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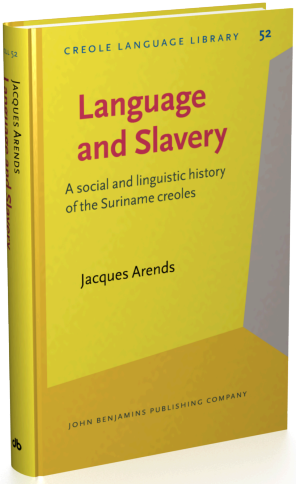
CHAPTER 4

Meta-linguistic evidence

Variation, attitudes and linguistic repertoires in the pre-Emancipation era

https://doi.org/10.1075/cll.52.c4



Pages 163–236 of
Language and Slavery: A social and linguistic history of the Suriname creoles
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[Creole Language Library, 52] 2017. xxix, 463 pp.

CHAPTER 4

Meta-linguistic evidence

Variation, attitudes and linguistic repertoires in the pre-Emancipation era

4.1 Introduction

In the historical study of Creoles little attention has been devoted to synchronic variation in the early stages of these languages. This can be explained, of course, by the fact that for most of these languages the early stages have hardly been studied at all, so the issue of variation did not arise in the first place. It seems, however, that for some Creoles, such as Sranan, enough data are available to allow at least an exploratory investigation of this issue.[1] The primary sources to contain such data are the manuscript and printed dictionaries that were compiled by the Moravian missionaries in the 18th and 19th centuries, such as Schumann (1778, 1783) and Wullschlägel (1856). While the majority of our data are concerned with lexical issues, there are a few places where observations are made regarding other aspects of variation, such as pronunciation.

Another topic on which these as well as several other sources provide relevant information has to do with language attitudes and use: what do our sources say about the views different groups of speakers held about Sranan and about who used it, and when and where? It turns out that, in spite of the overwhelmingly negative attitude towards it, Sranan was widely spoken by Europeans, especially women, a finding that may have important implications for the reconstruction of its history.

4.2 Variation in early Sranan

The investigation of early variation, apart from being worthwhile in itself, is relevant to a number of issues. First of all, since almost all of our information on the early stages of the Suriname Creoles – as well as most other Creole languages – is derived from European sources, such as dictionaries, grammatical descriptions

1. Although Saramaccan will be referred to frequently in the discussion, this will mostly be in terms of what Saramaccan sources tell us about variation in Early Sranan. Variation in Early Saramaccan is not sufficiently documented to enable us to discuss it in any detail.

and Bible translations, the question arises whether these documents provide us with a representative image of the language as it was actually spoken, especially by the blacks. Some creolists (e.g. Bickerton 1988: 281) have even gone so far as to claim that early documents are so unreliable as to make them unfit as sources of hard linguistic evidence. While this is clearly an exaggeration, it is true that we cannot simply take the information presented in early sources for granted. A study of variation in early Sranan may help us shed some light on this issue.

Second, with our greatly increased insight into the historical development of the Suriname Creoles, especially Sranan and Saramaccan (e.g. Arends 1989, Smith 1987, Bruyn 1995a, Plag 1993, Migge 2003, Van den Bergto appear, Braun 2005), information concerning variation in the early stages may contribute to acquiring a more precise understanding of the diachronic development of these languages.

Third, an empirical confirmation of the existence of early variation would provide independent support for the hypothesis, first expressed by Alleyne (1971: 170), that the Caribbean Creoles 'show considerable variation from the beginning rather than early and rapid crystallization'. Any evidence we would be able to find for variation in Early Sranan could be taken to support the argument for an early origin of the Creole continuum (*cf.* Alleyne 1980: 198). By extension, it would also support the claim that creolization is a gradual rather than an instantaneous process (*cf.* Arends 1986, 1989, 1993a).

These issues, however, will not be dealt with in any detail in this chapter, since its main purpose is simply to present a survey of the types of variation found in the early sources. First, I will present a list of the dimensions along which variation occurred in Early Sranan;[2] then, these dimensions of variation will be discussed and illustrated in some more detail; and, finally, I will briefly consider the implications of my findings for the issues mentioned above.

Based on meta-linguistic remarks found in a number of18th and 19th century sources, the following dimensions of variation may be distinguished:[3] ethnicity (African vs. European), geography (plantation vs. Paramaribo), ownership (whether speakers fell under the authority of the English, the Portuguese or the Dutch),

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2. The period referred to by the word 'Early' in this label stretches roughly until 1850. It should be noted, however, that due to lack of information we can say very little about the presence of variation during the first one hundred years or so in the existence of Sranan.

3. My primary sources were Schumann's (1783) and Wullschlägel's (1856) Sranan dictionaries, both written within the 'Moravian linguistic tradition', which is characterized by a conscientious and insightful treatment of the Surinamese creole languages. Departing from their observations, additional sources were consulted. It should be stressed, however, that this chapter is not based on a systematic investigation of *all* relevant sources; it is, rather, intended as an exploratory survey of what meta-linguistic information about variation can be gleaned from these early sources.

religion (the special variety of Sranan developed by the Moravian missionaries), and, finally, place of birth (whether speakers were born in Suriname or in Africa). The dimensions of variation discussed here are the following:

Ethnicity
The distinction here is between *bakra tongo* lit. 'white man's language', i.e. 'white Sranan, 'Sranan as spoken by whites', on the one hand, and *nengre tongo* lit. 'black man's language', i.e. 'black Sranan', 'Sranan as spoken by Blacks', on the other.[4] Whereas the former would be more influenced by the European language(s) spoken by *bakras* (Europeans), the latter would be more influenced by the African languages spoken by the (ancestors of the) blacks.

Geographical location
Our source clearly indicates that there were differences between 'urban Sranan', the language of the capital (Paramaribo), on the one hand, and 'rural Sranan', the language as it was spoken on the plantations, on the other.

Ownership
This label refers to the fact that since different plantations were owned by speakers of different languages – mainly English, Portuguese, or Dutch, the Creoles spoken on these plantations differed as well. In the contemporary literature a distinction is made between the language of the 'new' (post-1667, i.e. non-English-owned) plantations vs. the language of the 'old' (pre-1667, i.e. – formerly – English owned) plantations. Similarly, a separate variety called *Djutongo* (lit. 'Jews' language') is occasionally mentioned in the early sources. This label refers to the lexically Portuguese-influenced Creole once used on the Portuguese-owned plantations along the Upper Suriname River, which may well have been the predecessor of Saramaccan.

Religion
Because the Moravian Brethren,[5] who made extensive use of Sranan in their missionary activities, needed new vocabulary to refer to Christian concepts, a separate register of Sranan called 'church Creole' or 'pulpit language' emerged. Apart from exhibiting lexical idiosyncrasies, this register is also characterized by certain phonetic features such as spelling pronunciation.

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4. In referring to these two varieties I will use the modern spellings (*bakra tongo, nengre tongo*), except, of course, in quotations from older sources using a different spelling.

5. The Moravian Brethren began their missionary work in Suriname in 1735 among the Indians, expanding it to the Saramaka Maroons in 1765, and finally to the plantation slaves in late 1820s. They are known for their linguistic abilities, both in description (grammars, dictionaries) and translation (mostly biblical).

Place of birth

The fact that some blacks acquired Sranan as a first language (i.e. those who were either born in the colony or during the 'middle passage' or shortly before departure from Africa) while for others (i.e. those who entered Suriname as speakers of some African language(s)) it was a second language, led to differences between 'native Sranan' and 'non-native Sranan'. Although the same situation may have existed for whites, lack of documentary evidence does not allow us to go into that any further. Lack of evidence also precludes any discussion of Saramaccan in terms of differences between native and non-native varieties, although such differences must have existed as long as new runaways were accepted into the community (i.e. until the early 19th century).

