect in Sranan and Eastern Maroon creole (16). The Surinamese creoles will be discussed in more detail in the following section. A

more fine grained reading of perfective aspect can be attained by use of a post verbal completive / perfect marker *kaba* (17)

(17) *A alen disi kan stop now. Yongu, a kon tumisi furu kaba, yere* the rain this can stop now man it come too full already hear 'This rain can stop now. Man, it has already rained more than enough.' (Perfect)

In some languages, the imperfective can be further split into subcategories, such as habitual, continuous, or iterative (Comrie 1976:25), though these distinctions will not play a role in our investigation.

2.2 Methodology

This article relies on linguistic data gathered in Suriname in 2011-12 by Robert Borges, Kofi Yakpo, and Stanley Hanenberg as part of the ERC project "Traces of Contact" at Radboud University Nijmegen. Additional control data was collected by Kofi Yakpo in New Delhi, India in 2010 with speakers of Hindi, Awadhi, Bhojpuri, Maithili, and Magahi. Indonesian Javanese control data was collected in 2012 for comparison with Surinamese Javanese by Riski Lestiono, a collaborator of the ERC project and himself a native speaker of Indonesian Javanese, and Sophie Villerius during a Fieldwork Methods course in Leiden University. All language examples in this paper that come without a bibliographical reference stem from our own field data.

The data consists of elicited material gathered through the use of visual stimuli such as pictures, picture books (e.g. Mayer's 1969 *Frog where are you?*), and a variety of video clips assembled as a standard elicitation kit for the Traces of Contact research group. We also collected more naturalistic data through semi-structured interviews and (un)guided conversations. Data was collected from various parts of the coastal area and the interior, from members of the different linguistic communities, speakers from ages fifteen to ninety years, and is somewhat genderbalanced.

3. The creole languages

There are seven creole languages that developed in Suriname and are still spoken there today. Sranan, which presumably was formed in the latter half of the 17th century, is traditionally the language of the Creole population (i.e. Afro-Surinamese non-Maroon), though the language is also currently used by a large number of other people in Suriname as one of the main languages of interethnic communication. The other six languages are spoken by Maroons, Afro-Surinamese groups whose ancestors fled plantation slavery and formed independent communities outside the plantation area. As these communities became somewhat isolated from each other, they became differentiated due to unique linguistic developments. These Maroon languages can be further divided into two groups (a) the Eastern Maroon languages: Ndyuka, Aluku, Kwinti, and Pamaka, and (b) the Central Maroon languages: Saamaka and Matawai. There is a high degree of mutual intelligibility within groups (a) and (b), but (b) has a significantly higher proportion of Portuguese functional and lexical elements, as well as an arguably closer affinity to its substrate languages, mostly Gbe and Kikongo. Group (b) is therefore the most distinct from the other Maroon languages and Sranan. Unlike Sranan, the Maroon languages have been largely used as ingroup languages, though it seems that recently a leveled Eastern Maroon variety is gaining ground as a lingua franca in the urban environment.

3.1 TMA in the Suriname creoles

The core concepts expressed by Surinamese creole TMA systems are mostly marked with preverbal markers (or their absense). The main focus of this section will be on the grammaticalized morphemes that mark concepts of TMA, though a number of auxiliary verbs, adverbs and adverbial clauses are also employed for encoding additional TMA concepts. Discourse position and context also play a large role in determining TMA interpretation in the Surinamese languages (Huttar and Huttar 1994:489-493, Winford and Migge 2007:76).

Examples of categories expressed in Surinamese creoles are past and future tense, perfective and imperfective aspect, and epistemic, deontic, and dynamic modality. The Surinamese creoles largely distinguish the same TMA categories and to some extent draw from the same set of forms to convey these categories, though the distribution of the forms in each language differs to some extent. Since by definition, creole languages are comprised of forms and structures from multiple source languages as well as some degree of restructuring and innovation, the various components of Surinamese creole TMA systems will be presented alongside current views on their development.

3.2 Development of tense in the Surinamese creoles

Surinamese creoles employ a relative tense system, with reference to the speech act or other reference point. In the modern creoles, there are two tense markers, be(n) / bi (< English *been*) which locates an event prior to a particular reference point, and o for future tense (< English go). A difference in meaning is apparent between stative and non-stative verbs with past marking. Stative verbs marked with be(n) / bigive a simple past reading, while non statives are interpreted with a past reference in their unmarked form. Non statives marked with be(n) / bi convey a past-before-past (pluperfect) meaning. The stative / non-stative distinction does not play a role in the interpretation of verbs marked with o; these are always interpreted with future meaning. The expression of tense is not limited to the use of pre-verbal markers, but can also be achieved through the use of temporal adverbs or time adverb clauses, as well as particular aspect (e) and modal (sa) markers (Huttar and Huttar 1994:489; van den Berg 2007:185, 188, 191, 196; Winford and Migge 2007:77-79).

Both the modern tense markers are derived from English forms and are attested in other Anglo creoles. The distribution of these forms does not, however, coincide with either English or West African substrate languages. Past marking appears earlier in the sources of Sranan (early 18th century), while *o* is not attested as a

future marker until the late 18th century (Winford 2006:105, van den Berg 2007:191, Winford and Migge 2007:95, Migge and Goury 2008:322).

tense categor	y Early Sranan	Saamaka	Ndyuka	Pamaka	Sranan
past	ben	bi	be	be	ben
future	sa, go, de go	0	0	0	0

Possibly resulting from the relatively late grammaticalization of o, there were several forms used in Early Sranan to express future time reference, as shown in Table 2. There are two hypotheses for the variation and development of future forms in Early Sranan. The first is that *sa* (<Du *zal* 'shall' or English *shall*) existed first as a future marker, but began to develop modal meanings in the late 18th century, after which the *go* / *de go* construction became the preferred construction for indicating future tense (van den Berg 2007:199, Migge and Goury 2008:326). Though neither 'movement toward a goal' grammaticalizing into a future morpheme, nor future markers developing into modal markers are cross linguistically rare developments (c.f. Bybee et al. 1994), this hypothesis does not completely account for the order in which these morphemes developed or the current distribution of *sa* across modal categories in the various Surinamese creoles (Migge and Goury 2008:326).

According to the other hypothesis, by the late 18th century, *sa* and (*de*) go may have already developed into sociological salient variables associated with different varieties of Sranan, the Bakratongo (more European) and the Ningretongo variety, (more African), respectively (van den Berg 2007:199, Migge and Goury 2008:326). Migge and Goury (2008:327) cite the high proportion of African slaves to Europeans (24:1 in 1783) as the probable reason that the Nengretongo variant expanded to the Bakratongo variety and later reduced phonologically to *o*. The further development of *sa* as a modal marker will be discussed below.

3.3 The development of modality in the Surinamese creoles

A number of modal categories are distinguished in the Surinamese creoles, however the marking of each category differs according to language (Migge 2006:34; Migge and Goury 2008:309; Migge and Winford 2009, Essegbey et al. 2013). Table 2 details a number of modal categories and the grammaticalized morphemes used to mark each category in several Surinamese creoles. The most variation can be found in the realm of potential. Other categories are marked with relative consistency.

The most variation among the Surinamese creoles is found within the potential category. These sub-categories are marked with the forms *sa*, *man*, *kan*, and *poi*, though the distributions across the different languages are not consistent, reflecting unique developments of each language. Migge and Winford (2009:129) argue that the potential categories of Maroon creoles are largely modeled on Gbe patterns, while Sranan exhibits additional internal developments and effects of contact with Dutch.

A number of complex developments have led to the makeup of the modern modal system in the Surinamese creoles. In the early sources, modality seems to have been largely modeled on Dutch (and possibly English). The meanings of early forms correspond to their etyma, though increased contact with Dutch and substrate languages forced developments of Sranan and the Maroon creoles in different directions. As *sa* was losing ground to (*g*)*o* as a tense marker in Suriname and acquiring modal meaning, Dutch had a stronger influence on Sranan which led to Sranan's modal system being modeled on the Dutch one. Modern Sranan *sa* and Dutch *zullen* share a similar range of modal meanings (Migge and Winford 2009:146-148).

modal category	Early Srana	n Saamaka	Ndyuka	Pamaka	Sranan
Potential					
Physical ability +	kan, man va	sa	sa	sa	man/kan
Physical ability -	kan	sa	poi	man	man/kan
Deontic (root) possibility +	kan	sa	sa	sa	kan
Deontic (root) possibility -	kan	sa	poi	man	kan
Permission +	kan, mag	sa	sa	sa	man/kan/mag
Permission -	kan	sa	poi	man	man/kan/mag
Epistemic possibility + / -	(kan)	sa, kande	sa, kande	sa, kande	kande
Necessity deontic necessity of obligation	or <i>mus(u)</i> ,	musu, musu u	mu, musu fu	mu, musu	musu, sa
epistemic necessity	y musu	musu	musu	musu	sa

Table 3. Creole modal categories and markers

NOTE: this table is adapted from Migge (2006:34), Migge & Goury (2008:309), and Migge & Winford (2009).

There are several reasons to suggest substrate influence on the Maroon creoles' use of *sa*. Firstly, Western Gbe languages have a potential future marker $l\dot{a} / \dot{a}$ which also invokes a range of modal meanings that correspond to potential categories in the Maroon creoles (Migge and Winford 2009:149). Secondly, the Gbe system of potential modality indexes the same categories as the Maroon creoles and several Gbe varieties (Aja, Xwela, Xwla) formally distinguish positive and negative potential categories, which would explain the use of *man* (Pamaka) and *poi* (Ndyuka, <Portuguese *pode* '3sg can') in negative contexts (Migge and Winford 2009:150). Essegbey et al. (2013) also point out the formal distinction between inherent and acquired ability, marked with imperfective *e* and modal *sa* respectively in the Maroon creoles, which reflects patterns found in several Gbe languages.

The marker *kan*, on the other hand, appears to have been modeled on the usage patterns of Dutch *kunnen*, indicating root possibility, ability, and permission in both 18th century and modern Sranan (Migge and Winford 2009:141-142). *Kunnen* is also used to indicate epistemic possibility in Dutch, and Migge and Winford (2009:142) suggest that the marginal use of Sranan *kan* in such contexts is a recent development. Dutch is also clearly the source of *mag*, indicating permission, though its use is quite marginal in 18th century Sranan, suggesting that this is a somewhat later developments (van den Berg 2007:217, Migge and Winford 2009:142). Grammaticalization also played a role in the modal system of Sranan and Pamaka, as evidenced by the status of *man* as an auxiliary which developed from its use as a noun (van den Berg 2001:249-252, van den Berg and Arends 2004:26-28).

Our data from 2010-11 suggest that developments in the modal system of Nduyka (and possibly other Maroon creoles) continue to develop. We have noticed differential marking of modal categories between urban and rural dwelling Ndyuka speakers, with the former tending to align themselves with Sranan patterns. Likely due to an increasing number of Maroons in the city in the past decades, their increased exposure to Sranantongo, frequent interaction with Maroons from other ethnic groups and non-Maroons, and perhaps the inclination to establish an identity independent of their traditional ethnicity (see Migge 2007; Migge and Léglise 2013; Léglise and Migge to appear), Maroon languages have come under influence of each other and Sranantongo. Ndyuka speakers themselves are also aware of Sranantongo's influence on their language. One informant explained that the closer you get to the coast, the more 'developed' the language is. Others describe the influence more defensively; coastal Ndyuka is *moksi* 'mixed' or *basaa* 'bastardized'. An urban dwelling informant describes the difference in terms of "modern" Ndyuka along the coast versus a more traditional variety in the interior.

Modal category	Sranantongo	Urban Ndyuka	Rural Ndyuka
positive potential	Sa	Sa	Sa
negative potential	kan/sa		Poi
positive possibility	kan	Kan	Sa
negative possibility	man/kan	man	Poi
positive permission	kan/mag	Kan	Sa
negative permission	kan	Man	Poi
Positive physical ability	kan	Kan	Sa
negative physical ability	man		Poi

Table 4. Modal particles in rural and urban Ndyuka

NOTE: Sranan and Rural Ndyuka columns come from the same sources as Table 4. The Urban Ndyuka column is based on our data.

Language attitudes aside, speakers are well aware that there is a difference between urban and rural varieties, though it is often difficult for informants to pinpoint particular features, and several informants claimed to switch between varieties depending on their environment. Table (4) illustrates how the modal categories of Urban Ndyuka appear to have been influenced by Sranantongo:

The following two examples contrast the rural Ndyuka form *poi* (18) with the urban form *man* (19).¹ Both forms may express negative permission (the former only in combination with verbal negation), and in this context, they thus share the same function. However, *man* is not the conventional form used in upriver Ndyuka. Compare the Sranantongo example in (20):

(18)	mi be taigi den pikin kaba, yu á poi waka go a busi								
	1SG PST tell DEF.PL child COMPL 2SG NEG MOD walk go LOC forest								
	'I told those kids they may not go into the forest [alone]' (rural Ndyuka)								
(19)	i no man oli en moro.								
	2s NEG MOD hold 3SG more								
	'You may not keep it anymore.' (urban Ndyuka)								
(20)	un no man taki soso Sranantongo.								
	1/2PL NEG MOD talk only Sranantongo								
	'You [PL] may not talk only Sranantongo.								

The following examples illustrate the phenomenon with respect to the expression of physical ability. The conventional form for expressing this modal category in rural Ndyuka is the preverbal particle sa, as shown in (21). Urban Ndyuka speakers however freely employ the Sranantongo derived auxiliary verb *kan* instead, as in (22). Compare the Sranantongo use of *kan* in (23):

(21)	а	taanga	,	а	sa	diki	n	van	onde	00	kilo.
	3sg	be.stro	ng	3sg	MOD	lift	0	ne	hunc	ired	kilo
	'He is	(very) st	rong, he	e can lift	100 ki	los.' ((Winf	ord an	d Mi	gge 2004	1:30)
(22)	i	kan	go	meke	wa	in .	film.				
	2sg	MOD	go	make	IN	DF	film				
	'You ca	an go ma	ake a fil	m. (urba	n Ndyu	ıka)					
(23)	а	kan	dor	o fu	b	roko		a apr	а.		
	3sg	MOD	rea	ch PRE	p b	reak		DEF.S	G a	apple	
	'He car	n manag	e to picl	k the app	ole.'						

It is important to note here that the phenomenon presented cannot be described as a complete change; variation is the norm. Many of our urban informants were recorded using both rural Ndyuka forms next to urban forms, though this was not the case with our upriver speakers. With two geographic points of reference in our Ndyuka sample, Paramaribo and the upriver Tapanahoni, the data suggest that Sranan is the main source of urban features in Ndyuka; however contact with highly intelligible eastern Maroon varieties should not be ignored. In fact, it is often difficult to determine the origin of a particular feature, such as the case of *man* in examples (18)–(20). Pamaka is not represented in our sample, though Migge and

¹ It is worth noting that *man* is also used among other EMC groups as well as some downriver. It is apparent that our data represents extreme points on a scale. Variation *is* the norm with respect to these variables and more research is needed to more accurately determine the patterns behind their usage.

Goury (2008:309) tell us that *man* is also employed for several modal categories in that language. *Kan* on the other hand appears to be an addition to the repertoire of urban Ndyuka originating from Sranan. While etymologically indeterminate features such as *man* might weaken our argument for an urban influence on Ndyuka, it should be noted that the important changes in traditional Maroon societies associated with coastal life in Paramaribo and urban centers along the Marowijne that have set the stage for the blurring of traditionally salient differences among Maroon varieties, as well as influence from Sranan.

3.4 Development of Aspect in the Surinamese creoles

Verbs that are not marked with an aspect marker are interpreted as perfective. Imperfective aspect is marked with preverbal *e* in Sranan and Eastern Maroon creole, and *ta* in Saamaka. Completive aspect is marked in all creoles with a verb phrase final *kaba* (<Port. *acabar* 'to finish') which is homophonous to a main verb 'to finish'. Aspectual categories and their markers are detailed in Table 5.

aspect category	Early Sranan	Saamaka	Ndyuka	Pamaka	Sranan
PFV	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
IPFV	de	ta	e	e	е
COMPL	kaba	ka(b)a	kaba	kaba	k(a)ba

Table 5. Aspectual marking in the Surinamese Creoles

Winford and Migge (2007:83) argue that the perfective interpretation of unmarked verbs is modeled primarily on the Gbe languages. The two language groups share a "more or less identical range of meanings and uses" with respect to unmarked verbs, including: property items and other stative verbs, non stative verbs with past reference, and non stative verbs with current relevance (Winford and Migge 2007:81). Substrate influence also plays the primary role in the development of the completive marker. Like the Surinamese creoles, Gbe languages also have a completive category, conveyed with a verb phrase final marker derived from the verb 'to finish' (Winford 2006:102, Winford and Migge 2007:84-85). However, *kaba* is compatible with stative and non-stative situations, while the Gbe marker is only compatible with non-stative situations, suggesting some additional processes of grammaticalization in the Surinamese creoles (Winford and Migge 2007:85, van den Berg and Aboh 2013).

Imperfective markers e and ta are derived from the locational copula de and the verb tan 'to stay, to wait'. In the early texts these forms are used to mark progressive aspect, but only rarely habitual aspect, according to Winford and Migge (2006:85), evidence which they use to suggest that imperfective aspect was a late categorical development dependent on the further grammaticalization of the progressive marker to an imperfective marker. However, van den Berg (2007:200, to appear) states that de in Early Sranan covers several imperfective sub-categories: continuous, habitual, progressive, and ingressive. This suggests that, contrary to Winford and Migge's (2007) claim, imperfective was already a grammaticalized category early on, and

was not modeled on the Gbe aspectual system which lacks a macro imperfective category as in the Surinamese creoles.

3.5 Discussion

A number of different structures in various substrate and superstrate languages, along with innovation and grammaticalization are responsible for the composition of the Surinamese creoles' TMA systems as they are today. Table 6 summarizes the processes involved in the development of each TMA marker. Various aspects of all the Surinamese creole languages' TMA systems can be attributed to substrate influences, though this is more apparent in the Maroon creoles. English superstrate influence, contact with Dutch, and grammaticalization have also played a prominent role in the development of Surinamese creoles. Finally, we suggest that the creole languages are increasingly influencing each other's development, as indexed by urban Ndyuka modal marking that patterns with Sranan in our data.

category	marker	process
tense	be	Grammaticalization of English been
	0	Grammaticalization of English go
mood	sa	Grammaticalization of Dutch <i>zal</i> 'shall' (or English <i>shall</i>) to future marker and later to modal marker Sranan dynamic <i>sa</i> modeled on Dutch patterns Maroon languages potential <i>sa</i> modeled on substrate (Gbe) patterns
	poi	Modeled on substrate patterns
	man	Grammaticalized from noun - spread to urban Maroon varieties
	kan	modeled Dutch patterns in Sranan – relatively recent spread to urban Maroon varieties
	mag	Modeled on Dutch, increased use due to recent contact
aspect	Ø	substrate influence
	kaba	substrate influence + later grammaticalization
	е	substrate influence - marker grammaticalized from locational copula grammaticalization - substrate languages distinguish several sub-types of ipfv categories

Table 6. Developments of TMA in Surinamese creoles

4. Surinamese Dutch

Surinamese Dutch (SD) is spoken both in Suriname and in the Netherlands, the colonizing country to which many Surinamese have migrated. It is a widely recognized ethnolect in the Netherlands (cf. Muysken 2013), and some of its features have led to ethnic stereotypes. It has also been described on a number of occasions, in part under the rubric of 'mistakes' of Surinamese children in the Dutch classroom. Charry (1983) is still the most sophisticated study focusing on phonological variation in this variety in the Dutch context, which requires much more investigation. De Kleine (2007) is an extensive morphosyntactic study of SD as spoken in Surinam. In Suriname, paradoxically, SD is not an ethnolect but an ethnically neutral national variety.

It should be noted that many of our elicitations in Suriname did not produce very informal speech. Some of the speakers recorded felt that they had to put on their best Dutch, i.e. as close to ED as possible. In spite of this, the data reveal a surprising number of innovative features. Another issue is whether the SD recorded represents a stable variety in its own right or simply a gathering of second language speech samples. To some extent it is the latter, as some of the consultants recorded are clearly second language speakers. However, the fact that there are 15 analyzed samples (leaving aside the word list recordings) makes it possible to see how wide spread a feature is across samples and how frequent within a sample. Some innovative properties are quite general, as can be seen from Table 8, suggesting that they are entrenched within the SD speech community.

In 4.1 we present the basic outlines of the European Dutch (ED) system, 4.2 contains the actual sketch of TMA in SD, and in 4.3, a more general perspective is introduced.

4.1. The TMA system of European Dutch

The TMA system of ED is not very rich in fully grammaticalized categories, but there are numerous auxiliaries and semi-auxiliaries, and some specialized constructions. The basic distinction in verbal morphology is that between past and non-past. In (24) an example is given with a regular (weak)verb, and in (25) with an irregular (strong) verb:

(24)	a.	Zij	hoop-t	op	een	ı be	ter-e	toekomst.
		she	hope-3sg	on	а	be	tter-AI	future
		'She	hopes for a bett	er fu	iture.	,		
	b.	Zij	hoop-te		ор	een	beter-e	toekomst.
		she	hope-3SG.PA		on	a	better-AI	future
		'She	hoped for a bet	ter fi	uture.	,		
(25)	a.	Zij	loop-t	op	stra	aat.		
		she	walk-3sG	on	stre	eet		
		'She	walks in the str	eet.'				
	b.	Zij	liep		ор	stra	at.	
		she	walk.PA.3SG		on	stree	et	
		'She	walked in the st	treet	.'			

The shape of the basic roots involved in these examples is the same; the status of a verb as 'weak' or 'strong' is not phonologically conditioned.

Form	Gloss	Uses		Category	Comments
zijn	be	a.	With past participle, past/perfect with telic verbs	TNS ASP	
		b.	With past participle, completive passive with transitive verbs		
		c.	As mentioned, progressive in the <i>aan</i> <i>het X</i> construction		
worden	'become'	a.	In passive sentences	ASP	
		b.	To mark change of state with non-verbal predicates		
zullen	shall	Future with	n modal connotations	MOD	Less frequent than in
		(assured pr	ediction, obligation)		English
moeten	must	a.	Deontic modal of obligation	MOD EVI	C
		b.	Epistemic modal of inference		
		с.	Evidential inference of hearsay		
mogen	may	а.	Deontic modal of permission	MOD	
		b.	Epistemic modal of possibility		
gaan	go	Intention, i	mmediate future	TNS ASP	Frequent in child language and L2 varieties
doen	do	habitual		ASP	Frequent in southern ED

Table 7. Some ED auxiliaries and semi-auxiliaries with their main uses

The basic temporal distinction, as noted, is past/non-past. Future tense reference is ordinarily marked with a simple non-past:

(26)	Morgen	koop	ik	een	fiets.
	tomorrow	buy.1SG	1sg	а	bike
	'Tomorrow I				

There is a specialized construction to mark progressive aspect, *aan het X-INF* zijn 'be at X-ing':

(27)	Zij	is	schoen-en	aan	het	kop-en.
	she	is	shoe-PL	at	DET	buy-INF
	'She is buying shoes.'					

There is also a 'have' + past participle perfect, which is often used in ordinary past tense contexts, unlike its use in English:

(28)	<i>Zij</i> she		<i>gisteren</i> vesterday	<i>schoen-en</i> shoe-PL	<i>gekocht.</i> buy.PP
	'She bought shoes yesterday.'				5

Furthermore, there is a whole range of auxiliaries and semi-auxiliaries. In Table 7, we present some of them with their main uses.

4.2. A sketch of TMA in Surinamese Dutch

The SD data show a number of innovative features concerning the expression of TMA categories when compared to ED.

4.2.1 Tense

In the general area of Tense, there are some cases (in two samples) where past marking on a verb is innovative in comparison with ED. These include double marking (strong + weak past, as in (29)), and weak instead of strong marking, as in (30):

(29)	<i>En dacht-te en pak-t dus, dacht-te, pak-t dus een</i> and thought-PA and grab-3SG thus, thought-PST, grab-3SG thus a <i>paar houders vast aan een paar tak-ken</i> few hold-PL tight on a few branch-PL 'and thought and grabs thus, thought, grabs a few holds tight on a few branches'
(30)	En hij ging daar uit het huis en pak-te hem en and he go.3SG.PA there out DET house and grab-3SG.PA him and houd-de hem strak vast en $z'n$, $z'n$, om hem heen hold-3SG.PA him tight straight and his his around him all 'and he went there out of the house and grabbed him and held him tight and his, his, around him'

The irregular past tense marking may be linked to a more general issue concerning tense organization in SD. In the following Frog Story recounting the speaker jumps form [perfect] to [present] to [present] to [past] to [present] to [past] to [present] to [past] to [past] to [past] to [past] to [past] to [past].

