CHAPTER 1

Introduction

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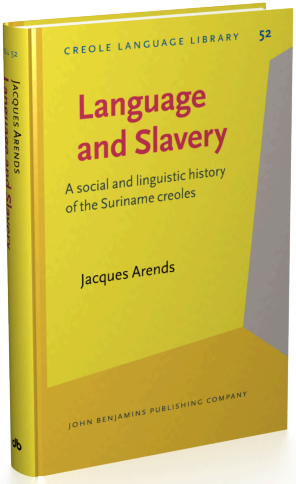

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Language and Slavery: A social and linguistic history of the Suriname creoles
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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Before embarking on the main topic, which is about the social and linguistic history of the Creoles of Suriname, we will give a brief introduction to the country, its history and geography, and its linguistic situation (For an up-to-date survey of many aspects of 20th-century Suriname, see Hoefte & Meel 2001). We will present brief sketches of the three 'main' Creoles – Sranan, Saramaccan, and Ndyuka; each of these will also be illustrated by short texts. We will also say a few words about the field of Creole Studies, since at many points in this book we refer to current issues in that branch of linguistics. More specifically, we will be concerned with Creole formation – the genesis and early development of Creole languages – a topic that has led to much controversy over the past few decades. While much of this controversy has been largely theoretical, the specific aim of our study is to present historicalevidence in an attempt to establish the *empirical* validity of these theories and, where insufficient, to provide an empirical basis for alternative hypotheses.

1.1 Suriname, a creole society

The Republic of Suriname is an independent state of some 164,000 km^2 (roughly the size of Ireland), located in the north-eastern part of South America between 2° and 6° north latitude and 54° and 58° west longitude, between the Atlantic Ocean to the north, Guyana to the west, the French overseas *département* of Guyane to the east, and Brazil to the south. It is largely covered with rain forest, except for the coastal plain, which is part savannah, part swamp. The climate is tropical, with two rainy seasons, one from September until early February (*pikin alenten* 'small rainy season') and one from late April until mid-August (*bigi alenten* 'big rainy season'). The country is intersected by a number of large rivers, many of them running from south to north, as well as many smaller rivers and creeks. Since the country's surface descends in a terrace-like manner from the interior to the coast, the navigability of the larger rivers, especially upstream, is diminished by the presence of *sula*s 'rapids', where large rocks make it difficult or even impossible for boats to pass through (boats have to be carried overland at these locations). This was especially important in pre-aviation times since rivers formed virtually the only channel of transportation through the rainforest.

The population of Suriname consists of approximately 435,000 inhabitants, some 220,000 of whom live in the capital, Paramaribo (De Bruijne 2001: 27, 32). Another 300,000 people of Surinamese descent (i.e. nearly half of the total number!) reside in the Netherlands (Adamson 2001: 293). Many of these continue to speak Sranan, usually in addition to another Surinamese language, such as Sarnami or Surinamese Javanese, and (Surinamese) Dutch. As a result of frequent transatlantic travel and the maintenance of other types of contact, the two communities may be described as forming a so-called 'trans-nation'. The phenomenon of 'trans-nationality' is of linguistic importance because of the fact that the two communities may, in a sense, be seen as forming one speech community. However, since the phenomenon of 'trans-nationality', at least on this scale, is a very recent development, its linguistic relevance is largely restricted to the present-day situation.

The population consists of the following groups:

Ethnic group	*Percentage*
Hindustanis	35%
Creoles[1]	33%
Javanese	16%
Maroons	11%
Amerindians	3%
Chinese	2%

Figure 1.1 The numerical distribution of ethnic groups in present-day Suriname

The original inhabitants, mainly Caribs and Arawaks, were quickly surpassed numerically by the Europeans (English, Dutch, Sephardic Jews, and others) and the laborers they brought with them from overseas, first from Africa, and later, after the abolition of the slave trade, from Asia. Asians were first brought to Suriname as indentured laborers in the period between 1853 and 1930. As a result Suriname is now a multi-ethnic, multicultural, and multilingual society where over fifteen different languages are spoken (see Carlin & Arends 2002). While the Creoles and Chinese live mainly in Paramaribo, the other groups are also significantly present in rural areas, both along the coast (Hindustanis, Javanese, Amerindians) and in the interior (Maroons, Amerindians). In recent years, the (re) discovery of

1. In present-day Suriname, the word 'Creole', when used to refer to people (rather than language), means 'non-Maroon Surinamese of (partial) African descent'. Throughout this book, the distinction between 'creoles' in the sense of languages and 'Creoles' in the sense of persons will be indicated by using lower case 'c' for the former and uppercase 'C' for the latter (except in cases where 'Creole' occurs as part of the *name* of a language, as in 'Eastern Maroon Creole').

gold in Suriname has attracted a large number of Brazilians (estimates vary from 20,000 to 40,000), many of whom spend time in Paramaribo. As a result, Brazilian Portuguese has become a language with a significant presence there (Carlin 2001).

As far as the history of Suriname is concerned, it does not seem appropriate to include a full summary at this point as historical issues run as a continuous thread through this book. On the other hand, it is useful to have an overview of the most important events especially as some of these are frequently referred to in the book. For this reason, we have provided the historical timeline below, a sort of 'mini historical calendar', largely based on the 'classic' historical literature on Suriname, by writers such as Wolbers (1861), Van Lier (1977), Helman (1982), and Buddingh' (1995). The table lists the major historical events of the last 500 years that are relevant to the history of the Surinamese creoles.

Table 1.1 Major events in the history of Suriname (1499–1975)

1499	'Discovery' of 'Guiana' (the area between the Orinoco and Amazon Rivers) by Alonso de Ojeda
1607	First recorded (Dutch) settlement on the Corantijn River
1613	First recorded (Dutch) trading post on the Suriname River
1621	Foundation of the 'first' West India Company
1625–50	Several settlements in Suriname by English, French, and Dutch
1651	Colonization by some forty English settlers from Barbados under Francis Willoughby
1651–53	Arrival of several hundred English settlers from Barbados
1650s/1660s	Start of sugar cultivation. First recorded shipments of African slaves to Suriname
1662	'Willoughbyland' (the coastal area between the Coppename and Marowijne Rivers) granted to Willoughby (and one Lawrence Hyde) by Charles II
1665	Departure of some 200 English settlers. Death of Willoughby
1665–67	Major epidemic. Arrival of some 200 Sephardic Jews from Brazil, Italy, and Amsterdam
Feb 1667	Suriname captured by Captain Abraham Crijnssen from the Dutch province of Zeeland
31/7/1667	Treaty of Breda: Suriname officially ceded to the Dutch
Oct 1667	Suriname recaptured for the English by Henry Willoughby
Early 1668	Willoughby urges English settlers to leave and destroys many plantations
30/4/1668	Suriname factually ceded to the Dutch
1660s–1670s	First recorded Maroon groups (Para and Coppename Rivers)
1675	Foundation of the 'second' West India Company (after bankruptcy in 1674)
1668–1680	Some 600 English settlers leave with some 1,500 slaves for Antigua and Jamaica
1678–1686	Amerindian War
1682	Ownership of Suriname transferred from Province of Zeeland to West India Company

(*continued*)

Table 1.1 (*continued*)

1683	Ownership of Suriname transferred from West India Company to *Societeit van Suriname*[2]
1683/84/86	Peace Treaties with Indians and Coppename Maroons
1683–88	Van Sommelsdyk governor of Suriname
1685	Huguenots start emigrating to Suriname after revocation of the Nantes Edict by Louis XIV
1686	Members of the Labadists' sect set up (unsuccessful) plantation on the Suriname River
1699–1700	Maria Sibylla Merian visits Suriname to work on her *Metamorphosis Insectorum Surinamensium*
c1707–c1715	J. D. Herlein lives in Suriname
1712	An undetermined number of slaves join the Maroons as a result of Cassard's attack on Suriname[3]
1718	Publication of Herlein's *Beschrijvinge*, containing the first printed text in Sranan
1724	Start of coffee cultivation
1735	Arrival of first Moravian Brethren in Suriname
1749	Christian Ludwig Schumann born in Pilgerhut (Berbice)
1757	Several hundreds of slaves join the Ndyuka Maroons as a result of the Tempati rebellion
1760	Peace Treaty with the Ndyuka Maroons
1762	Peace Treaty with the Saramaka Maroons
1765	Start of the Moravian mission among the Saramaka Maroons. Publication of Pieter van Dyk's *Onderwijzinge*, the first Sranan primer (approximate date)
1767	Peace Treaty with the Matawai Maroons.
1763–65	Jan Nepveu writes his 'Annotations' to Herlein 1718
1768–79	Jan Nepveu (interim) governor of Suriname
1768–77	First Boni Maroon War
1770	Founding of a corps of (free) black soldiers (the *Negervrijkorps*) to fight the Boni Maroons
1771	First Saramaka Maroon (Johannes Alabi) baptized by the Moravian Brethren
1772	Founding of a second corps of (enslaved) black soldiers (the *Zwarte Jagers* or *Redi Musu*), to fight the Boni Maroons
1773–77	Captain John Gabriel Stedman serves in the colonial army fighting the Boni Maroons

2. The shares were equally divided over the city of Amsterdam, the West India Company, and Cornelis van Sommelsdyk.

3. Van der Meiden (1987: 78) corrects the generally accepted idea that the number of Maroons increased considerably as a result of Cassard's attack. While the idea goes back to Herlein's (1718: 93) claim that 'more than 700 or many more got lost in the bushes', Van der Meiden notes that 'it is not mentioned in contemporary sources'.