Although age is not distinguished as a separate category here, a few remarks may be found in the contemporary literature concerning this variable (Stedman 1790: 516; Wullschlägel 1856: vii–viii). The remarks made by these authors relate to the preservation by older speakers of English-derived words for concepts for which younger speakers use Dutch-derived words. Since the replacement of certain English-derived words by Dutch-derived words will be shown to be primarily a feature of urban Sranan, these remarks will be discussed in the section on geographical variation. Apart from the references to the dimensions of variation listed above, a few remarks can be found in the early sources concerning types of variation which cannot be related to any of these categories. These are briefly discussed in Section 4.2.6.

4.2.1 Ethnicity: *nengre tongo* and *bakra tongo*

Under the entry *bakkra*, Schumann's Sranan dictionary (1783) clearly indicates that the Sranan spoken by Europeans was sufficiently different from the Blacks' variety to warrant a separate name:[6]

> *a jeri Bakkra*, 'he understands the Negro language', because, when the blacks say *Bakkra-tongo*, they mean by that the Negro English language as the European whites here speak it: the Dutch and the German language are both called *Duits-tongo*.[7] (source: Schumann)[8] (Schumann 1783, s.v. *bakkra*)

6. All translations are mine, unless indicated otherwise.

7. The use of the term '*Duits-tongo*' for both German and Dutch can be explained by the fact that in earlier stages of Dutch the word 'duits' was sometimes used to refer to both languages.

8. Since in compiling his Sranan and Saramaccan dictionaries, Schumann used one or more informant(s), whom he sometimes quotes more or less verbatim, quotations from these dictionaries are followed by an indication of their actual source, i.e. either 'source: Schumann' or 'source:

In all, there are thirty-six words in Schumann's dictionary which are labeled '*bakra tongo*'. As would be expected, most of these words are of Dutch derivation, since quite some time before Schumann's compiled his dictionary English as the language of the ruling class had been replaced by Dutch.[9] There are, however, some exceptions, i.e.words identified by Schumann as *bakra tongo*, which are not taken from Dutch. These words are either derived from English (*arede*, *fesi*, *pili/piri*, *sibi*) or from Portuguese (*adjossi*). The *nengre tongo* (Blacks' Sranan) counterparts of these non-Dutch-derived *bakra tongo* words, as given by Schumann, are of diverse origin: either English, Portuguese, or, in one case (*dorro*, 'sieve') even Dutch).

Table 4.1 Non-Dutch derived *bakra tongo* words, with their equivalents in *nengre tongo* (Schumann 1783)

Meaning	***nakra tongo***	***nengre tongo***
already	*arede* (< En. 'already')	*kaba* (< Pt. 'acabar', *i.e.* 'finish')
goodbye	*adjossi* (< Pt. 'adeus', *i.e.* 'goodbye')	*kroboi* (< En. 'goodbye'?[10])
go towards s.o.	*fesi* (< En. 'face')	*miti* (< En. 'meet')
pull s.o.'s leg	*pili/piri* (< En. 'peel')	?[11]
sieve	*sibi* (< En. 'sieve')	*dorro* (< Du. 'door', i.e. 'through')

The great majority of *bakra tongo* words, however, as mentioned above, are derived from Dutch. In most cases, the *nengre tongo* equivalents of these Dutch-derived *bakra tongo* items are taken from English, such as *lossi*, 'roast', *biggi*, 'big', *redi/ledi*, 'red'/'yellow', and NT *biggi futtu*, 'thigh' < En. 'big + foot' (BT *boutu*< Du. 'bout' *i.e.* 'leg, quarter').[12] In a few cases the *nengre tongo* counterpart of Dutch-derived

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Schumann's informant'. Commentary by Schumann himself is always in German in the original manuscript (with occasional usage of Latin grammatical terminology), never in Sranan. This would have been odd anyway, since the primary purpose of the dictionary was to facilitate the acquisition of Sranan by his fellow Brethren (most of whom were speakers of German). Cf. the following remark from Schumann's diary referring to his Saramaccan dictionary: 'I checked and improved it thoroughly together with our Johannes'. (Stähelin p. 347, quoted in Kramp 1983: 9). As noted by Price (1990), this Johannes could only be Johannes Alabi.

9. However, other European languages, such as German, Portuguese and French, were also used (*cf.* Section 4.3.2 below). Contrary to what is usually assumed, English remained in use as well, albeit on a relatively small scale (*cf.*, e.g. Stedman 1790; see Section 4.3.3.2 below).

10. This is the derivation proposed by Schuchardt (1914: xxv); an African origin has also been claimed for this item.

11. Schumann does not provide the *nengre tongo* equivalent with the intended meaning.

12. Although the constituent words are derived from English, the expression as such, of course, is either an innovation or a substrate calquing.

bakra tongo items has a different, i.e. non-English, origin. It may be Portuguese, as in the case of *kaba* 'and', or African, as in the case of *jorka* 'picture'.[13] This information is summarized in the table below:

Table 4.2 Dutch derived *bakra tongo* words, with their English- and non-English-derived equivalents in *nengre tongo* (Schumann 1783)

Meaning	*bakra tongo*	*nengre tongo*
and	*en* (< Du. 'en')	*kaba* (< Pt. 'acabar', *i.e.* 'finish')[14]
roast	*bakka* (< Du. 'bakken')	*lossi* (< En. 'roast')
fat	*deki* (< Du. 'dik', i.e. 'fat')	*biggi* (< En. 'big')
picture	*printje* (< Du. 'prentje', *i.e.* 'small picture')	*jorka* (< unknown African language)
yellow	*geel* (< Du. 'geel', i.e. 'yellow')	*redi/ledi* (< En. 'red')
shelter from rain	?	*kibri areen* (< En. 'cover + rain')
thigh	*boutu* (< Du. 'bout', i.e. 'leg, quarter'[15])	*biggi futtu* (< En. 'big + foot')

In one case, the etymon for the *bakra tongo* and *nengre tongo* equivalents is the same (En. 'devil'), but the latter has it in a partially reduplicated form (*didübri*), while the former does not (*dübri*). Finally, there is one item in Schumann's dictionary which is relevant here, namely the word *kibri*, which occurs in the sentence *mi go kibri areen* (s.v. *kibri*), 'I'm going to take shelter from the rain', where the informant adds that this is how "we blacks usually say it", without, however, providing any further information about *bakra tongo* usage. Summarizing, the examples given here indicate that the most salient feature of the variety known as *bakra tongo* in the late 18th century is the use of Dutch-derived words where blacks would use English-derived words instead.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, another major Sranan dictionary besides Schumann's – Wullschlägel's (1856) German-Sranan dictionary – was also consulted for information on variation in Early Sranan. In the preface to this work, the author talks about

> [t]his (language) [i.e. Sranan, JA], which (is) usually called *Ningre-tongo* 'Negro language' by the blacks themselves, or simply *Ningre* 'Negro', but often also *Bakra* 'European' (presumably as opposed to their original African languages)…
>
> (Wullschlägel 1856: vi)

13. The African origin of this word is suggested by Echteld (1961: 50), but, unfortunately, no specific source language is mentioned.

14. An alternative word for 'and' in *nengre tongo* is derived from English: *nanga* (< En. 'along').

15. Note that Du. 'bout' refers only to animals, not humans.

This remark is made more explicit by a note under the entry *Sprache*, 'language' in the same dictionary, where it is said that *ningre-tongo* is the word for the language of the blacks, but that "*African* [italics mine, JA] blacks call the language spoken here [i.e. in Suriname, JA] *bakra* as well". This strongly suggests that the word *bakra* as used in Wullschlägel's dictionary is not synonymous with the word *bakra tongo* as used in Schumann's. According to Wullschlägel, the term *bakra* was sometimes used by African-born blacks to refer not specifically to the European variety of Sranan, but to the entire spectrum of this language, apparently in opposition to their native African languages. In fact, the word *bakra tongo* does not occur at all in Wullschlägel's dictionary.[16]

This suggests that by the time Wullschlägel published his dictionary – some seventy-five years after Schumann compiled his – the distinction between *bakra tongo* and *nengre tongo*, as a consequence of the substitution and addition of many Dutch-derived words in both varieties, had become blurred. Further evidence for this may be found in the following. In his dictionary, Wullschlägel uses the labels 'h' (for 'holländisch', i.e. Dutch) and 'a' (for 'alt, veraltet', i.e. archaic) to mark words recently borrowed from Dutch and words going back to the English period, respectively:

> In the present dictionary those words [recently borrowed from Dutch, JA], which may be quite common among Paramaribo blacks, but unknown among the blacks at the plantation, are marked **h** (for 'holländisch', i.e. Dutch)…Those originally English words, however, that have gradually fallen out of use, but that are still understood by many elderly blacks, are marked **a** (for 'alt, veraltet', i.e. obsolete).
> (Wullschlägel 1856: vii–viii)

Now, the fact that many of the Dutch equivalents for English-derived words (known only to elderly blacks) are not marked by Wullschlägel to indicate that they were restricted to a specific variety such as urban Sranan or 'church Sranan', indicates that these Dutch words were fully accepted, not only in Paramaribo, but on the plantations as well. This shows that by the middle of the 19th century a new lexical stratum taken from Dutch had been added to the Sranan lexicon in both its *nengre tongo* and its *bakra tongo* varieties.