(31)	story	v book description (Frog story)
	a.	John, Johnny heeft een kikker gehad en heeft ook
		John, Johnny have.3SG a frog have.PP and have.3SG also
		een hond-je
		a dog-DIM.
		'John, Johnny has had a frog and also has a little dog.'
	b.	Johnny houd-t van de kikker, maar toen hij sliep met
		Johnny love-3SG of the frog, but when he sleep.PA with
		die hond ging die kikker stiekem weg
		that dog go.3SG.PA that frog secretly away

'Johnny loves the frog, but when he slept with the dog the frog secretly ran away.'

- Toen het morgen. toen het ochtend wordt kon. kan c. when it tomorrow when it morning becomes could. can kikker niet vinden Johnny die not find.INF Johnny that frog 'when the morning comes Johnny could, can not find the frog any more.' d. naar buiten en de, enne, roep-t Johnny keek naar eh. Johnny look.PA to outside and the, one, call-3sG to eh. naam van de kikker name of the frog.' 'Johnny looked outside and the, and, calls to, eh, the name of the frog.' Johnny heeft een gat in de grond gevo... eh gezien en dacht e. hole in the ground fi.PP.... eh see.PP and think.PA Johnny have 38G a dat het kikkertje daar binnen was en riep die kikker
 - that the frog.DIM there inside was and call.PA that frog 'Johnny has found, seen a hole in the ground .and thought that the little frog was in there and called the frog.'

De Kleine (2007) contains a detailed analysis of the TMA categories in SD as compared to ED. We will only mention a few of the points she makes. Regarding past tense marking, a very complex picture is given. De Kleine comments (2007:69): 'The pattern that emerges from the data shows that the rules for past tense marking in SD, unlike ED, are governed by discourse rather than grammar.' And further on (2007:75): 'It should be emphasized that there is a significant amount of variation regarding past tense marking in the data.'

In fragments where both *gaan* 'go' and *zullen* 'shall.INF' occur, *gaan* refers to more definite and immediate events, and *zullen* to more uncertain events (2007:63):

boos op je worden, misschien maanden lang. Maar (32) gaat ... ze ... she go.3sG angry on you become, perhaps month.PL long. But ze zal eens inzien dat je gelijk had. toch? she shall once see that you right had. right "... she is going to get mad at you, maybe for months. But one day she will see that you were right, right?'

This difference may reflect the distinction between sa and o in Sranantongo (see section 3 above). However, the past form *zullen*, *zou* 'should' does have definite reference (2007: 64):

(33)	half	tien	zou	dat	feestje	beginnen.
	half	ten	should	that	party	begin
	'at half pa	ast nine	that party w	vas going	g to start.'	

The ED system of marking unreal conditionals with past perfect forms is replaced by simple past (2007: 81):

(34)	En	als	je	niet	zoveel	bij	je	had?
	And	if	you	not	so.much	with	you	had

'And if you had not had so much money on you?' (cf. ED: *En als je niet zoveel bij je had gehad*?)

The absence of final placement of the infinitive verb after *gaan* and *worden* is illustrated in the next examples from the our corpus:

Hij (35)gaat zitten op een stoel. he go.3SG sit-INF on а chair 'He goes and sits on a chair.' (cf. ED Hij gaat op een stoel zitten.) Ligg-en wortel-en op de tafel en ze worden gebroken in twee (36) lie-3pl carrot-PL on the table and they become break.PP in two stukk-en piece-PL 'Carrots lie on the table and they are broken into two pieces.' (cf. ED ze worden in twee stukken gebroken)

This suggests that, contrary to ED, there is a tendency to view the auxiliary and the verb as a single cluster.

The overgeneralization of the *aan het* progressive construction is illustrated in (37), where the stative verb *slapen* 'sleep' is marked with *aan het*:

(37)	Een	muis	is	aan	het	slap-en.
	a	mouse	is	at	the	sleep-INF

With other speakers we find overgeneralization of *bezig zijn te X* 'be busy to X' with the same meaning.

(38)	Een vrouw zit op de grond en ze is bezig te et-en.
	a woman sit.3SG on the floor and she is busy to eat-INF
	'A woman sits on the floor and is eating.'
(39)	Een muis was bezig te lez-en en hij word-t gestoord
	a mouse was busy to read-INF and he become-3SG disturbed
	en daarom word-t hij boos.
	and therefore become-3sg he angry
	'A mouse was reading and he is disturbed and therefore he gets angry.' ²

In both cases the precise semantics of the predicate and the nature of the semigrammaticalized auxiliary are treated differently is SD from ED.

A feature shared with some varieties of ED is the use of generic doen 'do':

(40)	<i>Ja,</i> yes	-	7		etball tball			
(41)	En	aan	de				vingerzetting finger.setting	

² Notice the jump from past to present tense marking in this example.

linkerhand boven en rechterhand doe je lager te doen left.hand top and right.hand do you lower to do.INF 'And on top of the saxophone, the finger setting is left hand on top and right hand you do lower.'

4.3 Conclusions and discussion

Table 8 gives an overview of our main findings. First the number of samples is mentioned, then whether the feature is also indicated in the earlier studies of Essed-Fruin (1983), De Kleine (2007), and De Bies (2008). Finally we indicate whether the feature is similar to a Sranan feature (+), different from the relevant property of Sranan (-), or not linkable to Sranan either in positive or a negative sense (0). If the feature does not correspond directly to Sranan, but has emerged through indirect Sranan influence, it is (+).

Variable in our corpus	# san	nplesEssed-	De	De	Sranan
		Fruin	Kleine	Bies	
Absence of verb final after gaan and worden	5				(+)
Overgeneralization of aan het V	1				(+)
Overgeneralization of bezig zijn	1				(+)
Tense organization	4		66-79		+
Generic doen	1	133		41	-

Table 8. Characteristics of Surinamese Dutch TMA marking

We can assume indirect Sranan influence in the case of the absence of verb final because Sranan has S Aux (=gaan/worden) V O constituent order. The overgeneralization of *aan het V* and *bezig zijn* could be linked to the general presence of progressive *e* in Sranan with activity verbs.

Essed-Fruin (1983: 122-137), in a very interesting early exploratory study, distinguishes three types of 'deviations' from ED within SD:

- Idiomatic deviations
- Deviations from the conventional system
- Deviations from the essential system

The changes in word order and the irregular marking of past tense morphology reflect deviations from the conventional system, while changes in progressive aspect marking and the relation between past and present tense probably reflect more deep-seated deviations from the essential system

De Kleine (2007), in a much more recent thesis defended at CUNY in New York, follows the classic distinction between External change (2007: 134) and Internal change (2007: 132), which in turn can divided into Simplification through loss of forms (2007: 132) and Simplification through change of forms (2007: 133). It is clear that formal simplification and restructuring can be attributed to these types of change. External change in turn can involve either Transfer of grammatical functions (2007: 136) or Transfer of grammatical structures (2007: 139). The first case, transfer of grammatical functions, is the most frequent. A particular element already existing in ED, such as the use of *aan het*, is given a wider semantic range. This type of transfer leads to Syntactic camouflage (2007: 136), the term De Kleine

cites from Spears (1982): an SD form which looks like an ED form has a different meaning. This parallels Spears' Word camouflage, where an existing word is used with innovative meanings. These types of camouflage can lead to what Stewart (1990) has labeled *pseudocomprehension* within Caribbean societies. People from different ethnic or social backgrounds roughly, but perhaps not quite, understand each other's meanings.

5. Sarnami

Grammatical features and the lexicon of the language indicate that Sarnami is the result of the mixing of a number of northern Indian languages. Some languages that contributed to Sarnami are Bhojpuri, Magahi and Maithili, spoken in the present-day Indian federal states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal. These three languages are generally classified as the Bihari subgroup of Indic, hence separate from Hindi (cf. Masica 1993: 12ff.). The grammar and lexicon of Sarnami also reflect in varying degrees the influence of Braj and Kannauji, which are seen as eastern varieties of Hindi, (ibid.) as well as Awadhi, generally seen as a variety more distinct from Hindi albeit closely related. Sarnami shows the characteristic effects of koineization that have been widely documented in the literature (e.g. Kerswill 2002), namely mixing, leveling, simplification and reallocation. For example, Yakpo and Muysken (in press) show that the Sarnami perfective/past suffixes have multiple sources in the contributing languages listed above (cf. Damsteegt 1988 for an overview of other koineization effects in Sarnami). At the same time, leveling has been responsible for specific past/perfective forms being picked out while others have not survived the koineization process (e.g. kar-is 's/he did' [do-3SG/PL.PFV] < Awadhi; *kar-le* 'you did' [do-2sG/PL.PFV] < Maithili).

Our data and sociolinguistic interviews show that Sarnami is extremely vital, used by all generations in the Indo-Surinamese community of Suriname in a pattern of trilingualism involving Sarnami, Sranan and Dutch. Entrenched multilingualism in the Indo-Surinamese community has however led to contact induced change in Sarnami, some of which is quite far-reaching. The most obvious changes are lexical in nature: Sarnami has acquired numerous lexical items from Sranan and Dutch, and also features calques from these two languages (cf. Yakpo & Muysken, in press). However, there are also contact induced changes in the grammar of the language. One change that has been identified is an ongoing shift from SOV basic word order to a mixed pattern in which SVO is nearly as common as SOV (Yakpo & Muysken, in press). In the following, we document further contact induced changes in the TMA system of Sarnami.

The core TMA system is constituted by markers which instantiate central tense, aspect and mood categories. We will see that the most profound changes can be witnessed in the non-core system. This is to be expected since the non-core system is by definition paradigmatically and syntagmatically less tightly organized and expresses more specialized (hence more peripheral) semantic notions. Given the medium to short time depth of contact between many of the languages of Suriname – this concerns first and foremost the immigrant languages of the Asian-descended communities – we would expect the impact of language contact to make itself felt

first in the non-core system.

5.1 The TMA system of Sarnami and its contributing languages

Sarnami has a TMA system that is characteristic for the Indo-Aryan languages of north-eastern India. Sarnami The core TMA system makes use of verbal suffixes, hence bound morphology with support from the auxiliary verb 'to be' for the expression of composite tense/aspect notions.

	Sarnami	Southern Bhojpuri	Sadani Bhojpuri	Maithili	Magahi	Lakhimpuri Awadhi
1sg	-li, -lin	-lĩ	-lõ	-li	-li	-eũ
1pl	-li, -lin	-lĩ	-1ī	-li	-li	-en
2sg	-le	-lā, (-liu)	-lis	-le, -lẽ	-la	-ē, -isi
2pl	-le	-lā, (-liu)	-lā	-le, -lẽ	-la	-еи
3sg	-l, -is	-l, (-li)	-lak	-l, -lək	-l, -lak	-isi
3pl	-l, -is, -lẽ	-lẽ, (-lini)	-aī	-l, -lək	-l, -lak	-ini

Table 9. Perfective/past suffixes in Sarnami and north Indian languages

(Sources: Saksena 1971 for Awadhi; Tiwari 1960 and Shukla 1981 for Bhojpuri; Jordan-Horstmann 1969 for Sadani Bhojpuri; Yadav 1996 for Maithili; Verma 1985 for Magahi)

Table 9 compares the past/perfective suffixes of Sarnami with those found in five of its contributing languages of India. In all five varieties listed in the table above the template for the formation of composite tense/aspect categories is virtually identical. For example, past progressive is instantiated in a construction in which the lexical verb occurs in an imperfective participial form in order to express an ongoing situation (42), and a form of the verb 'to be' is inflected for past tense and personnumber in order to express the termination of a situation (43). The past tense suffix on the 'to be' auxiliary is, in turn, itself a perfective participial morpheme. Hence only the form in its entirety, i.e. the auxiliary + the perfective affix, indicates past tense. Compare the following examples of the formation of past progressive in Sarnami, Maithili and Magahi respectively:

(42)	ham	soc-at	rah -il- i	joga
	1	think-IPFP	be-PFVP-1	yoga
	ʻI was	thinking (th	at this was) yoga.	' (Sarnami)
(43)	Ram	kha- it	ch- əl -ah	
	Ram	eat-IPFP	be-PFVP.3HON	
	'Ram	was eating.'	(Maithili; Yadav	1996: 155; gloss adapted)
(44)	tu	sut-ait	ha- l -a	
	2sg	sleep-IPFP	be-PFVP-2SG	
	'You w	vere sleepin	g.' (Magahi; Verm	a 1985: 55; gloss adapted)

In the non-core system, auxiliaries combine with lexical verbs in order to express less central aspectual and modal notions in auxiliary constructions. In all the languages including Sarnami, the group of auxiliaries encompasses items ranging from little grammaticalized lexical verbs to highly grammaticalized 'vector verbs' (cf. Masica 1993: 266). Although an etymological relation between vector verbs and lexical verbs can in many cases be established, the former may express specialized aspectual and spatial notions with only remote semantic connections with their lexical counterparts. One such example is the verb *lag-*, whose source meaning is '(to) attach', as shown in the following example from Sadani Bhojpuri:

(45) kona mẽ rhthn khr gheir laghl ahe 'In the corner a mass of jewels is heaped up (lit. 'is attached').' (Sadani Bhojpuri; Jordan-Horstmann 1969: 86, no gloss provided)

In all the Bihari languages as well as in Sarnami, *lag* also occurs as an auxiliary verb in a dative experiencer construction. This function of *lag*-, although more grammaticalized, is still somehow transparently connected to the etymology of '(to) attach'. Compare the following examples from Maithili and Sarnami respectively:

(46)	Mohan	ke	əhã	nik	ləg-əl-iəeik	
	Mohan	ACC/DAT	2sg.hon	good	attach-PFVP-(2S	g.hon+3sg)
	'Mohan	liked you.' (li	t. 'you were	e well atta	ched to Mohan.'	Maithili; Yadav
	1996:18.	3; gloss adapte	ed)			
(47)	u fil	m, larka-n	ke	dare	lag-e	hai.
	DIST fil	m child-PL	ACC/DAT	fear	'attach'-INF	be.PRS
	'As for t	his film, the cl	hildren are a	fraid.' (lit.	'fear is attached	to the children.'
	Sarnami)				

In its most abstract and grammaticalized function, *lag*- is employed as an aspectual auxiliary verb with the meaning '(to) begin'. In its auxiliary function *lag*- is inflected like any other full lexical verb. Compare the following two examples from Sadani Bhojpuri and Sarnami respectively:

(48)	<i>u kandek lag</i> 's/he started provided)		lani Bhojpu	ri; Jorda	an-Horstmann	1969:101, no gloss
(49)		ACC/DAT		in	look.for-INF	<i>lag-al.</i> attach-PFVP ner.' (Sarnami)

In the following section, we concentrate our analysis on contact-induced developments to the non-core TMA system of Sarnami.

5.2 Contact-induced changes in the TMA system of Sarnami

In Sarnami, the core TMA system makes use of monosyllabic verbal suffixes, hence bound morphology with support from the auxiliary verb *rahe* 'to be' for the expression of composite tenses. In the non-core system, auxiliary verbs combine with lexical verbs in order to express less central aspectual and modal notions in auxiliary constructions. These auxiliary constructions are of course also essential for the constitution of well-formed discourse in Sarnami. However, they are not essential for the constitution of well-formed clauses, because they do not express any of the highly grammaticalized, obligatory categorial oppositions that the core system expresses.

Table 10 summarizes contact-induced developments in the non-core system of Sarnami:

Aspect/modal reading	Non-native structure	Gloss	Native equivalent	Gloss
Continuative	doro já	'through go'	áge bar he/cale	'forward move/ go"
Ingressive	bigin kare	'begin do'	lage	'come in contact'
Completive	af-	'off-'	cuk-	'completive'
Conative	pruberi/probeer kare	'try do'	kosis kare	'effort do'

Table 10. Developments in the non-core TMA system of Sarnami

5.2.1 Continuative

In our Sarnami corpus, continuative aspect is exclusively expressed via a construction involving non-native material. The adverb/particle *doro* 'through', of Sranan origin, may appear in combination with the Sarnami verb $j\dot{a}$ 'go' to express the notion 'go on, continue', as shown in 50 below. The construction therefore features a mixture of matter and pattern borrowing:

(50)	en	doro	ga-il	bajá-we.
	and	CONT	go-PFVP	play.music-INF
	'And he	e contin	ued playing	music,'

The element *doro* is also found to express a continuative reading on its own without addition of the verb $j\dot{a}$. An example for the use of this adverbial strategy can be found in 51:

(51)	doro	bajá-we	hai.
	CONT	play.music-INF	be.PRS
	'(He) c	ontinues playing music.	,

The continuative construction in Sarnami exemplifies very well the complex multidirectional transfer processes that characterize the Surinamese linguistic area. For one part, the continuative construction is a direct calque from a corresponding construction in Sranan. In Sranan too, an adverbial element *doro* as well as a lexical verb *go* collocate to express a continuative reading, as can be seen in example 52. The syntactic differences between Sarnami and Sranan can be attributed to the corresponding differences in clause-linking strategies available to the two languages. In Sarnami (cf. (50) above) the lexical verb is an infinitival complement to the auxiliary construction. But in Sranan (cf. (52) below) we instead find a serial verb

construction in which the aspectual 'auxiliary' follows the lexical verb without any overt sign of subordination:

(52) a bigi wan plèy go doro nanga hal a hall big one play with DEF.SG DEF.SG go CONT 'The big one continues playing with the ball.'

In Sranan, as well, the adverbial *doro* alone can express a continuative notion, as shown in 53:

(53)	а	moysmoysi	е	leysi	en	buku	doro.
	DEF.SG	mouse	IPFV	read	3sg.indp	book	CONT
	'The more	use continues re	eading i	ts book.	,		

The continuative construction is however not native to Sranan either. It is in fact in itself a fully nativized borrowing, and originally a calque from the Dutch particleverb collocation *door-gaan*, lit. 'through-go', best translated as 'continue'. Syntactically, the Dutch construction differs from the corresponding Sarnami and Sranan ones. In Dutch, the lexical verb specified by the continuative auxiliary is expressed as a prepositional phrase, a clausal adjunct:

(54)	en	hij	gaat	door	met	spelen.
	and	he	goes	through	with	play
	'And h	e contin	ues play	/ing.'		

Unsurprisingly, Dutch also features the use of *door* alone in constructions such as 55, in which the adverbial alone express a continuative notion:

(55) *hij gooit dan die drum weg om dan rustig weer door te lezen.* he throws then that drum away to then calm again through to read 'He then throws that drum away in order to then calmly continue reading.

In Dutch, as in other Germanic languages including English (cf. e.g. Müller 2002), there are scores of such complex predicates in which an adverb or particle collocates with a verb to render a large range of spatial, Aktionsart and idiomatic meanings. In contrast to Dutch, Sranan has but a handful of complex predicates of this kind, all of which are more or less nativized calques from Dutch. Sarnami does not have a native layer of verb-particle complex predicates either. We therefore interpret the presence of the continuative construction in Sranan and Sarnami as a transfer from Dutch. Interestingly, the Sarnami equivalent of this construction may well have entered the language via Sranan. The evidence is the phonological shape of *doro*, which features a paragogic final vowel. Nevertheless, the consolidation of the construction in Sarnami certainly owes just as much to its presence in Surinamese Dutch.

5.2.2 Ingressive

We now turn to a second contact-induced change found in our data: The Sranan verb *bigin* 'begin (to)' is preferred in as an auxiliary in a construction serving to express

ingressive aspect over an equivalent native construction. This frequency is fairly evenly distributed among speakers, however with a clear preference for the non-native structure by speakers under 25 years, where the non-native construction figures in over 80% of all cases.

Example (56) shows how Sarnami speakers make use of *bigin* for the expression of ingressive aspect, which we define here as the entry into the situation described by the main verb. Taking a closer look at the auxiliary construction, we remark the presence of the verb *kare* 'do'.

(56)	aur	bigin	kar-il	o-ke	kát-e	ke.
	and	begin	do-PFVP	DIST-ACC/DAt	cut-INF	ACC/DAT
	'And (s	she) has beg	un to cut it.'			

With the help of the generic verb *kare*, any non-native verb and, in fact members of other word classes as well, may be accommodated within Sarnami clause structure. The use of generic verbs in such constructions has been well documented for most, if not all, Indo-Aryan language (cf. e.g. McGregor 1995:63). The extensive presence of compound verbs formed in this manner in the language family constitutes an analytic alternative to verb derivation, in order to make up for the absence of verb-deriving morphology beyond that involved in valency operations. The non-native ingressive construction parallels a native one, shown in (57). This construction also involves the generic verb *kare*, preceded by the (native) noun *suru* 'beginning':

(57) *tab suru kar-is eerste aurat-iyá doorstuur kar-e ke.* then beginning do-PFVP first woman-DEF pass.on do-INF ACC/DAT 'Then the first woman began to pass (it) on, (and) the thing that was in the person's hand.'

The comparison between the non-native ingressive construction in (56) and the native one in (57) however also shows that the former construction features a verb where the latter has a noun. In fact, we do not usually find native verbs in the (object) position before the generic verb *kare*. This is therefore a specific adaptation mechanism for loanwords.

The existence of the construction in (57) above notwithstanding, the far more common native structure for expressing an ingressive notion is very different from the two above. It involves a highly grammaticalized, largely desemanticized auxiliary *lage*, for which the etymology 'touch, come in contact with' can be established. The auxiliary is postposed to the verb it specifies and is found in a position, in which other so-called "vector verbs" in Sarnami and other Indic languages are found. Such vector verbs express various types of aspectual and spatial notions in very much same way as verbal particles in Germanic (cf. (55).

(58)	aur	daarna	khá-e	lag-al
	and	afterwards	eat-INF	attach-PFVP
	'And a	fterwards (he) s	tarts to eat (i	t).'

5.2.3 Completive

The regular way of expressing a completive aspectual reading is via a native

auxiliary construction. Nonetheless speakers may opt for other, non-native means as well. The native construction involves the use of the aspectual auxiliary *cuk*-, which is highly grammaticalized and probably has a common etymology with the verb *cuke* '(to) lack'. Although the auxiliary has no lexical meaning of its own, it is inflected like any other Sarnami lexical verb. At the same time, the preceding lexical verb appears in the non-finite form conjunctive participial form, which is only overtly expressed via the suffix *-i* in vowel-final verb stems. Compare examples (59) and (60):

(59)	kát	cuk-al		dui	pisi	men	aur	dhar	de-il	
	cut	COMPL-	PST.P	two	piece	LOC:	in and	put	give-PS	T.P
	'(She	e) has fin	ished c	utting	g it into	o two j	pieces a	nd has	put it (c	lown).'
(60)	onde	rtussen	sab d	aurat	-iya-n	sa	b hánth	m	ilá-i	cuk-al
	mean	nwhile	all	woma	an-DEF	-Pl all	hand	jo	in-CONP	COMPL-PFVP
	apne	men,	oh,	арғ	ie	men	elkaar,	ja		
	REFL	in	oh	REF	7L	in	RECP	yes		
	'Mea	nwhile a	ll the v	wome	en have	e finisl	hed shal	king a	ll hands,	(with) each other,
	oh, (with) eac	h othe	r, eac	h other	; yes.'				

There is however another non-native rendering of completive aspect in the data. This possibility is, however, not fully productive, since it is lexically restricted to calques of Dutch complex verbs that incorporate the terminative *Aktionsart* affix *af*, lit. 'off'. The following example shows how the affix may be ingeniously pressed into its (lexical) aspectual function. The example features the Sarnami verb *banáwe* '(to) make' preceded by the Dutch terminative affix. The entire predicate is a lexically mixed calque of the Dutch predicate *af-maken* '(to) finish (off)':

 (61) en voor de rest ham apan oto kin-t-i ekád-go apan and for the rest 1 REFL.POSS car buy-IPFP-1 some-CLF REFL.POSS ghar af-bana-it-i house TERM-make-IPFP-1 'And as for the rest, I'd buy my car, (with) some, I'd finish my house.'

5.2.4 Conative

Conative modality, hence the rendering of the equivalent of 'try (to)' in English is normally expressed via the use of a non-native verb in Sarnami. In all but one case recorded in the data, speakers opt for the Sranan verb *pruberi* or the Dutch equivalent *probeer*. As in other cases involving Dutch verbs, speakers use a 'frozen' verb form, namely the 3sg present tense form, when integrating the Dutch verb (rather than another form, e.g. the infinitive *proberen*). Here too, speakers make use of the light verb construction featuring the auxiliary *kare*. Compare the following example with Dutch *probeer*:

(62) olifant-wá probeer kar-e stop kar-e geluid bana-i kar-ke, elefant-DEF try do-INF stop do-INF noise make-CONP do-ACC/DAT ma mus-wá ke ná hinder ho-we hai.
 but mouse-DEF ACC/DAT NEG prevent be(come)-INF be.PRS
 'The elefant tries to stop (the mouse) by making noise, but the mouse is not prevented [from reading].'

The Sranan verb *pruberi* appears in the same kind of construction, as shown in (63) below.

(63) **pruberi** kar-e hai uppar big-e ke maar punah se gir ga-il try do-INFbe.PRSupperside throw-INFACC/DAT but again ABL fallgo-PFVP 'It tries to throw it up, but it has fallen again.'