Table 1.1 (*continued*)

c1770	Plantation Suriname at its maximum, with a population of some 60,000 Blacks and some 600 plantations
1776	First black slave baptized by Moravian Brethren
1773	Economic decline sets in
1777–78	C. L. Schumann does missionary work among the Saramaka Maroons
1778	C. L. Schumann's completes his *Saramaccanisches Wörterbuch*, the first Saramaccan dictionary
1780s	Moravians start missionary work on plantation Fairfield
1790–91	First recorded texts written in Creole by Surinamese Blacks (Christian Grego, Johannes Alabi)
1783	C. L. Schumann's completes his *Deutsch-Neger-Englisches Wörterbuch*, the first Sranan dictionary
1789–93	Second Boni Maroon War. The Boni cross the Marowijne River to live in French Guiana
1791	Dissolution of the West India Company
1795	Dissolution of the *Societeit van Suriname*. Suriname directly under Dutch government
1796	Publication of Stedman's *Narrative*
1798	Publication of Weygandt's *Leerwijze*, the second oldest Sranan primer
1799–1802	Suriname a British Protectorate
1802–1804	Suriname under Dutch rule again
1804–16	British interregnum in Suriname
1808	Official abolition of the slave trade. Illegal trade continues until 1830
c1830	Start of 'amelioration policy', directed at improving living conditions among the slaves
1829	Publication of *Da njoe testament*, the first printed Bible translation in Sranan
1830	Publication of William Greenfield's *Defence of the Negro-English version of the New Testament*. Beginning of Moravian mission among plantation slaves on a wider scale (approximate date)
1838	First Hindustani contract laborers in Suriname
1844	Moravian missionaries permitted to teach slave children how to read
1852	Publication of first issue of *Makzien vo Kristen-soema zieli*, Moravian religious magazine entirely in Sranan (continued until 1932)
1853	First Chinese contract laborers in Suriname
1854	Publication of the anonymous *Kurzgefasste Neger-Englische Grammatik*, the first printed Sranan grammar
1855	Publication of Focke's *Neger-Engelsch woordenboek*, the first printed Sranan dictionary
1856	Publication of Wullschlägel's *Deutsch-Negerenglisches Wörterbuch*, a German-Sranan dictionary. Moravian missionaries permitted to teach slave children how to write
1860s–1890s	Johannes King, the first black Surinamese author, writes his diaries and other works

(*continued*)

Table 1.1 (*continued*)

1/7/1863	Emancipation
1863–73	Period of 'apprenticeship': ex-slaves supervised by colonial authorities
1876	Introduction of compulsory education for 6–12 year olds in Suriname; although Dutch is designated as the language of instruction, the Moravians continue using Sranan for some time
1891	Official ban on the use of Sranan as a medium of instruction
1894	First Javanese contract laborers in Suriname
1903	Publication of Helstone's *Spraakkunst*, the first Sranan grammar written in Sranan
1917	End of Hindustani immigration
1939	End of Javanese immigration
1946–56	Publication by 'Papa' Koenders of *Foetoeboi*, emancipatory journal written in Sranan
c1950	Foundation of *Wi Eygi Sani*, emancipatory Surinamese cultural organization
1954	Suriname becomes an autonomous part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands
1957	Publication of Trefossa's *Trotji*, first book of poetry in Sranan
1969	Publication of Edgar Cairo's *Temekoe*, the first literary story in Sranan
1970s	Many Surinamese immigrate to the Netherlands during pre-Independence years
1975	Independence

Now that the main geographical and historical features have been sketched, it is perhaps time to make acquaintance with what this book is about – the creole languages of Suriname.

1.2 The creole languages of Suriname

Before going into the creole languages themselves, a few words need to be said about the other languages of Suriname, if only because they have left their traces in the creoles. First of all, there are several Native American languages, such as Lokono, Kari'na, Trio, Akuriyo, and Wayana, of which the first belongs to the Arawakan family while the others are Cariban languages. Then there are the Asian languages spoken by the contract laborers who were brought to Suriname in the 19th and early 20th centuries: Hakka, Sarnami, and Javanese. Hakka (or: Kejia) is a Chinese language spoken in the Pearl River Delta, the place where many Chinese immigrants originally came from. Sarnami (or: Sarnami Hindustani) is a koiné, based on Bhojpuri and several other varieties of Hindi that are spoken in the United Provinces in India, where most Indian immigrants came from. Surinamese Javanese (or: Yampanesi) is the variety of Javanese that was introduced by the immigrants from this Indonesian island. As is to be expected, all three Asian languages have developed into specifically Surinamese varieties, each

with its own characteristics. Finally, Dutch – the (only) official language in the country – is widely known as a second or third language, especially in its particular Surinamese variety called *Surinaams Nederlands* (Surinamese Dutch).[4] (For a summary of the current language situation, see Carlin 2001.) Since Sranan is used as the major lingua franca for communication between the different ethnic groups, it is widely known as a second or third language.

Before we go on to introduce the Surinamese creole languages, it is important to point out that in most cases we are dealing with *oral* languages, languages that have or had until recently no or only a marginal written tradition. This is especially relevant as most of the diachronic work reported later in this book is based on the analysis of written sources. As far as the creole languages are concerned, the only ones written down before the 19th century were Sranan and Saramaccan. And even in these cases, 99% of the remaining documents were composed by non-native speakers. Apart from the ten Saramaccan letters written around 1800, and the score of Sranan letters from the early 19th century, in both cases probably heavily influenced, or even directly dictated, by European missionaries (see Chapter 3), the first true native writing in any of the Suriname creoles was by Johannes King in the second half of the 19th century. The explanation for this is that until well into the 19th century slaves were simply not allowed to acquire any literacy skills. It is not surprising, therefore, that it was not slaves but Maroons, such as Grego, Alabi and King, who became the first native authors.

But the restriction on learning to read and write was not the only reason why the plantation and Maroon societies were thoroughly oral. Many, although not all, of the Africans who were brought to Suriname came from intrinsically oral cultures. There are two things we have to keep in mind throughout this book. Firstly, many creole textual sources on which this study is based were produced by writers who were not native speakers. Secondly, these writers chose genres such as dictionaries, grammars and Bible translations, which were completely alien to the cultural context of the creole language they were using as a medium. Apart from the scattered sentences attributed to native speakers in early documents such as Court Records and a few other sources, the first authentic textual material which may be said to be truly representative of not only native but also culturally appropriate Sranan (or any other Surinamese creole) is probably the collection of *odo*s (proverbs) published by Teenstra in 1837. Later, other sources, such as Wullschlägel's (1856) collection of *odo*s, become available, but it was not until the invention of the phonograph that samples of oral literature begin to be recorded and published, as for example in Herskovits & Herskovits (1936).

4. Not to be confused with *Surinaams*, the Dutch name for Sranan.

Unfortunate as this may be, there is no way of overcoming this problem. Anyone who wants to study the early stages of creolization in Suriname will have to make use of the non-optimal sources mentioned above. All one can do is be aware of the drawbacks and take them into account in one's interpretations and analyses as best as one can.

Having discussed this, we can now go on to introduce the topic of this book, the creole languages of Suriname. On the basis of a number of linguistic (especially phonological and lexical) criteria as well as their mutual (un)intelligibility, the Suriname creoles can be divided into three groups: Sranan, Western Maroon Creole (WMC, with two varieties: Saramaccan, Matawai), and Eastern Maroon Creole (EMC, with four varieties: Ndyuka, Paramaccan, Aluku, and Kwinti[5]). There are good reasons, however, to assume that they are all derived from the same 'proto language', which, following Migge (1998), we will refer to as Suriname Plantation Creole (SPC). The historical relationships between the creoles will be discussed more fully later in this book. They are provisionally represented as a genealogical tree, in Figure 1.2 below.

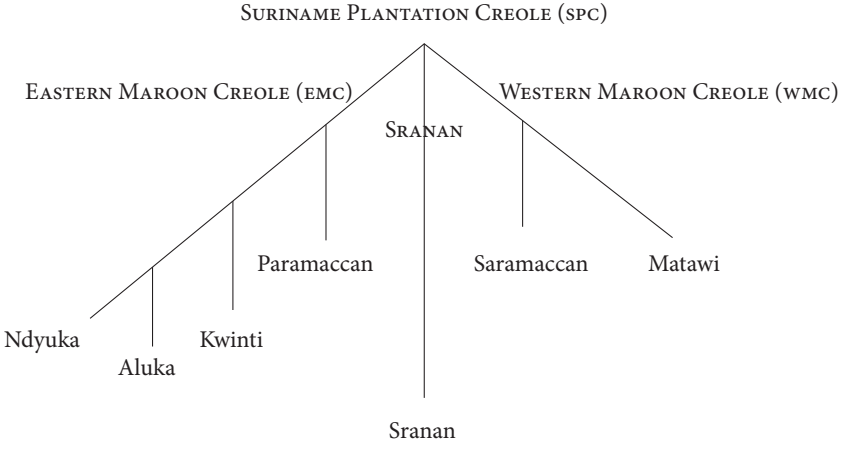

Figure 1.2 Genealogical tree of the Suriname creoles

5. In the case of Kwinti, which is spoken in Central Suriname, the name 'Eastern Maroon Creole' should, of course, not be taken literally.

The figure above represents the seven creole languages that are still currently in use, but there is also another creole that is sometimes mentioned in historical sources. It is called *Djutongo*, literally 'language of the Jews', which refers to the fact that it was the language used on plantations owned by Sephardic Jews whose primary language was Portuguese. While only a dozen or so lexical items are known from this language (see Smith 1987, 1999; Ladhams 1999), it is clear that it must have been a mainly Portuguese-lexicon creole, which may have been a precursor of Saramaccan. If this is indeed the case, the place for Djutongo in the tree given above would have to be at a separate node, in between WMC and the split between Saramaccan and Matawai.