The idea that the distinction between *bakra tongo* and *nengre tongo* was dying out by the middle of the 19th century is receives further support from the fact that none of the lexical items labeled '*bakra tongo*' by Schumann is given the label

16. Based on an automatic search (1/25/05) of the electronic version of the dictionary available at <www.sil.org>.

'h' by Wullschlägel.[17] This means that these words were not restricted to urban Sranan but had been integrated into the plantation variety as well. Some of these items, however, are given by Wullschlägel in a form different from Schumann's, the difference consisting in most cases either in the addition or replacement of a paragogic vowel (in the latter case, the vowel being replaced is usually <e>). Examples are *geeli* for *geel*, 'yellow', *joeroe* for *üre* and *hüre*, 'hour, rent', *kapoe* for *kappe*, 'cut', *morsoe* for *morse*, 'dirty', and *sneiri* for *sneier*, 'tailor'. Apparently, these Dutch-derived words were being adapted to the phonology of the great majority of words in the Sranan lexicon, as a result of which they ceased to function as markers of *bakra tongo*.

This does not mean, however, that the older English layer of the Sranan lexicon was replaced completely by these new words taken from Dutch. The fact that in Wullschlägel's dictionary almost half of the *bakra tongo* words have a *nengre tongo* synonym, without the latter being marked 'archaic', suggests that this is not the case. Rather, these new Dutch words served to create doublets for a number of English-derived words which still remained in use, perhaps mostly on the more distant plantations. At the same time, many other Dutch-derived words, which are absent from Schumann's dictionary, are marked by Wullschlägel as being typical of urban Sranan. This shows that proportion of Dutch vocabulary – the variable that used to mark the difference between *bakra trongo* and *nengre tongo* – was beginning to serve as a marker of the difference between urban Sranan and plantation Sranan. This may be related to the fact that towards the end of the 18th century 'urban Sranan' came to be identified less and less with 'white Sranan'. In this period, as a result of the significant growth of the black population, mainly due to the influx of manumitted blacks, Paramaribo had become very much a black town (R. Brana-Shute 1989; Hoefte 1996): in 1787, out of a total population of around 15,000 people, blacks numbered over 12,000 (Cohen 1991: 80). In addition, the fact that the urban black population, which consisted of manumitted blacks, mulattoes, domestic slaves, and skilled slaves, had a higher prestige than the plantation slaves undoubtedly contributed to making the urban variety the socially higher valued one.

One, perhaps, puzzling finding is that several of the words labeled *bakra tongo* in Schumann's Sranan dictionary (*adjossi*, *aréde, bakka*, *beginn*, *dondro*, *dübri*), are

17. Five of the thirty-six items labeled *bakra tongo* by Schumann do not occur in Wullschlägel's dictionary. These words are (the equivalent given by Wullschlägel is given in parentheses): *arede* (*kaba*), *dübri* (d*idiebri*), *kalfe* (no equivalent), *pili/piri* – in the specialized meaning of 'to pull someone's leg' – (*kori*), and *winiboom* (*droifiboom*). Note that in two cases the equivalent given by Wullschlägel (*kaba*, *didiebri*) is identical to the word labeled *nengre tongo* by Schumann. (Based on an automatic search (1/25/05) of the electronic version of Wullschlägel's dictionary available at <www.sil.org>).

included without any qualifying remark in that same author's (1778) Saramaccan dictionary. Although the absence of any qualification seems to suggest that these, non-Portuguese-derived, words were ordinary words in Saramaccan, this is made less likely by the fact that most of these (all except *adjos*si)have synonyms in the Saramaccan dictionary; see Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Words labeled *bakra tongo* in Schumann's 1783 Sranan dictionary which are unlabeled in Schumann's 1778 Saramaccan dictionary

Meaning	Item labeled *bakra tongo* in Schumann 1783 (Sranan)	Unlabeled item in Schumann 1778 (Saramaccan)	Synonym in Schumann 1778 (Saramaccan)
Already	*aréde*	*arêre*	*kaba*
Bake	*bakka*	*bakka*	*jassa*
Begin	*beginn*	*begìnn*	*setti*
Devil	*dübri*	*dübri*	*diabo*
Goodbye	*adjossi*	*adjossi*	*krubòi*[18]
Thunder	*dondro*	*dondro*	*liba*

Since most of these synonyms (*kaba*, *jassà*, *liba* and *diabo*,) are derived from Portuguese, it is reasonable to suppose that they are part of a deeper layer of the Saramaccan lexicon. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that in at least one case – *jassa* – Schumann explicitly says that this is the more frequent variant. Also, apart from the words labeled *bakra tongo* in the Sranan dictionary, Schumann's Saramaccan dictionary contains several words which are obviously of Dutch derivation but which do not occur in his Sranan dictionary. An example of these is the word *dagga* 'day' (< Du. 'dag'), for which Sranan has the English-derived *deh*.[19] All this suggests that the non-Portuguese derived words listed in Table 4.3 had a status in Saramaccan similar to that held by *bakra tongo* items in Sranan, even though it is very unlikely that a separate *bakra tongo*-like variety existed in the case of Saramaccan (because the latter was hardly spoken by any whites). This is further supported by the fact that two of the six synonyms given in Schumann's Saramaccan dictionary (*kaba, krùboi*) are words that are labeled *nengre tongo* in his Sranan dictionary.

18. While no exact synonym for *adjossi* is given in Schumann 1778, a word with a related meaning does occur, namely *krubòi*. The meaning of this word (which in Sranan, according to Schumann's dictionary, is 'goodbye), is given as 'you'll be finished, I won't see you anymore'.

19. The only occurrences of *de(h)* found in Schumann's Saramaccan dictionary are as part of a word, as in *dehbrokko* 'daybreak' and *tidè* 'today', never as an independent word.

At first sight, the occurrence in Schumann's Saramaccan dictionary of words labeled *bakra tongo* as well as of words of clearly Dutch origin (even when they are not labeled *bakra tongo*, such as *dagga*) in the same author's Sranan dictionary may seem a bit surprising, since one would expect the language of the Maroons, due to their relative isolation from whites, to be largely inaccessible for *bakra* words. Only a minority of these words (*bakka*, *dagga*) is of undoubtedly Dutch origin, and these have non-Dutch-derived homonyms. Of the others, one is derived from Portuguese (*adjossi*), while the remainder is either of English (*arêre*, *dübri*) or of undecided or mixed English/Dutch derivation (*begìnn*, *dondro*). The presence of the Portuguese-derived word hardly needs any explanation at all: it is part of the well-established Portuguese component of the Saramaccan lexicon, which was already present in the early stages in the formation of this language (*cf.* Smith 1987).