An equivalent native way of expressing conative modality involves the usual *kare* light verb construction. However, it involves a nominal complement (here *kosis* 'effort' rather than a verbal one as is the case in the two preceding examples involving non-native elements. In altogether 30 instances of conative modality, only 2 involve the use of the native structure in (64):

(64) *aurat-iya-n kosis kar-e hai mardan-wa-n ke* woman-DEF-PL effort do-INF be.PRS man-DEF-PL ACC/DAT *chu-we ke*, *pakar -e ke* touch-INF ACC/DAT hold-INF who 'The women are trying to touch, to grab the men.'

5.3 Conclusion

We have shown that Sarnami shows some significant contact-induced developments in its non-core TMA system: Some important aspectual and modal notions are primarily expressed via constructions that contain elements borrowed from Sranan and Dutch. The status of Sarnami as an independent variety of the Bihari languages is therefore not only confirmed through the innovations it has acquired in the process of koineization. Sarnami also stands out in the degree to which the language appears to make use of Sranan and Dutch items in its lexicon and grammar. Further research will have to show how much paradigmatically more tightly organized parts of the grammar, including the core TMA system also show signs of transfer from Sranan and Dutch.

6. Surinamese Javanese

Immigration of contract laborers from the Indonesian island of Java into Suriname has started around 1890, and continued until around 1939 (Carlin and Arends 2002). Today, this community has around 60,000 members in Suriname, which is around 16% of the total Surinamese population. Until quite recently, this community had been quite closed and self-contained, which is one of the reasons it had been able to preserve much of its cultural traditions, including the Javanese language. Nowadays, however, young Surinamese Javanese are increasingly proficient in Dutch and Sranan which they also use among themselves, while Javanese is regarded more as a language spoken with (grand)parents, in restricted contexts.

Since Javanese in Suriname is spoken in a highly multilingual environment, changes due to language contact are expected to occur in this heritage language. This section will provide an explorative overview of TMA marking in the Javanese language as it is spoken in Suriname. By comparing Surinamese Javanese material

(the heritage language) with Javanese material from Java (the 'baseline' language), changes which are possibly due to language contact will be identified, and when possible, an explanation will be given for how these changes could have come about.

Since most speakers of Javanese nowadays are multilingual, changes in this system might be expected to be introduced by these speakers, e.g. in the direction of a simplification. A certain amount simplification compared to Javanese as spoken on Java has already been observed in other aspects of the language, most notably the speech levels, which are less differentiated in Surinamese Javanese than in the Javanese of Java (Wolfowitz 1991). It is important to note that the Javanese as spoken on Java is not a homogeneous language and that in has traditionally been divided into three dialects in the literature: western, central and eastern Javanese. The dialect as spoken in Surakarta and Yogyakarta (central Java) has been generally accepted as Standard Javanese (Dudas 1976:iv). Available information suggests, however, that dialects differ mostly in phonology, rather than in morphosyntax or semantics of TMA.

Another important remark to make about Javanese is regarding the speech styles, which are strictly observed among baseline Javanese speakers (Ras 1985). The most informal speech level is *Ngoko*, used with friends and relatives. On the other side of the spectrum is the formal speech level *Krama*, used in dialogues with highly placed individuals and strangers. In between these two speech levels there are even more fine-grained differentiations, depending on the position of the interlocutors. However, these speech styles only differ in lexicon (and some affixes might be different), but not in syntax or morphology, and since *Ngoko* is the most widely used style (virtually the only style used in Suriname), examples presented here will be taken from *Ngoko* speech.

6.1 TMA in Java

Javanese verbs are not marked for person or number and the Javanese language is not rich in morpho-syntactic marking for TMA-categories. According to Robson (1992:64), most TMA-categories in Javanese are marked by auxiliary words, which occur in pre-verbal position. One of the arguments he gives for considering these as auxiliary words, and not as clitics for example, is the fact that they can be separated from the verb, for example by a negative adverb as in the following example which involves the auxiliary *bakal* and the verb *lungo* 'go':

(65)	aku	bakal	ora	lungo
	1sg	IRR	NEG	go
	'I will no	ot be going.'	(Robson,	, 1992: 66)

Table 11 provides an overview of TMA-marking words and suffixes on the basis of different sources (Robson 1992, Adelaar 2011, Vander Klok 2008, Vander Klok 2010). This table is followed by an explanation of the use of the different markers in Javanese. It should be mentioned that the status of some of the markers is not agreed upon. For example *wis*, is considered a tense-marker instead of an aspect-marker by Vander Klok (2008). A similar example is *bakal*, which might be a tense marker

comparable to *arep* according to Vander Klok (2010: 2). These points will be elaborated below

Category	TMA-marker	Meaning	Gloss
Tense	arep	'want/will'	FUT
Aspect	lagi	'just'	PROG
•	wis	'already'	PFV
Modality	bakal	'be going to'	IRR
	entuk/olèh	'may/be permitted'	DEONT.may
	isâ	'capable/to be able'	can
	kudu	'must/have to'	DEONT.must
	mesti	'certainly/inevitable'	EPIST.must
	mungkin	'perhaps/possibly'	EPIST.may

Table 11. Overview of TMA-markers (auxiliary words and suffixes) in Javanese

6.1.1 Tense

Javanese does not have a rich set of forms for tense marking. It is also important to note therefore that in Javanese, tense is often inferred from the context in zeromarked phrases, e.g. with the use of an adverb of time as in (67). Without further morphemes or adverbs that give information on the time of the event, this will always be interpreted as present, as in (66).

(66)	aku m-ar	ıgan	
	I ACT-	eat	
	'I eat.'		
(67)	wingi	aku	m-angan
	yesterday	Ι	ACT-eat
	'I ate yester	lay.'	

Future tense is marked with *arep* (68) which is also regularly used in the meaning of 'to want' conveying participant-oriented modality (volitional modality) rather than tense. Modal use of *arep* will be discussed in the following subsection

(68)	aku	arep	ng-oreng	sego
	1sg	FUT	ACT-fry	rice
	'I will	fry the r	ice.' (Vande	r Klok 2010: 1)

As Hengeveld (2011: 592) argues, volitional modal markers are indeed a potential source for (absolute future) tense markers, and it is therefore highly likely that the modal meaning of *arep* was the original meaning, and that this tense marker developed only later.

6.1.2 Modality

As for the Javanese modals, according to Vander Klok (2008a), these are organized along two axes: quantificational force (either universal - 'must' or existential - 'may') and type of modal base (either epistemic or deontic). The combination of these two axes results in four modal categories, which are each marked by a different auxiliary. The following classification follows:

Table 12 The	of Javanese	modal	markers	according to	Vander Klok
(2008a: 8)					
	deontic		P	nistemic	

	deontic	epistemic
universal ('must')	kudu	mesti
existential ('may')	entuk/olèh	mungkin

Apart from these four modal markers described by Vander Klok, we distinguish two more markers of modality in this paper, namely *bakal* (irrealis) and *isâ* ('can').

The marker $is\hat{a}$ can be translated as 'can/be able to' and refers to the acquired (physical) ability of the participant to engage in an event:

(69) di-gâwâni kayu sing luwih gedé, nah saiki isâ, dèké njukuk PASS-bring wood REL more big INTJ now can 3SG take kain abang iku cloth red DEF
 'A bigger piece of wood is brought, now he can, he takes the red piece of clothing.'

In fact, this marker is often used to described the participant's *in*ability, combined with the negative adverb *gak*:

(70) ânâk arèk loro tekâ nyobak njupuk kelambi iku exist child two from ACT-try ACT-take cloth DEF mencolo-mencolot lugur gak isâ kâyâkané jump-RED fall NEG can seem
 'There are two children who try to take the piece of clothing, they jump, they fall, it seems they can't.'

The marker *bakal* is not easy to classify immediately. According to Vander Klok (2010: 2), *bakal* might be a tense marker comparable to *arep*, with the difference in the expression of agency: 'the future marker *arep* appears to convey intention; with intention comes an implication of agency, as the intender is committed to do what can be done to make the proposition true at a future time (Tonhauser, to appear). In contrast to *arep*, *bakal* appears to convey prediction; although the speaker is committed to the truth of the proposition at a future time, there is no implication of agency. We propose that *bakal* marks irrialis modality rather than tense. Consider the following examples from my own fieldwork for an example of the use of *bakal* next to *ate* (the East-Javanese variant of *arep*):

(71)	3sg	<i>ng-angep</i> ACT-assur sumes that	ne COM	P person		<i>lungo</i> go
(72)	deke 3sG	ora ya NEG su ubts wheth	<i>akìn nèk</i> are COM	wong P person		<i>lungo</i> go

In these examples, the difference between *ate/arep* and *bakal* seems to be the degree of certainty the speaker has about the truth of the subordinate clause. When the

speaker was asked to explain the difference between *ate* and *bakal*, it was confirmed that this was indeed the difference: when contrasting different sentences with *ate* and *bakal*, the speaker declared that in the latter case she felt as if it was less 'certain' that the event in the subordinate clause were truly to take place. Since this marker expresses the speaker's commitment to the truth value of the proposition, *bakal* should be classified as proposition-oriented modality, taking scope over the Episode.

The marker *entuk* or *olèh* (which behave exactly the same) is used to express permission (the deontic existential/'may'). This auxiliary literally means 'to receive/ get' and can also be used as a lexical verb with this meaning

(73)	terus	olèh	apel	iku,	terus	di-pangan
	then	get	apple	DET	then	PASS-eat
	'Then l	ne gets t	he apple	e, then h	e eats it	.'

As a TMA-marker, it is used as a participant-oriented modal marker, taking scope over the Situational concept:

(74) Jozi oleh ng-anggo celono neng ng-aji Jozi DEONT.mayACT-wear pants at ACT-read.Qur'an 'Jozi is allowed to wear pants to the reading of Holy Qur'an.' (Vander Klok 2012: 32)

It can also be used in a more general sense, expressing event-oriented modality, taking scope over the State-of-affairs:

(75)	kulit-e	iwak	urang	oleh	di-pangan
	skin-DEF	fish	shrimp	DEONT.may	PASS-eat
	'Shrimp sk	in may	be eaten.' (V	ander Klok 201	2: 32)

The marker *kudu* expresses necessity (universal quantificational force), and is deontic in its modality type (Vander Klok 2008).

(76)	akı	u kudu	nang	warong	kuwi
	Ι	DEONT.must	to	store	DEF
	ίI	nust go to the st	ore.' (V	ander Klok 2	2008: 4)

Since this modal describes the relationship between the participant and the potential realization of the event (obligation), I would describe this as participant-oriented modality, taking scope over the Situational Concept. In addition to this deontic modal, *kudu* can also express a 'circumstantial' modal meaning, based on facts about the world (Vander Klok 2012: 27):

(77) aku kudu pipis 1SG DEONT.must pee 'I must pee.' (Vander Klok 2012: 27)

The marker *mungkin* has the same epistemic modal base as *mesti*. The difference lies in the quantificational force: whereas mesti expresses universal force ('must'), mungkin expresses existential force ('may'). It is therefore that the use of *mungkin* is appropriate in the following context, contrasted with (78), while *mesti* would be infelicitous here:

(78) Context: Ahmed is calling for his dog. The dog is not coming. Ahmed looks for the dog all over the house, but he cannot find him. Then he looks outside in the yard. Ahmed still cannot find the dog, but maybe the dog is locked in the shed. The dog may have escaped. asu kuwi mungkin wis ucul dog the EPIST.may PRF get.loose 'The dog may have escaped.' (Vander Klok 2010; 10)

As with *mesti*, the marker *mungkin* characterizes the possible occurrence of the event in view of what is known about the world. The marker *mesti* or *mesthi* (allophonic variation) appears to 'express necessity according to the evidence available to the speaker' (Vander Klok 2012: 26). Since it relies on evidence available to the speaker, the modal base is epistemic. Vander Klok (2008) defines this modal marker as 'epistemic universal', since the quantificational force is universal, 'must'. As an epistemic modal, the possibility of occurrence of the event is characterized in view of what is known of the world.

(79) Context: Ahmed is calling for his dog. The dog is not coming. Ahmed looks for the dog all over the house, but he cannot find him. Then he looks outside in the yard. Ahmed still cannot find the dog. The dog must have escaped asu kuwi mesthi wis ucul dogthe EPIST.must PRF get.loose 'The dog must have escaped.' (Vander Klok 2010: 9)

6.1.3 Aspect

Progressive aspect is marked by the auxiliary lagi, as in the following examples:

(80)		<i>wadon lagi</i> woman PROG	10		<i>nyamikan</i> refreshment
(81)	<i>arèk wè</i> child wo	ter is serving re dok iku lagi man that PROG girl is playing t	<i>dolan</i> play	<i>piano</i> piano	obson 1992: 114)

Perfective aspect is marked by wis (Vander Klok 2012).

(82) aku wis m-angan I PRF ACT-eat 'I have (already) eaten.' 6.2 TMA in Surinamese Javanese

In this section, we will explore the TMA-system of Surinamese Javanese, and investigate possible changes it has undergone in comparison to the TMA-system of Standard Javanese.

6.2.1 Tense

The future tense is marked by *arep* as in baseline variety. The following metalinguistic comment from one of the heritage language speakers illustrates the way the speaker understands the usage of this marker:

(83) als we zeggen, ik ga naar de bank: arep nèng bank if we say 1SG FUT LOC the bank FUT LOC bank 'If we say, I go to the bank, "arep nèng bank".'

It appears that *arep* also conveys aspectual meanings in the heritage variety. Consider the following examples, which are descriptions of video clips. In the video described in example (84), a man washes his hands, but the event begins after the beginning of the video. The same goes for the video as described in example (85), which starts with the image of a woman standing, after which the woman starts moving out through the window.

(84)	tangan-é karo	anduk	<i>aro banyu, di-lapi</i> ith water PASS-wipe
	hand-DEF with	towel	
	'A man is going to w	ash his hand with water,	, the hand is wiped with a towel.'
(85)	wong wèdok arep	metu tekâ jendé.	lâ
	person woman FUT	go.out from windo	ow.
	'A woman is going to	go out through the win	.dow.'

In the context of the videos, we propose that the most natural translation for this marker here would be 'is going to', since it refers to a more immediate future, which actually starts happening during the time of the utterance. Therefore, I would propose that this is not truly a future tense marker, but more of an aspectual marker, specifically prospective aspect.

Speakers of the heritage variety mark future/prospective with *arep* more frequently and in contexts where the baseline speakers employ other strategies. Although the use of *arep* as a prospective is most probably not novel in Surinamese Javanese, it is not encountered with this meaning in the baseline corpus, and the preference for it therefore seems to be a feature of the heritage variety. The apparent overgeneralization of *arep* is arguably due to influence of (Surinamese) Dutch and/ or Sranantongo, which both categorically and formally differentiate immediate versus more uncertain future: *gaan* 'go' vs. *zullen* 'shall' in Dutch, and *sa* and *o* in Sranan.

As in the baseline language, tense marking with auxiliaries is not done, but rather it is inferred from context or by the use of temporal adverbs:

(86)	aku m	ené	masak kè	nggo an	ak-ku		
	1SG to	morrow	cook for	r ch	ild-1sg.poss	5	
	'Tomorroy	v I will o	cook for my	child.'			
(87)	setu	aku	tangi,	aku	mangan	terus	adus
	Saturday	1SG	wake.up	1SG	eat	then	take.bath
	'On Sature	day, I wo	oke up, then	I ate an	d then took	a bath.'	
(88)	Context: t	he interv	viewer asks	what the	e speaker ha	s done l	ast weekend.
	setu	aku	tangi,	aku	mangan	terus	adus
	Saturday	1SG	wake.up	1SG	eat	then	take.bath
	'On Sature	day, I wo	oke up, then	I ate an	d then took	a bath.'	

In one interesting example, a heritage speaker uses the Dutch auxiliary *hebben* 'to have' in order to express past tense:

(89)	ze	hebben	ng-ewang-i	aku	nèng	omah
	they	have	ACT-help-APPL	1sg	LOC	house
	'The	y have hel	ped me in the ho	ouse.'		

However, since this type of construction occurs only once in the heritage corpus, it appears that this is simply a case of code-switching

6.2.2 Modality

The heritage variety uses a different form, *inter*, than the baseline variety to mark acquired (physical) ability. The form *inter* is not a loan from Dutch or Sranantongo, but apparently originates from the Javanese word *pinter*, which literally means 'clever, skilled'.

(90)	njukuk	planga	eindelijk	inter	n-jukuk	kaos-é
	take	plank	finally	can	ACT-take	shirt-DEF
	'He takes	a plank, a	nd can finall	y take the	shirt.'	

It is often used in combination with the negative adverb *ora*:

(91)	terus	arep	di-jukuk	maar	ora	inter
	then	FUT	PASS-take	but	NEG	can
	'Then it	t is goir	ng to be take	en but h	e cannot	

Although the form *inter* seems to have completely replaced the form $is\hat{a}$ from baseline Javanese, there are no differences in its syntactic realization. While curious, *inter* does not appear to be a contact related development.

Irrealis is expressed infrequently in both the heritage and baseline corpora by *bakal*.

(92) *naar het schijnt sing bakal pâdâ~pâdâ sing kâyâ volgende weekend* to it seems REL IRR same~RED REL similar to next weekend 'As it seems, it will be the same, which is similar to next weekend.'

In this context, *bakal* is used to express a more uncertain future, since it is a complement of the verb *schijnt* 'seems'. In the following example, *bakal* is used

with the determiner suffix -e, as a sort of nominalizing procedure, but still expressing the irrealis category:

(93) terus wong-é hereken pivé hakal-é intuk apel-é. person-DEF calculate take apple-DEF then how IRR-DEF terus cah-é m-brobos schutting-é kavu terus wong-é then child-DEF ACT-trespasss fence-DEF wood then person-DEF fruktu-né. eindelijk m-ènèk. terus inter ng-epèk fruit-DEF ACT-climb then finally can ACT-take apel-é. terus dipangan appel-DEF then PASS-eat 'Then the person calculates how to take the apple, then the child trespasses the wooden fence, then the persons climbs, then finally he can take the fruit, the apple, then it is eaten.'

No explicit morphological expression of deontic 'may' occurs in the heritage corpus. The verb *entuk* (Surinamese form *intuk*), which is used to express this category in Javanese, is exclusively used by the heritage speakers as a lexical verb with the meaning of 'receive/get/take' with a nominal complement:

(94)	tapiné	kâncâ-né	kodok	iku	saiki-né	wis	éntuk	bojo
	but	friend-DEF	frog	DET	now-DEF	PRF	get	wife
	'But n	ow his frien	d the fr	og ha	s gotten a	wife.	,	

Kudu expresses deontic universal modality, 'must' in heritage Javanese, as in the baseline variety:

(95) kowé kudu leri anak-mu nak cilék kudu
 2SG DEONT.must teach child-2SG.POSS if small DEONT.must
 ng-omong jâwâ
 ACT-talk Javanese
 'You have to teach your child that s/he has to speak Javanese when s/he is still small.'

This modal can also be used to express event-oriented modality:

(96) *kudu nduwé lespeki karo wong tuwâ* DEONT.must have respect with person old 'One must have respect for older people.'

No explicit expressions of epistemic modality are attested in the heritage corpus. Volitional modality is marked by the auxiliary *arep*:

 (97) sing liyané ng-golèk iets anders. n-jukuk dingklik, REL other ACT-search something else ACT-take chair arep n-jukuk kaos-é want ACT-take shirt-DEF
 'The other searches something else. He takes a chair, he wants to take the shirt.'

Of the epistemic modals, *mungkin* and *mesti*, the first does not occur in either corpora. The other epistemic, *mesti*, occurs just three times, of which only one example appears in the heritage language. In the example, *mesti* combined with the determiner suffix -e, where it can be translated as 'perhaps' (Vruggink 2001), and thus seems not to express epistemic modality:

(99) aku durung ng-erti mesti-né dolan-dolan karo
 1SG not.yet ACT-know certainly-DEF play~RED with kanca-ku dolan-dolan [inaudible]
 friend-1SG.POSS play~RED ***
 'I do not yet know if I perhaps play with my friend or play ***.'

One certain contact induced development observable within the category of modality is the borrowing of modal verbs from Sranan. In this case, the Sranan verb *proberi* 'to try' (< Dutch *probeer* occurs in position of the native Javanese verb *jajal* 'to try'. The word order of the construction remains the same (auxiliary + verb/ complement) in the baseline language (100) and the heritage variety(101)

(100)		n-jajal di-uncal manèh tetep aé sik gak isâ
		ACT-try PASS-throw again still only still NEG can
		'He tries to throw it again but still doesn't succeed.'
(101)	a.	cahcah-né proberi dyompo
		children-DEF try jump
د		The children try to jump.'
	b.	arep proberi menèh, terus tibâ menèh
		FUT try again then fall again
		'[He] is going to try again, then it falls again.'

6.2.3 Aspect

Progressive does not seem to be expressed morphologically by the heritage speakers. In utterances interpreted as progressive, Suriname Javanese speakers seem to use a construction with the existential verb $\dot{e}n\dot{e}k/\dot{e}n\dot{e}ng$ (Standard Javanese counterpart $\hat{a}n\hat{a}/\hat{a}n\hat{a}k$). Compare the following examples of progressive sentences:

(102) Javanese (eastern dialect)

(a)	wong	iku	lagi	ng-gambar	wit
	person	that	PROG	ACT-draw	tree
	'The pe	erson is	s drawing	g a tree.'	

- (b) *ibu iku lagi motong temon* woman that PROG ACT-cut cucumber 'The woman is cutting the cucumber.'
- (103) Surinamese Javanese
 - (a) *ènèk* wong *n*-ulis layang exist person ACT-write letter 'There is a person writing a letter.'
 - (b) *ènèk* wong ng-iris jeruk exist person ACT-cut orange 'There is a person cutting an orange.'

It is difficult to establish whether these phrases should truly be interpreted as progressive constructions, or that they should rather be considered presentational constructions with a relative clause, where the relative pronoun is not expressed. In the last interpretation, examples in (103) could be translated as follows: 'There is a person who writes a letter' and 'There is a person who cuts an orange'. This last possibility might be supported by the fact that when the existential does co-occur with the relative pronoun *sing*, this is only used to in some sense delimit the subject of the clause, as in the following example:

(104) *ènèk wong lanang loro, sing siji ng-ekèki tas karo liyané* exist person male two REL one ACT-give bag with other 'There are two men, of which one gives a bag to the other.'

However, as argued by Hengeveld (1992: 265), the existential construction can indeed very well have a progressive interpretation. Hengeveld argues that this type of clause should be viewed as a circumstantial adverbial clause, with the translation of 'There is a person in the circumstance of [verb]ing', which does indeed entail a progressive interpretation of the verb. The comparative are unconvincing in arguing for contact induced developments. Although the progressive marker *lagi* is not attested in the heritage corpus, it only occurs four times in the baseline corpus. And while the existential construction is used in heritage contexts where baseline speakers use *lagi*, the overall relative frequency of existential constructions is higher in the baseline corpus. However, it does seem uncoincidental that imperfective *e* (which also indicates progressive, among other aspectual meanings) in the Surinamese creoles has grammaticalized from a copula which is also used in existential constructions (Winford and Migge 2007:89).

As in the baseline language, perfective aspect is expressed with the auxiliary *wis*. To emphasize this focus on the relevance of the event in the present, this marker is often combined with *saiki* 'now' in the same sentence:

(105) saikiné bocahé wis temu, temu kâncâné wis bungah menèh now-DEF child-DEF PFV find find friend-DEF RSL happy again 'Now the child had found his friend, he was happy again.'

The meaning of *wis* remains unchanged in the heritage corpus, though it is used more frequently in the baseline language than in the heritage language, in fact even more than twice as often. This may be caused by still lower frequencies of Sranan's perfective marker kaba.³

6.3 Conclusions

To sketch the picture of the TMA-system in Surinamese Javanese in a unified way, we see that there are different things going on in the different categories. The use of

³ In a random sample from our Sranan corpus of 12,084 words, kaba = 0.2%. Cf. the heritage Javanese corpus wis = 0.27%; baseline Javanese, wis = 0.65%.

arep is more frequent among the heritage speakers, mirroring patterns in Sranan and Dutch. The category of modality seems to have undergone the most changes, although they are still not radical: the forms for the modal verbs 'try' and 'be able to' have been replaced by new forms in Surinamese Javanese, while the syntactic construction had remained the same. The verb 'try', is most clearly the result of language contact, since *proberi* is a Sranan verb. Within the category of aspect, the original Javanese marker *lagi* for progressive aspect seems to be less used, in favor of the construction with the existential verb, also perhaps modeled on similar developments ins Sranan. The perfect marker *wis* also seems to be less used in the heritage corpus which is more consistent with perfective marking in Sranan.