Another way of representing the relationships between the Suriname creoles is by grouping them on the basis of their main lexifier language(s), i.e. the language(s) that provided the basis of their lexicons. This yields the following picture:

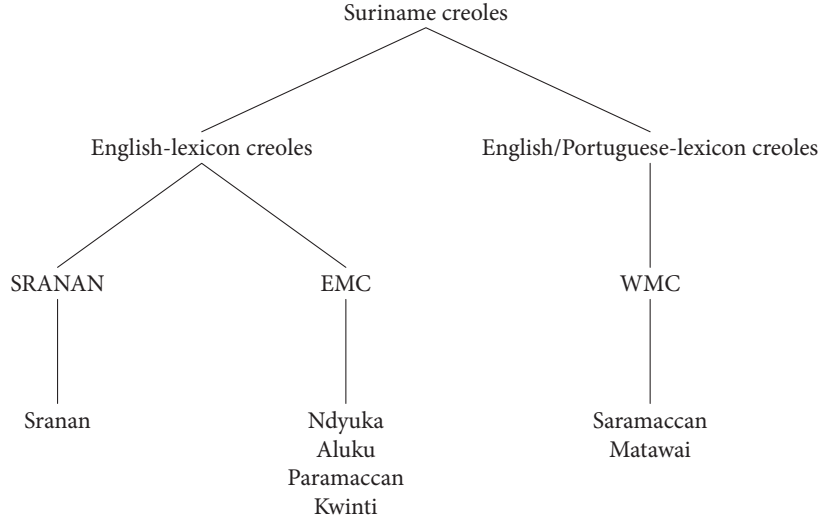

Figure 1.3 The Suriname creoles grouped according to their major lexifier language(s)

The following convention will be used throughout this book to refer to groups of creoles as opposed to individual creole languages: small caps will be used for groups of creoles (Eastern Maroon Creole, Western Maroon Creole), while lower case (Ndyuka, Aluku, etc) will be used for individual languages. A survey of the Suriname creoles is given in Table 1.2 below (numbers of speakers are estimates, adapted from Grimes 1996; the numbers include speakers living in the Netherlands):

Table 1.2 Nomenclature, geographical distribution, and numbers of speakers of the Suriname languages

Language group	Language(s)	Alternative name(s)	Geographical distribution	Number of speakers
Sranan	Sranan (Sranang)	Sranan Tongo, Surinaams, Nengre (Tongo), Taki Taki	Paramaribo and coastal area	400,000 (incl. L2)
Eastern Maroon	Ndyuka (Ndjuka, Djuka, Djoeka)	Okanisi, Auka, Aukaans	Cottica, Marowijne, Tapanahony Rivers	20,000
Creole	Aluku (Aloekoe)	Boni	French Guyana border, French Guyana	2,500
	Paramaccan	Paramakaans	Marowijne River	2,500
	Kwinti		Coppename River	500
Western Maroon	Saramaccan	Saamáka, Saramakaans	Suriname River	25,000
Creole	Matawai	Matuari (Matoewari, Matawari)	Saramacca River	2,000

As can be seen from this table, the total number of speakers of the six Maroon creoles added together, (i.e. excluding Sranan) is well below figures proposed as being critical for a language to survive in the 21st century. According to this criterion, all the Surinamese Maroon creoles are in danger of extinction within the next hundred years. While this may certainly be true for the smaller creoles – Kwinti, Aluku, Paramaccan and Matawai – it is important to realize that other factors than the number of speakers alone play a role in determining the vitality of a language. One of these is the extent to which a language is related to the identity and self-esteem of the group. In the case of the Maroon groups, their existence as culturally autonomous communities is intimately linked to the language they speak. The history of their formation as independent sub-societies within plantation society is completely intertwined with the development of their own creole language. In terms of this factor, there seems to be hope for the survival of these languages. However, they are under increasing pressure from other, 'bigger' languages, such as Sranan, and Dutch, through education, media, and migration. Moreover, they receive no support from the government whatsoever. There is good reason, therefore, to be concerned about the future of these languages.

The three creole groups: Sranan, West Maroon and East Maroon, will now be discussed in turn. We will not discuss each and every member of the latter groups separately but restrict ourselves to a discussion of the main representatives of the three groups, namely Sranan, Saramaccan and Ndyuka.

Sranan.[6] The name Sranan is short for Sranan Tongo, literally 'language of Suriname.' It is an English-lexicon creole language that has been used in Suriname since the late 17th century. In the past it has also been referred to as Negro-English, *Nengre* 'Negro (language)', or, in a rather derogatory manner, *Taki-Taki* 'chatter'. It is spoken by some 400,000 people in Suriname, French Guiana, and the Netherlands, either as a first or as a second language. It is the native language of most Surinamese people of African descent, while it serves as an interethnic lingua franca between the other ethnic groups, which include Amerindians, Hindustanis, Javanese and Chinese. Although it does not have any official status – the only official language in Suriname is Dutch – it is being used more and more in formal contexts, such as education, the media, politics, and public information. Apart from that, flowering literature in Sranan is flourishing, especially poetry (*cf.* Van Kempen 1995).

The reason why an English-lexicon creole is spoken in a country that has been a Dutch colony throughout most of its existence is purely historical. Before it became a Dutch possession in 1667, Suriname had been an English colony for seventeen years, and it is generally assumed that the foundations of the Sranan lexicon stem from that period. However, although many English had left the colony by 1680, this did not put a definitive stop to the presence of the English in Suriname. Many more speakers of English remained in Suriname than has usually been assumed. This means that the window of opportunity for the establishment of an English-lexicon creole remained open for a longer time than the thirty-year period between 1651 and 1680.

Apart from the English element, the Sranan lexicon reveals several other influences as well. First, a number of Portuguese-derived words have been incorporated into the language due to the fact that many of the planters in the early period were Portuguese-speaking Jews. Second, many of the words for local flora and fauna, originate from the Amerindian languages, mainly Arawak and Carib. Third, a fair number of words have been adopted from some of the African languages spoken by the slaves, especially Gbe (a cluster of Kwa languages, spoken in Ghana, Togo and Benin), Akan (another Kwa language cluster, spoken in Ghana, Togo, and Ivory Coast), and Kikongo (a Bantu language cluster, spoken in Gabon, Congo, the Democratic Republic of Congo (former Zaire), and Angola). Finally, since Dutch rule, a large number of Dutch words have been borrowed, a process that continues to the present day.

Sranan is somewhat unusual among creoles in general in that the early stages of its development are relatively well documented. Many written documents from

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6. This section is largely based on Arends (2005).

the early 18th century as well as later – either in printed or manuscript form – are still available. This is largely due to the work of the Moravian Brethren, a German missionary organization that was very active in Suriname. They produced a large number of religious texts in Sranan as well as a number of invaluable descriptive works such as dictionaries and grammars. In addition, members of the colonial elite produced a number of language primers and dictionaries in printed form. Because of these early documents, linguists have been able to carry out detailed diachronic research on Sranan, especially on the development of its phonology and syntax (*cf.* Arends 2002b). In Chapter 6, several early Sranan texts have been reproduced.

Like many other creoles, Sranan is the product of a process of language contact involving a number of different languages from different language families. Historical research has shown that although the early, say pre-1740, African population was made up of many different ethnolinguistic groups, the majority belonged to one of three main language clusters: Gbe, Kikongo, or Akan (Arends 1995a). This means that the major African linguistic input in the formation of Sranan (and the other Suriname Creoles as well) came from these languages. The predominant role of Gbe, Kikongo and Akan is confirmed by the fact that the great majority of the African elements in the Sranan lexicon can be traced to these three languages. This is further supported by evidence from other research domains of language such as phonology, lexical semantics, and morphosyntax (*cf.* Smith 1987; Huttar 1985; Migge 1998).

It is important to realize that, although Suriname was a Dutch colony from 1667 onwards, the Dutch were never a majority of the European population made up of Germans, Portuguese, French, Scandinavians, among others. In fact, from the late 17th to the early 19th century, it was the Portuguese Jews who were numerically the most important group of Europeans. Dutch did not become a majority language among Suriname's Europeans until well into the 19th century. The absence of a dominant European language may be partly responsible for the fact that Sranan was widely used by Europeans, not only in their contacts with Blacks but also with Europeans speaking other languages and even among themselves.

Below, the major features of each of the linguistic subsystems will be briefly discussed (largely based on Bruyn 2002; see also Adamson & Smith 1995) followed by a few remarks on the 'verbal arts,' an important activity in traditionally oral languages such as Sranan.

Lexicon. About three quarters of the basic vocabulary (words for crosslinguistically (near) universal concepts such as 'sun', 'mother', 'eat') is derived from English, while most of the remainder is from Dutch. The non-basic vocabulary is mainly derived from Dutch, although some words can be traced to other sources, such

as Portuguese, Amerindian languages (Lokono, Kari'na), and African languages (Gbe, Kikongo, Akan). Some examples are *katibo* 'slave' (< Portuguese *cativo*), *kruyara* 'dug out canoe' (< Lokono *kojarha*), *awara* 'palm species' (< Kari'na *awa:ra*), *agama* 'lizard species' (< Gbe *a:gáma*), *pinda* 'peanut' (< Kikongo *mpínda*), and *gongosa* 'gossip' (< Akan *konkonsa*).