The presence of the Dutch- and English-derived words, however, cannot be so easily explained. The fact that the words that have both a *bakra tongo* and a *nengre tongo* variant in both Sranan and Saramaccan largely overlap may point to a common origin of the two languages. This would mean that these shared *nengre tongo* and *bakra tongo* doublets were already part of the lexicon of the 17th-century plantation Creole from which both Sranan and Saramaccan descended. The early presence of a number of *bakra tongo*/*nengre tongo* doublets in both Sranan and Saramaccan suggests that the *bakra tongo* items did not function as markers of a special European variety, since in that case they would not have been incorporated into Saramaccan in the first place. In this scenario, then, *bakra tongo* as an ethnic variety of Sranan may have emerged only sometime during the 18th century, after Saramaccan split off from Sranan. Its existence as a separate variety did not last longer than around 150 years at most, since, as argued above, it had clearly begun to recede by the middle of the 19th century.

The 'rise and fall' of the *bakra tongo* variety of Sranan could be interpreted as a function of the changes in the social distance between the black and white portions of Suriname's population between the middle of the 17th and the middle of the 19th century. In the beginning the distance between Europeans and Africans was relatively small since many of the whites were (former) indentured laborers, who worked their small-scale plantations side-by-side with one or two slaves (Rens 1953). This situation changed drastically when the plantation economy began to expand and huge numbers of slaves began to be imported, especially between 1740 and 1780, but with a prelude in the 1680s (Arends 1995a). This led to a deepening of the social dichotomy between blacks and whites, which continued until emancipation came in sight in the 1850s, although an intermediate group of people of African origin – manumitted slaves, free coloreds, domestic slaves, and skilled slaves – had begun to establish itself in Paramaribo from around 1800 onwards (R. Brana-Shute 1989; Hoefte 1996).

Although, in principle, the presence of *bakra tongo* items in the Saramaccan lexicon might also be explained as a result of borrowing from Sranan, this is less likely. It is certainly true that some Saramaka had more or less regular contacts with other blacks, both on plantations and in Paramaribo, especially after the signing of the Peace Treaty in 1762, as well as, to a much lesser extent, with whites (*cf.* Price 1990). Also, run-away slaves continued to join the Saramaka communityuntil well after the signing of the Peace Treaty, which means that *bakra tongo* items from Sranan could have been introduced into Saramaccan through this channel. The fact, however, that during this period the *bakra tongo* variety of Sranan was first and foremost a variety spoken by *whites*, whereas Saramaka culture is characterized by its distance from the world of the whites, renders this possibility unlikely.

Summarizing, what evidence we have for variation according to ethnicity shows that with the decrease in geographical and cultural distance and the increase in communication between the black and white portions of the population, the distinction between *nengre tongo* and *bakra tongo* became blurred in the course of the 19th century. At the same time, however, the variable that used to mark ethnic variation – the amount of Dutch-derived vocabulary – became a marker of geographical and social variation, namely between high-status urban Sranan and low-status rural Sranan. These varieties are the topic of the next section.

4.2.2 Geography: The Creole of the plantations and the Paramaribo Creole

At several places in his Sranan dictionary, Schumann refers to differences between the language of the capital, Paramaribo, and that spoken on the plantations.[20] For instance, the entry for the word *brens* 'brain', reads as follows:

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20. Although Schumann's Saramaccan (1778) dictionary seems to contain some evidence to the contrary, this may be easily explained. Under the entry *fotto*, 'fort, town' (i.e. Paramaribo), he says the following: "*fotto-tongo* the Negro-English language *as it is spoken in Paramaribo and on most plantations in this country* (on some plantations the blacks have their own particular language" [italics mine, JA](Schumann 1778, s.v. *fotto*). While this seems to suggest that there was little or no difference between the Sranan spoken in Paramaribo and the language on the majority of the plantations, one should realize that this remark was written at a time when Schumann was not yet well acquainted with Sranan. Between his arrival in Suriname in late August 1776 and the beginning of his residence among the Saramaka in May 1777, Schumann had spent at most three or four months in Paramaribo, which gave him little opportunity to really get to know the language (*cf.* Stähelin 1913-1919, III (1), who says that Schumann spent five to six months at the Indian mission post Saron during this period). Also, the fact that what Schumann wants to emphasize here is the difference between *Djutongo* on the one hand and all the other varieties on the other, may explain why he subsumed the latter into one category, *fotto tongo*. The remarks in the 1783 Sranan dictionary that do indicate urban-rural variation may have been inspired by the – apparently very insightful – informant(s) Schumann used.

> *brens*, the brain, *tumtum va heddi* (English 'brains') (source: Schumann);
>
> that is truly English (*da reti English tongo*); we do not have this word, and the Paramaribo blacks do not understand it at all; it is known on the old English plantations; we do not say otherwise than: *tumtum va heddi* [lit. 'porridge of the head', JA] (source: Schumann's informant[21]). (Schumann 1783, s.v. *brens*)

Apart from suggesting variation between urban and rural Sranan as such, this remark also seems to imply variation between 'the old English plantations' (i.e. the plantations established during the English period) and the other plantations; this issue is discussed in some detail in Section 2.3. Another example of variation along the geographical axis can be found under the entry *kákka*, 'rooster', where in a discussion of the sentence 'the rooster crowed', Schumann's informant says:

> On the plantations they say *kakka kreh* [lit. 'the rooster cried',[22] JA]; in town they will rather say *kakka bari* [lit. 'the rooster screamed', JA] (source: Schumann's informant). (Schumann 1783, s.v. *kákka*)

One final piece of information concerning geographical variation to be found in Schumann's dictionary, this time at the lexical-semantic level, is a remark under the entry *jeje* 'ghost', 'ancestor', saying that on certain plantations, e.g. along the Upper Cottica, *jeje* or *djeje* in addition may also mean 'family, kinfolk'.

Some more evidence for geographical variation is provided by Captain John Stedman, who stayed in Suriname from 1773 until 1777, and who through his romance with Johanna – a slave – was in close contact with the black population. After presenting a short sample of 'this mixt speech' (i.e. Sranan), Stedman writes:

> In this Sample may be Perceived many Corrupt English Words, Which however begin to Wear out near the Capital Town [i.e. Paramaribo, JA], but are Retain'd Near the Distant Plantations – At the Estate *Goet Accoord*,[23] I have heard an Old Negro Woman Say, *we lobee fo lebee togeddere* [lit. 'we love to live together', JA],

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21. The commentary part of this entry (marked 'source: Schumann's informant') is a translation of the Sranan original, which should not be ascribed to the lexicographer, C. L. Schumann, but to his informant. Many of the other remarks about urban-rural variation made in the dictionary similarly may have to be ascribed to Schumann's informant(s), rather than to Schumann himself.

22. In my translation, I use the present tense, following Schumann's own translations elsewhere in the same entry, even though the present tense marker *de* is not present.

23. In the 1796 version of Stedman's *Narrative* the phrase 'in Cottica' is added to the name of the plantation, i.e. the same geographical location as the one referred to by Schumann under the entry *jeje*. The 1737 map of Suriname by Lavaux, exhibited at the Rijks Museum in Amsterdam, locates an estate of the same name not on the Cottica River, but on one of its tributaries, the Commewina River, i.e. in the same general area. Since the Cottica region is one of the areas where the English established plantations in the pre-Dutch period, the variety illustrated in the

> by Which she Meant we Love to live together – At Paramaribo to Express the Same they tell you, *we Do looko for tanna*[24] *Macandera* [lit. 'we ASP look to be with each other', JA]. (Stedman 1790: 516)

This remark clearly points to variation between town language and plantation language, although the example given, intended to illustrate the loss of 'Corrupt English Words' in the urban variety, is not quite to the point. In the second sentence, taken from the urban variety, the obviously English-derived words *lobee* (< En. 'love'), *lebee* (< En. 'live'), and *togeddere* (<En. 'together') used in the plantation variety have been replaced by *looko* (< En. 'look'), *tanna* (< En. 'stand'), and *macandera*, (< Du. 'mekander', 'malkander'). The first two of these, however, are derived from English, just like the words they replaced. In addition, the phrase *libi togedere* 'live together',[25] next to *tann tegedere* 'be with one another', is given without any further qualification as to geographical variation by Schumann 1783 (s.v. *tegédere*). There is even considerable reason to doubt the correctness of *lobee* and *lebee* as examples of archaic usage since these words are perfectly normal in Modern Sranan (in the spellings *lobi* and *libi*, respectively).