7. Discussion: stability and borrowability in Surinamese TMA systems

In this chapter, we have detailed a number of developments in the TMA systems of the Surinamese creole languages, Surinamese Dutch, Sarnami, and Surinamese Javanese. These are summarized in Table 12 along with processes relevant to their transformation. Our exploration of TMA systems in these languages clearly demonstrates the central position of Sranan and Dutch in contact induced language changes in Suriname. These languages not only exchange linguistic forms and patterns, but also provide them in unidirectional transfer to the other languages in our sample. This speaks to the role of factors that are external to the linguistic system in language contact. Had such factors not played a role, we would expect a more symmetrical flow of linguistic features across languages. However, the central position of Sranan and Dutch in Surinamese society, and that they are the two languages that have traditionally functioned as out group languages, means that they both tend to be contributors of linguistic material rather than recipients.⁴

Clearly linguistic structures also play a role, albeit not a very clear one, in the types of changes attested in our corpus. Consider that the adoption of Sranan forms in the expression of conative modality in Sarnami and Javanese parallel native forms and are therefore relatively easily incorporated into native structures. Similarly, recent developments in formal marking of urban Ndyuka potential modality do not constitute structural alterations since Ndyuka and Sranan index the semantic distinctions within this realm of modality. On the other hand, the core TMA system of Sarnami remains relatively unaffected, which we suspect is the result of its integration in to the languages rich morphological system and/or typological distance from Sranan and Dutch. Still, this line of thinking does not account for everything we have described. Consider the *af*- constructions in Sarnami in which neither a foreign form is introduced to an existing parallel native structure, nor is the construction introduced to fill a gap in the native system.

⁴ This is not to say that in the individual Dutch or Sranan idiolects of speakers of other in group languages in Suriname, no trace of their L1 is detectable, or even that ethnolectal varieties of Dutch and Sranan do not exist in Suriname (but see Lie 1983, Hanenberg in prep, Diagle ms). It is the overwhelming tendency in this and other work that languages other than Sranan and Dutch do not effect Sranan and Dutch in Suriname.

	Tens	se	Moo	d	Aspe	ct
Language	Change	Process	Change	Process	Change	Process
Suriname creoles - general	be(n)/bi < Eng. been o < Eng. go sa < Eng. shall or Du. zal	reanal. reanal./ superstr. reanal.	<i>sa</i> takes on modal qualities <i>man</i> * modal from noun	gram. gram./ poss. sub- & super- str	Ø e < LOC de kaba < Port acabar 'to finish'	substr. substr. substr.
–Sranan			<i>sa</i> Du. modal qualities	adstrate		
			<i>kan</i> < Eng. <i>can</i> or Du. <i>kan</i>	super / adstrate		
			mag < Du. mag	borrow		
–Ndyuka			<i>sa</i> Gbe modal qualities	substr.		
			<i>poi <</i> Port. pode	reanal.		
			shift towards Sranan patterns of modal marking	(covert & PAT) borrow, contact induced gram.		
Dutch	organizat.	PAT borrow.			overgenerali zation of <i>aan het</i> and	PAT borrow.
	<i>gaan</i> as AUX & loss of verb final after <i>gaan</i>	gram. & PAT borrow.			<i>bezig zijn</i> constr.	

Table 13. Summary of TMA developments in the sample of languages.

	Ten	se	Moo	d	Aspect		
Language	Change	Process	Change	Process	Change	Process	
Sarnami			<i>pruberi / prubeer kare < Sranan /</i> Du.	MAT borrow.	<i>doro já <</i> Sranan via Du.	PAT & partial MAT borrow.	
					bigin kare <sranan< td=""><td>MAT borrow.</td></sranan<>	MAT borrow.	
					<i>af</i> - constr. < Du.	MAT & PAT borrow.	
Javanese	increase in <i>arep</i> constr., cf.	covert	<i>poberi</i> < Sranan	MAT borrow.	decrease in perfective <i>wis</i>	covert	
	Sranan <i>o</i> and SD <i>gaan</i>		<i>inter</i> in place of baseline <i>lagi</i>	lang. internal change	progressive replaced by existential construction	PAT borrow.	

Returning to the questions of borrowability and stability in TMA systems – Matras (2007:45-46, see example 3a above) suggests that modality is most borrowable, followed by aspect, future tense, then other tenses. Taking borrowability as converse of stability. Matras' general hierarchy holds for most of our data. Most developments can be seen in the modal systems of our language sample. The exception to this is Dutch, but since a large portion of Sranan's modal system is modeled on Dutch, there's no suitable source by which Dutch could be influenced. Alternatively, our methods of data collection may have simply not elicited the right kind of language use to make Surinamese Dutch modality visible. The aspectual systems in the Surinamese creoles appear to have stabilized rather early on in their development, but the other languages in our sample all show developments in their aspectual systems. Future tense displays the most developments effecting Dutch and Javanese. There appear to be no direct developments in the realm of past tense, though the reorganization of SD certainly effects when past tense is marked. In fact past tense seems to be so prevalent that it gets marked twice in the case of some strong verbs in SD.

Even while adhering to the general trend for TMA borrowability proposed by Matras (2007), the anomaly of lack of change in Dutch modality preceding changes in aspect and tense, along with inconsistencies in the hierarchies in those studies detailed by Dediu & Cysouw 2013, (examples 4-9 above) suggest that language change, at least within TMA, is (a) conditioned by factors external to the language system, and / or that (b) there are no universally stable TMA structures (despite statistical tendencies.

Our investigation has been largely exploratory, and although we have been able to pinpoint a fair number of changes in the TMA systems of Suriname, there is ample room for continued research on the topic. Firstly, developments among urban dwelling Maroons need to be more thoroughly and systematically investigated in terms of leveling of Maroon varieties in the city. Are we witnessing a 'real' change toward Sranan (remember that the forms are Sranan but there is no categorical shift and the formal distinction between positive and negative modality appears to be maintained), or something else? Another issue that merits further research is the historical development of SD. Overall, the influence of ED has become stronger when the migrations to the Netherlands took on a massive form in the 1970's. We can expect earlier forms of SD to show more semantic features that distinguish it from ED. An analysis of the core TMA system of Sarnami would be welcome. And finally, the Javanese section in this paper is perhaps the most exploratory in nature and thus provides a number of avenues to be investigated in more detail: forms used, frequencies, and the particulars of their semantics.

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Particle verbs in Surinamese creoles

This paper shows that Dutch verb particle constructions have been transferred into the Surinamese creole languages as a result of pervasive multilingualism and intensive contact. Particle verb structures are, at most, a marginal in the native grammar of Surinamese creoles. However, recent data shows that verb particle constructions of the Dutch sort are being used productively and with some homogeneity in the creole context.

1. Introduction

The properties of particle verbs (PVs) and the verb-particle constructions (VPCs) in which they occur have been well studied within the grammars of the languages where they have emerged originally. VPCs pose a number of interesting theoretical problems on which little consensus has been reached. Part of the problem is simply determining what a particle verb is: a lexical unit, morphological construct, or syntactic collocation. Perhaps as a result of this, behavior of VPCs has received little attention in research on language contact and multilingual interactions. This paper will discuss the spread of Dutch VPCs in one such multilingual setting – Suriname. I hypothesize, that through intensive contact with Dutch, Surinamese creoles have modeled VPCs on Dutch patterns by means of calques and borrowing.

Treffers-Daller (2012) has studied VPCs and other collocations of verb +preposition in French as spoken in Brussels. She shows that these constructions are widespread in Brussels French, but are much less pervasive in a number of French varieties that are not in contact with a Germanic language. After determining that internal factors were insufficient to explain the persistence of the patterns in her data. She concludes that the constructions under study in Brussels French are replications of Dutch grammatical patterns. Similar questions will be addressed in this work with a specific focus on VPCs in the case of Suriname. I will argue that Dutch VPCs have provided a model structure which has been newly adopted in these creoles and is most pervasive in those cases where contact with Dutch is most intense.

One major problem plaguing the field of language contact is the lack of a unified framework, methodology, and a consistent set of jargon for describing the same phenomena. These issues have been illustrated in some detail by, for example, Muysken (2013), Treffers-Daller (2009), and Winford (2000). In the interest of compatibility, I follow Treffers-Daller (2012:56) in referring to the following definitions of contact induced language change and transfer. Matras and Sakel

(2007:1) define contact induced language change as "the adoption of a structural feature into a language as a result of some level of bilingualism in the history of the relevant speech community." Further a transfer is said to occur when a language leaves a "permanent trace" in the form of a grammatical feature or pattern on another (Grosjean 2012:16). Note that this is compatible with Matras' and Sakel's broad definition of borrowing.

Although the examples presented here represent a relatively infrequent phenomena in the data, the consistency with which they are used in the creole languages suggests that these occurrences are not representative of dynamic interference, in other words, due to the effects of bilingual individuals' language processing (dynamic in Grosjean's terms) which do not have lasting effects on the language's structure. Treffers-Daller (1993:243) argues that code switching and borrowing are fundamentally the same and represent gradational differences. Thus the difference between code switching and a narrower sense of borrowing, whereby a linguistic feature from one language completely replaces or becomes the overwhelmingly preferred strategy over the native variant, is not relevant for the discussion here. The fact that VPCs are realized with some consistency in the Surinamese creoles at all is a remarkable instance of linguistic transfer.

The creole languages discussed in this paper, Sranan, Ndyuka, and Kwinti, were recorded along with others such as Sarnami, Surinamese Javanese, and Surinamese Dutch, collected as part of the Traces of Contact project and form a corpus of some 150 hours of spoken data covering an extensive geographic and demographic range. We employed a variety of data collection methods, including story elicitation tasks like the infamous frog story *Frog Where Are You* (Mercer Mayer 1969), video elicitations, (semi structured) interviews, and recording free conversations.

In the following section, I will provide a brief overview of characteristics of PVs and VPCs in Dutch. Section three describes Suriname's linguistic landscape, including select historical events which led to the current inventory and geographic distributions as well as language practice and attitudes in the relevant languages. Section four presents the VPCs found in the creole corpora, and argues that Dutch-like VPCs are not found in the native structures of Surinamese creoles. I conclude with a discussion of what our data says about the distribution of VPCs in Suriname and suggestions for further research.

2. VPCs in Dutch

Referred to by various names in the literature such as verb particle constructions, separable (complex) verbs, and particle verbs, among others, PVs generally consist of a verb and another element. Together the verb and its particle exhibit unique semantic, syntactic, and morphological behavior compared with structurally parallel non-VPCs. Déhe et al. (2002:3) propose the following definition of particles: "A particle is an unaccented element which is formally (and, often, semantically) related to a preposition, which does not assign case to a complement and which displays various syntactic and semantic symptoms of what may informally be called a *close relationship* with a verb, but without displaying the phonological unity with it typical of affixes". This close relationship is helpful for addressing a major issue

surrounding PVs, namely, how to separate instances of particles from adpositions, although the symptoms of this relationship are language specific. They note (2002:3-5), for example, that English particles can intervene between verbs and direct objects (1a), which is ungrammatical for directional prepositional phrases (1b) or resultative adjective phrases (1c).

- (1) a. Peter wiped (off) the table (off).
 - b. *Mary threw* (**into the lake*) *her brother* (*into the lake*).
 - c. Willy scrubbed (*raw) his fingers (raw).

See also Jackendoff (2002). Dutch, on the other hand, requires objects to intervene between verb and particle in a declarative sentence (2a), though in subordinate clauses particle and verb must be adjacent (2b)

(2)	a.	<i>Ik</i> 1sg	<i>maak mijn</i> make my			<i>af.</i> PART
		'I fini	sh my homewo	rk'		
	b.	het	huiswerk			afmaakte
		DET	homework	that	1sg	finished
		'the h	omework that I	finished	ľ	

However, as (2)-(3) illustrates, there is a cross linguistic tendency for PVs to have an idiomatic meaning, whereby verb + particle does not produce a predictable synchronic meaning (Déhe et al. 2002:3).

(3)	Dutch	English
	uitnodigen 'to invite'	find out 'to discover'
	voorkomen 'to occur'	make out 'to describe someone/something as'
	heengaan 'to die'	grow up 'to age'
	ombreng 'to kill'	hand out 'to distribute

Aside from intervening objects, as in (2a), separability of Dutch PVs is also evidenced by infinitival particle te and perfect participle ge- (4), as well as the topicalization of a limited set of particles (5) (Booij 2002:23-24):

(4)	a.	Wij	zijn	hier	om	de	boel	op	te	ruimen.	
		1pl	be	here	PREP	DET	place	PART	INF	clean	
		'We're	e here to	clean u	p the pla	ace.'					
	b.	Hij is	aan-ge	e-kom-ei	n.						
		3sg be PART-PERF-come-INFL.PL									
		'He ca	ame.'								
(5)	a.	Af m	aak ik	mijn	huiswe	erk nie	et				
		off m	ake 1s	Gmy	homey	vork no	t				
		'I will	not fini	sh my h	omewoi	ҡ.'					
	b.			ik mi			niet				
		up	ring	1SGm	v mo	other	not				
		ʻÎ will	U	my mo	·						
	c.	*Aan	val ik	2	niet						
		to		G3SG.O	not						
				ck him.		2002 6	& 7. m	(gloss)			
		1 WIII	not atta	er mm.	(D00I)	2002, 0	α /, my	51035)			

Dutch PVs feed non-verbal derivations, but there are very limited means to derive verbs from PVs. The addition of particles can adjust word categories, i.e. derivation of PVs with particle+adjective or noun, and valency. Additionally, some Dutch particles are used productively, and therefore VPCs cannot be viewed as lexicalized phrasal idioms (Booij 2002:26-30).

Though PVs are a well-studied aspect of Germanic languages in general (see Haiden 2006 for an overview), there has been little consensus with respect to important theoretical questions posed by particle verbs. Déhe et al. (2002) provide an overview of different approaches to the study of PVs, which boils down to treating VPCs as syntactic or morphological constructions. However, as Booij (2002) demonstrates, neither a syntactic nor morphological account of Dutch VPCs is satisfactory, leading him to call for a compromise, referring to VPCs as periphrastic word formations: "the formation in the lexicon of units that are functionally identical to complex words, but do not form one grammatical word, but two" (Booij 2002:40).

It should also be mentioned that there are two other types of constructions in Dutch related to VPCs. Firstly, there is another set of verbs which shares much in common with PVs. On the surface they consist of a verb and a preposition like constituent and they often convey some level of idiomatic meaning, though they are not separable. There are a number of separable and inseparable minimal pairs (6a-b), and besides separability and meaning, stress is also indicative of the difference. While the particle is stressed in PVs (6a), the non-separable complex verbs (6b) bear stress on the verbal element (Booij 2002:23).

(6)	a.	óverkomen 'come over'	b.	overkómen 'happen to'
		vóorkomen 'occur'		voorkómen 'prevent'
		(Booij 2002, 6 in part)		

Booij (2002:35-36) and Blom and Booij (2003) argue that both types of complex verbs have a syntactic origin and represent different stages in grammaticalization where independent words grammaticalize into the particle constituent of a PV and later into non-separable verbal prefixes. Finally, van Marle (2002) argues that a subset of verbal compounds (defective compound verbs in his terms), formed of either adjectival, verbal, or nominal first constituent + verb, behave parallelly to VPCs.

For the purposes of this paper, the main characteristics of interest are the separability of VPCs, that is that the object of the verb appears between the verb and the particle, and the idiomatic meanings conveyed by such constructions. As will be shown in section 4.1, this are precisely the features of PVs in the Surinamese creoles.

3 The linguistic landscape in Suriname

Despite its relatively small population of just over half a million,¹ Suriname is home to more than twenty languages with diverse typological affiliations. Several Amerindian languages are spoken in the country, representing two major Amerindian families, e.g., Trio, Kari'na (Cariban), Lokono, Mawayana (Arawakan). Evidence suggests that more Amerindian languages were previously spoken in Suriname, however these have been subject to language shift and death due to both population pressures brought on by advent of colonists and slaves, as well as a history of group separations and intra-group conglomerations (see Carlin and Boven 2002).

From the end of the fifteenth century, Europeans had already begun explorations and settlement attempts in the Guianas. In Suriname, the main powers involved were the English and the Dutch; the former established the first permanent settlement in what would become Suriname in 1651 as a satellite colony of Barbados. Not long after the Dutch invaded the colony and a deal was brokered allowing the Dutch to keep Suriname in exchange for New Amsterdam (New York) in 1667 (Buddingh 1995). Dutch became the administrative language of the colony, and subsequently Suriname's only official national language. Although English has not been maintained by any Surinamese population group, there is some evidence that English remained present as an inter-group language for some time after the Dutch takeover (Arends 2002). English has also been the dominant European contributor language in formation of Surinamese plantation creole (Smith 1987). That plantation creole descended into several varieties which are still spoken: Sranan, the language of the coastal Afro-Surinamese population; Maroon languages, languages of groups whose ancestors fled plantation slavery to form free communities in the interior of the territory. The six remaining Maroon languages can be divided based on linguistic features into two groups, Eastern Maroons (Aluku, Kwinti, Ndyuka, Pamaka) and Central Maroons (Matawai, Saamaka), the latter distinguished mainly on the basis of a higher percentage of lexemes of Portuguese origin and a few structural characteristics (Smith 2002).

Chinese, Indian, and Indonesian contract workers were imported to the Suriname to fill the labor deficit on plantations following the abolition of slavery in 1863. Aside from the first group, the Hakka, imported from China, contracted workers were to be provided with return transportation following their indenture. However, the colonial government offered a number of incentives for workers both to extend their contracts and to remain in the colony once their contract had expired; in practice the majority of workers remained in the territory (van Lier 1971, Buddingh 1995). This is evidenced today by the local varieties of these groups' languages that have developed in Suriname: Kejia, the language of Hakka migrants (Tjon Sie Fat 2009); Sarnami, a koiné variety of the Indian migrants (Marhé 1985, Damsteegt 2002); Surinamese Javanese, of the migrants from Java (de Waal Malefijt 1960, Wolfowitz 2002). In the past thirty, or so, years, Suriname has seen an upsurge in migration activity adding a number of "new" languages to the Surinamese

¹ The 2008 census gives a population figure of 517, 052.

landscape, notably from China (with Mandarin, Cantonese and other varieties, see Tjon Sie Fat 2009, forthcoming), Brazil (with Portuguese, de Theije 2007, forthcoming), Haitians (with Haitian Creole, Læthier forthcoming), and Guyanese. See also Carlin (2001) for more details on Suriname's ethno-linguistic composition.

Suriname is well known for its widespread multilingualism due to the influx of people from all over the world, though "not everyone is multilingual in the same languages, nor to the same extent" (Carlin and Arends 2002:1). Recent studies (ABS 2006, Kroon and Yagmur 2010, Léglise and Migge forthcoming) indicate that knowledge of two or more languages is the overwhelming norm among Surinamese people. However, the results of these studies are indicative of perceived presence of a language and attitudes toward them, rather than actual language practices,² as evidenced by unusually high claims of Dutch and low claims of Sranan as a mother tongue in those surveyed (Yakpo et al. forthcoming, van den Berg forthcoming). People in Suriname utilize the languages in their repertoire to reflect relative status and familiarity between themselves and their interlocutor, the peculiarities of an interaction in time and space, and the (perceived) identity of speaker and interlocutor (see for example Campbell 1983, Charry and Koefoed 1983, Eersel 2002a-b, Migge and Léglise 2013, Westmaas 1983).

As Suriname's national language, Dutch tends to be used in formal situations, and in interactions between individuals of different social statuses or who are not familiar with each other. It is the language of all official business, education, literary works, and media³ and maintains a prestigious position following its history of exclusion and function in the nationalist discourse (Campbell 1983, Eersel 2002a-b). As the country's lingua franca, nearly all Surinamese have at least a passive knowledge, many a good command, of Sranan, though the language tends to be used in less formal situations (Adamson and Smith 1994). The low allegiance to Sranan as a mother tongue indexed in the surveys mentioned above but the surprisingly positive attitudes towards the language in interviews conducted by Hanenberg *in Sranan*, suggests that attitudes towards Sranan are covertly prestigious. The census (2006) figures and those of Kroon and Yagmur (2010) also indicate that Dutch and Sranan the two languages that have significant populations of non-mother tongue speakers, while the remaining languages function chiefly as in-group languages.

The sudden and artificial eviction of Dutch from the relatively restricted realm of the elite in the 1870s, and subsequent development as a national language, along with the continued maintenance and spread of Sranan as a low status vehicle of interethnic communication, has lead to a situation where functional roles of each language within Surinamese society are continuously evolving in a way similar to what Fasold (1984) called 'leaky diglossia' and a multidirectional layering of transferred linguistic features between the two languages (van den Berg

² To be fair, Léglise and Migge specifically target language ideologies.

³ Though there is a growing body of literary works in Sranan, and groups dedicated to promoting the language, for example Schrijversgroep (see van Neck-Yolder 2001). Parts of the Bible have been translated into a number of Surinamese languages. Sarnami and Hakka also have their own written tradition. Some radio and television stations are now broadcast in local languages as well as web forums and internet sites in Sranan.

forthcoming, de Bies 1994, Blanker and Dubbledam 2005, Borges forthcoming (ab), Essegbey et al. 2013, de Klein 1999, Yakpo et al. forthcoming, etc). In-group languages are also involved in transfer of linguistic features, though they are largely on the receiving end of transfer (Borges in prep, Lestiono 2012, Yakpo et al. forthcoming). Thus, we can say that Dutch and Sranan provide the models for linguistic influence on each other as well as the other languages of Suriname.

Finally, and relevant to the arguments in the next section, events since the middle of the twentieth century - urbanization during the buildup of WWII (de Bruijne 2001), the construction of the Afobaka hydroelectric dam and subsequent flooding of some 2000km2 of land in the 1960s, thereby displacing approximately 6000 Maroons (Goodland 2007, Goossens 2007), independence from the Netherlands in 1975 (Gowricham and Schüster 2001), and the civil war 1986-1992, that ravaged large parts of the interior and displaced many Maroons (Hoogbergen and Kruijt 2005) – have caused a great deal of Maroons to relocate to and establish themselves permanently in Paramaribo and urban centers in French Guiana. This has eased the difficulty which Maroons traditionally faced when coming to coastal areas for work. Consequently, newly developed interethnic Maroon networks are forming in Paramaribo along with new connections and the possibility for movement of Maroons between Paramaribo and their traditional territories in the interior (Price and Price 2003, Léglise and Migge 2006). This development also manifests itself in the linguistic landscape by an increased presence of Maroon languages, and a leveling of Maroon languages which appears to be functioning as a second lingua franca in Suriname and has a markedly urban feel compared to traditional varieties.

4. VPs in Suriname

In this section, VPCs are discussed in relation to the Surinamese creoles. Section 4.1 presents the VPCs attested in the Sranan and Maroon creole corpora, Section 4.2 argues that these VPCs are not native creole structures, disentangling them from prepositional phrases (PPs), and serial verb constructions (SVCs). The similarity in syntactic structure and elements of form and meaning in the VPCs attested in the creole languages suggests that they have been modeled on Dutch patterns.

4.1 VPs in contact

VPCs in Surinamese creoles appear to be part of a larger tendency among Sranan speakers to utilize Dutch prepositions, often those which yield idiomatic meanings when combined with certain verbs:

- (7)den fala boot a. man sa uit a fall boat 3PL man MOD PREP DEF 'They will fail.' (lit. 'they will fall out of the boat.')
 - b. A makelijk fu kisi en ma a moeijlijk fu k'mopo uit en FOC easy PREP catch 3SG.OBJ but FOC difficult PREP come.out PREP 3SG 'It's easy to get it, but difficult to egress from it.' (Sranan; Zicham 2006)

By the criteria set out above, examples (7a) and (7b) are representative of V + PP type constructions rather than VPCs. However, examples of true VPCs, are found in the data.

It appears that VPCs fall on a continuum from more fixed expressions to more productive, and sometimes innovative, ones. In some cases, as the Sranan example (8), the VPCs are certainly fixed expressions.

(8) **'t hangt van-af** fa yu wani meki en DEThang-INFL.3SG from-PART how 2SG want make 3SG.OBJ 'That depends how you want to make it.'

However, others are used productively suggesting that the separable behavior of Dutch VPCs has been transferred to the Surinamese creoles, with help in the form of unassimilated Dutch particles. In (9), the verb *meki* 'make' is a native Sranan form but the particle *mee* is an unassimilated Dutch form. Together they are modeled on the Dutch PV *meemaken* 'to experience'.

(9)	а	sa	meki	en	mee
	3sg	MOD	make	3sg.obj	part
	'He sh	ould exp	perience	it.	

In other cases, a full formally Dutch PV is used in an otherwise completely Sranan environment. Notice that the verbs are not inflected for person agreement which would be required by Dutch grammatical norms.

(10)	a.	<i>Oh, fa wi o los a sani disi op?</i> oh how 1PL FUT unload DET thing this PART	
		'Oh, how will we solve this?'	
	b.	hoe loss-en wij deze situatie op ?	
		how unload-INFL.PL 1PL this situation PART	
		'How will we solve this situation.'	
(11)	a.	Ay, olifantje doro, leg a man uit san fu du	
		yeah elephant arrive lay DET man PART what to do	
		'Yeah, the elephant arrives and explains to the man what to do.'	
	b.	De olifant arriveer-t en leg-t de man uit	
		DET elephant arrive-INFL.SG and lay-INFL.SG DET man PART	
		wat hij moet doe-n.	
		what 3SG must 3SG do-INFL	
		'The elephant arrives and explains to the man what he must do.'	