As to grammatical words, although most of these were not adopted from English into Sranan directly, many grammatical functions are expressed through words derived from English. English-derived content words from the Sranan lexicon were grammaticalized to fulfill functional roles. For example, the English definite article: 'the' was not adopted in Sranan but two definite articles: *a* (singular, from the demonstrative *dati* 'that') and: *den* (plural, from the personal pronoun *den* 'they') emerged in its place. Similarly, while the English indefinite article 'a' was not retained in Sranan, the numeral *wan* 'one' took on the role of an indefinite article. Moreover, some words that are clearly derived from English changed in meaning. For example, *anu* (< 'hand'), means both 'hand' and 'arm,' and *futu* (< 'foot') means both 'foot' and 'leg.' Semantic shifts such as these can be related to features of African languages such as Gbe that have only one word for what in English is expressed by either 'hand' or 'arm' or by either 'foot' or 'leg'. African influences are also responsible for the existence of a special category of words known as ideophones whose function is to intensify or specify the meaning of another word with which they occur in a fixed combination. For example, the ideophone *fáán*, used to intensify the meaning of the adjective *weti* 'white,' is probably from Gbe. An example is *a weti so fáán* 'he is so very white' (lit.: he white so IDEOPHONE).
Phonology. In its phonology, Sranan shows a clear tendency towards an open syllable structure, which leads to the addition of paragogic vowels to English-derived words ending in a consonant; so 'wood' becomes *udu* and 'walk' becomes *waka*. Word-final nasals are velarized, an allophonic process which is not reflected in the spelling, for example <Sranan>, which is pronounced [Sranang].[7]

Morphology. There are four morphological processes in Sranan: conversion, compounding, suffixation, and reduplication. Conversion (also known as multifunctionality or zero-derivation) refers to the derivation of a word, e.g. a verb, from another word, such as a noun, without any overt change in form. For example, from the adjective *ebi* 'heavy' both a noun *ebi* 'weight' and a verb *ebi* 'to weigh' have been derived. Compounding is quite common in Sranan, especially when both elements are nouns, as in *man-pikin* 'son' (lit.: 'man child') and *uman-pikin* 'daughter' (lit.: 'woman child'). One of the few cases of inflection is the use of the noun *man* 'man' as an agentive suffix as in *siki-man* 'sick person' (lit.: 'sick man')

7. Contrary to what is sometimes assumed, word stress is on the *second* syllable.

and *bere-man* 'pregnant woman' (lit.: 'belly man'). That, in the latter two cases, –*man* is used as an affix rather than as a noun appears from the fact that it is not restricted to male persons, as in the case of *bere-man*. Finally, reduplication, the creation of a new word by (partially) doubling an already existing word, is quite common. It can be used to create new words belonging to a different category than the base word, as appears from *sisibi* 'broom' (< *sibi* 'to sweep').

Syntax. Sranan is a strict SVO language with a strong tendency towards an isolating morphology. The latter appears from the fact that tense (T), mood (M) and aspect (A), as in many creoles, are expressed through independent particles, which are preposed to the verb, rather than through inflection. The TMA system is too complex to be discussed in detail here but it is vital to recognize that the distinction between stative verbs (e.g. 'love') and non-stative verbs (e.g. 'eat') is of paramount importance for the functioning of the system. For example, a bare stative verb indicates present while a bare non-stative verb indicates the past tense. For a non-stative verb to indicate the present tense, it has to be preceded by the particle *e*. Compare the following examples: *mi lobi fisi* 'I love fish;' *mi nyan fisi* 'I ate fish;' *mi **e** nyan fisi* 'I'm eating fish.' While the distinction between stative and non-stative verbs also plays a role in the use of the particle *ben*, other factors, such as discourse structure, come into play here as well (for detailed discussion, see Winford 2000, 2006). Like many other creoles, Sranan has two copula forms: *de*, for location, possession, and existence, and *a*, for nominal predication (although *de* is sometimes used here as well). Adjectival predicates are treated on a par with verbal predicates, i.e. they normally follow the subject without an overt copula being inserted in between, as in *yu futu bigi* 'your feet are big' (lit.: 'your feet big'). To express intensity or contrast, both verbal and adjectival predicates may be clefted, with a copy of the predicate left behind, as in *na bigi yu futu bigi* 'your feet are really big' (lit. 'is big your feet big'). Finally, a syntactic phenomenon seen in many creoles is the serial verb construction, where one subject is connected with two or more main verbs which together form one semantic unit, as in *Rudy ben tyari den buku kon na ini a oso* 'Rudy has brought the books into the house' (lit.: 'Rudy has carried the books come at in the house'). In this sentence, the meaning of what is expressed by the preposition 'to' in English, is expressed by the verb *kon* 'come,' which forms a series with the verb *tyari* 'carry.' Sranan has a wide variety of different types of serial verb constructions, for the expression of direction, location, instrumental, dative, benefactive, causative, comparative, completion, and complementation (see Sebba 1987). Since both predicate clefting and serial verbs are common features of many West African languages, it seems justified to interpret the occurrence of these constructions in Sranan as retentions from the African languages spoken by the slaves (*cf.* McWhorter 1992; Migge 1998).

Verbal arts. The domain of language use known as the 'verbal arts' includes such activities as story telling and the performance of song and drama. Probably the best-known genre is the so-called *Anansi tori*, named after the trickster-spider Anansi, but including other types of folk-tales as well. Although the canonical context for telling *Anansi tori* is at funeral wakes, they may be told on other occasions as well. Both the content and the performative structure of these tales have their roots in West Africa. The basic pattern is the call-and-response structure known from many African-American oral genres (for example, gospel songs), with the story-teller being interrupted by members of the audience punctuating the story with remarks, songs or even entire 'sub-stories' of their own. The importance of songs, as an emotional outlet for the slaves, is apparent in early sources, where reference is made to a social activity known as *pree* 'play' in which dance and song play an important role. Various kinds of drama, that have their origins in the plantation period, were also important and these continue to be performed to the present day (for splendid collections of Sranan oral literature, see Herskovits & Herskovits 1936 and Voorhoeve & Lichtveld 1975). Finally, the tradition of verbal dueling, known from many African and African-American cultures (*cf.* 'playing the dozens' in the United States) and called *fatu* in Suriname, is still being practiced today (Adamson 2001).

Sranan text (story from De Drie 1985, adapted from Bruyn 2002)

Basya, granbasya, kari ala den basya a aksi den a taki
basya great-basya call all the.PL basya 3SG ask 3PL 3SG say
The Basya [overseer], the Chief Basya, called all the basyas together and asked them:

'We baya, un no weri anga na katibo dan?'
well listen 1/2PL NEG weary with the.SG slavery then
'Now listen, aren't you fed up with being slaves?'

Den taki 'Ya basya.
3PL say yes basya
They answered 'Yes Basya.

Un wroko nomo, un n' e kisi pikin sukru
1/2PL work only 1/2PL NEG ASP get little sugar
We only work, we don't even get some sugar

fu un dringi wan pikin fayawatra te manten,
for 1/2PL drink a little hot-water tea morning
so we could drink some hot drink in the morning,

soso malasi granmasra e gi unu.
just molasses great-master ASP give 1/2PL
just molasses, that's what Granmasra [the plantation owner] gives us.

Un wroko so tranga, te un wani nyan wan fèrs sani,
1/2PL work so hard when 1/2PL want eat a fresh thing
We work so hard, but if we want to eat something fresh

na unsrefi mu go tapu kriki, ponsu kriki.
it-is 1/2PL-self must go close creek fish creek
we must close off the creek ourselves, and catch fish [with poisonous branches] from the creek.

Dan toku den teki ala den buba fisi
then still 3PL take all the.PL scale fish
But then they take all the scaled fish

dan de gi un de nengrefisi.
then 3PL give 1/2PL the.PL negro-fish
and they give us the *nengrefisi* [unscaled fish].

Na dati wi abi fu nyan wan pikin tonton.'
it-is that 1PL have for eat a little tonton
In that way we have a little *tonton* [dish] to eat.'

Den taki 'We basya fa yu de van plan fu du dan?'
3PL say well basya how 2SG COP intend for do then
They said, 'Well Basya, what are you intending to do then?'

A taki 'We mi de van plan
3SG say well 1SG COP intending
He said, 'Well, I'm having this plan

fu un ala slafu fu a pernasi fu un
for 1/2PL all slave of the.SG plantation of 1/2PL
for us, for all the slaves of our plantation

taki anga den mansrafu un lowe go a busi.
that with the.PL man-slave 1/2PL run away go LOC forest
that together with the slaves, we escape into the forest.

Libi a pernasi. Libi granmasra anga en pernasi.
leave the.SG plantation leave great-master with 3SG plantation
Leave the plantation. Leave Granmasra and his plantation.

Un sa de tevrede dan?' 'Ya basya'.
1/2PL FUT COP content then yes basya
Would you be content then?' 'Yes, Basya'.

'Di suma habi wan pikin sowtu, dan a mu kibrikibri.
when somebody have a little salt then 3SG must hide-hide
'If somebody has some salt, then he must hide it very securely / in different places.

Un mu e go a busi,
1/2PL must ASP go LOC forest
We have to go into the forest,

un mu diki boto meki un kan abi boto.
1/2PL must dig boat make 1/2PL can have boat
we have to dig out boats so that we can make use of boats.

Bika te anga a sroyti fu a yari un mu wroko,
because until with the.SG closing of the.SG year 1/2PL must work

gi skin,
give body

Because until the end of the year, we must work, make an effort,

meki granmasra anga driktoro no habi denki a un tapu.'
make great-master with manager NEG have thought LOC 1/2PL top
so that Granmasra and the manager won't get suspicious about us.'

Saramaccan. Saramaccan is the creole language spoken by the Saramaka[8] people, who live along the Suriname River in central Surinam. The name 'Saramaka' derives from the fact that the first settlements of these people were located along the Saramacca River, in central Suriname. While the Saramaka later moved on to the Suriname River, the Matawai, who split off from the Saramaka during the peace negotiations of the 1760s, stayed in the Saramacca River area. The around 25,000 Saramaccans living today are the descendants of African slaves who, in the 17th and 18th centuries, escaped from the plantations to create their own communities in the Suriname rain forest. These run-away slaves and their descendants are often referred to as 'Maroons', a word derived from Spanish *cimarron*, meaning 'stray animal'. The creole languages spoken by Maroon communities may be referred to as 'Maroon creoles', to distinguish them from (former) 'plantation creoles', such as Sranan. While there are only very few Maroon Creoles in the rest of the world

8. I will distinguish the Saramaccan language from the people who speak it by using 'Saramaccan' as a glottonym and 'Saramaka' as an ethnonym. The same procedure will be followed with regard to 'Paramaccan' vs. 'Paramaka'. In the case of 'Boni/Aluku' I will use 'Aluku' as a glottonym and 'Boni' as an ethnonym. For reasons to be explained later, I will use 'Ndyuka' to refer to both language and people, referring explicitly to either the language or the ethnic group as necessary. The same procedure will be followed for 'Kwinti' and 'Matawai'.