The third example, however, is completely justified since the word *tegedere* has indeed been replaced by *makandra* in Modern Sranan Apart from these three words, there is an additional difference between the two sentences discussed by Stedman: in the second sentence the form *do* was added. This is one of only two cases I have found of this word,[26] but it is reported by Donicie. (1954: 61) to occur in modern Sranan as an aspect marker in a few fixed expressions (as a variant of *(d)e*). Summarizing, the difference between the Paramaribo and the plantation variants of this sentence consists in the replacement of an English-derived word by a Dutch-derived word and the insertion of an aspect marker in the former.

Some additional evidence dating from a much earlier period but also showing that the English-derived words in Sranan are older than those taken from Dutch, is provided by the two-page 'Herlein fragment' (Herlein 1718), which contains three examples of English words which were later replaced by Dutch words. In each case, the form used by Herlein is given first, followed by the form by which it was replaced later:

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quotation from Stedman might be representative of variation along the 'European domination dimension', rather than along the geographical dimension.

24. *tanna* = *tan na*, i.e. 'be with'.

25. Even the expression in which this occurs in Schumann is almost identical to that used by Stedman: *Indjin no lobbi va libi tegedere* 'Indians don't like to live together'.

26. It occurs in the sentence *me do go* (Stedman 1796: 362). However, the original manuscript version (Stedman 1790: 516) has *de*.

Table 4.4 English-derived words in Herlein (1718) later replaced by Dutch-derived words

Meaning	Word in Herlein (1718)	Post-1718 word
Pretty	*hansom*/*hansum*/*hantsum* (< En. 'handsome')	*moy* (< Du. 'mooi')
Window	*windels* (< En. 'windows')	*fensre* (< Du. 'venster')
Very	*belle* (in *belle wel*) (< En. 'very')	*heri* (< Du. 'heel')

Another source which hints at the existence of two geographical varieties of Sranan is Weygandt's (1798) *Leerwyze*, one of the first printed descriptions of the language. In its preface, the author says that "… some words and phrases[27] in the Negro-English language are expressed differently along the various rivers and in Paramaribo" (Weygandt 1798: 2). Although Weygandt follows this up with the remark that these differences are not very significant, this may have been motivated by a wish not to scare away potential buyers of the book. Weygandt's statement that what he presents is the language as it is spoken in Paramaribo combined with his claim that it is his aim to enable foreigners to speak with the slaves, strongly suggests that the Sranan presented in his book is the urban variety of Sranan as spoken by blacks. This makes for an interesting difference with another, contemporaneous, language manual – Van Dyk's undated *Onderwijzinge* (c1765) – which, as I have argued in Chapter 3, represents the rural variety of Sranan.[28]

One of the differences between Van Dyk and Weygandt, perceptively noted by Schuchardt (1914: xxiii), has to do with the names for the days of the week. While the naming system in both sources seems to related to that of Portuguese, Weygandt differs from Van Dyk in using Portuguese-like names for only three days (Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday) while Van Dyk uses them in six. (Monday through Saturday). Cf. the next table, where bold is used to mark the differences between Weygandt and Van Dyk.

The fact that the naming system presented by Weygandt is the one that is still used today strongly suggests that Van Dyk's system represents an older, more archaic variety. If this is true, it would be entirely in accordance with the claim made above that what Van Dyk presents is the plantation variety while Weygandt's Sranan is the variety spoken in Paramaribo.

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27. Although the Dutch word used by Weygandt – *spreekwijzen*, lit. 'ways of speaking' – in 18th-century Dutch grammatical usage may refer both to sayings and to dialects (Cefas van Rossem, p.c.), the latter meaning is less likely in this context since *spreekwijzen* is used in conjunction with *woorden*, 'words'.

28. The same observation was already made by Schuchardt (1914: xxiii), but *cf.* Voorhoeve & Donicie (1963) for a diametrically opposed view.

Table 4.5 Names for the days of the week in Van Dyk (c1765) and Weygandt (1798)

English	Portuguese	Dutch	Van Dyk	Weygandt
Sunday	Domingo	zondag		*Zondé* (< En.)
Monday	Segunda-feira	maandag	***Wan de Worké*** (< Pt.)	***Moendee*** (< En.)
Tuesday	Terça-feira	dinsdag		*Toe de Worké* (< Pt.)
Wednesday	Quarta-feira	woensdag		*Tri de Worké* (< Pt.)
Thursday	Quinta-feira	donderdag		*Fo de Worké* (< Pt.)
Friday	Sexta-feira	vrijdag	***Vyfi de Worké*** (< Pt.)	***Fryda*** (< En./Du.)
Saturday	Sabado	zaterdag	***Zikkisi de Worké*** (< Pt.)	***Satra*** (< En./Du.)

As to the question why Weygandt's day-naming system shows fewer traces of Portuguese influence than Van Dyk's, we can only answer this in tentative and rather general terms. From the late 18th century onwards, when many Portuguese planters left their plantations moving to Paramaribo (e.g. Goodman 1987: 380), the Portuguese element in Sranan became less and less important (*cf.* Wullschlägel's remark quoted above). Related to this is the fact that while *Djutongo* – the Portuguese-based Creole spoken on Jewish plantations – was still spoken at the time when Van Dyk wrote his booklet, it was becoming obsolete by the turn of the century, when Weygandt wrote his. Although it is impossible to be certain as long as we have no further information on *Djutongo*, the relatively strong Portuguese stamp on Van Dyk's naming system as opposed to Weygandt's may be a reflection of that fact. (For a discussion of other differences between Weygandt and Van Dyk – more likely to reflect diachronic change rather than synchronic variation – see Chapter 5.[29])

To conclude this section, I will briefly discuss two pieces of evidence showing that variation between urban and rural Sranan persisted well into the 19th century. A phonological difference between plantation and urban varieties is mentioned by Focke in the Introduction to his *Neger-Engelsch woordenboek* (1855), when he says that

> many blacks, *especially plantation slaves* [italics mine, JA], insert a vowel between some consonant clusters, and say *siton* (for *ston*) ('stone'), *sikropoe* (for *skropoe*) ('shell'), *soetoeloe* (for *stoeloe*) ('chair'), *soepoen* (for *spoen*) ('spoon'), *sineki* (for *sneki*) ('snake'), *sipiti* (for *spiti*) ('spit'), *konopo* (for *knopo*), ('button').
>
> (Focke 1855: xii)

29. Although the difference in time-depth between Van Dyk and Weygandt – no more than roughly three decades – may seem too small from a historical-linguistic point of view to allow for substantial diachronic change, this is not necessarily so in the case of 'young' languages such as creoles. *Cf.* e.g. Arends (1989), which contains ample evidence of drastic changes in the Sranan copula system which occurred within the time span from 1800 to 1850.

Focke adds, however, that this pronunciation is not in general use. The fact that most of these words do not have the inserted vowel in modern Sranan – *cf.*, e.g. *ston*, *stulu, sneki* – shows that this form of vowel epenthesis has been lost. It does, however, still occur in modern Ndyuka, as appears from words like *sitón*, *sutúu* (with lost intervocalic liquid), *supún*, and *sineki* (De Groot 1984). Apparently, Ndyuka, which emerged as an off-shoot of plantation Sranan around the middle of the 18th century, preserved a feature which was (marginally) present in that variety but which has disappeared from it since.

The second piece of evidence is provided by Wullschlägel's (1856) dictionary where, as noted in the previous section, words that were recently borrowed from Dutch are marked with 'h' (for 'holländisch', i.e. Dutch) while words that were taken from English in an earlier period are marked with 'a' (for 'alt, veraltet', i.e. obsolete). The remark from Wullschlägel's Introduction where these labels are explained, strongly suggests that a difference in the proportion of Dutch vocabulary to English vocabulary correlated with a distinction between urban Sranan and plantation Sranan:

> In the present dictionary those words [recently borrowed from Dutch, JA], which may be quite common among Paramaribo blacks, but unknown among the blacks on the plantation, are marked **h** (for 'holländisch', i.e. Dutch)…Those originally English words, however, that have gradually fallen out of use, but that are still understood by many elderly blacks, are marked **a** (for 'alt, veraltet', i.e. obsolete).
> (Wullschlägel 1856: vii–viii)

This shows that the distinction between these two varieties was still alive around the middle of the 19th century.