VPCs are also attested in the Maroon creole data. In (12) an Ndyuka informant was abstracting about word formation and homophones. Although there is no object between the native verb *kon* 'come' and the non-assimilated Dutch particle *voor*, it is clear that *voor* does not serve as a preposition since it is directly followed by a native locative preposition and an LW. Additionally, the context makes it clear that the combination is semantically modeled on Dutch *voorkomen* 'to occur.'

(12)	ala	den	dii	sani	de	'loop'	e	kon	voor	a	ini
	all	DET	three	thing	those	'loop'	IPFV	come	PART	LOC	in

"Loop' occurs in all of those three things.'

Sometimes, however, the PVs appear to be modeled on Dutch patterns, though with some degree of semantic shift. In (13a), a Kwinti speaker uses a PV modeled on Dutch *uitvinden* 'to invent' in the sense of 'to discover. (13b) shows the Dutch ill-formed equivalent followed by the correct way to convey the meaning in Dutch (13c).

(13)	a.	tata san be tyai unu kon poti ya, di be findi				
		ET father REL PST carry 1PL come put here REL PST find				
		presi uit , na en nen be de tata bitá				
		ET place PRT COP 3SG name PST COP father Bitá				
		he man who brought us here, who established this place, his name was Mr.				
		tá.'				
	b.	Iij is de man wie Nijmegen uit- ge -vonden heeft.				
		G be.3SG DET man who Nijmegen PRT-ge-invent have.3SG				
	С.	ij is de man wie Nijmegen ontdekte.				
		G be.3sg DET man who Nijmegen discover.3SG.PST				
'He is the man who established (literally, discovered) Nijmegen						

Another example of verb-particle constructions in Kwinti is shown in (14a). There the Dutch verb *voordragen* 'to nominate' is used. Example (14b) shows the equivalent Dutch sentence.

(14)	a.	w-e	dra	fi-i	foor				
		1pl-ipi	FV nominate	for-2s	G PRT				
		'We're nominating you (for it).'							
	b.	Wij	dragen	jou	<i>voor</i> .				
		1 PL	nominate.PL	2sg.obj	PRT				
		'We no	ominate you.'						

Aside from the split VPC type syntax in (14a), the speaker curiously includes fu 'for' which is unnecessary to introduce the direct object of a transitive verb, 2PL in this case. Perhaps it was meant to reference an absent indirect object despite being phonologically assimilated to the direct object. Alternatively, this element may not be fu at all, but rather a sort of partial reduplication of the particle.

The final example to be presented in this section is perhaps modeled on a structure somewhat more complicated than a VPC, namely a reflexive phrasal verb consisting of a PV and an adposition. The Ndyuka is presented in (15a) followed by the Dutch equivalent in (15b).

(15)	a.	a-i	tyaai	voordeel	anga	zich	mee
		3sg-ipvf	bring	advantage	and	REFL	PRT
	b	het	breng-t	voordeel	met	zich	mee
		DET	bring-3SG	advantage	with	REFL	PRT
'It brings advantages with it.'							

4.2 Against native VPCs in Surinamese creoles

The first argument against the possibility of native VPCs in Surinamese creoles is the nativization of etymologically English PVs and some other complex verbal expressions as single verbs, as in (16a) and (16b), respectively (van den Berg 2007:168-172).

(16)	a.	trowee (Early Sranan), trowe (Sranan), towe (Ndyuka) 'throw away'
		didon ((Early Sranan), Ndyuka) 'lie down'
	b.	fadon ((Early Sranan), Ndyuka) 'fall down'
		kommoto (Early Sranan), komoto (Sranan, Ndyuka) 'come out / from'

In the process of creolization, English PVs and some other verb+preposition collocations have been reanalyzed as inseparable units. An investigation of the SIL's Sranan and Ndyuka dictionaries revealed no single verbs derived from Dutch VPs or combinations of verb+preposition.

A number of criteria have been proposed to distinguish Dutch and English PVs from ordinary verb+PP type constructions in section 2. In order to be able to distinguish the two in Surinamese creoles, characteristics of creole PPs will be examined here. The most basic type of PP consists of preposition + NP:

(17)	a.	Mie wil gaeu na watre-zy
		1SG want go LOC water-side
		'I want to go to the Waterkant.' Early Sranan (van den Berg 2007:132)
	b.	di andelu dë na ën finga
		DEF ring be_located PREP 3SG finger
		'The ring is on his/her finger.' (Saamaka; Essegbey 2005:244)
	c.	ala slafu fu a prenasi fu un taki anga den man-srafu
		all slave of the.SG plantation of 1/2PL that with the.PL slaves
		'all the slaves of our plantation that together with the slaves' (Sranan;
		Bruyn 2002:157)
	d.	a opo moi eke kaabasi
		3sg open nice like calabash
		'It opened nicely like a calabash.' (Ndyuka; Huttar and Huttar 1994:191)

Importantly, in this type of construction, prepositions precede PP complements and cannot be stranded (Huttar and Huttar 1994:185-198, van den Berg 2007:130-131).

Another type of locative construction occurs, whereby additional spatial information is provided in the form of a "location word" along with the "general location preposition" na (Huttar and Huttar 1994:185) which is "semantically empty" (van den Berg 2007:132). Following na, the location word can precede or follow the noun phrase (18).

(18)	a.	а	buku	de	na	а	tafra	tapu
		DEF	book	be_located	PREP	DEF	table	top
	b.	а	buku	de	(na)	tapu	a	tafra
		DEF	book	be located	(PREP)	top	DEF	table
'The book is on the table.' (Essegbey; 2005:237)								

These complex PPs resemble patterns found in Gbe languages (Bruyn 1996, Essegbey 2005) and the order of the LW and NP depends not only on the verb and the location word involved, but also differs in frequency per language. Essegbey (2005:237) notes that some of his Sranan informants in Suriname preferred a prenominal location words. Similarly, Yakpo et al. (forthcoming) claim, based on Sranan data collected in 2010 and 2011 which contained no locative constructions of the na + NP + location word type, that postpositional structures in Sranan have all but disappeared and that constructions of the (18b) type, where na is omitted reflect development of certain location words to full-fledged prepositions. Our data indicate that there is still a strong tendency for postnominal location words in the Maroon creoles. Despite that some location words appear to be taking on a fully prepositional character, it is important to keep in mind, that postnominal elements cannot function as location wordss without na (Bruyn 1996). VPCs presented below consist of V + NP + P, thus lack na preceding the NP is diagnostic of a VPC rather than V + PP.

Other verbal combinations such as serial verb constructions (SVCs) are also of interest for clearly differentiating VPCs. SVCs have been well studied and defined. Typical characteristics include: a single subject and not more than one direct object, restrictions on tense, mood, aspect, and negation, no coordination or subordination, expressive of a single proposition (see for example Aikenvald and Dixon 2007, Muysken and Veenstra 1994). Like VPCs they allow intervening compliments and sometimes convey idiomatic meaning. The logical difference is that the constituents of an SVC are all verbal, while a particle is not. The problem for the Surinamese creoles is that a subset of LWs also double as verbs expressing location (19) and can occur in serial constructions.

(19) a *abra* 'accross / to cross' *lontu* 'around / to surround'

Other properties clearly distinguish SVCs from VPCs based on their syntax (they introduce an argument to the right) or semantics (expressing motion or a change of location). However there are cases which are problematic for clearly ruling out VPC status, as in (20). Additionally, the word *doro* (Sranan) or *doo* (Eastern Maroon Creole) 'continuously / to arrive', which is analyzed as an adverb in Early Sranan (van den Berg 2007) but a location word in Ndyuka (Huttar and Huttar 1994:185), and comes from the Dutch preposition *door* 'through' is also problematic for ruling out historical VPCs in the Surinamese Creoles.

(20)	a.	<i>effu</i> gie hem abra na bacara or give 3SG.OBJ over LOC white
		8
		" or hand him over to the whites" (Sranan; Saramacca peace treaty 1762 art.
		11, via van den Berg 2007:143)
	b.	basia fom doro
		overseer hit continue / through
		'Overseeer, keep hitting.' (Sranan; van Dijk c1765:61 via van den Berg
		2007:344)

In Eastern Maroon Creole *doo* introduces a limit or endpoint to the first verb or in combinations of SVCs headed by *kon* or *go* (van den Berg 2007:344, Huttar and Huttar 1994:523). No ambiguous cases, such as (20) occur in the current data set.

Despite the problematic cases mentioned, it appears that separable VPCs are marginal, at most, as native structures in Surinamese creoles. A further argument for a more recent Dutch influence is that in the examples presented in the following subsection, particles do not consist of native (or even nativeized) LWs, but rather Dutch particles that are, for the most part, not phonologically assimilated to the creole languages. It should be emphasized however, that even though I argue against a native VPC in Surinamese creole languages, the existence of native "sandwiching type" constructions (e.g. SVCs and locative constructions) would certainly facilitate the transfer of VPC type constructions into the languages.

5. Concluding remarks

Given the relatively small number of examples in our data, it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions about frequency and distributions of the VPCs discussed above. Our recordings give the impression that VPCs are somewhat more common in Sranan than in the Maroon creoles, as the corpus contains a handful of additional examples to those presented here, as well as a number of other examples of unassimilated Dutch preposition usage. However, the extent to Dutch particles, PVs, and VPCs modeled on Dutch patterns are used is not clear. If our recordings are in any way representative of actual distributions, VPCs in Sranan have not been borrowed, in the sense that they have replaced or become preferred over a native strategy, but the fact that Dutch PVs are incorporated with some consistency into Sranan suggests that the language has already internalized Dutch VPC patterns as a static variable in its structure.

Use of Dutch prepositions is not attested in our recordings of Ndyuka or Kwinti, and the examples presented above are exhaustive. It seems therefore that contact with Dutch and / or Sranan is a major factor in incorporation of VPCs in the Maroon creoles of our recordings. The two Ndyuka examples came from coastal speakers (1 from Paramaribo, 1 from Moengo) who are proficient in Dutch and Sranan. No VPCs are attested in our recordings of rural Ndyuka speakers which are considerably more extensive than the urban recordings. Although the Kwinti data was collected in a rural setting, Borges (forthcoming b) argues that the sociolinguistic situation of the Kwinti makes them much more susceptible to influence from linguistic developments in Paramaribo.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that Dutch VPCs are not limited to the creoles in Suriname. Sarnami, which is also in intensive contact with Sranan and Dutch has also been making use of PVs analogously to the creoles.

(21)	ego	kaháni	hai,	и	já	haigá	ego	larká	ke	over.
	a	story	be.PRS	DIST	go	be.PRS	a	boy	ACC/DAT	over
	'(It)	is a story,	it is abo	ut a bo	эy.' (Sarnami)			

As with the creoles, Saranami utilizes a native verb $j\dot{a}$ 'go', coupled with a Dutch particle *over*. The two elements together resemble the Dutch pattern formed by the PV *overgaan* 'to be about', which is common as an introductory line of narratives in Dutch (i.e. 'this story is about', *lit.* goes over'), though not in the Indic languages which contributed to the formation of Sarnami.

In sum, I have argued in this paper that the structural patterns of Dutch VPCs have been transferred into Surinamese creoles, and though its usage is infrequent in our recordings, it appears with some consistency among speakers and across the different creoles addressed. Common in Dutch, the creole languages have historically employed strategies to deal with PVs in a way that does not reflect Dutch VPC behavior. The development of VPCs based on internal patterns is a possibility given those problematic examples listed in (11). Given that the particle constituent is always an unassimilated Dutch form (and occasionally the verb too) and that the combination of the verb and particle result in (nearly) the same meanings as the combination of that particle with the equivalent Dutch verb in Dutch, it is unlikely that VPC patterns in Surinamese Creoles reflect an internal development. It is possible though that a combination of internal development and language contact has played a role here (see Heine and Kuteva 2005). Additionally VPCs found most in our most proficient multilinguals, and conversely not at all among rural Ndyuka speakers who have the least contact with Dutch in our recordings.

The present study presents rather preliminary arguments about the status of Dutch VPCs in the Surinamese creoles. Our stimuli were not designed to elicit VPCs and these constructions were discovered rather late in our field stays. Additional data should be collected with stimuli designed to elicit particular VPCs from an expanded set of monolingual (in so far as possible) speakers and in both (or three) languages spoken by multilingual individuals in Suriname. Quantitative techniques, such as those employed by Treffers-Daller (2012) could then be used to confirm with more certainty that Dutch VPC behavior has been transferred to the Surinamese creoles and provide a better indication of the extent and distributional patterns of VPC usage.

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Coppename Kwinti: the influence of adstrate languages on a Surinamese creole

This chapter examines the current state of the Kwinti language vis-à-vis contacts with other languages in Suriname. Extralinguistic factors, including general historical developments, social and cultural customs, and economic and political characteristics, are discussed in terms of their effect on linguistic practices of Kwinti speakers, leading to increased susceptibility of influence from other languages. Contact induced language change has lead to the replacement of vocabulary in some domains, structural changes, and a shift in the manner and type of acceptable variation. While all signs seem to predict the eventual death of the language, a critical break in transmission has yet to condemn Kwinti to obsolescence.

*'We shall say [it's because of] the climate. What can I say? Life itself is changing in a way. Most of us have gone to the city to live. We have adopted city life ... That's why [our language] is slowly disappearing.*¹*' -Bitagron resident, 2011*

1. Introduction²

The Kwinti are the smallest and least studied group of Maroons in Suriname. Despite the abundance of literature on Surinamese Maroons, there has been little work – in any discipline – on the Kwinti. Currently, they are found mainly in three locations: their villages (Bitagron³ and Kaimanston) along the Coppename river, their villages (Pakka Pakka Piki Pakka Pakka, and Makajapingo) along the

¹ See Example 18 in the appendix for the original dialogue.

¹ Abbreviations: 1SG, 2SG, 3SG, 1PL, 3PL-personal pronouns; COMP-complementizer; COPcopula; DET-determiner; EMPH-emphatic: FUT-future; IDEO-ideophone; IPFV-imperfective; PFV-perfective; LOC-locative; MOD-modal; NEG-negation; PST-past; TAG-tag question.

³Also known as Witagron. According to informants, the proper name of the village is Bitagron, named after its founder *Tata Bita*. Following the Binnenlandse Oorlog, the government posted a sign – *Witagron* –by the entrance to the village from the JFK Highway. The village has been known to the outside world by this name ever since.

Saramacca river,⁴ and in Paramaribo. The two Kwinti groups of the interior share a rather detached sentiment toward each other and it may be that over the past hundred or so years these two varieties have diverged to some degree, however there has been, to date, no linguistic data collected from the Kwinti living along the Saramacca river. For that reason, this work is focused on the Kwinti along the Coppename river, where a number of historical and social factors, as well as language attitudes and linguistic practices, would seem to signal the eventual death of the Kwinti variety spoken there.

The task at hand is certainly not a straightforward one. As with all of the world's languages, Surinamese creoles exhibit variation. In a case like Suriname, where there are a number of closely related language varieties, several with poorly described (or poorly practiced⁵) norms, arguments about diachronic language change are often rather difficult to substantiate with certainty. Further, the diachronic implications of a language shift/death approach to the circumstances of the Coppename Kwinti are perhaps inadequate to adequately account for the type of variation that exists among several of Suriname's closely related languages.

Language endangerment, death, and revitalization are relatively well studied in terms of a theoretical framework and case studies (e.g. Dorian 1979; Cook 1989; Crystal 2000; Grenoble and Whaley 2001; Mesthrie 2001; Thomason 2001:222-239; Wolfram 2003; Batibo 2005; Cunningham et al. 2006: Brenzinger 2007a; Mosseley 2007; Mesthrie and Leap 2009; Florey 210). Sasse (1992) suggests a holistic approach to language death. Such studies should take into account (1) a languages external setting (historical, socio-cultural, economic, etc. factors) which is largely responsible for (2) speakers' behavior (multilingualism, distribution of functional domains, etc.), leading to (3) structural consequences (Sasse 1992:10). Drawing on a number of historical, anthropological, demographic, and linguistic sources, including a small corpus of spoken data collected by the author,⁶ the current state of language use and variation in Kwinti will be examined with respect to the three components of a language death scenario.

The external setting is the most straightforward of the components to describe and will be addressed in the first few sections. A summary of the history of the Kwinti people will be presented in section 2, followed by Kwinti's proposed genetic relationships to the other Surinamese creoles based on previous comparative and historical research, in section 3. Sections 4 provide a description of social, cultural and economic predictors that play a role in language death via shift type scenarios relevant to the Kwinti, as well as information on their multilingual practices. Section 5 examines the linguistic reflex of Kwinti's external setting in terms of language

⁴ These villages are situated within the territory of the Matawai Maroons.

⁵ That is to say that, language labels seem to refer less to a collection of particular linguistic features of a language as linguists tend to think about them. Rather, for speakers, they seem to indicate a particular social position and or ethnic affiliation.

⁶ The corpus, collected in the village of Bitagron in 2011, includes several hours of spoken data in the form of semi-structured interviews and free conversation. Eleven individuals appear in the recordings which total approximately 11,000 transcribed words.

practices, feature variation, and structural interference. Finally, section 6 will address possible gaps in our theoretical capacity to understand shift/death scenarios, with reference to the case at hand.

2. Origin myths and history

The origins of the Kwinti are unclear,⁷ as J.B.C.H. Wekker titled in his (1985) article on Kwinti history. Much of the research that has been done on the Kwinti deals with their history, particularly the uncertainties surrounding their origins and relationship to the other Maroon groups in Suriname. The following summary provides an overview of aspects of Kwinti history relevant to the formation of the language and contacts with other Maroon groups. In short, the Kwinti were marooned in the 18th century, settled later along the Saramacca river with the Matawai in the mid 19th century. Following tensions between the two groups, a portion of the Kwinti settled along the Coppename river later in that century (Wekker 1985:83).

Anthropologist Dirk van der Elst, who worked with the Coppename Kwinti in the early 1970's, presents the following somewhat conflicting origin accounts from oral histories of the Kwinti (1975:10-12).

(1) The first possibility is that the Kwinti originated as escaped slaves from Berbice.⁸ They traveled along the Corentijn river (a.k.a. Kwinti liba), then up the Nickerie river. They stayed along the Nickerie river for some time, but fearful of patrols, went further inland. There they built a village called *Pisii* 'pleasure'. They later joined the Matawai due to a lack of marriageable women.

Van der Elst notes that this account is unlikely, but cites the existence of the *karboegers*, a population of mixed African and Amerindian origin, as support for this possibility. Hoogbergen later presents archival evidence that suggests the Karboegers were employed on patrols to catch the Kwinti (1992:45). De Beet & Sterman (1980:6) also note that there are no physical characteristics suggesting the Kwinti ever did any mixing with Amerindians. Additionally, there appears to be no linguistic evidence supporting the Kwinti's origin anywhere other than Suriname's plantation area.

(2) Second is that the Kwinti ancestors escaped westward from Paramaribo, avoiding all people, settling east of the Saramacca river. After bouts of strife, the group split into three: the Kwinti who went west, the Paamaka who went east, and the *Duda lo* 'Duda clan' who returned to their masters. Following the split, the Kwinti built *Pisii*. The story indicates that the escapes happened after the 1760 treaties, otherwise there would have been no point to avoid other people, since the "pacified" Maroon groups would not have turned in other runaways before then. This account also seems unlikely except for the fact that Paamaka oral history also claims that the Paamaka lived in a village with the Kwinti in their early history (van der Elst cites Lenoir 1973:p.c.). De Beet and Sterman (1980:3) relay another version

⁷ Original title De oorsprong van de Kwinti is onduidelijk.

⁸ Berbice was a privately owned colony spanning from the mid 17th century to the early 19th century in the territory now part of Guyana .

of this story, told to evangelist C.S.E Helstone in 1947 in Pakka Pakka. While in this version there is no mention of Paamaka, the Kwinti and the *Duda* settled in two villages deep in the forest between the Saramacca and the Coppename rivers after fleeing the plantations in the Para area. They would raid the plantations as well as the Matawai settlements for women, children and tools. After some time the two groups failed to get along, so the Kwinti took the opportunity to make peace with and settle among the Matawai.

(3) Lastly, and perhaps the most likely of the three accounts, *da Kofi*, the Kwinti founder, led a band of Maroons in the south of Paramaribo's plantation area for some time before convincing his younger brother *Bont*⁹ to run away. In the ensuing uprisings,¹⁰ the groups were separated. Kofi's Kwinti went westward and Boni's Aluku passed through Ndyuka territory finally settling on the Lawa River. Green (1974:58-59) provides additional details to this account collected on the Saramacca river. Kofi's and Boni's groups escaped from a plantation called Bunumike and became hostile to each other, each blaming the other for discovery by the planters, though they traveled within shouting distance of each other and eventually reconciled before going in different directions. Green notes that some informants insist that the ancestors of the Pamaka Maroons later left the Kwinti group, or that they later fled the same plantation.¹¹

Van der Elst notes that it is possible that all the histories are true; rather than conflicting with each other, they suggest that the founders of the Kwinti did not all come from the same place (1975:12). It is interesting to consider these oral histories with reference to the development of the Suriname creoles, particularly the idea that the Kwinti have at the very least "crossed paths" with the Pamaka and Aluku in their early history (de Beet & Sterman 1980:5). Accounts (2) and (3), as well as linguistic evidence, point to a close relationship among the Kwinti, Pamaka and Aluku, all having fled the plantations in the latter half of the 18th century, as opposed to the Ndvuka, Saramacca and Matawai, who were already relatively well established by the beginning of the 18th century (de Beet & Sterman 1980:1). However, Hoogbergen's (1992) examination of archival evidence suggests that the Kwinti were well "settled" and self sufficient before 1760 (number of settlements, provision grounds, ability to quickly escape patrols and effectively hide). This adds additional complications to the oral histories, particularly (2), which suggests that the first Kwinti runaways escaped after the "pacification" of Matawai, Ndyuka and Saramacca, and were poorly adept at bushcraft (i.e. plantation born).

⁹ At least half-brother, perhaps classificatory brother, Boni was the founder of the Aluku Maroons.

¹⁰ For details see Hoogbergen (1985).

¹¹ Bunumike, according to the account told to Green, was near two other plantations, Poesoegroenoe and Hamborg. Neither Poesoegroenoe nor Bunumike appear on a plantation map, though the map covers a later era (Bakhuis et al. 2003). However, the map shows two plantations called Hamborg, one on the Saramacca river and one on the Cottica river. The Paamaka originate from plantations on the Cottica river, while in this account, the Kwinti should have fled plantations in the Para area.

Irrespective of their origins, it is clear from the archival evidence that the 18th century was a turbulent period of *marronage* for the Kwinti. Following the peace treaties organized between the colonial government and the Matawai, Ndyuka, and Saramacca groups (1760's), the Kwinti regularly faced hostilities from Amerindians and slaves, nor did they enjoy solidarity with other Maroons who were often compelled to turn in runaways and non pacified Maroons (for a ransom). Additionally, *burgherpatrouilles*, bands of planters, slaves, and free blacks who hunted runaways, were regularly destroying villages and provision grounds of the Maroons.¹² While the Kwinti were never officially 'pacified', by the 19th century no more patrols were sent after the Kwinti and the government in Paramaribo lost interest in them (Hoogbergen 1992:51).¹³

During the time of the Matawai granman 'paramount chief' Josua (1835-1867), the Kwinti first made contact with the Matawai (Green 1974:59). Green's account, collected from informants on the Saramacca River, states that the main impetus for taking up contact with the Matawai was to find marriageable men for the group's disproportionate number of girls. One man called Tata Djafu first trekked to the Saramacca river, and once the Matawai had established that he wasn't there to steal women, but rather to "become free", Djafu led a group of Matawai back into the bush where they informed the rest of the Kwinti that the war was over and they no longer had to hide from the whites. The Kwinti were all persuaded to relocate to the Saramacca river¹⁴ where they concluded a peace oath (*bebe soi* 'drink show' comparable to Ndyuka *diingi sweli* 'drink swear') with the Matawai (1974:60). Relations did not remain peaceful between the Kwinti and the Matawai for long because the 'Kwintis were aggressive with Matawai women' (Green 1974:62). After a fight for which several Kwinti were punished excessively during the time of granman Noah Adrai (1867-1893), a number of the Kwinti left, lead by Kapiten Aketemoni and Alamo, to resettle along the Coppename River.

While the oral histories collected on the Saramacca River and those collected on the Coppename River differ in details, it is clear that tensions caused a portion of the Kwinti to relocate to the Coppename. In (1) and (2), 2011 informants recount how their predecessors came to leave Matawai territory for the Coppename.