(Palenquero in Colombia, Angolar in São Tomé), Suriname has two: apart from Western Maroon Creole, Eastern Maroon Creole (to be discussed below) also belongs in this category.

The main reason for distinguishing Maroon creoles as a separate category is the fact that, due to their relative isolation from outside influence, they are assumed to be more 'radical' than (former) plantation creoles, which have retained more intense contact with their lexifier (or other European) language(s). The term 'radicality' refers to the typological distance between a creole and its lexifier language. Although until now very little comparative research regarding the degree of radicality of different creoles has been done, it seems clear that the typological distance between, say, Saramaccan and its (main) lexifier, English, is larger than that between, say, Cape Verdean Creole and Portuguese. Therefore, Maroon creoles like Saramaccan are assumed to be structurally closer to the creoles as they were when first formed (some 300 years ago) than (former) plantation creoles like Sranan. Among the Maroon creoles, Saramaccan has acquired a somewhat special status, in that it is sometimes considered to be *the* most radical creole. Whether this is justified or not, it is certainly true that Saramaccan provides an excellent, perhaps unique, opportunity for creolists to gain a better understanding of the process of creolization.

While there are still significant gaps in the history of the Saramaka people and their language, the following is known. The origins of the Saramaka people and their language ultimately go back to the period before 1700, when slaves escaped from the plantations at a time when the plantation creole was being formed. However, this does not mean, as is often assumed, that the formation of the Saramaka people was largely completed by the early 18th century. Assuming that most of the runaway slaves had been on the plantations for some time before making their escape, they took at least some knowledge of the evolving plantation creole with them. This explains the structural similarities between Saramaccan and Sranan, both of which descend from the Suriname Plantation Creole (SPC) (*cf.* Figure 1.2 above).

In spite of their structural similarities, there are also a number of important differences between the two languages. One of these is the proportion of Portuguese-derived words, which is much larger in Saramaccan than it is in Sranan. In the former, one third of the basic vocabulary is derived from Portuguese, while this proportion is much smaller in Sranan. The remainder of the basic vocabulary is largely derived from English, while there are also a few basic vocabulary items taken from West African languages. The presence of Portuguese-based words is explained by the fact that many of the first Saramaka came from plantations on the Upper Suriname River (Wong 1938: 299; Price 1976, 1983) which were owned by Sephardic Jews who spoke Portuguese. Although the presence of many Portuguese-derived words could lead one to view Saramaccan as a creole with two

lexifier languages – English and Portuguese – the fact that most function words are from English suggests that the Portuguese element was added later. For this reason Saramaccan is generally categorized as an English-lexicon creole, albeit one with a strong Portuguese element.

A second difference between Saramaccan and Sranan is the fact that the former has a higher percentage of words derived from African languages. This is probably due to the fact that the Saramaka were much less open to influences from outside than the people who spoke Sranan. Although nothing is known about the specific African origins of the *individual* runaway slaves who formed the 'founder population' (*cf.* Mufwene 2001) of the Saramaka people, we do have reliable information about the origins of the African slaves *in general* who were brought to Suriname in the 1675–1700 period (Arends 1995a: 243). In this period, roughly half of all Suriname slaves came from an area where Bantu languages, such as Kikongo, were spoken, while the other half came from an area where Kwa languages, such as Gbe and Akan, were spoken. The connection between ethnolinguistic origin of the Suriname slaves and traces of Kikongo, Gbe and Akan found in the Suriname creoles is further highlighted by the fact that Saramaccan exhibits some rather marked phonological features, such as lexical tone and nasal and complex stops, which are characteristic of one or more of these three African language clusterss (see below).

As is the case for its sister language Sranan, the early stages of Saramaccan are well documented. In the case of Saramaccan, however, the early documentation is limited to a very short period, roughly 1780–1820. This has to do with the fact that the Moravian Brethren, to whom we owe these early writings, more or less abandoned their missionary activities among the Saramaka in the early 19th century. Their writings, which together number well over 2,000 manuscript pages, consist mainly of religious texts, such as Bible translations, although some linguistic descriptive works, such as dictionaries, are included as well (see Arends 1995b for further information). Unfortunately, however, only a few of these documents have been made available for linguistic research (Arends & Perl 1995).

Many of the major structural features of Saramaccan are also found in Sranan. We will now present and give examples of some features that differ between the two languages. (This section draws heavily on Bruyn 2002; see also Bakker, Smith & Veenstra 1995.)

Lexicon. Some examples of Portuguese-derived basic vocabulary items are *búka* (< *boca*) 'mouth' and *dá* (< *dar*)'give'. In both cases, the equivalent word in Sranan is derived from English: *mofo* (< *mouth*) 'mouth' and *gi* (< *give*) 'give'. Some examples of African-derived words are *katangá* 'cramp' from Kikongo *nkatangá*, and *aze* 'magic' from Gbe *àze*.

Phonology. Like many other languages in the world – but especially in West and Central West Africa – Saramaccan uses lexical tone. This means that syllables can have a high tone, a low tone, or an unspecified tone, which is either subject to tone-sandhi (assimilation) or realized as low. As a result, words that are otherwise completely identical can convey meanings that are entirely different by means of tonal pattern alone. An example is the pair *ná~nà*, with the first having a high tone where the second has a low tone. Despite this (seemingly) small difference, the meaning of the two words is completely opposite: *ná* means 'be', while *nà* means 'be not'. Another feature of some African languages is the presence of nasal stops, such as /mb/ and /nd/, and complex stops, such as /kp/ and /gb/. These are also found in Saramaccan in words such as *mbéti* 'meat, animal' and *kpéfa* 'baby hood'.[9]

Morphology. Apart from other functions, reduplication is used in Saramaccan – in contrast to Sranan and Ndyuka – to derive adjectives from verbs, e.g. *nákináki* 'beaten', derived from *náki* 'beat'. These reduplicated forms are used both attributively, as in *dí nákináki miíi* 'the beaten child', and predicatively, as in *dí miíi dè nákináki* 'the child has been beaten (is in a beaten state)'. Saramaccan also differs from Sranan in that the agentive suffix *-ma* (*cf.-man* in Sranan) may follow an entire verb phrase, which may itself even contain a subordinate clause. This may result in quite complex agentive nouns, such as *seti-u-kanda-ma* 'precentor' (lit.: 'start-to-sing-agentive.suffix').

Syntax. Although at first sight Saramaccan seems to be very similar to Sranan in terms of syntax, it may be expected that more subtle differences will emerge once more comparative studies of the two languages are made. One difference – although lexical rather than syntactic – worth mentioning here has to do with the Tense-Mood-Aspect system, namely the selection of the forms for the expression of tense and aspect: while Sranan uses *ben* and *e* (probably from Eng. 'been' and 'there'), Saramaccan has selected *bi* and *ta* (perhaps from Portuguese *vir* 'turn' and *estar* 'be'[10]). Another difference dates from earlier stages of the two languages: while 18th-century Sranan used the verb *taki* 'say' to introduce object clauses of speech act verbs, such as 'ask', and mental state verbs, such as 'think', early Saramaccan used the complementizer *va*.

Verbal arts. While the literature on the 'verbal arts' in Saramaccan often treats it together with Sranan (Herskovits & Herskovits 1936; Voorhoeve & Lichtveld 1975), there is one work (Price & Price 1991) that is entirely devoted to Saramaccan.

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9. Note that /mb/ etc. refers to phonemes, not combinations of phonemes. In other words, a word like *mbéti* 'meat, animal' consists of four phonemes, not five.

10. An alternative etymology of *ta* is English 'stand'.

Unfortunately, however, with the exception of a small fragment, their integral transcription of two story-telling sessions contains only the English translation, not the Saramaccan original.

Saramaccan text (folk-tale from Rountree and Glock 1982, adapted from Bruyn 2002)

[There is water hidden under a rock. All the birds are invited to break the rock, but none of them succeeds. Then the woodpecker shows up.]

Hɛn totómbotí táa wɛ a ó-dú lúku tu
then woodpecker say well 3SG IRR-do look too
Then the woodpecker said that he would try too.

'Gaamá mi ó-gó náki lúku.'
granman, 1SG IRR-go hit look
'Chief, I am going to try to hit it.'

Hɛn déé ótowan táki táa:
then the.PL other say saying
Then the others said:

'Ku ún-búka, i lánga bákahédi ku dí gaán taku fi-i dɛ!?'
with Q-beak 2SG long back-head with the big ugliness of-2SG there
'With what beak, you long back-of-the-head, with your great ugliness?'

'Úm-fá a dú ufő i sá boóko ɛ!n?'
Q-manner 3SG do before 2SG can break 3SG
'How are you going to break it?'

'U túu wɛ… lúku dí bígi dɛ! ku mi, wokó.'
1PL all FOC look the.SG big(ness)there with 1SG black curassow
'All of us [have tried] … look how big I, the curassow, am.'

Gbaniní táa: 'Wɛ lúku mi. Ún totómbotí?'
hawk say well look 1SG Q woodpecker
The hawk said: 'Well, look at me [how big I am]. Which woodpecker [is going to try such a thing]?'

Hɛn totómbotí wáka te kó dóu.
then woodpecker walk till come arrive
Then the woodpecker went out there.

Hɛn a tjökő dí sitónu kookookoo.
then 3SG stab the.SG rock IDEO
Then he pecked at the rock: peck peck peck!

Hɛn a wáka gó seeká taámpu.
then 3SG walk go arrange stand
Then he went away and got himself ready.

[The woodpecker finally succeeds in breaking the rock, and thus provides water for all the birds. However, since that time the woodpecker has not been able to stop pecking at things.]