A small-scale investigation of the words marked 'archaic' under the letter A in Wullschlägel's dictionary yielded some interesting additional results (the reader is reminded that this is a German-Sranan, not a Sranan-German dictionary). First of all, it showed that in the middle of the 19th century not only English words were becoming obsolete, but African words as well, such as *mapokro*' witchcraft' and *gongosa*' betray'. This is not surprising, in view of the fact that Wullschlägel's dictionary was compiled more than two hundred years after the inception of Sranan. Second, in the case of English-derived words it was not always the word itself that was becoming obsolete but rather the pronunciations of a word. Examples are *worko*, 'work', *findi*, 'find', and *bendi*, 'bend', which were being replaced by *wroko*, *finni*, and *beni*, respectively. This phonological development should be seen as part of the ongoing creolization of Sranan in the sense that in the course of time, the pronunciation began to follow its own rules more and more, thereby departing more and more from the English etymon. Third, it seems that not only English words were replaced but also phrases composed of English words: of all the entries

under the letter A there is only one word which is marked as obsolete. This is the word *min* in *potti min*, lit. 'put mind', i.e. 'pay attention', for which the non-archaic expression is *potti jesi*, lit. 'put ears'; but note that even here the word being replaced is part of a phrase rather than an independent word. In all the other cases we are dealing with phrases or expressions consisting of English-derived words. Examples are *dresi-watra*, 'dress + water', i.e. 'medicine', *libi dati*, 'leave + that', i.e. 'apart from that', and *komoto na dati*, id., which were being replaced by items taken from Dutch, such as 'dranki' for the former and 'buiten-dien' for the latter two. The English-derived words themselves (*dresi, watra* etc), however, of which these expressions are composed, were not obsolete at all. In fact, they are still in use at present. What this means is not so clear, especially as long as it has not been established that the letter A is representative for the entire dictionary in this respect.

As to the emergence of a distinct urban variety of Sranan in the 18th century, it seems clear that this must be related to the growth of Paramaribo during this period. From a village with at most a few hundred inhabitants in the late 17th century, it developed into a thriving town with well over fifteen thousand people by the end of the 18th century (e.g. Cohen 1991: 78, 80; Van Lier 1977: 110). The intrusion of Dutch lexical items must have taken place through the Dutch-speaking part of the relatively small, multilingual white segment of the city's population, which (excluding soldiers) counted some 2,000 people in 1787 (Cohen 1991: 80).

Summarizing, and judging from the limited evidence available, differences between urban Sranan and rural Sranan, just as that between *nengre tongo* and *bakra tongo*, were mainly concentrated in the lexicon, with some evidence of phonological, lexical-semantic and idiomatic variation. Lexical variation consisted of the use of English words in plantation language, where the urban variety would use either a different English word or a Dutch word or a periphrastic construction. Finally, there is some evidence that plantations in the Cottica area used a variety that had a particularly strong English lexical element.

4.2.3 Ownership: Differences between the language of English, Jewish, and other plantations

This section is divided into two parts: in Section 4.2.3.1 a difference between (formerly) English-owned and non-English-owned plantations will be briefly discussed. Then the somewhat mysterious *Djutongo*, which was spoken on the Portuguese-owned plantations along the Upper Suriname River, will be dealt with more extensively in Section 4.2.3.2. Finally, some scattered remarks concerning special features of the Creole spoken on other (e.g. French-owned) plantations will be discussed in Section 4.2.3.3.

4.2.3.1 *The Creole of the 'old English plantations'*

There is some evidence in Schumann's Sranan dictionary that there was a difference between the language of the 'old English' plantations and that spoken on the other plantations. The phrase 'old English plantations' refers to plantations that were established during the English period (1651–1667), whether or not their owners were English-speaking at the time Schumann wrote his dictionary.[30] A crucial difference with the other plantations, of course, is that on the English plantations there was only one superstrate – English – while on the other plantations other languages, such as Portuguese and Dutch, came into play as well. The relevant entry from Schumann, which was quoted above in Section 4.2.2, is repeated here for convenience:

> *brens*, the brain, *tumtum va heddi* (English 'brains') (source: Schumann);
>
> that is truly English (*da reti English tongo*); we do not have this word, and the Paramaribo blacks do not understand it at all; it is known on the old English plantations; we do not say anything else than: *tumtum va heddi* [lit. 'porridge of the head', JA] (source: Schumann's informant). (Schumann 1783, s.v. *brens*)

While this is the only straightforward piece of evidence showing a difference between the Creole of the English plantation and that spoken on other plantations, Stedman's remark, quoted in Section 4.2.2 above, about characteristics of the language used on some 'distant plantations', such as the use of *tegeddere* instead of *makandra*, might also be interpreted as being illustrative of a variety spoken on 'old English plantations' in particular. This is so because the plantation in question, called *Goet Accord*, was located in an area where many plantations were established during the English period. If this is correct, it means that, apart from the word *brens* mentioned by Schumann, the word *tegedere* was also characteristic of the 'old English plantation language'.

The fact, however, that these are the only references to idiosyncratic features of this variety, suggests that these may not have been very numerous. Perhaps they were not even enough to speak of a distinct variety, at least not by the time these authors wrote – the late 18th century. This does not mean, of course, that a distinct 'English plantation' variety of Sranan could not have existed before, say until around 1700, when there was still a significant number of English-speaking people in the colony (see Chapter 3.2.2). If it did, it would not be too far-fetched to assume that this earlier variety was closer to English than the varieties used in later stages.

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30. It should be borne in mind, though, that contrary to what is widely held, English planters were still present in Suriname by the end of the 18th century (*cf.* Chapter 3.2.2).

Some indirect evidence for the existence of an acrolectal form of Sranan among the blacks is provided by two contemporary sources. One is a remark by Reeps, who spent about six months in Suriname in 1693–94, and who wrote that 'that language [i.e. English, JA] is spoken mostly by the slaves there' (Van Alphen 1963: 370). The other is a remark by Herlein, who stayed in Suriname for several years between 1695 and 1705, saying that 'they [i.e. the slaves, JA] have mostly learned their language [i.e. English, JA]' (Herlein 1718: 121). Although such remarks, made by linguistically uninformed observers, should perhaps not be taken at face value, they may still give an indication of the language situation as it was around the end of the 17th century.

In addition, there is some direct linguistic evidence, indicating that the variety of Sranan spoken around 1700 was not only lexically but also phonologically closer to English than later varieties. This appears from the Sranan fragment in Herlein (1718), which contains three English-derived words that, judging from the spelling at least, have a diphthong where later sources have a monophthong. Cf. the table below:

Table 4.6 English-based words containing a diphthong in Herlein (1718) which have a monophthong in post-1718 sources

Meaning	Etymon	1718 (Herlein)	Post-1718[31]
Below	below	*bie laeu*	*bilo*
Go	go	*gaeu*	*go*
Hello	howdy	*oudy*	*odi*

It would be important to obtain more information about this early variety of Sranan, since this could throw some light on the very earliest stages of Sranan, about which hardly any documentary evidence is available (except in the form of court records discussed in Van den Berg (2000) and Van den Berg & Arends 2004). In particular, it would be interesting to find out whether it is true that this early variety was closer to English, something which would be in accordance with the socio-historical and demographic facts discussed above and in the next chapter. More generally, it would enable us to find out to what extent a kind of interlanguage continuum, with an English-like variety at one extreme and a pidgin-like variety at the other, existed at the time when Sranan was being formed.

31. Note that the spellings in this column do not represent the (different) spellings used in these sources. What is important, though, is that all these sources use a spelling representing a monophthong rather than a diphthong.