(1)	M1:	da di unu go fri anga den matawai, da den then when 1PL go free with DET Matawai then DET matawai uperklas, da de kon a bigi ai. Matawai upperclass then 3PL come LOC big eye da de begi kii unu. then 3PL begin kill 1PL
		'Then, when we went free with the Matawai, the Matawai were upperclass.
		They became greedy and began to kill us.'
	W1:	den kiri.

¹² For a detailed account of the early history of the Kwinti, see Hoogbergen (1992).

¹³ The Kwinti were only 'recognized' by the government in 1887.

¹⁴ With the exception, apparently, of one woman who was too fat to go anywhere. She remained in the bush.

3PL kill 'They killed [us].' de begi kii unu. da den gransama fu unu M1: 3PL begin kill 1PL then DET ancestors for 1PL lon kon disei. ne den kon si a liha disi. run come here then 3PL come see DET river this den kon... den go a ne lanti. then 3PL come 3PL go LOC government lanti gi den. ne a then DET government give 3PL They began to kill us. Then our elders fled to here. Then they saw this river. When they came they went to the government, then the government gave [it] to them ' M5: ma nou nou wi kon bekend nou taki kwinti de. but now now 1PL come known now COMP Kwinti COP 'Now we are becoming known. [People are aware] that Kwinti exists.' M6: even wi o taigi vu. momentarily 1PL FUT tell 2SG'We will tell you.' M5: de be kai unu kwinti matawai, mamatawai dife, kwinti dife 3PLPST call 1PL Kwinti Matawai butMatawai different Kwinti different 'They used to call us Kwinti-Matawai, but Kwinti and Matawai are different.' M6: na so a de. COP SO DET COP 'That is so.' M5: so. ma fosi u ala be kai kwinti matawai. а COP so but first 1PL all PST call Kwinti Matawai anga matawi, a ná wan. u Matawai 3SG NEG one 1PL and kwinti dife, matawa dife. Kwinti different Matawai different 'It is. But before we all said Kwinti-Matawai. We are not the same as Matawai, Kwinti and Matawai are different.' den kwinti sama be komoto? R: pe where DET Kwinti person PST come.from 'Where did the Kwinti people come from?' M5: wi taki, wan tu lowe komopo fu matawai kon va. kon come 1PL talk one two run.away leave from Matawai come here di den gowe a busi da de go na matawai ma when 3PL go LOC forest then 3PL go LOC Matawai but den matawai tan nanga den suma. 3PL Matawai live with DET person da den matawai libi takuu nanga den. then 3PL Matawai live evil with 3PL den jagi den taki den mu gwe. den no mu 3PL chase 3PL COMP 3PL must go 3PL NEG MOD kon dape. den wisi den e kii toch. come there 3PL bewitch 3PL IPFV kill right 'Let's say a few fled from the Matawai and came here. When they went to the bush, they went to live with the Matawai, but the Matawai were mean to us. The Matawai chased us away and didn't allow them there. They bewitched them to death.'

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(2)

R:	den wisi a	den?		
	3PL bewitch 3	3pl		
	They bewitched	d them?'		
M5:	iya. e kii. a	ai den suma tak	weno wi klaar.	wi e kba.
	yeah IPFV kill y	yup 3PL personsay	well 1PL finish	1PL IPFV finish
	neen di_fu kom	nopo fu datsei ne	u kon disei.	
	then those leav	ve from there the	n 3PL come here	
	Yeah, to death.	. They said, 'well, we	e've had enough', t	hen they left there and
	came here.'			
M9:	na so.			
	COP SO			
	'It is so.'			

Permission to relocate was granted by governor Tonckens in 1883 (van der Elst 1975:12). These Kwinti first settled at a site called Coppencrisie as suggested by a group of Ndyuka lumberjacks working in the area. Not long after the site was settled, a mission was sent to the Coppename Kwinti in 1889 led by Christian Kraag (de Beet & Sterman 1980:1). Internal strife in the village lead to people abandoning it for the current Kwinti villages of Kaaimansiton and Witagron¹⁵ in the beginning of the 20th century (van der Elst 1975:12-13). Aside from their official status under the Matawai Granman, the Coppename Kwinti are neither economically nor culturally dependent on any other Maroon group. Van der Elst reports (1975:108) that they share a rather detached sentiment from other Maroon groups and that they are particularly unfriendly to the Matawai and the Kwinti still living among them.

3. The Language

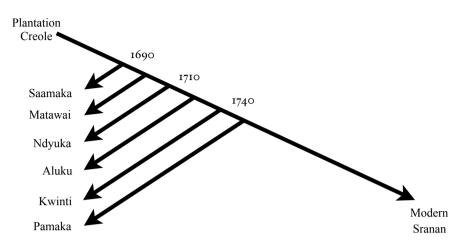
As mentioned above, there is no linguistic evidence to suggest that the Kwinti originate from anywhere other than Suriname's plantation area, though there is some disagreement about Kwinti's relationship to the other Surinamese creole languages. Hancock places Kwinti at the earliest split from proto-Surinamese creole, followed by the Matawai-Saramacca cluster, then the Ndyukoid cluster (1987:324-25). Without implying any timing of divergences among the Surinamese creoles, Smith places Kwinti within a cluster of Eastern Maroon Creole and Sranan based on linguistic relationships, while Saramacca and Matawai maintain a separate cluster (1987:4).

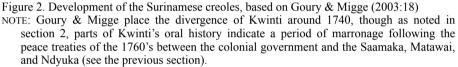


Figure 1. Classification of the Surinamese creoles by Smith (1987:4)

Goury and Migge (2003:18) however place the divergence of Kwinti at a much later period in history from the plantation creole, namely in the mid 1700's, following Aluku and preceding the youngest of the Surinamese creoles, Pamaka.

¹⁵ Kaimanston is probably older.





Their assertion is supported by recent phylogenetic work based on forms and structural features from Hancock's data, which shows that the Kwinti split from plantation creole between Paamaka and Aluku (Fon Sing and Leoue 2012). Despite their separate political and geographical position, it appears that Kwinti falls squarely into the cluster of Eastern Maroon Creole languages.

Further complicating the matter is that the Kwinti spent some half a century living along side the Matawai. In fact, they are often referred to as a single group (see (2)). Huttar notes (1982:12) the surprising lack of Matawai influence on the Coppename varieties, though it remains to be seen whether or not those Kwinti living along the Saramacca river have maintained such a high degree of separation between their language and Matawai.

To date, there has been no linguistic data collected for either Matawai, save what Hancock presented in 1987, or the Kwinti living on the Saramacca river.¹⁶ In addition to Hancock's typological data, there are several other relevant sources: a wordlist collected by Jan English-Lueck in the early 1970's, and a wordlist collected by George Huttar in the early 1980's.

3.1 Jan English-Lueck's wordlist and Eastern Maroon Creole

In the early 1970's, Jan English-Lueck, a graduate student of anthropology working under van der Elst, collected a word list of some 500 lexical items in Bitagron.

¹⁶ Hancock wasn't able to tell me whether his Kwinti data was collected from informants originating from the Coppename or Saramacca River.

English-Lueck was interested in communication, and many of the items on her list are Sranan (/r/ present, though Huttar's list and later conversational data contain /r/less varieties) or Dutch items. Nonetheless, her list provides us with not only useful lexical data and information about early linguistic interaction between Kwinti and non-Maroons, but the possibility to further substantiate Huttar's claim that Kwinti is perhaps better classified with EMC varieties (1982:12) and Goury and Migge's proposed relative chronology of the divergence of Surinamese creoles.

Kwinti	Ndyuka	Sranan	gloss
bígi futú	<i>bomafutu</i> - thigh. <i>bonfutu</i> - shin.	bonfutu	leg
	bigifutu	bigifutu	elephantiasis
kúku	sukuu sani, sikuu sii, swii sii - candy	sukrusani, swit'sani	candy
	kuku	kuku	pastry
pampu	switi patata	swit' patata	sweet potato
	ратри	pampun	pumpkin

Table	1.	Semantic	differences	between	English-Lueck's	lexicon	compared	to
Ndyuka (Shanks1994) and Sranan (Wilner 2007)								

Approximately three quarters of her list are cognate to Sranan and EMC varieties, only a very small percentage of the remaining lexemes ($\pm 3\%$) appear to be cognate to the Saramacca-Matawai varieties, 17% of lexemes are not cognate to other Surinamese creoles (much of this portion is of Dutch origin), and the remaining 10% did not lend itself to comparison.

Kwinti	Ndyuka	gloss
beenki	boketi , embele	large trough for storing water - slanted sides, no handle
bongo-bongo	beenki	shallow plastic dish to eat from
boketi	boketi , embele	bucket with vertical sides and a handle
how	how, langa nefi	machete
nefi	langa nefi	kitchen knife (20-30cm)

Table 2. False friends noted in 2011 field data

The data from English-Lueck's list also indicates that there is a small degree of semantic difference between Kwinti and cognates in the other creoles. A number of examples of such semantic differences have also become evident in the author's field data.

3.2 Huttar's wordlist

Several years after English-Lueck collected her list, Huttar (1982) also collected a short (<200 item) lexicon in Bitagron. In contrast with English-Lueck, an accurate description of Kwinti (as opposed to functional communication) was squarely on Huttar's agenda.

Kwinti	Ndyuka	Sranan	gloss
boi	boli	bori	cook
poi	poli	pori	spoil
yai	yali	yari	year
lei	leli	leri	learn

Table 3. Distribution of intervocalic liquids in Kwinti, Ndyuka, and Sranan

In addition to the suggestion that, at least phonologically speaking, Kwinti is more similar to the EMC varieties (i.e. Kwinti lacks the tonal complexities and implosive obstruents of Saramaccan, and has five contrastive vowels as opposed to seven), one interesting aspect of Kwinti revealed by Huttar's list and a later collaborative effort with Smith, is the pattern of intervocalic liquid deletion relative to EMC varieties and Sranan (Huttar and Smith 1983).

4. Maintenance and shift

In this section, general social factors correlating with language shift and death are presented along with details of the Kwinti sociolinguistic profile. While Mesthrie and Leap (2009:255) warn that no single set of factors can predict success of language maintenance efforts. However, there are factors that tend to correlate with the success (or not) of language maintenance such as: higher education in the language, size of a speaker population relative to that of the dominant language, similarity between minority/majority language, attitudes of dominant group towards the minority group [vice versa], juxtaposition of speech communities (economic ties), status – group's self esteem & institutional support (Brenzinger 2007:x-xi; Mesthrie and Leap 2009:255).

The particulars of Kwinti's sociolinguistic setting lead to several difficulties with such frameworks. Much of what has been said about language death is based on a two way relationship between a dominant or majority language on the one hand, and

a minority language which shifts in favor of the dominant language. In the Kwinti scenario, however, there are two languages at play that all fit the bill, in some respects, as dominant language, though neither can be said to be *the* dominant language. Dutch, for example, is Suriname's official language, used in all official business and all education of children and adults in the country. In 2011, a number of Bitagron residents were noted to have a good command of Dutch, and a number of women were heard reprimanding their children in the language. Sranan, the country's lingua franca also plays a role in Kwinti's contact scenario. Nearly all Surinamese have at least a passive knowledge of the language and many forms are identical. Sranan can be heard around Bitagron between the Kwinti and their Amerindian neighbors, or other passers by along the road.

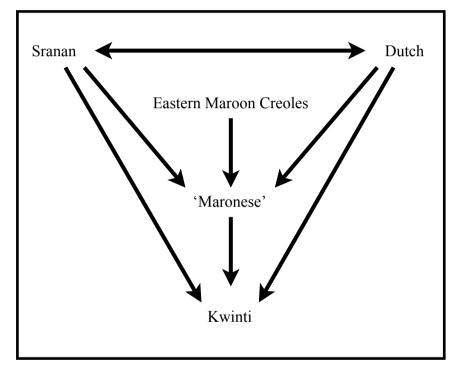


Figure 3. Directionality of linguistic influence on Kwinti

Perhaps more important are the leveled Maroon varieties developing in the urban centers of Suriname and French Guiana, largely based on Eastern Maroon varieties with significant influence from Sranan and Dutch (Migge & Léglise 2011 & 2013). Virtually all Kwinti have blood and economic ties to Parimaribo (see section 4.1 below) and many of them engage in regular circular migrations; what happens in Paramaribo is directly relevant to the Coppename villages.

It is precisely the type of variation that can be found in leveled Maroon varieties in the urban center that, I argue, is becoming normative among the Coppename Kwinti. Thus, rather than a simple majority-minority scenario which so often forms the basis for modeling language shift and death, in this case we have multiple languages playing a role in Kwinti's hypothesized shift. Here predicting shift is the easy beginning, demonstrating language change is tricky, but predicting exactly what Kwinti is shifting to is a daunting task. Table 4 summarizes social predictors relevant to the Kwinti case.

(higher) education in the languageEducation is available solely in Dutch from primary school and upward.population size>100 in traditional territoriespopulation size relative to 'dominant' groupapprox. 500,000 Sranan speakers Dutch appears to be the most frequently used household language in the country* (2004 census; Kroon & Yagmur 2010).typological distancegenetically related to Sranan, very close typologically moderate typological distance between Kwinti and Dutchlanguage attitudesKwinti - an in group language; Sranan - interethnic communication, status display; Dutch - official contexts, media, intended display of social affluence/power, often used to "one up" one's interlocutor. Majority of non-Kwinti are unaware of Kwinti's existence.economic tiesKwinti cash economy dependent on ties with Paramaribo.institutional supportperceived 0group esteempoor	Viability factor	Kwinti
population size relative to 'dominant' groupapprox. 500,000 Sranan speakers Dutch appears to be the most frequently used household language in the country* (2004 census; Kroon & Yagmur 2010).typological distancegenetically related to Sranan, very close typologically moderate typological distance between Kwinti and Dutchlanguage attitudesKwinti - an in group language; Sranan - interethnic communication, status display; Dutch - official contexts, media, intended display of social affluence/power, often used to "one up" one's interlocutor. Majority of non-Kwinti are unaware of Kwinti's existence.economic tiesKwinti cash economy dependent on ties with Paramaribo.institutional supportperceived 0		
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Paramaribo. institutional support perceived 0	language attitudes	communication, status display; Dutch - official contexts, media, intended display of social affluence/power, often used to "one up" one's interlocutor. Majority of non-Kwinti are unaware of Kwinti's
	economic ties	
group esteem poor	institutional support	perceived 0
	group esteem	poor

Table 4. Kwinti viability factors

NOTE: *Figures in both these studies are based on self designated data and thus represent perceived usage and language attitudes, rather than actual linguistic practices.

Despite the above mentioned caveats, the types of criteria proposed by Brenzinger or Mesthrie and Leap can be very helpful in assessing the possibility that Kwinti becomes a moribund language. Some, like the state of education can be addressed in just a few words, while others will require their own subsections below.

It has also already been noted that all the creole languages are related to each other (see section 3); they show a high degree of structural similarity and mutual intelligibility. Dutch, on the other hand is genetically and typologically somewhat different from Kwinti. While the Kwinti are generally amicable with other Maroon

groups¹⁷ and their Amerindian neighbors, they remain virtually unknown to the majority of Suriname.

4.1 Juxtaposition of speech communities and economic ties

Logically speaking, there generally needs to be some direct contact between two speech communities before linguistic influence can occur (save media and technology related effects). Despite the isolated feel of the Coppename Kwinti villages, regular contact has been maintained with Paramaribo and surrounding Amerindian groups for the exchange of wealth and ideas since their founding towards the end of the 19th century. Van der Elst (1975) provides evidence of this based on material culture observed in the early 1970s. The movement of goods and people was made significantly easier after the completion of a road in 1969 which strengthened economic ties with Paramaribo (van der Elst 1975:17). Subsequently, a state run bus was instated in 2009 that travels twice per week from Paramaribo to Bitagron and back for a fare of SRD15¹⁸ (=€3.75) one way.

Not only do the Coppename Kwinti have a relatively manageable means of transportation between their villages and the city, but many engage in circular migrations further facilitated by networks of relatives living more permanently in Paramaribo following the events of the Guerrilla war in Suriname. During the *Binnenlandse Oorlog* (1986-1992), as many as 25,000 people fled the interior of Suriname for Paramaribo, French Guyana, The Netherlands and the USA (Hoogbergen & Kuijt 2005:270). The Kwinti villages along the Coppename were largely deserted and the majority of residents relocated to Paramaribo (Hoogbergen PC). One informant discusses the effect of the war on the village in (3).

(3) kondee va be de moi... service station M6: fosi a be de, first DET country here PST COP nice service station PST COP wan wowoyo be de a basia pe. den sei wan wowowo pe DET market PST COP LOC basya place DET market where DET sell gruntu. i sabi toch.sondei wowovo, satra wowovo. vegetable 2sG know rightSunday market Saturday market sabi toch? i 2sg know right Before, our village was really nice. We had a service station. There was a market there by the *basia's*¹⁹ place, a market where they sold vegetables. You know? [There was] a Sunday market and a Saturday market, you know?'

¹⁷ Van der Elst notes, however that the Coppename Kwinti are not particularly friendly towards Matawai and the Kwinti who still live along the Saramacca River. This is not an issue that I probed with informants in the field.

¹⁸ 2011 fare and exchange rate.

¹⁹ A *basia* is a position in traditional Maroon political hierarchy. *Basias* are assistants to village captains and are generally responsible for spreading important messages to residents.

R: *iya. san pasa?* yeah what happen 'Yeah. What happened?'

M6 di toch. ne den man bolo а den feti omen sani. FOC when 3PL fight really then 3PL man blow.up how.many thing bolo man oso. neen omeni fu den sama lon gwe blow.up man house then how.many of DET person run go sabi toch. ya so seefi kondee achteruit even. ini hihí. i а LOC in swamp 2sG know right here so self country behind just gowe. weiniki sama kon ne libi sama a-i dva nounou. person 3SG-IPFV go few person come LOC live here now sabi toch. a moo fuu sama bijna... kande tra i wan 2SG know right FOC more full person almost maybe other one de a hollan tra wan de а foto. tra wan de a COP LOC Holland, other one COP LOC Paramaribo, other one COP LOC toch? frans sei. tra wan dya... i sabi ai french side other one here 28G know right vup It is from all the fighting. Then they bombed many things. [They] bombed people's houses. So many people ran away to the swamp then, you know? Here just a little bit behind the village. People were leaving. Few people have come [back] to live here now, you know? Most people, some are there in Holland, some are in Paramaribo, some are there in French Guiana, some are here. You know?' M5 madvumina²⁰

M6: kaa

While the Kwinti population has, in part, returned to the Coppename, many established themselves in Paramaribo on a more permanent basis giving way to eased economically motivated circular migrations.

4.2 Speaker population size, self esteem, and institutional support

When one examines the available literature on the Kwinti, it is notable that they have never been a sizable group. And while there is no minimum number (except, perhaps 1) of speakers that predicts language death with certainty, the most recent population estimates are very low. According to the 2006 census, there are just 81 Kwinti and 11 Ndyuka residing in the Upper Coppename Resort (administrative region where Bitagron and Kaimanston are situated). The census also indicates that some 130 Kwinti live in Paramaribo, and another 8 in the Brokopondo district, though it is not possible to tell whether these Kwinti are from the Coppename area or the Saramacca river. One clue may be the fact that no Kwinti are listed in the census data in the upper Saramacca district; those living there have likely been added to the Matawai numbers.

While the Kwinti appear to be proud individuals, van der Elst (1975) notes that they have "no social cohesion" which can be seen in, for example, their history of group splits following conflict, e.g. a potion of the Kwinti left Matawai, or the founding of Kaimanston followed tensions in their original Coppename village

²⁰ This expression is used to signal the end of a serious conversation.

Copennerisie, whereby members of one side of the conflict left to form their own village. This lack of cohesion certainly speaks to a weak society level esteem.

The Kwinti also lack institutional support, both internally and externally. Many important ritual functions in the Coppename villages are served by men from other Maroon groups. Further, the Kwinti have no *granman* 'paramount chief', an institution arguably essential to Maroon identity and social organization (Jolivet: in prep). Informants in 2011 complained about the lack of attention and resources provided by government and other institutions dedicated to Maroon causes, such as the radio station Koyeba (see (4)).

(4) M5 saide den n-e taki w-ala na wan kai u nen tu m-o why 3PL NEG-IPFV call 1PL name too1SG-FUT talk 1PL-all COP one lihi sama winsi fa... koyeba w-ala na wan libi sama live person though how Koyeba 1PL-all COP one live person saide meki kai kwinti tu i n-e why make 2SG NEG-IPFV call Kwinti too Why don't they also mention us? I'll say we're all humans though... Koyeba, we're all human. Why don't you also mention us?'

4.3 Conclusion

Even though current theories of language shift and death are difficult to apply to Kwinti's complex social setting, those societal predictors, loosely applied as in this section, would seem to indicate that the Kwinti language occupies an extremely precarious position as a living language. As mentioned above, these factors alone are not enough to predict a linguistic outcome. Nonetheless, I argue in the next section that as a result of relatively intense contact with Paramaribo (as described in 4.1) is causing urban style variation (i.e. with origins in Sranan and leveled Maroon varieties) to become the norm in the Coppename villages.

5. Linguistic variation among the Kwinti

In this section, I will focus my analysis on the approximately 2 hours of recorded conversational and semi structured interview data collected in 2011, with reference to a second set of conversational data collected by Bettina Migge in 1996 where relevant. Her recordings show an apparent difference in speech styles among age/gender of informants. In one recording, the main speaker is an elderly woman who employs a drastically more conservative style than the young men featured in the other recording. While speakers in the 2011 recordings also ranged in age and gender, the stylistic cleavage is hardly noticeable compared to the 1996 recordings. I will return to this in section 6.

All in all, informants have largely similar backgrounds, including regular time spent in Paramaribo as well as competence in Sranan and Dutch. Major activities in the village include hunting and fishing, subsistence and small scale commercial agriculture. Table 5 details the approximate age of informants recorded in 2011.²¹ While the gender distribution is severely imbalanced, I must acknowledge the group of middle aged women who allowed me to participate for several hours in their conversation. Without their input, later transcription and interpretation of my recordings would have been much more difficult. In any case, there did not appear to be any major stylistic differences between what was observed with these women, who unfortunately wished not to be recorded, and the other men and woman who appear in the corpus of recordings.

speaker	age	speaker	age
M1	+65	M7	±30
M2	±30	M8	±50
W1	±50	M9	±30
M4	±30	M10	±50
M5	+65	M11	+65
M6	±30		

Table 5. 2011 informants and approximate ages

NOTE: (M=man, W=woman)

Analysis focuses largely on variables where one realization is associated with the urban environment (i.e. Sranan and leveled urban Maroon speech) and the other with traditional Maroon varieties. Some representative Ndyuka data, as spoken in the upriver (Tapanahony) area, as well as urban variants of Ndyuka and Sranan, as spoken in Paramaribo,²² is also referenced here for comparative purposes.

5.1 The variable (r)

The /r/ is a very marked sound in Suriname. It is a phoneme in Sranan, though not in the other creole languages of Suriname. Many lexemes have an /r/ and and /r/-less variant, such as *moro* and *moo* 'more' whereby the use of /r/ can convey and urban/ modern feel. A number of such pairs were investigated in the corpus. Table 6 details the actual number of occurrences of each pair.

²¹ It is no accident that more information is not given about individual informants. Several speakers expressed a strict wish not to be identified.

²² The Ndyuka data was collected by Borges in 2010 and 2011. Urban Ndyuka and Sranan data was collected by Borges, Yakpo, and Hanenberg, also in 2010 and 2011.

-r/+r	gloss	Kwinti
booko/broko	broken	1/10
daai/drai	turn	13/5
doo/doro	door, arrive, through	20/4
foo/fowru	bird	11/4
fuu/furu	full	9/3
kii/kiri	kill	17/4
kondee/kondre	country, village	2/29
moo/moro	more	44/8
nengee/nengre	negro, person	6/3
peesi/presi	place	10/10
seefi/srefi	self	22/5
siibi/sribi	sleep	1/1
taa/tra	other	25/14
wataa/watra	water	12/2
wooko/wroko	work	13/7
yee/yere	hear	65/11

Table 6. /r/ token production

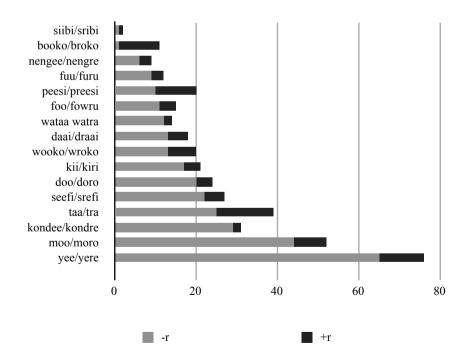


Figure 4. /r/ tokens sorted by number of /r/-less variants

	total number of spoken words	potential occurrence of tokens with / r/*		realization of /r/ - % of potential	names & loanwords **
M1	1510	92	26	28.3%	9
M2	99	5	2	40%	0
W1	1196	95	26	27.4%	13
M4	398	32	7	21.9%	9
M5	4016	271	65	24%	16
M6	1940	127	44	34.6%	2
M7	627	53	10	18.9%	0
M8	25	1	1	100%	0
M9	865	59	12	20.3%	0
M10	93	5	1	20%	0
M11	268	29	17	58.6%	0
totals	11037	769	211	27.4%	49
speaker avg.	1,003	56	15	35.8%	5

Table 7. /r/ usage per speaker

NOTE: *potential /r/ in this case are words in which there is an /r/ in the Sranan cognate word. **Loanwords are not nativized in the phonology.