Hɛn a táa án sá disá soní u náki mőön.
then 3SG say 3SG-NEG can leave thing for knock more
After that, he said that he can't stop knocking anymore.

Ndyuka. The language is named 'Ndyuka' after the name of the Djuka Creek (a tributary of the Marowijne River where part of the Ndyuka people settled in the eighteenth century after fleeing from the plantations. The alternative names Auka, Aukaans, Okanisi are derived from the name of a plantation (Auka) along the Suriname River, which was used as a topographical point of reference by the colonial authorities when dealing with the Ndyuka Maroons. The slaves involved in the Tempati Rebellion of 1757, who later joined the Ndyukas, were referred to as the 'vrije bosnegers van achter Auka' (the free Bush Negroes from behind Auka) (Hoogbergen 1990: 82), 'behind Auka' referring to the Tempati River area where the rebellion took place (see map). Although the name 'Auka/Okanisi' is preferred by the speakers themselves for their language (as well as their ethnic group), we will use 'Ndyuka' in this book, as it has become the generally used designation among creolists.

Although it may be true that the origins of the Ndyuka Maroons ultimately go back to escaped slaves in the time of the attacks by the French under Cassard in 1712, this does not mean, as is often assumed (*cf.* Smith 2002), that this Maroon group was fully formed at the time. Van der Meiden (1987: 78) refutes the generally accepted idea that the number of Maroons increased considerably as a result of Cassard's attack. This idea goes back to Herlein's (1718: 93) claim that 'more than 700 or many more got lost in the bushes', but Van der Meiden notes that this 'is not mentioned in contemporary sources'. This leads Van der Meiden (p. 77) to conclude that, although 'in the historiographical literature a strong increase in marronage is mentioned as the most important result [of Cassard's attack, JA], this is probably an exaggeration'. In addition, as noted by the same author (p. 73), at the time of Cassard's attack no slaves had been brought to Suriname for over two years, something which is confirmed by the information given in Chapter 4. Knowing that runaways were mainly newly-arrived slaves, the possibility of large-scale marronage in 1712 is diminished even more. This means that the generally accepted scenario of the formation of the Ndyuka and of their language has to be thoroughly revised, in that the formation of Ndyuka extended until the late 18th century rather than being more or less complete by 1712. A major impetus to the establishment of the Ndyuka as a separate Maroon group was provided by the Tempati rebellion of 1757 when so many runaways joined the existing group that it doubled in size, from ca. 300 to ca. 600 people (Van den Bouwhuijsen et al. 1988).

This scenario is adhered to by one of the experts on Suriname Maroon history, Wim Hoogbergen, who claims that in the 1730s the Ndyuka group was still in the process of being formed: 'Around 1730, groups of runaways started to form tribes in at least four different places in Surinam […] The area southeast of the Commewijne River was inhabited by groups of Maroons who can be considered the antecedents of the Ndjuka tribe' (Hoogbergen 1990: 73). Although by that time the formation of Ndyuka as a separate creole was already on its way, it can be assumed that the relatively large number of newcomers joining around 1757 had a substantial influence on its further development.

The proportion of Portuguese-derived words in Ndyuka (between 5% and 10%; see Huttar 1989) is higher than it is in Sranan (below 5%) but much lower than in Saramaccan (over 35%). This is related to the fact that the founders of the Ndyuka Maroons largely came from plantations in the Commewijne and Cottica River areas, where there were more speakers of Portuguese than in and around Paramaribo but less than in the Suriname River area, the Saramakas' region of origin. More importantly, however, part of the first Ndyukas came from the Suriname River, an area with many plantations owned by Sephardic Jews (Wong 1938: 299). This explains the occurrence of Sephardic-related Ndyuka clan names such as *La Parra*, *Castillie*, and *Djoe* (a Dutch influenced spelling of 'Dju' i.e. 'Jew') (Wong 1938: 311). It should also be remembered that Ndyuka was formed several decades later than Saramaccan, at a time when the Suriname Plantation Creole, on which it is based, was already developing into Sranan. As a descendent of the 18th-century Suriname Plantation Creole and having developed in relative isolation Ndyuka has preserved several features of Early Sranan which have been lost in Modern Sranan. An example of this is the occurrence of an epenthetic vowel in a word like *sígisi* 'six' where Early Sranan had *sikisi* but Modern Sranan has *siksi*.

The genetic relationships between the different member languages of the Eastern Maroon Creole group are not entirely clear. Not only is very little known of the history of the Kwinti, but with the exception of Ndyuka, these languages have hardly been studied at all. In fact, there are virtually no early language data available for any of the Eastern Maroon Creoles and so it is very difficult to reconstruct the genealogy of this group. It is important to realize, however, that the similarities between Aluku and Paramaccan on the one hand and Ndyuka on the other cannot be explained by these being divergences from early Ndyuka (as is the case for Matawai with regard to Saramaccan). The Boni and Paramaka groups were not formed until about 1770 and 1800,[11] respectively (Hoogbergen 1992). A more likely explanation is that the founders of the Boni and Paramaka

11. Wong (1938: 300) places the formative period of the Paramaka ethnic group even later, namely in the second half of the 19th century.

groups largely came from the same plantation areas as the Ndyuka and there was always a great deal of contact between these groups. Schaafsma (1967: 257) notes that after the end of the second Boni Maroon War in 1793 the Boni were placed 'under the supervision of the Ndyuka', while Wong (1938: 306) writes that the Boni were 'slaves of the Ndyuka' until as late as 1860. In the case of Kwinti, however, such contact cannot be adduced since they always lived completely apart from the Ndyuka, Boni, and Paramaka. Although on purely linguistic grounds the Kwinti language belongs to the Eastern Maroon Creoles, the historical reasons for this have not yet been traced.

Before discussing some of the structural properties of Ndyuka, it may be useful to note that, although Ndyuka has received less scholarly attention than Sranan or Saramaccan, it is the only Surinamese creole for which an elaborate and reliable reference grammar is available, Huttar & Huttar (1994). On the other hand, the Ndyuka verbal arts have not received much scholarly attention until now and are therefore not included in the sketch presented below.

Phonology. Being a Maroon creole, Ndyuka may be expected to be a little more 'radical' than Sranan, and likewise, because of its later formation, perhaps somewhat less radical than Saramaccan. Several features point in this direction. Like Saramaccan, Ndyuka tends to avoid certain consonant clusters, which are permitted in Sranan, e.g. *sitonu* vs *ston* 'stone'. Another difference with Sranan is that, while in the latter English intervocalic liquids generally appear as /r/, as in *bere* < Eng. 'belly', in Ndyuka they disappear between identical vowels, as in *bée* (in other cases they become /l/). Ndyuka also resembles Saramaccan in being a tone language, with three tones: high, low, and unspecified, the latter of which is either subject to tone-sandhi or realized as low. As in Saramaccan, in words derived from European languages the high tone corresponds to the main stress in the source word. Tone may distinguish otherwise similar words, for example *búku* 'book' vs. *bukú* 'mould'. Another African feature shared with Saramaccan is the occurrence of nasal stops, such as /mb/, and of complex stops, such as /kp/. While both of these are alien to European languages they do occur in the Gbe languages that were spoken by many of those who were brought to Suriname in the early colonial period. One special feature of Ndyuka is that it has its own (syllabic) script, which was developed by a Ndyuka, named Afaka, in the 1920s, but this is not widely used (see Dubelaar, Pakosie & Hoogbergen 1999) for further information).

Lexicon. Some words are derived from Amerindian and African languages, such as *manáli* cassava sifter' < Lokono *manarhi*; *píngo* 'white-lipped peccary' < Kari'na *pïi* go; *nzaú* 'elephant' < Kikongo *nzawu*; and *gá* 'arrow' < Ewe *ga*.

Morphology. Multifunctionality is quite common, for example the same word may function both as a verb (V) and as a noun (N), even when this was not the case in the source word, as in *boó* 'breathe, blow' (V), 'breath' (N) < Eng. 'blow' (V). Reduplication of nouns may be used to express variety or separateness, as in *kulukulú* 'in different groups' (*cf. kulú* 'group'). The Head-Modifier order in a compound such as *watáa-mófu* (lit.: water-mouth) 'saliva', which is unexpected in view of Ndyuka's general word order pattern, may be a consequence of the calquing of a model in some African language(s). Particularly productive are word-forms containing items such as those expressing 'person', 'thing', 'time', 'place', or 'manner', for example, *líbi-sama* (lit.: live-person) 'human being'. Because the last part in forms such as these tend to lose their independent status they may be difficult to distinguish from derivation.

Syntax. One Ndyuka feature shared with both Sranan and Saramaccan is the use of a complex locative prepositional phrase – not attested in any other creole – with the following structure: *na* – NP – LOCATIVE ELEMENT. Compare for example the phrase *a den deé uwíi tápu* 'on the dry leaves' (lit.: at the dry leaves top), where the locative element (*tapu* < Eng. 'top') can itself also be a noun, meaning 'top'. Although the construction resembles a juxtaposed possessive construction, the locative element does not appear as a noun: the meaning of the prepositional phrase is 'on the dry leaves' rather than 'on the top of the dry leaves.' There is substantial evidence that the construction is modelled on a similar pattern in the Gbe languages (Bruyn 1995a, 1996; Migge 1999).

Ndyuka text (story from Huttar and Huttar 1994, adapted from Bruyn 2002)

Ne wán déi, somen sama be de a sitaáti
then one day many person ANT COP LOC street
Then one day there were many people in the street

e súku wági fu gó a ósu.
CNT look for cart for go LOC house
looking for buses to go home.

Ne mi de a íni mi wínkíi e séli lóti.
then 1SG COP LOC inside 1SG store CNT sell roti
And I was in my store selling rotis.

Ne mi yée te a ípi sama e báli a
then 1SG hear until the.SG crowd person CNT call LOC

dóosé fu a wínkíi
outside for the.SG store
Then I heard lots of people yelling outside the store.