4.2.3.2 *Djutongo: The Creole of the Jewish plantations*

Although there are several indirect pieces of evidence showing that a separate Portuguese-based variety – called *Djutongo*, lit. 'Jews' language' – was used on the Jewish plantations,[32] the earliest reference to the existence of an Iberian-lexicon Creole in Suriname is the following passage from an anonymous description of Suriname, written around 1740 by someone who must have worked as a planter in Suriname for a considerable stretch of time:[33]

> The language one [i.e. a plantation manager, JA] should speak with the slaves is called Negro-English. However, on plantations where the owners used to be French, many French words occur. In the same vein, on the plantations of the Portuguese Jews many Spanish and Portuguese expressions can be found and often the slaves understand nothing but Spanish or Portuguese.
>
> (Anon. ca 1740: 80–1[34])

Apart from the reference to the French-influenced Creole spoken on French-owned plantations (see Section 4.2.3.3), two things are remarkable here. First, there is the fact that not just Portuguese but both Portuguese and Spanish are mentioned. This concurs with other evidence which shows that both Iberian languages were used by Sephardic planters, even though Spanish left far fewer remaining traces in the Suriname Creoles than Portuguese. Second, in the remark at the end claiming that on the plantations of the Portuguese Jews 'often the slaves understand nothing but Spanish or Portuguese' the references to these languages most likely should be understood as referring to 'Spanish- or Portuguese-lexicon Creole'. In any case, the wording is so strong as to suggest that this Iberian-lexicon Creole at that time was completely distinct from Sranan.

The earliest reference to what appears to be a specifically Portuguese-lexicon Creole is found in a 1751 document discussed by De Beet & Price (1982: 74), where the wife of a Jewish planter says that she did not understand a Maroon who had attacked their plantation because 'as far as I could understand he spoke Portuguese'. The next reference to a specifically Portuguese-lexicon Creole comes from a letter by the Moravian Brother Stoll. It was written in 1767 at the Saramaka mission post Sentea, where at the time of writing Stoll had been resident for one and a half year:

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32. *Cf.* archival documents dating from 1739 which show that slaves from Jewish plantations appearing in court sometimes needed the assistance of an interpreter (Beeldsnijder 1994: 132).

33. This appears from the fact that the entire manuscript is full of details testifying to the author's knowledge of plantation life.

34. This approximate date is based on the fact that the work was written between 1739 at the earliest and 1748 at the latest (*cf.* items 43, 161, and 568 in the text of this work; source: Beeldsnijder 1994).

> The language of the blacks in Paramaribo is somewhat different from the language of the blacks on the plantations. They [i.e. the latter, JA] have many broken Portuguese words. They can describe many things in three or four different ways. And then again they have words that can have between six and eight different meanings. (Stähelin 1913-19, III(1): 75–76)

Although Stoll does not indicate clearly what he means by the phrase 'the blacks on the plantations', Price (1976: 37) assumes that this refers to the Jewish plantations along the Upper Suriname river, and that therefore the language referred to is *Djutongo*. This assumption is probably based on geographical grounds, i.e. the fact that Sentea, Stoll's mission post, was located on the Upper Suriname River (see also Price 1990: 143).[35] Price's assumption is supported by the fact that if Stoll knew anything about plantation language, this most likely related to the plantations he knew from his own experience, i.e. those along the Suriname River. These were probably the only plantations Stoll knew anything about because in his days most plantations were still forbidden territory for the Moravian missionaries. Further support for Price's assumption may be derived from the following remarks under the entry *fotto*, 'fort, town' (i.e. Paramaribo) in Schumann's (1778) Saramaccan dictionary:

> *fotto-tongo* the Negro-English language as it is spoken in Paramaribo and on most plantations in this country (*on some plantations the blacks have their own particular language*) [italics mine, JA] (source: Schumann / Schumann's informant). (Schumann 1778, s.v. *fotto*)

It is not far-fetched to assume that the remark in parentheses refers to *Djutongo*.[36] The fact that Schumann's missionary post – Bambey – was located on the Upper Suriname River, just like Stoll's post Sentea, suggests that he refers to the same region as did Stoll. Schumann's wording in the original – 'ihre *ganz eigene* Sprache', i.e. lit. 'their very own language' [italics mine, JA] – seems so strong as to refer to a substantially different variety. According to Stoll, this variety was characterized by a fair amount of Portuguese vocabulary.

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35. The distance between Sentea and the most southern Jewish plantations, however, must have been at least some 200 kilometers. This means that the only contact Stoll and other Moravian missionaries, had with these plantations, occurred during the occasional visits they paid to some plantations on their way between Paramaribo and Sentea (Price 1990).

36. Although it is theoretically possible that this refers to an African language rather than Sranan, this is not very likely. First, the reference is in the singular, whereas it is not very probable that Schumann would refer to one particular African language. Second, Schumann was enough of a linguist to distinguish between a Suriname creole and an African language (in his Sranan dictionary there are several references to African languages that were still spoken in Suriname during his residence). It is equally unlikely to refer to Portuguese, since Schumann, who knew a fair amount of Latin, would probably not have confounded Portuguese with Portuguese Creole.

Another piece of evidence is provided by Hartsinck (1770: 812). When describing a group of blacks characterized by a specific physical defect and referred to as *Touvingas* (lit. 'two fingers'), Hartsinck writes that 'they mostly speak Negro-Portuguese'. Although it is not clear where exactly these people had their residence, Hartsinck says explicitly (p. 811) that they were acquainted with the Saramaka villages along the Upper Suriname River. If the Touvingas' Negro-Portuguese may be equated with *Djutongo*, this would again speak in favor of an Upper Suriname River location of that language. However, a 1762 document discussed in De Beet & Price (1982: 131) says that at that time Saramaka Maroons and Touvingas did not yet understand each other well since it was only three years before that the groups first came into contact.

A quotation from Schumann's (1783) Sranan dictionary is also relevant in this connection. Under the entry *bringi*, 'give birth', it says:

> in Paramaribo it [i.e. the word *bringi*, JA] is not used that much; it's Djutongo: but many[37] plantations use it (source: Schumann's informant).
>
> (Schumann 1783, s.v. *bringi*)

This suggests that at least some *Djutongo* words were also in use on other, non-Portuguese-owned plantations. This may be related to the fact that in the last quarter of the 18th century, when Suriname's economy collapsed, many Jewish planters abandoned their plantations and moved to Paramaribo (e.g. Goodman 1987: 380). Their slaves were probably sold or transferred to other plantations in order to pay their masters' debts. In both cases they were being dispersed over a range of other, mostly non-Jewish, plantations. In this process their language, apart from isolated lexical items, began to dieout. This might explain Wullschlägel's (1856: vi) remark that the 'Negro-Portuguese language', that had been used on the Jewish plantations, had more or less disappeared by the middle of the 19th century.[38]

In view of its importance and because it has played a role in a recent debate on the origin of the Portuguese element in the Suriname Creoles (*cf.* Ladhams 1999; Smith 1999), it may be worthwhile to quote the passage from which the above remark is taken in full:[39]

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37. The word *nuffe* (< En. 'enough'), when used as a quantifier in Schumann's Sranan dictionary, often means 'many' rather than 'enough'.

38. The word *djoe-tongo* does occur, however, in Wullschlägel's dictionary (s.v. *Jüdisch*, i.e. 'Jewish') in the phrase *na djoe-tongo*, 'in Jewish [language, JA]'. It is absent from Focke's contemporaneous (1855) dictionary.

39. Because of the importance of this passage, I provide my own translation, which, in order to stay as close to the original as possible, is a rather literal one (*cf.* Smith 1987: 121–2 for a slightly different translation).