As expected, most /r/-less tokens in the pair are used with a higher frequency, though several pairs are used with approximately equal frequency.

Figure 4 is an extrapolation of the data contained in Table 6, and details token variation sorted by /r/ - less variants. Token pairs only account for a portion of /r/ usage in the Kwinti corpus; some r-words occur in the corpus without an /r/-less variant. There are also a number of proper names and loanwords (i.e. mostly Dutch lexemes that have not been phonologically adapted to Kwinti) that occur with /r/. Table 7 provides a breakdown of /r/ usage at the speaker level. The table sets apart names and loanwords from lexemes with an /r/-less Maroon variant. The number of potential /r/ bearing environments (that is, Maroon lexemes whose Sranan cognate has an /r/) are also provided along with the size of each speakers's contribution to the corpus.

Compared to Sranan, Kwinti /r/ usage is low. In a set of Sranan recordings elicited in a similar way as the Kwinti data analyzed here, lexemes containing /r/ averaged 15.6%. Assuming that this figure represents all potential /r/ environments in Sranan, Kwinti, at 7%, renders less than half of such possible contexts, and of those possible contexts, an /r/ is realized in 27.4%. However, an additional data set gathered among upriver Ndyuka reveal just two instances of /r/ in a lexeme (the same lexeme from one speaker) with an /r/-less equivalent among. This suggests that /r/ usage among the Kwinti is rather pervasive for a rural Maroon village.

5.2 Pronunciation of the word pikin

Pronunciation of the word *pikin* 'small, child' varies in Kwinti in a way similar to [r] variation. In Sranan, the word is pronounced [pcIn]. On the other hand, [pIkI(ŋ)] is used in the Maroon varieties. This uncommon cluster also appears in the Kwinti corpus. Figure 8 compares the two variants per speaker. While there certainly are not a high number of occurrences of these particular tokens in the corpus, they do appear to be somewhat consistent. The usage patterns also do not correlate with the age of speakers. That is to say, that informant age could not have been used as a predictor for higher or lower counts for either pronunciation.

	[pikin]	[pcin]	
M1	5	0	
W1	5	1	
M5	5	0	
M5 M6 M9	3	2	
M9	3	1	
M11	2	1	

Table 8. Pronunciation of pikin per speaker

NOTE: Speakers who did not produce tokens are left out of the chart

5.3 Tag questions

Initially it was hypothesized that tag questions would be more correlated with the city and urban varieties. An examination of tags in several creoles, however, yields inconclusive results. Despite the urban feel of tag questions, the data do not support the idea that urban varieties employ more tags.

	i sabi (toch)	toch	no	
W1	0	3	1	
M5	0	31	1	
M6	13	28	1	
M7	0	7	0	
M9	0	10	0	
M11	0	4	3	
total	13	83	6	

Table 9. Tag questions in per speaker

Three question tags are examined *i sabi* (toch) 'you know, right', toch 'right', and response inducer *no*. Note that *i sabi* (toch) and toch are not counted double. The former tag is only used by one Kwinti speaker, who happens to be the youngest. The rest of the speakers who use tags prefer toch over *no*, though several speakers who provided a substantial number of words to the corpus provided no tags at all. Compared to samples of similar size in other varieties, Kwinti displays a disproportionately high number of tag questions. Contrary to expectations,

excluding Kwinti, Sranan employs the least number of tags and upriver Ndyuka the most.

Most likely this is a result of differences in the way in which data was gathered. While for all varieties, semi structured interview techniques were employed, the non-Kwinti recordings were made in a one on one setting with the researcher and also included some structured elicitation. The Kwinti recordings were made in a, sometimes rather chaotic, group setting where informants were much more engaged with each other rather than the researcher. This type of interaction is much more conducive to tag question production. It seems, therefore, that these data sets are not very comparable with regard to tag questions.

	Rural Ndyuka	Urban Ndyuka	Kwinti	Sranan
i sabi (toch)	4	1	13	0
toch	7	1	83	3
no	1	3	6	1

Table 10. Tag questions compared

5.4 Enke, leki, anga and nanga

Conjunctions also differ between EMC and Sranan. EMC uses e(n)ke 'like' and *anga* 'and', while Sranan uses lek(i) 'like' and *nanga* 'and'. Both variants appear in the Kwinti corpus. The (*n*)*anga* type is used for coordinating nominal elements (nouns, numerals, pronouns, and NPs) within a variety of clause types, as well as sentential coordination (Huttar and Huttar 1994:16, 34-36, 194, 229, 240-243, 248, 532; van den Berg 2007:134-13). *Lek(i)* and e(n)ke display a different distribution. They are mainly used as subordinators to manner and equative adverb clauses (Huttar and Huttar 1994:113, 121; van den Berg 2007:363-66, 375) or as prepositions in equative phrase (Huttar and Huttar 1994:293; van den Berg 2007:153).

	e(n)ke	leki	anga	nanga
M1	0	3	11	0
M2	0	0	3	0
W1	1	2	13	1
M4	0	1	1	0
M5	8	3	23	4
M6	2	0	7	0
M7	1	0	4	0
M8	0	0	1	0
M9	1	0	5	0
M11	0	1	1	0
total	13	10	69	5

Table 11. Conjunction usage

Interestingly, the use of e(n)ke vs. *lek* split rather evenly. Of the eight speakers who actually produced one of these conjunctions, three produced only one, three produced only the other, and the remaining two produced both, though each favored a different variant. Less dramatically, *anga* and *nanga* indicate a more consistent usage pattern in favor of the Maroon variant. Just two informants produced *nanga* along side a much higher percentage of the more traditional *anga*.

5.5 Negation

The forms of Sranan negations and those of Maroon negations do not correspond. In these languages, preverbal negation combines with a following imperfective marker, though the resulting forms also differ. Table 12 details the different forms.

Table 12. Negation in Sranan and Maroon languages

	Sranan	Maroon Creole
basic negation	no	$(n)\acute{a}(n)$
negation + imperfective e	ne	(n)ái

The Maroon style preverbal negation $(n)\dot{a}(n)$ is used more frequently than Sranan *no* by all speakers in the corpus.²³ Once imperfective marking is added however, *ne*, the Sranan variant becomes the preferred strategy. Table 13 shows that just three speakers used *nái*, M4 exclusively (though he didn't talk very much), and the other two much less than *ne*.

	(<i>n</i>) <i>á</i> (<i>n</i>)	no	(n)ái	ne	total NEG
M1	16	2	0	6	24
W1	14	8	1	4	27
M4	2	0	1	0	3
M5	39	46	4	25	114
M6	18	4	0	5	27
M7	8	3	0	3	14
M9	11	2	0	2	15
M10	2	0	0	0	2
M11	6	3	0	0	9
	116	68	6	45	235

Table 13. Preverbal negation per speaker

In fact, what we may be dealing with in the case of negation + imperfective is not *ne* as a variable adopted from Sranan, but rather *ne* is the inherited Kwinti form. If the most recent genealogies of the Suriname creoles are correct (see section 3), Aluku is

²³ Only preverbal negations were counted. *No* as an answer to a question, the fixed expression *no wan* 'not even', and tags were not included in the figures comprising Table 13.

one of Kwinti's most closely related languages, and also makes use of language and also employs *ne* 'NEG.+IPFV' in comparable constructions. It is possible that *nái* has made its way into Kwinti via the other Maroon varieties encountered in Paramaribo. If the latter were to be proven, *nái* would be an excellent piece of evidence demonstrating the influence of other (leveled) Maroon varieties on Kwinti. But it is perhaps just as likely that these two variables have existed in Kwinti since the beginning.

	Rural Ndyuka	Kwinti	
(<i>n</i>) <i>á</i> (<i>n</i>)	88	116	
no	5	68	
(n)ái	12	6	
ne	0	45	

Table 14. Negations in Kwinti and Ndyuka compared

5.6 Dutch elements

There are a number of words of Dutch origin in the Kwinti corpus. The most drastic, in terms of influence on Kwinti's grammatical structure are verb-particle combinations. Generally speaking, verb-particle combinations (VPCs henceforth), also called phrasal verbs, separable verbs, etc., consist of a verb and a particle which is either an adposition or a spatial adverb. VPCs often display peculiar syntax particular to the language and specific VPC. Importantly, VPCs frequently form an 'idiomatic unit' where neither the verb, nor it's particle are sufficient to adequately convey the meaning of the VPC (Dehé et al 2002:3).

VPCs in Dutch, known as *samenkoppelingen* 'combinations' or *scheidbare werkwoorden* 'separable verbs', are intricately integrated in the language's morphosyntax with numerous realizations. Once such construction is of particular interest here, namely when the object NP appears between the verb and its particle. This type of construction (see (6b)) is commonplace with Germanic VPCs, though not traditionally in Surinamese creoles. In fact, particle verbs from English and Dutch that played a role during formation of Suriname's creoles, as well as borrowings until, I argue, relatively recently, have been incorporated as a unit. The syntactically separable etyma of words like Ndyuka *towe* 'discard, pour libation' < *throw away* and *didon* 'recline' < *lay down* have become single inseparable lexemes in Surinamese creoles.

More recently however, a number of particle verbs are being borrowed or (partially) calqued along with their separable syntax in Surinamese languages. These new acquisitions often involve some dimension of semantic change in the recipient language (e.g. 5a). Two examples (5a, 6a) are attested in the 2011 Kwinti corpus. In (5a), the speaker uses the Dutch verb *uitvinden*, though the meaning 'establish' in this case is not in line with Dutch meaning 'invent'. (5b) shows an erroneous equivalent Dutch followed by the correct way to convey the meaning in Dutch (5c).

(5) a. W1: *a tata san be tyai unu kon poti ya, di be findi a* DET father REL PST carry 1PL come put here REL PST find DET

	presi	uit,	na	en	nen	be	de	tata	bitá
	place	PRT	COP	3sg	name	PST	COP	father	Bitá
	The	man v	vho bro	ought	us he	re, wl	ho es	tablish	ed this place, his name was Mr.
	Bitá.	,							
b.	*Hij	is	de	man	die 1	Vijme	gen	uit-ge	-vonden heeft.
	3sg	be.3sc	G DET	man	who l	Nijme	gen	PRT-g	e-invent have.3sG
с.	Hij	is	de	man	die 1	Vijme	gen	ontdek	tte.
	3sg	be.3sg	g DET	man	who l	Nijme	gen	discov	ver.3SG.PST
	'He i	s the n	nan wh	o est	ablishe	ed (lit	erally	, disco	vered) Nijmegen.'

The second example of verb-particle constructions in the Kwinti corpus is shown in (6a). There the Dutch verb *voordragen* 'to nominate' is used. Example (6b) shows the equivalent Dutch sentence.

(6) <i>a</i> .	M6:	w- е	dra	fi-i	foor
			IPFV nominate		
		'We	're nominating	g you (for	• it).'
b.			dragen		<i>voor</i> .
		1pl	nominate.PL	2sg.obj	PRT
		ʻWe	nominate you	.'	

Aside from the split VPC type syntax in (6a), the speaker curiously includes fu 'for' which is unnecessary to introduce the direct object of a transitive verb, 2PL in this case. Perhaps it was meant to reference an absent indirect object despite being phonologically assimilated to the direct object. Alternatively, this element may not be fu at all, but rather a sort of partial reduplication of the particle.

Dutch elements not only appear in particle verb constructions, but also appear sporadically by themselves in the corpus, including *tewai* < DU *terwijl* 'while' (7), *einigste* < DU *enigste* 'only' (8), to(ch) < DU *toch* 'really' (9), want(i) < DU *want* 'because' (10), and *wel* <DU *wel* 'corrective particle'²⁴ (12).²⁵

(7)	M5:	<i>a suku seei ma di naki f-e meki sani</i> 3sG search self but when knock for-3sG make thing
		tewai a be o findi wan sani moo
		while 3SG PST FUT find DET thing more 'He himself was searching, but if he had been productive, he would have
		found something more.'
(8)	M1:	a einigste sama di be kon ya na tiyo baabi.
		DET only person who PST come here COP Mr. Bobby 'The only person who came here is Tiyo Bobby (v.d.Elst).'
(9)	W1:	ma toch na Kwinti w-e taki
		but really COP Kwinti 1PL-IPFV talk
		'but it's really Kwinti we're talking.'
(10)	M5:	da a kmopo na olland. da a kon bai presi na korsou

²⁴ The Dutch Particle *wel* has a variety of functions (see Hogeweg 2009).

 $^{^{25}}$ Here, I discuss *toch* as an adverb, clearly distinguishable from the word's use as a tag question.

		then 3SG come.out LOC Holland then 3SG come buy place LOC Curaçao							
		da e libi na korsou. a kel dat bagrijp toch.							
		then IPFV live LOC Curaçao. DET guy that understand right							
	want olland kowru.								
		because Holland cold							
		'Then he left Holland. Then that guy came and bought a house on Curaçao,							
		you understand? because Holland is cold.'							
(11)	M5	wan faya de wel ma frizer no de							
		DET fire COP WEL but freezer NEG COP							
		'There is electricity, but there's no freezer.'							

Although Dutch has long been influential on the Surinamese creoles at the lexical level, the copying of particle verbs' syntactic patterns along with the functional items described in this section, neither of which are found in 18th century Sranan sources²⁶ or more conservative Maroon varieties, suggest a more recent layer of Dutch influence on Kwinti indicative of increased multilingual proficiency.

5.7 Formal styles

A striking aspect of Maroon culture is the complexity of their greeting system. Generally speaking, these sometimes long and complicated greeting rituals, where age, gender, status, time of day, and familiarity of the interlocutors are all factors in determining the appropriate set of questions and responses, are an extremely important part of village life. Similar patterns have been noted among the Maroon creoles that have thus far been described (Huttar & Huttar 1994, Migge 2005, Marrenga & Paulus 2009). A typical example of such an exchange is given in (13), adopted from Migge (2005:130).

(13)	А	Ba A, u miti oo.
		brother A 1PL meet EMPH
		'Mr. A., we meet.'
	В	Iya, u miti yee, sisa.
		yeah 1PL meet hear sister
		'Yes, we meet, my female friend.'
	А	(Iya.) Da u de?
		(yeah) then 1PL COP
		'Then, are you well?' (lit. 'then we exist')
	В	Iya, u de yee. U seefi de?
		yeah 1PL COP hear 1PL self COP
		'Yes, I am well!' (lit. 'yes, we exist for sure') You are also well?' (lit. 'we self
		exist')
	Α	Iya, u de baa
		yeah 1PL COP brother
		'yes, I am well.' (lit. 'yes, we exist')

 $^{^{26}}$ The exception to this is that *tog* is found in Schumann (1783) with adverbial usage. Van den Berg (2007:28) notes however, that Schumann represents a variety of Sranan spoken by Europeans, thus some transfer of grammatical categories from source language to recipient language in speakers who may have been more proficient in the source language.

B *Iya* yeah 'yes'

Greetings are obligatory for all people who come within an eyeshot of each other. Not greeting 'is an offense that disrupts the social harmony' (Migge 2004:125); however in some cases the traditional greetings, as exemplified in (12), are replaced by less formal greetings that do not convey the proper respect and tradition as conventional greetings. One who is frequently informal in his greeting 'presents [him]self as an easy going laut[sic]' (Marrenga & Paulus 2009:60). Migge notes that within the Eastern Maroon community, informal greetings, as in (14), are mostly associated with young men and those associated with wage labor in the urban centers of the coast and are recognized as belonging to the coastal creole Sranan (2005:131).

(14)	Ques	stion	Ans	Answer			
	a.	on fa	d.	saafi	'slowly'		
		1PL how	e.	cool	'cool'		
	<i>b</i> .	fa waka	f	rustig	'relaxed'		
		how walk					
	С.	fa i tan					
		how 2sg stand					

While in Eastern Maroon communities, traditional greetings are still a pervasive part of village life, this is not the case in Bitagron. In 2011, not only were coastal style greetings the norm, but not a single instance of traditional greetings was observed. One elderly informant was easily able to produce several traditional greeting patterns which mirror those of other Maroon communities; however these types of greetings are no longer in regular use. Migge corroborates this observation, saying that her attempt at greeting people formally in Bitagron in 2010 was not well received, adding that this 'was definitely not the case in 1996' when she first visited the village (2012:PC).²⁷

Other formal aspects of Maroon creole language use also appear to be in disuse on the Coppename. Two registers are worth mentioning here, *kowounu taki* 'ordinary speech' and *lespeki taki* 'respect speech'. *Kowounu taki* is the register of everyday social interactions, while *lespeki taki* is reserved for formal occasions. *Lespeki taki* makes use of a number of negative politeness strategies (special vocabulary to replace taboo terms, status-indicating address terms, verbal indirectness, and special turn-taking rules) that are not characteristic of ordinary speech (Migge 2011:216). The *lespeki taki* style was neither recorded nor observed during the author's stay in Bitagron despite the fact that several circumstances (*towe*

²⁷ However, Migge returned to Bitagron in 2013 and reports that formal greetings were in regular use, particularly in the morning. She suggest a possible spatial distribution, (Migge 2013:PC) where having stayed just outside the limits of the village proper, neither of us had been in the right place at the right time to witness these formalities.

nyannyan 'ritual food offering' and presenting one's self to village elders) would have required the use of this style in the company of other Maroon groups.

5.8 Conclusion

This section has demonstrated a number of variables that speak to the intrusion of linguistic practices (speech behavior) prevalent in Paramaribo, both in terms of elements of Sranan and Dutch elements, but also the loss of traditional Maroon formalities and greeting patterns. Structural consequences can also be seen in the adoption of additional sounds, Dutch functional lexemes, and the peculiar syntax associated with Dutch verb-particle constructions in Kwinti.

6. Is Kwinti dying?

On the basis of a number of social, cultural, and demographic factors, it was hypothesized that Kwinti may be another language to add to the list of the world's endangered languages. After analyzing a small corpus of recorded data Kwinti data with reference to available diachronic material, an increase in variation with features from other closely related language varieties is evident. Though increases in variation are often linked to language endangerment and death scenarios (Cook 1989:236), Kwinti is still transmitted to new generations. Linguistic variables like the ones mentioned above are closely tied to perceptions of what is characteristically urban/modern on the one hand, and what is rural/traditional on the other. Close economic and social ties with Paramaribo in general, and other Maroon groups in particular, have led to the breakdown of rigid ethnic and linguistic boundaries, particularly visible in the types of linguistic variation noted here. As Léglise and Migge (2006:335) put it:

....in the context of large-scale migration, the differences among the Maroon groups are increasingly being leveled. In the new context they largely face the same issues, such as finding jobs and housing. Increasingly, women and men from different Maroon groups join forces to meet these challenges, thereby creating networks that are not primarily based on ethnic group, clan, and family affiliation, as is the case in their traditional villages. Children growing up in the urban context therefore tend to be acculturated to a different social reality and consequently develop a relatively different sense of "ethnic" membership. They identify with all those whose background is very similar – other Maroons.

Variation in Kwinti is much more fluid than what has been observed among other Maroon groups living in their traditional territories. This variation however mirrors that which is evident in urban dwelling Maroon communities (cf. Auer and Hiskins 2005:356). In (15), informants discuss how the arrangement of education promotes contact with the city. The example illustrates the awareness of at least some of the variables discussed here. While a speaker may not be completely conscious of

variables, informants are clearly able to carefully control some of their linguistic behavior.

(15)	M1:	<i>luku lek fa a skoro a skoo de nounou.da den pikin o</i> look like how DET school DET schoolCOP now then DET child FUT <i>de dya te lek zesde klas. da den meke exame.</i> COP here until like sixth class then 3PL make exam <i>da ef den wani go moro hei a skoro</i> then if 3PL want go more high LOC school 'Look, like how our school is now. The children will be here until, like, the sixth grade. Then after they take their exams, if they want to continue in
		school'
	W1:	a taigi i fi taki nengee angi en 3sG tell 2sG to talk Nengee with 3sG 'He told you to talk <i>Nengee</i> to him.'
M1:		efu den wani go moo fuu a moo hei, da den abi fu if 3PL want go more full LOC more high then 3PL have to go ya a foto go here LOC Paramaribo If they want to continue with school, then they have to leave here for Paramaribo,'
	R:	na tuu COP true It's true.'
	M1:	<i>i</i> si en? da te den go ya a foto, den kaba. den ne 2SGsee3SG then when 3PL go here LOC Paramaribo3PL finish3PL NEG-IPFV sabi san fu dya moo. a so a sani kon pasadya saafi saafi know thing of here more FOC so DET thing come pass here slow slow 'Do you see (understand) it? Then when they finish in Paramaribo, they

don't know anything of here.'

Example (15) also illustrates another pertinent issue in not only the Kwinti story, but for all Maroons languages, namely language naming practices. Léglise and Migge (2006) have already addressed this issue in depth, though it's worth mentioning that, even in their traditional territory, most informants opted for neutral (i.e. non ethnicity specific) terms to refer to their language, particularly *nenge* or *nengre tongo*. In hindsight, it would have been interesting to observe how frequently *Kwinti* was used to refer to the language had the researcher not introduced the term.²⁸

Working with Kwinti particularly speaks to the difficulty in bridging the gap between synchronic linguistic variation and diachronic change. Returning to the question of language shift and death, what we do not see is a complete replacement of one (set of) feature(s) by equivalent features from another language as is expected in a diachronic understanding of language shift. What is evident, however, is that the Kwinti are experiencing a change in the norms of variation. Variables which would be inappropriate to use, for example, outside one's peer group, or in a formal context in other traditional Maroon groups, or even in Kwinti as observed by Migge in 1996. This type of variation, discussed by informants in (16) and (17), may in fact lead to

²⁸ In fact, informants in 2011 seem to use these terms rather interchangeably.

demonstrable diachronic changes, though for the moment, linguistic change is at best underway.

(16)W1· si fa wi taki basrabasra ma toch na... unu n-e taki en 2SG see how 1PL talk bastard but really COP 1PL NEG-IPFV talk 3SG tumisi dipi moro lek den voorouders ma toch na kwinti wi e taki too deep more like DET ancestors but really COP Kwinti 1PL IPFV talk bika lek fa mi e taki va, nou nou a kwinti mi e taki. because like how 1SG IPFV talk here now now COPKwinti 1SG IPFV talk nengee mi e taki а FOC Nengee 1SG IPFV talk 'You see how we speak mixed? But really it's... we don't speak it very deeply any more, like the ancestors, but it's really Kwinti we speak. Just like how I'm talking here now, it's Kwinti I'm speaking. It's Nengee I'm speaking.' (17)M5: unu a Kwinti tongo kaba. a kon taki a-i a wani FOC 1PL LOC Kwinti tongue already 3SG come talk 3SG-IPFV want Kwinti tongo. yee fa wi e taki. u ná wan taa fasi. lei learn Kwinti tongue hear how 1PL IPFV talk 1PL NEG DET other way so Kwinti Kwinti wi taki kaba а а 1PL talk COP SO Kwinti Kwinti already COP This is Kwinti already. He comes and says he wants to learn the Kwinti language. Hear how we speak. There no other way. We're speaking Kwinti already.'

Kwinti shows all the signs of an endangered language. Extra linguistic factors, such as the historical, socio-cultural, and economic setting, have led to an unbalanced bilingual situation, where certain language varieties are designated to particular domains and collective multilingualism and multi language competence is on the rise, causing lexical loss, increased interference, simplification, and structural adaptations. Given that other Maroon groups, like the upriver Ndyuka and the rural Saramaccans, have remained much more conservative in terms of their linguistic practices and linguistic structures, despite a high degree of typological similarity and like contacts with Paramaribo, we may posit that Kwinti's small numbers and lack of a strong group identity have made their language and speech behavior more vulnerable to external influence. Despite the loss imminent loss of some of Kwinti's defining features (i.e. parts of the lexicon), critically, the language has not experienced a break in transmission, which is often a nail in a language's coffin (Sasse 1992:19). If we are to look back in 10 or 20 years and see that synchronic variation detailed here was in fact an impetus for a diachronic change, Kwinti will have evolved into its new form or perhaps approximated to the other Maroon creoles in a koinéized variety, but as long as the residents of *Bitagron* and *Kaimanston* continue to transmit their language to their children. Kwinti will live on.