Biká wan sani be e pasá a dóosé.
because a thing ANT CNT pass LOC outside
Because something had been happening outside.

Ne mi lón gó lúku. Mi sí fó sikóutu e wípi den.
then 1SG run go look 1SG see four police CNT whip 3PL
Then I ran to look. I saw four policemen whipping them.

1.3 A note on the reliability of early texts

The relative under-representation of native speaker texts in the corpus constitutes a problem that deserves special attention. Of the Sranan sources used for this book, less than half (Schumann, Cesaari, Focke, King, Albitrouw, Kraag, Helstone, Herskovits & Herskovits, Koenders, and Bruma) were produced by, or with the help of, native speakers. If we look at the amount of data provided by these 'native' sources the picture is even worse since they often contain fewer data than 'non-native' sources. Unfortunately, the problem cannot be easily remedied. For example, a meticulous investigation of the Sranan material in the State Archives at Utrecht (the largest collection available) did not yield a single native-written source pre-dating the middle of the 19th century, – when there was a sudden outburst of writing, starting with work by Johannes King. Some years ago, however, the author discovered a number of letters and other documentary writings in Sranan dating from the early 19th century that appear to have been written by native speakers (*cf.* Arends 1995b). Although this material has been transcribed, it has as yet not been analyzed. Therefore, unfortunately, it could not be incorporated in this study. As far as Saramaccan is concerned, we are in a somewhat better position since one of the two sources we have used (the Maroon letters) was written by native speakers.

The fact that our data had to be 'enriched' with non-native sources is not as bad as it seems, since some, especially those of Moravian origin, are of high quality. The Moravian Brethren have a reputation as knowledgeable and accurate observers of language, although a certain normative and Europeanizing influence cannot be denied. This tendency, however, is largely confined to orthography, phonetics and lexicon, and affects syntax to a much lesser degree (Voorhoeve 1971). In this context not only Schumann's dictionaries but also the translations of *Acts*, the *Grammatik* and Wullschlägel's dictionary should be highly valued as reliable sources for earlier stages of Sranan and Saramaccan.

For background information on the authors of the texts, see Chapter 7.

1.4 Diachronic studies of the Suriname creoles: The state of the art[12]

As mentioned earlier, the Suriname creoles – especially Sranan and Saramaccan – are rather special in that they are exceptionally well documented in the earlier stages of their development. This explains why their diachrony has been investigated in much more detail than any other creole. The historical interest in the Suriname creoles goes back to Hugo Schuchardt, who – in his well-known *Die Sprache der Saramakkaneger in Surinam* (1914) – published several early sources in Saramaccan, the most important of which was Schumann's (1778) manuscript Saramaccan-German dictionary. In his introduction to that volume, Schuchardt also included an elaborate discussion of some early sources in Saramaccan's sister language – Sranan, such as Van Dyk (ca. 1765) and Weygandt (1798). The historical study of the Suriname creoles was continued by Jan Voorhoeve (*cf.* Lichtveld & Voorhoeve 1980 [1958]; Voorhoeve 1961; Voorhoeve & Donicie 1963; Voorhoeve & Lichtveld 1975), who laid the foundations for the diachronic investigations of Sranan and Saramaccan by scholars such as Kramp (1983), Smith (1987a), Arends (1989), Plag (1993), and Bruyn (1995a).[13]

Let us briefly summarize what the historical investigation of Sranan and Saramaccan has resulted in thus far. Firstly, a number of new editions of early printed and manuscript texts have been made available. These are listed in Table 1.3.

One of the most recent additions to the body of early Sranan sources is an edited version of the original Sranan manuscript version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty of 1762 by Hoogbergen & Polimé (2000). However, this item (edited by two anthropologists) is not included in our list as the transcription contains a disturbing number of errors. An improved transcription, based on the original manuscript (stored in the State Archive in The Hague), is included in Chapter 6 of this book.

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12. This section is largely based on Arends (2002a).

13. During the last two decades, the historical approach in creole linguistics has been extended to English-lexicon creoles, such as those of Guyana (Rickford 1987), Jamaica (Lalla & D'Costa 1990), Trinidad (Winer 1993), Barbados (Rickford & Handler 1994; Fields 1995), and St Kitts (Baker & Bruyn1999), to French-lexicon creoles, such as those of the Indian Ocean (Chaudenson 1981), Louisiana (Neumann-Holzschuh 1987), and the Lesser Antilles (G. Hazaël-Massieux 1996) as well as to Negerhollands (e.g. Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996).

Table 1.3 Published editions of early Sranan and Saramaccan texts

	Text	Edition(s)
Sranan	Court Records (1667–1767)	Van den Berg (2000)
	Herlein (1718)	Schuchardt (1914); Voorhoeve & Lichtveld (1975); Arends & Perl (1995)
	Van Dyk (ca 1765)	Arends & Perl (1995); Lichtveld & Voorhoeve (1980)
	Nepveu (1765)	Voorhoeve & Lichtveld (1975)
	Nepveu (1770)	Arends & Perl (1995)
	Schumann (1783)	Kramp (1983)
Saramaccan	Schumann (1778)	Schuchardt (1914)
	Riemer (ca 1780)	Arends & Perl (1995)
	Wietz (1793)	Schuchardt (1914)
	Alabi & Grego (1790–1818)	Arends & Perl (1995)

Secondly, creolists at the University of Amsterdam[14] (Lilian Adamson, Jacques Arends, Adrienne Bruyn, and assistants) are compiling a digitalized corpus of early Sranan and Saramaccan texts. This corpus contains not only well-known Sranan sources such as Van Dyk (ca. 1765) and Schumann (1783), but also lesser-known manuscripts such as Schumann's (1781) Gospel Harmony. Apart from these and other Sranan sources, most of the early Saramaccan manuscripts stored in the Moravian Archives in Paramaribo, Herrnhut, and Utrecht (over 2000 pages; see Arends 1995b), will also be part of the corpus. On completion, its total size is estimated to be some 500,000 words. Parts of it have already been used for diachronic research (*cf.* Bruyn 1995a; Arends 1998). One of the advantages of the digitalization of texts, of course, is that it enables the use of search procedures allowing the (semi) automatic extraction of data for (quantitative) analysis. It may be useful to list the sources that have been included so far (situation as of 1/1/02).[15]

14. [*Editor's note*. The Suriname Creole Archive (SUCA) is presently a joint project of Radboud University Nijmegen, University of Amsterdam and the Max Planck Institute Nijmegen for digitally collecting, cataloguing and preserving historical texts in Sranan and Saramaccan for research.]

15. Note that in some cases these transcriptions still have to be collated with the original before they may be considered definitive.

Table 1.4 Contents of the digitalized corpus of early Sranan and Saramaccan texts

Sranan	Saramaccan
Court Records (1667–1767)	Schumann (1779)
Herlein (1718)	Randt (1779)
Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762)	Anonymous (1789–1806)
Van Dyk ca. (1765)	Alabi & Grego (1790–1818)
Nepveu (1770)	Wietz (ca. 1792)
Schumann (1781)	Wietz (1793)
Schumann (1783)	Wietz (ca 1795)
Stedman (1790/1796)	
Weygandt (1798)	
Anonymous (ca. 1825)	
Focke (1855)	

Thirdly, the availability of early textual material in Sranan and Saramaccan has led to a number of diachronic studies on these languages being produced by creolists over the last two decades. A selected list of publications from this period is presented in Table 1.5.[16]

Table 1.5 A survey of diachronic studies on Sranan and Saramaccan (1982–2002)

Sranan	phonology		Smith (1987a); Smith (2003); Plag & Uffmann (2000); Alber & Plag (2001)
	morphosyntax	miscellaneous	Voorhoeve & Kramp (1982), Kramp (1983)
		copula, comparative, clefting	Arends (1986, 1987, 1989)
		question words	Bruyn (1993a)
		sentential complementation	Plag (1993, 1995)
		determiner system and relativization	Bruyn (1995a, 1995b, 1997)
		complex prepositions	Bruyn (1995a, 1996)
		compounds	Alber & Plag (2001), Braun (2001), Braun & Plag (2003), Van den Berg (2003)
	lexicon		Koefoed & Tarenskeen (1996)
Saramaccan	phonology		Smith (1987a), Aceto (1996)
	morphosyntax	focus marking	Smith (1996)
		complementation	Byrne (1987), Arends (1998)
		negation	McWhorter (1996)
	lexicon (incl. Djutongo)		Smith (1987a, 1999), Aceto (1997)

16. Publications in which the diachronic/historical aspect is only of cursory importance have been excluded from this list.

As can be seen from this table, relatively little diachronic work has been done on lexical issues. This is especially surprising in view of the fact that excellent early lexicographic sources are available, such as Schumann (1778, 1783), Focke (1855), and Wullschlägel (1856). This makes the diachronic study of the Sranan and Saramaccan lexicons both an opportune and potentially fruitful area of research. Another striking feature is the recent upsurge of interest in compounding in early Sranan. Hopefully, this marks the beginning of a more sustained attention to diachronic morphology in this and other creoles.

Fourthly, a number of extralinguistic (i.e. sociohistorical and demographic) aspects of the formation of the Suriname creoles have been investigated (Arends 1995a, 1999; 2001; Ladhams 1999; Smith 1999). The primary motivation for this line of research was the need to identify, on independent (i.e. non-linguistic) grounds, the languages that were present during the formation of these creoles. While early sociohistorical and demographic work (e.g. Price 1976) was rather sketchy, more recently (Arends 1995a) it has become more detailed and precise on account of the major advances in the historiography of slavery (especially Postma 1990).

Although we will not provide an exhaustive review of the diachronic studies listed in Table 1.5, we will signal some of the more noteworthy trends. In many of these works, substantial evidence has been adduced to demonstrate the influence of particular West African languages in the structure and lexicon of the Suriname creoles. What is more, certain languages are mentioned again and again as being most influential in this regard, namely Gbe, Akan, and Kikongo. As will be shown in Chapter 4, these are precisely the languages that were numerically by far the most important during the period in which the Suriname creoles were formed. It should be noted, however, that other researchers (e.g. Smith 1987; Byrne 1988) have applied diachronic findings to support the argument for the role of universals in creole genesis.

As far as theoretical aspects of creole genesis are concerned, different studies have yielded different results. While Smith's (1987) detailed investigation of phonological developments has been taken to support an abrupt scenario of creole formation, as espoused in Bickerton's Bioprogram Theory (*cf.* Bickerton 1981, 1984, 1988), Arends' work on syntactic developments has been interpreted as supporting a gradualist model of creolization (Arends 1986, 1989, 1993a). And while Plag's (1993, 1995) diachronic study of complementation has lent further support to the gradual view, the results of Bruyn's (1995a) investigation of relativization and determiners is less clear-cut with regard to the rate at which creolization takes place. In addition, Bruyn's work has adduced evidence for the role of grammaticalization (although not necessarily in its traditional form) in the formation of creoles. However, the single most important conclusion that can be drawn when reviewing this body of work is that there is a growing tendency to approach the historical

investigation of creolization in a thoroughly empirical way by using large corpora of older texts, but at the same time applying relevant findings from historical linguistics, contact linguistics, and linguistic theory.

This brief survey shows that, although important information is still missing, the time is ripe for the synthesis we are presenting in this book of data that has been collected up to now, in order to get a better understanding of the genesis and development of the Suriname creoles. There are several reasons why this is so. First of all, these creoles have occupied a prominent place in discussions about creole genesis over the last few decades. As these discussions have been largely theoretical, with little regard for diachronic evidence, it is time that the historical side of the story is told. Secondly, and perhaps even more importantly, the people of Suriname are in need of a book that provides them with a history of their native language. As is commonly known, creole languages are still stigmatized and, because of indoctrination by the former colonizing power, even native speakers themselves sometimes regard their own language with disdain, claiming that it has no grammar, that it is not a real language, et cetera. Hopefully, this book will help to eradicate these misconceptions and contribute to a better appreciation of these languages, on the part of native speakers and others alike.

As this book aims to be a synthetic work, it is clear that it could not have been written without the work of other Surinamists, especially those mentioned in Table 1.5 above. At the same time, although aiming at synthesis, the book clearly bears the stamp of its author, e.g. in its emphasis on the (relatively) gradual nature of Suriname creole formation, the role of language contact, and the importance of external historical circumstances. Since this latter feature makes this work somewhat different from the usual case study in linguistic change, a few words have to be said about the special character of this book.

In a way, this is not one but two books because it is made up of two intertwined threads of history: one purely linguistic, the other more broadly historical. The first discusses the development of the Suriname creoles, i.e. their formation as language systems and their development through time. Since only a small part of these languages' structural systems can be taken into account in this book, the different domains of language are not dealt with equally. So, while syntax is treated in depth, other areas such as phonology, morphology, and lexicon are only discussed summarily. This linguistic thread is closely intertwined with a historical thread: the history of colonial Suriname and its people, which is crucial to a proper understanding of the linguistic history. However, since many aspects of the history of Suriname are still unclear, we are inevitably confronted with gaps, which means that the fabric of this book is still very much unfinished in terms of both threads. It is hoped that by doing this we will be able to provide the foundations of a truly integral history of the creole languages of Suriname.

1.5 Creole genesis

Although the focus of this book is clearly more empirical than theoretical, the fact that it is about the formation of the Suriname creoles makes it inevitable that, at times, we must engage in theoretical discussions about creole genesis. Therefore, we should say a few words about the most relevant theories and hypotheses in this field, although this will not be a complete overview. (For a more detailed approach, see Chapters 8–11 in Arends, Muysken & Smith 1995).

The central question that needs to be addressed by any theory of creole genesis can be formulated as follows: 'How can the emergence of a new language out of the contact between other pre-existing languages be explained'? One could say that any theory aiming to provide an answer to this question should take into account at least three dimensions of the process of creole genesis. Adopting the terminology of Aristotle's dramatic unities, these dimensions could be formulated as those of Time: When did it happen?, Place: Where did it happen? and Action: How did it happen? Each of these will now be discussed in more detail.

Time. With regard to the dimension of Time at least the following questions seem to be relevant:

When? Apart from establishing the time frame itself, purely in terms of chronology, it is also important to understand the historical context in which creolization took place. Although strong opinions have been put forward about the time frame within which specific creoles were supposedly formed, these opinions are often based on little or even erroneous historical evidence. It is one of the specific aims of this book to provide a better empirical basis for establishing the time of formation for each of the major creoles of Suriname. In addition, we will also show the effect of certain aspects of the historical context – social, cultural, political, economic, religious, military, geographic – on creole genesis.

How fast? The question of the rate at which creolization takes place involves a number of important issues, such as the respective roles of children and adults in creolization particularly in terms of first and second language acquisition. Although the idea of single generation creolization was quite popular in the 1980s (*cf.* Bickerton 1981), most creolists nowadays accept that creole formation is a gradual process (Chaudenson 1979; Arends 1986, 1989; Singler 1986) that spans several generations. This book will produce both diachronic-linguistic and historical-demographic evidence to demonstrate the gradual nature of creole formation.[17]

17. The term 'gradual' is somewhat misleading, since the construction of a system as complex as a natural language within the space of less than a hundred years is, of course, actually very fast.

In what sequence? The traditional idea that every creole is preceded by a pidgin stage (Hall 1966) is no longer universally accepted, not only because a pidgin stage has not been identified for most creoles but also because the boundaries between pidgin and creole are blurred (e.g. Baker 1995). Although some evidence has been found to support a pidgin stage for the Suriname creoles (see Chapter 3), it is not sufficiently convincing to allow us to posit a pidgin-to-creole scenario. Another, perhaps more interesting, aspect of sequentiality, and one which has received far less attention, is the question of the *order* in which the construction of a creole takes place. Since creolization is a very complex process that unfolds over time, some parts of the system are bound to be in place before others. Apart from the issue of chronological order, this poses the questions of *why* some things come before others and *how* they build on each other. This issue will be dealt with in several places elsewhere in this book).

Place. With regard to the issue of where creolization took place, the following parameters are relevant:

Rural vs. urban environment? Rural environments – plantations, mines, Maroon communities – are relatively independent and isolated whereas urban environments – especially port towns – are far more dependent on and in touch with the outside world.

Slavery vs. marronage? Although there have been investigations as to whether Maroon communities were isolated in comparison to plantations, the question of whether these different environments had linguistic consequences has hardly been asked. Although this book will not provide any definitive answers in this regard, the fact that it deals with Sranan and Saramaccan, one a plantation creole and the other a Maroon creole, may help to shed some light on the issue.

Endogeneous vs. exogeneous environment? 'Endogeneous' and 'exogeneous' refer to whether or not the formation of a creole took place in the natural habitat of the substrate languages[18] (*cf.* Chaudenson 1992). For example, the creole of Guinea-Bissau, formed in an environment where the substrate languages continued to be spoken, is an endogeneous creole while the Suriname creoles, cut off from contact with West and West Central Africa, are exogeneous. Although the Suriname creoles belong to the group of exogeneous creoles in that their formation took place outside of Africa, this does not mean that substrate interference is not possible. The frequently made claim that slaves were forced to abandon their native languages because of the linguistic diversity assumed to obtain in most colonies

18. The 'substrate languages' are the African languages originally spoken by the slaves, while the 'superstrate language' is the language of the colonial power. In the case of Suriname, the situation is a little more complex as the original superstrate, English, was replaced by Dutch and, for part of the colony, Portuguese.

is unsubstantiated. At the same time, there is substantial evidence that African languages remained in use into the 19th century.

Action. Whereas the dimensions of Time and Place have received relatively little attention until now, the question as to which processes are responsible for the outcome of creole formation has been widely discussed. Many proposals have been made regarding the question as to what is, or what are the central mechanism(s) in creolization. The most influential of these are listed here by the name of what is assumed to be the central process followed by the names of their proponents:

- Substrate influence (Alleyne 1980; Boretzky 1983)
- Superstrate influence (Chaudenson 1992)
- Universal Grammar / L1 acquisition (Bickerton 1981)
- Relexification / L2 acquisition (Lefebvre 1998)
- Semantic Transparency (Naro 1978; Seuren & Wekker 1986)

While all of these, in one way or another, have been presented as theories of creole genesis, it is striking to find that they are concerned with the product of creolization rather than with the process itself. The underlying assumption seems to be that the *genesis* of creole languages may be explained by a theory that accounts for (certain aspects of) their *structure*. Although some of the other proposals that have been made, such as Baker's (2000) constructivist theory, are more sensitive to the process aspect of creole formation, we cannot escape the conclusion that, after several decades of research into creole genesis, *a true theory of creole formation does not exist*. Although this book does not provide such a theory either, it explicitly aims to contribute to *the empirical foundations of such a theory*, one that is, moreover, *historically realistic*. This entails a number of things. First of all, of course, the theory must agree with the historical facts. Obvious as it may seem, this is not a common feature in theories of genesis. Secondly, creole formation is conceptualized here as a thoroughly historical process, a process that unfolds over time. One aspect of such a historical view is to see creole formation as an incremental process, a process in which each following stage builds on the previous one (*cf.* the issue of sequentiality discussed above). This may be helpful in 'deconstructing' what, until now, is often viewed as a monolithic process into its component parts (Arends 2002a). Thirdly, in the historical approach, creole formation is seen as a process of language contact and language change. This means that the theory should be in agreement with what is known from the study of language change and language contact in other areas besides creoles. What this book does is to look at creole formation from a historical angle in the hope that this will increase our understanding of creolization both as a linguistic and as a historical process.