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Appendix: Additional examples

Example from the header

- (18)M1: so u sa taki a klimaat mi taki sa sa so 1PL MOD talk climate what talk DET 1SG MOD а libi srefi kon е kenki wan soutu fasi. DET life self come IPFV change one sort way omdat. bijna de meeste... тоо fuu fu บทบ because almost DET most more full of 1 PL teke fotou go libi. da kon foto libi. а и a city1PL go live then 1PL come take DET city life LOC 'We shall say [it's because of] the climate. What can I say? Life itself is changing in a way. Most of us have gone to the city to live. We have adopted city life.'
 - R: da a foto tongo kon ya? then DET city language come here 'Then city language came here.'
 - M1: *iyya, da a meki da a kon saafi saafi a zwaki o gwe.* yeah then 3SG make then 3SG come slow slow 3SG weak FUT go 'Yes,That's why [our language] is slowly disappearing.'

Additional examples

- (19) M1: *nou nou a foto wi libi te a doo yuu mi kon ya...* now now DET city 1PL live until LOC arrive hour 1SG come here 'Now we lived in the city and when the time was right, we came here.'
 - W1: bika binnenlandse oorlog vee. da be de и а foto. because interior war hear then 1PL PST COP LOC city haka da dati be kon ini a seefi vari ka и then after that 1 PL PST come in DET same vear PFV 'Because of the civil war, you know, then we were there in the city. After that, we came back in the same year.'
 - M1: libi va. a libi lowe so a so a kaba. а va COP SO DET life here COP SO DET life escape here PFV meki w-án sabi ai. w-án sabi en moo so make 1PL-NEG know yes. 1PL-NEG know 3SG more so 'That's life here. That's how our way of life escaped here already.
- (20)W1: go luku ef D de gi тi kante osu. а go look give 1SG if captain D COP LOC house regelen. go luku even. boi boy regulate go look quickly 'Go check if Captain D is home for me. Boy, get it together. Go look liketysplit.'
- (21)W1: i he mu tan wan wiki so 2SG PST MOD one week stav so da i be 0 kba fin ibii then 1SG PST FUT finish find everything kaba precies v-ofindi ala sani 2sg-fut finish find all things precisely

'You should have stayed for a week. Then you would have found everything. You will have found everything in order.'

- (22)M1: yu go namo da efu i wani da i meki moiti te when 2sG go continue then if 2sg want then 2sg make effort da i kon da te kon... i then 2sg come then when 2SGcome da da te i kon vee w-e meke moiti saafi saafi then when 2sg come then hear 1PL-IPFV make effort slow slow saafi saafi y-o gwe vee den sani, y-e lei den saafi slow slow 2SG-FUT go hear 3PL thing 2SG-IPFV learn 3PL slow saafi tee. di w-0sabi taki a kwinti tongo hun slow EMPH when 1pl-fut know talk det Kwinti language good hun. da vu no gwe taki а ndvuka moo good then 2sg talk Ndvuka more NEG go DET da yu a kwinti tongo taki v-ogwe na so then 2SG COP Kwinti language 2SG-FUT go talk. COP SO. 'After you go, if you want, you can try to come back, then when you come... Then when you come to hear we'll slowly try. You'll go try to hear those things. You'll learn them very slowly. Then we will know how to speak Kwinti well. You won't leave speaking Ndvuka anymore. It's Kwinti vou'll leave talking. That's right.'
- (23)M6: da m-o daai kwa-i baka ete wan leisi then 1SG-FUT turn come.to-2sG back vet one time 'Then I'll come back to you again (I'll repeat myself).'
- (24)M6: nou mi fregete san m-be wani taki nou. now 1SG forget what 1SG-PST want talk now fregeti, dus dalek baka тi а sa kon 1SG forget thus soon back 3SG MOD come 'I forgot what I wanted to say. I forgot, but it will come back soon.'

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Conclusion

Language contact can be responsible for developments in a language at all stages of its being: from the creation of new languages, as in the case of pidgins, creoles, and mixed (ritual) languages, to the integration of new variants or shift in usage of existing variants, and finally the complete loss of variants and even entire language varieties. In the chapters above, I have detailed (a) a number of features affected by language contact and how, and (b) some factors that have driven these changes at the various stages of languages' development. Recall that, based on a number of works on language contact summarized in the in the introductory chapter, I propose:

Language contact refers to the influence of one linguistic system on another. This takes the form of either the addition or altered distribution of a linguistic feature which is the result of direct transfer, i.e. borrowing, of a feature from language one language to another, or indirect transfer through pressures exerted across linguistic systems, respectively.

Where:

Borrowing is the adoption of a new, linguistic feature in one language from another, be it a form or abstract structural feature, which is static (i.e. not due to 'processing errors' of a multilingual individual) in the recipient language, regardless of relative distributions compared to that language's 'native' feature.

Altered distribution¹ refers to either (a) a significant change in the frequency of a feature native to one language (including loss) based on the frequency of an equivalent pattern in another, or (b) a shift in the distribution of items' grammatical categorization, either as a result of equivalent patterns in non native systems or by grammaticalization triggered by discord in the system due to borrowing or altered distribution of another feature.

Firstly, and key to understanding how languages interact, relevant demographic and socio-cultural developments have been detailed in **The people and languages of Suriname**. This chapter sets the stage with historical perspective, describing relevant events which led to Suriname's ethnic and linguistic diversity. Only with some understanding of the socio-history in Suriname can we begin to make sense of the country's current state regarding language use and language change.

¹ Altered distributions are not only caused by language contact.

Kumanti: Ritual language formation and African retentions in Suriname

This chapter investigated a ritual language spoken among Surinamese Maroons known as Kumanti. While previous work (Stephen 1985:19, Konadu 2010) and popular opinion (Pakosie 2000:6, Zichem 2003) suggests that Kumanti and other ritual languages are preserved language varieties of Maroons' West African ancestors, I have demonstrated that the grammatical system of Kumanti diverges minimally from that of Ndyuka, the everyday language of the informants who provided data for the study. It follows that Ndyuka, or some form of Surinamese creole, rather than a mythical variety of Akan, Gbe, or Bantu, as often purported, formed the basis on which a number of borrowings and innovations were incorporated in the creation of Kumanti.

The Maroons' perceived need for secrecy in religious matters led to the development of a set of ritual languages, Kumanti among them, associated with the worship of different sets of deities. In the case of Kumanti, this was accomplished by a variety of means, including the incorporation of a number of lexemes derived from a variety of West African languages, archaic Surinamese creole forms, and creatively engineered forms into a mostly creole grammar. The composition of Kumanti is therefore symptomatic of what Bakker (2003:111-116, 125) calls symbiotic intertwined languages, which consist of a grammatical system from one language and a lexicon from another, and which are spoken within the same territory as, and by a subset of speakers of, one of its component languages. Additionally, the multiple source languages, archaisms, and creative derivational processes of Kumanti's lexicon are paralleled in other ritual languages (cf. Kallawaya, Muysken 1997), suggesting a more specific typology of mixed ritual languages.

Linguistic archaeology, kinship terms, and language contact in Suriname

In this chapter, kinship terms of Surinamese Dutch, Sranan, Sarnami, and Ndyuka were systematically analyzed, showing that a number of semantic shifts and borrowing of forms have occurred in the realm of kinship terms. Importantly, this chapter establishes key characteristics about language contact in Suriname. The linguistic results, when coupled with the social histories of speech communities involved, allow for the establishment of a relative chronology of diachronic developments. This shows not only that Dutch and Sranan provide the models on which contact induced changes in this domain occur, but also that this model has shifted over time. Older developments appear to be modeled on Sranan, while following the late 19th century institution of pro Dutch language policies in Suriname and the promulgation of attitudes of Dutch prestige, the model for further developments changed to Dutch based patterns. Language attitudes are also reflected in the persistent synchronic variation noted in the kinship systems of the sample. Taking lexical semantics as another aspect of grammatical structure, I have argued that Suriname represents a linguistic area, and that the analysis of micro sets of structural features as carried out in the chapter is a useful task for elucidating chronological and directional developments in linguistic areas.

Tense, Mood, and Aspect in the languages of Suriname

This chapter investigated TMA systems in a sample of Surinamese languages: several creoles, Surinamese Dutch, Sarnami, and Surinamese Javanese. Once again, we see that both Sranan and Dutch provide model structures to each other as well as the other languages in the sample. With borrowability and stability in mind, the

work confirms some other proposals (e.g. Matras 2007) that modality is most susceptible to contact induced language change followed by aspect, then future tense and other tenses. However, a number of counter examples among the Surinamese data, as well as different proposals for stability / borrowability of TMA features (also based on empirical studies, see e.g. Dediu and Cysouw 2013), suggest that with the large amount of structural and extra linguistic variables, it is not possible to posit a universally applicable hierarchy for borrowability or stability of TMA related features.

Particle verbs in Surinamese creoles

This chapter argues that separable particle verb constructions, which are not native to Surinamese creoles, have been modeled on the construction as it exists in Dutch. Although these constructions, which usually consist of a native cognate of a Dutch verb and a Dutch particle, are not extremely frequent in the data, the consistency with which the construction appears (within and across creoles) suggests that separable particle verb constructions have been internalized in the grammatical structure of the creoles.

Coppename Kwinti: the influence of adstrate languages on a Surinamese creole A study of the linguistic vitality of Kwinti Maroons living along the Coppename River has shown that linguistic variables traditionally associated with urban varieties are frequent compared to languages of similarly situated Maroon groups. It is argued that a number of socio-cultural factors – including: intense circular migration between the Coppename villages and Paramaribo, extremely low population figures, and weak group cohesion– are responsible for the high variation, which appears to be evenly spread across the Kwinti community. With almost no diachronic data available, it is impossible to determine what linguistic characteristics of Kwinti have been lost already, though this work has determined a number of competing traditional & non-traditional variables; it seems reasonable to classify the Kwinti language as endangered.

Returning to the various manifestations of contact induced language change posited above, we have seen that linguistic features have been transferred across languages and distributions of linguistic features have been altered, both in terms of numerical frequency and grammatical distribution, within linguistic systems based on distributions of like structures in a contact language. The following tables summarize various features detailed in the preceding chapters that have been transferred and whose distributions have been altered. Table 1 summarizes the transfer, or borrowing, of various forms and grammatical structures detailed in the preceding chapters.

Chapter	feature	source language	recipient language
Kumanti	 lexemes from a variety of etym. origins. + vowel contrasts (fosilized) noun class system 	Various (esp. W. African) languages	Kumanti
Kinship	limited formal borrowing in the kinship paradigms	Sranan	Sarnami, Surinamese Dutch
TMA	addition of modal forms (marking congruent categories)	Sranan	Urban Ndyuka
ТМА	borrowing non-core aspectual modal and aspectual forms (incorporated to native structures)	Sranan, Dutch	Sarnami, Surinamese Javanese
TMA	borrowing <i>af</i> - 'off' completive form and structure	Dutch	Sarnami
Particle verbs	introduction of separable particle verb constructions	Dutch	Surinamese creoles
Kwinti	borrowed Dutch functional items	Dutch (Sranan)	Kwinti

Table 1. Direct transfer of linguistic features across languages

One striking feature of language contact in Suriname that is evident from the direct transfer noted, is that in the majority of instances, Dutch and Sranan are the source languages in contact induced developments. The reasons for this are twofold. Firstly, Dutch and Sranan are the most spoken languages, and the only languages in Suriname widely used for out-group communication. So while the majority of speakers of in-group languages, such as Surinamese Javanese, will have some command of Sranan and Dutch, but the opposite is most certainly not true. This means that features of Dutch and Sranan are accessible to the majority of Surinamese, and although it is likely that there are ethnolectal varieties of these languages, their peculiarities do not appear to spread to speakers of (other non-)'standard' varieties. A second, and related point, is that Dutch and Sranan are central to Surinamese identity. Without knowledge of both languages, one cannot fully function in Surinamese society. Dutch and Sranan both occupy prestige positions (overt and covert, respectively) which provides additional momentum for their features to be spread to other languages.

Quantitative distributions of linguistic variables that have been altered due to cross linguistic influence are summarized in Table 2. Here too, the role of Dutch and Sranan is prominent as a source language.

Chapter	feature	source language	recipient language
Kinship	increase in Dutch (prestige) patterns in semantic variables of the kinship system	Dutch	Sranan
Kinship	re institution of complex forms based on (prestige) patterns in semantic variables of the kinship system	Hindi / Urdu	Sarnami
TMA	overgeneralization of progressive constructions	Sranan	Surinamese Dutch
ТМА	increase in native future tense marking strategies decrease in perfective aspect marking	Sranan	Surinamese Javanese
Kwinti	reduced usage of specialized vocabulary and formal registers increased non-native phonological variables, conjunctions, preverbal negation,	Sranan (Dutch)	Kwinti

Table 2. Altered frequency distribution of features due to contact

Here again we see that in the majority of cases, Sranan and Dutch provide the patterns on which altered frequencies are based. One interesting exception is the tendency for some registers of Sarnami, associated with the more affluent parts of the Hindoestani community, to approximate more complex forms of standard Hindi and Urdu. Since these languages are often associated with religious education, they occupy a position of prestige among those who embrace their Indian origin, and their features perceived as an ideal to be emulated.

In the two cases we have seen where the source language is not Dutch or Sranan, African lexemes incorporated in Kumanti, and the associated structures, as well as some Sarnami speakers' imitation of Hindi Kinship paradigms, the stereotypical emulation of source language features is a performative display of the respective speech communities' nostalgia for the socially constructed idyllic days of yore – "Africa" for the Maroons, and "India" for the Hindoestanis (see e.g. Berliner 2012 on performing nostalgia).

Table 3 summarizes altered distributions of features within the grammatical system as a result of language contact. Once again, we see the prominent role of Sranan as a source language.

Another characteristic of language contact in Suriname evident in the preceding chapters is that the rates of change fluctuate and the models on which linguistic developments are based change over time. This is evidenced most clearly in the chapter on kinship terminology, where the data indicate that Sranan provided the model for contact induced developments in kinship systems until the end of the 19th century, at which point a number of socio-cultural developments in Suriname caused Dutch to take its place. However, the relatively neat layering proposed in the chapter on kinship terms is much less transparent in the chapter on TMA, suggesting not only that there is a moving linguistic target for contact induced changes, but that this target is applicable to specific features of languages in contact at any given time.

Chapter	feature	source language	recipient language
Kinship	Semantic shifts within kinship paradigm	(older) Sranan	Sarnami, Srinamese Dutch
TMA	Discourse oriented tense organization	Sranan	Surinamese Dutch
TMA	Grammaticalization of 'go' verb as a future auxiliary	Sranan	Surinamese Dutch
TMA	existential constructions used to indicate progressive aspect.	Sranan	Surinamese Javanese

Table 3. Altered grammatical distribution of features due to contact

Finally, while the chapters in this dissertation have all been primarily concerned with contact induced developments in linguistic structure, extralinguistic factors cannot be ignored. Each chapter has in some way (some more explicitly than others) related socio-cultural and historical circumstances to the relevant linguistic developments. It is not a new idea that languages can and do develop under their own auspices, as is the founding principle of historical linguistics and grammaticalization theory. There are also numerous studies detailing the role of linguistic structures in the outcomes of language contact, dating back at least to Weinreich (1953), and paradoxically as it may seem language contact as a driving force of grammaticalization (Heine and Kuteva 2005). However, in line with Thomason and Kaufman (1988:35), who argue "the sociolinguistic history of the speakers ... is the primary determinant of the linguistic outcomes of language contact", the chapters above have demonstrated the importance of this interaction. A number of such factors have been detailed above, such as the perceived need for secrecy which caused a group to create a new language based seemingly on all available resources. A lack of rights and responsibilities to certain distant relatives in a new immigrant community caused fine distinctions among kinship terms to be lost. Or in another case, the construction of a new road and a reliable public bus simply facilitated physical contact between two speech communities. Whether "primary" or not, extralinguistic factors as well as structural factors both play an integral and inseparable role in contact induced language change.

Although the results presented in the chapters above reveal a number of important characteristics of language contact in the Surinamese setting, there is still a great deal that Suriname has to offer. Most basically, a relatively high number of Surinamese languages, even some that factored into this work, remain undescribed or under described. Additional descriptive work on e.g. the Asian languages like

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Kejia, Sarnami, and Surinamese Javanese, or any number of Amerindian varieties – even Sranan– would be a welcome addition. Additionally, there remain a number of ritual languages and registers that remain alarmingly under studied. Multilingual Suriname also has a great deal to tell us about how languages interact. Language and feature variation are clearly an integral part of language practices in Suriname, but it is not clear how this variation changes over time. There is also scant evidence, for example, of regional and ethnolectal varieties of Sarnami, Sranan, and Maroon languages, but systematic investigations have yet to be conducted. Finally, Suriname is an ever changing place, and particularly in the years leading up to and since the country's independence from the Netherlands, has seen dramatic social, demographic, cultural, political, and linguistic developments. The latter, as we have seen, have the potential to occur relatively quickly. Suriname, therefore offers the remarkable opportunity to observe the course linguistic developments and their causes as they happen.

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Nederlandse samenvatting

Als mensen meer dan één taal gebruiken, staan deze talen met elkaar in contact en kan het gebeuren dat ene taal de andere taal beïnvloedt. Taalwetenschappers noemen dit verschijnsel taalverandering door taalcontact. De gevolgen van taalcontact kunnen heel erg verschillend zijn en hangen vanaf een aantal factoren zoals de aard en intensiviteit van het contact, de talige kenmerken van de betrokken talen, en een hele reeks van andere sociale en culturele factoren. Woorden zoals hamburger en computer, oorspronkelijk uit het Amerikaans-Engels, worden in veel talen gebruikt om deze Amerikaans-Engelse cultuurprodukten te benoemen.. Deze en vergelijkbare woorden kunnen geleend worden zonder dat mensen een goede kennis van het Amerikaans-Engels hebben. Gevolgen van taalcontact treft men niet alleen aan op woordniveau. Taalcontact kan ook structurele gevolgen hebben. Meestal hebben de mensen dan een grotere taalvaardigheid in hun meerdere talen. Een extreem voorbeeld hiervan is een zogenoemde Sprachbund 'taalbond', een gebied waarin onverwante talen allerlei grammaticale kenmerken delen. Deze gedeelde kenmerken vinden hun oorsprong in de talen van de Sprachbund, ze zijn in geen geval geërfd van verwante talen buiten de Sprachbund.

Dit zijn slechts enkele voorbeelden van gevolgen van taalcontact. Dit proefschrift bestaat uit zeven artikelen die gaan over taalcontact in Suriname. Dit land interesseert ons in eerste instantie omdat het een meertalig land is. Er worden tenminste twintig talen gesproken. Deze talen behoren tot verschillende taalfamilies, onder andere Amerindische taalfamilies (de Arawakse en Caribische talen), de Indische taalfamilie (Sarnami), de Austronesische taalfamilie (Javaans), de Sinitische taalfamilie (Hakka of Keija) en Indo-Europese taalfamilies (Engels, Nederlands, Frans, Portugees).

Ook creooltalen komen in Suriname voor.Verder worden verschillende talen gesproken in specifieke domeinen van de samenleving en door bepaalde groepen. Zo zijn er meerdere contact scenario's voor handen waarin dezelfde talen met elkaar in contact staan. Het ontstaan van de Surinaamse creooltalen in relatie tot de bevolkingsontwikkeling is uitgebreid onderzocht, maar de rol van de andere Surinaamse talen in de meertalige samenleving van Suriname heden ten dage is minder uitgebreid onderzocht. Suriname is een relatief jonge taalcontacsituatie, het Suriname van nu is in vier eeuwen tot stand gekomen. Dat biedt ons de mogelijkheid om heel ingewikkelde taalcontact scenario's gade te slaan.

Er bestaat geen overeenstemming onder taalwetenschappers over het begrip taalcontact. Daarom leid ik deze dissertatie in met een beschouwing van het begrip taalcontact. De invloed van een taal op een andere laat zich kennen door de overdracht van linguïstisch materiaal (vormen en / of patronen) of de veranderde distributie van een eigen kenmerk onder invloed van een andere taal. Een veranderde distributie verwijst naar een wijziging in de frequentie van voorkomen van een bepaald eigen kenmerk onder invloed van de frequentie van een vergelijkbaar kenmerk in de andere taal of een verschuiving van de grammaticale categorie van een kenmerk. In dit inleidende hoofdstuk worden ook de algemene onderzoeksvragen uiteengezet, namelijk (a) welke kenmerken worden door taalcontact beïnvloed?; en (b) welke factoren veroorzaken deze wijzigingen?

Het volgende hoofdstuk, **The people and languages of Suriname**, geeft een historisch overzicht van de verschillende bevolkingsgroepen in Suriname aan de hand van een aantal gebeurtenissen die gevolgen hebben voor de interculturele relaties. Verder worden de kenmerkende vormen van Surinaams taalgebruik en opvattingen over taal beschreven. Hiermee wordt de basis voor de volgende hoofdstukken gelegd. Zij worden gepresenteerd in de volgorde van een levenscyclus – geboorte, verandering en groei, dood.

Het derde hoofdstuk Kumanti: Ritual language formation and African retentions in Suriname beschrijft de vorming van een rituele taal, die gesproken wordt door een groep van religieuze specialisten onder de boslandcreolen of Marrons. In tegenstelling tot verschillende beweringen dat West-Afrikaanse variëteiten worden bewaard in het Kumanti en in de andere rituele talen van de Marrons, laat ik zien dat het Kumanti werd gevormd door linguïstische innovatie en vermenging. Elementen uit modern Ndyuka, archaïsche variëteiten van Surinaamse creooltalen, en diverse West-Afrikaanse talen werden met elkaar op innovatieve wijze gecombineerd.

Hoofdstuk vier Linguistic archaeology, kinship terms, and language contact in Suriname, hoofdstuk vijf Tense, mood, and aspect in the languages of Suriname, en hoofdstuk zes Particle verbs in Surinamese creoles bespreken kwesties van variatie en verandering in verschillende Surinaamse talen. Het hoofdstuk over verwantschapstermen analyseert semantische componenten van verwantschap termen in het Nederlands, Sranan, Sarnami, en Ndyuka, en levert taalkundige evidentie en een relatieve chronologie van het verschuiven van prestigieuze taalmodellen bij de taalveranderingen in Suriname. Verder laat ik zien hoe de hedendaagse variatie binnen de Surinaamse talen de sociale lagen van Surinaamse samenleving weerspiegelt. Tijd, modaliteit, en aspect (TMA, hoofdstuk vijf) worden onderzocht in de Surinaamse creooltalen, Surinaams Nederlands, Sarnami en Surinaamse Javaans vanuit het perspectief van ontleenbaarheid en stabiliteit. Er zijn een aantal schalen voor ontleenbaarheid en stabiliteit in de literatuur voorgesteld met het idee dat bepaalde kenmerken inherent gevoelig voor verandering en andere inherent stabieler. De gerapporteerde bevindingen laten zien dat Suriname de algemene trend van deze verschillende voorstellen bevestigt, maar dat ook andere factoren buiten het taalsysteem de ontwikkeling van TMA eigenschappen kunnen sturen. Het hoofdstuk over scheidbare werkwoorden in de Surinaamse creooltalen laat zien hoe Nederlandse partikelwerkwoorden zijn aangepast in de creooltalen in Suriname. Hoewel deze constructies, die niet historisch zijn geattesteerd in het creooltalen nog relatief weinig voorkomen, zijn de consistentie van de volgorde van de elementen in het partikelwerkwoord

constructies en het niveau van aanpassen van de elementen zijn indicatief voor taalverandering.

Hoofdstuk zeven **Coppename Kwinti: the influence of adstrate languages on a Surinamese creole** onderzoekt de relatie tussen taalvariatie en het verdwijnen van talen, beter bekend als taaldood. Variatie in Kwinti, de taal van een kleine groep boslandcreolen in het centrum van Suriname, is aantoonbaar groter dan in andere Marron talen. Dit hoofdstuk laat vooral zien hoe moeilijk het is om het verdwijnen van een taal aan te tonen als de concurrerende taal een nauw verwante taal is.

Tenslotte behandel ik een aantal algemene kenmerken van taalcontact in Suriname. De belangrijkste is dat het Nederlands en het Sranan, op enkele bijzondere uitzonderingen na, een centrale rol spelen als brontaal van vormen en patronen in de andere Surinaamse talen, na de vroegere creolisatiefase. Er zijn maar een paar tegenvoorbeelden. Ook is er bewijs van etnolectische variatie in het Nederlands en het Sranan van Suriname. De etnolectische kenmerken lijken niet buiten hun oorspronkelijke etnische groep verspreid te zijn. Mijn onderzoek naar verschillende gevolgen van taalcontact in Suriname laat vooral zien dat het model waarop patronen en vormen zijn gebaseerd door de tijd verandert. Alle talen of alle kenmerken van een taal zullen deze veranderingen echter niet noodzakelijk op dezelfde manier ondergaan.

Curiculum vitae

Robert Borges was born on October 16th, 1983 in Providence Rhode Island. He earned Bachelor's degrees in 2006 from Rhode Island College in Anthropology and African / African American Studies. He later went on to study African Linguistics at Leiden University, culminating in a Master's degree in 2009. There, his research focused on language description and language contact in the West African Sahel. Research culminating in this dissertation began in April 2009 as part of the ERC funded Traces of Contact project at Radboud University Nijmegen.