> The first settlers of Suriname were partly English, partly Portuguese-speaking Jews who had immigrated from Brazil and the island at Cayenne [i.e. the coastal area of French Guyana where the city of Cayenne, the capital of French Guyana is now located, JA]. Both spoke their own language to their numerous Negro slaves; these, however, were only imperfectly understood and spoken by the Negroes, who had originally belonged to various African tribes, each of which spoke its own dialect. Thus, from the beginning two new distinct 'language stocks' (*Sprachstämme*) developed, Negro-English and Negro-Portuguese. No matter how sharply distinguished these may have been in the beginning, in the course of time they supplemented each other mutually, sharing many words and phrases. The latter language, originally a corrupted Portuguese, was spoken on the numerous plantations that belonged to Jewish owners; now it has nearly disappeared from the colony, together with the prosperity of those who brought it here. It is only spoken by one Maroon tribe, that of the so-called Saramaka on the Upper Suriname River. They derive mostly from the plantations mentioned above and at the time of the conclusion of the Peace Treaty in 1760[40] they inhabited the forests along the Upper Saramaka River, deep in the interior, but now they have their houses on the Upper Suriname River. These Saramaka, however, among whom we have had a mission for nearly one hundred years, – at least those among them who are in contact with the actual colony – learn and understand Negro-English, besides their own *dju tongo* 'Jews' language'. (Wullschlägel 1856: vi)

That *Djutongo* had not disappeared completely by the middle of the 18th century, appears from Focke (1855), who, writing in the same period, says of at least one word – *foegà*, 'be too much' -that it is used "by the blacks *owned by Portuguese Jews* [italics mine, JA]" (Focke 1855, s.v. *foegà*).[41]

Some seemingly contradictory evidence, which was adduced by Voorhoeve (1973: 140) to suggest that *Djutongo* was not a separate variety but rather an alternative name for Saramaccan, can be found under the entry *Dju*, 'Jew', in Schumann's Sranan dictionary:[42]

> *Djutongo* is how the blacks here [i.e. in Paramaribo, JA] call the Negro language that is mixed with Portuguese (source: Schumann).
>
> Saramaccan negroes use *Djutongo* (source: Schumann's informant).
>
> (Schumann 1783, s.v. *Dju*)

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40. The treaty with the Saramaka was concluded in 1762, not 1760 (which is when the treaty with another Maroon group, the Ndyuka, was signed).

41. If *Djutongo* was indeed dying out during this period, then its demise roughly co-occurred with the disappearance of Portuguese, which remained in active use in Suriname at least as late as the beginning of the 19th century. But a temporal coincidence, of course, does not necessarily imply a causal relationship.

42. *Cf.* also Wullschlägel (1856: vi), who refers to the language of the Saramaka as '*Djoe-tongo*;' it seems clear, however, that here the word *Djutongo* is used as a synonym for Saramaccan.

Price (1976: 37), however, disagrees with Voorhoeve, arguing that the remark made by Schumann's informant may only imply that the Saramaka *also* know *Djutongo* in addition to Saramaccan). The interpretation of the Sranan sentence translated above as 'Saramaccan Negroes use Djutongo' – *Saramakka-Ningre habi Djutongo* – crucially depends on the meaning of the word *habi*. The meaning implicitly attached to this word by Price ('have as one of their languages') is quite plausible: *habi* is used with a similar meaning under the entry *bringi*, quoted above.[43] Also, if the meaning intended by Schumann's informant was '*Djutongo* is the language of the Saramaka', then why would he not have said so explicitly – e.g. *Djutongo da tongo va Saramakka-Ningre*?[44]

This interpretation is strengthened by the following remark, found under the entry *krijà* in Schumann's Sranan dictionary:

> *krijà*, 'breed, raise' (approximately the same as *kweki*) (source: Schumann)
>
> '*krijà*' is *Djutongo*; but still we [i.e. the blacks in Paramaribo, JA] use it rather frequently. Saramaccan negroes say '*kilja*' (source: Schumann's informant). (Schumann 1783, s.v. *krijà*)

If Saramaccan were identical to *Djutongo*, then why would Saramaccan have a different variant of the word for 'breed, raise' than *Djutongo*? The same argument applies to the *Djutongo* word *panja*, which has no counterpart in Schumann's Saramaccan dictionary, but which, as Schuchardt (1914: 94) notes, has the form *paaja* in 18th century Saramaccan: again two different forms for *Djutongo* and Saramaccan. In this connection it also may be significant to note that under the entry *Saramakka* in Schumann's Saramaccan dictionary, where the Saramaccan language is discussed, the word *Djutongo* does not appear at all:

> They [the Saramaka, JA] have their own language, which is not the same as Negro English (source: Schumann). (Schumann 1778, s.v. *Saramakka*)

If *Djutongo* were identical to Saramaccan, then this would surely have been the place to mention that, *quod non*. What is more, the word *Djutongo* does not occur at all in Schumann's Saramaccan dictionary,[45] which would seem rather strange

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43. In the MS version of Schumann's Saramaccan dictionary in the Unitäts-Archiv in Herrnhut (Germany) the word *habi* was corrected by the author for the word *taki*, which was crossed out. This suggests that Schumann himself was aware that the phrasing with *taki*, i.e. 'Saramaccans speak *Djutongo*' was too strong.

44. The same argument was brought forward by Goodman (1987: 379) in a much broader discussion of the Portuguese element in the Atlantic creoles.

45. The two occurrences in Schuchardt's edition were both added by the editor.

if it were simply an alternative name for Saramaccan, especially since Schumann was a linguistically sensitive and sophisticated lexicographer.

Finally, as Smith (1987: 126) correctly observes, of the nineteen words labeled *Djutongo* in Schumann's Sranan dictionary, only twelve appear in the same author's Saramaccan dictionary. These words are: *adjabre, bae, bassia, bikà, buija/bulja, fikka, fruta, glua/grua, kilja, mai, pai* (three of them with a (slightly) different meaning from the one it has in the Sranan dictionary). The absence of the other words (*bringi*, *bruija*, *frementu*, *panja*, *plattiri/plattérin*, *tanga*, and *faija tanga*) would seem strange if '*dju tongo*' and 'Saramaccan' referred to the same language, especially since Schumann based his Saramaccan dictionary on conscientious consultations with a very knowledgeable informant.[46]

The fact that references to *Djutongo* in the early sources are so scarce may be due to the fact that *Djutongo* was not known as a separate variety to the majority of the whites (who, at the same time, clearly recognized Saramaccan as a separate language[47]) rather than to *Djutongo* and Saramaccan being one and the same language. This is supported by the fact that the addition 'this is *Djutongo*' in almost all entries in Schumann's Sranan dictionary, as far as can be inferred from the wording,[48] was provided not by Schumann himself but by his informant, which suggests that *Djutongo* was a term used primarily by blacks rather than whites.[49]

Summarizing, the evidence in favor of the idea that the label '*dju tongo*' refers to a separate, Portuguese-influenced variety, spoken in the 18th century on a number of Upper Suriname River plantations and possibly related to, but not identical with Saramaccan, is much stronger than that brought forward by Voorhoeve to

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46. Schumann's Saramaccan informant has been unambiguously identified by Price (1990) as (Johannes) Alabi, one of the first baptized Saramaccans, and later *granman*, 'chief', of the Saramaccan tribe.

47. That Sranan and Saramaccan had clearly developed into two different, mutually unintelligible languages by the last quarter of the 18th century, emerges from missionary reports stating the problems Moravians, who already knew Sranan, had in mastering Saramaccan (Price 1990). Compare also Schumann's (1778) remark under the entry *Saramakka*, quoted above, which is repeated here for convenience: "They [i.e. the Saramaccans, JA] have their own language, which is different from Negro English".

48. The criterion is whether information is given in German (and/or Latin) or in Sranan (see above).

49. This is also suggested by Schumann's (1783) wording under the entry *Dju*, which was quoted before and which is repeated here for convenience: '*Djutongo* is how *the blacks here* call the Negro language that is mixed with Portuguese' [italics mine, JA]. Perhaps the term was also unknown to the Saramaccans themselves, since, as mentioned earlier, it does not occur in Schumann's Saramaccan dictionary (although the term *djù*, 'Jew', does).

claim that *Djutongo* is the same as Saramaccan. The important question, of course, is what implications the existence of *Djutongo* has for our understanding of the genesis and early development of the Suriname Creoles. Until more linguistic or meta-linguistic information about this 'mysterious' language comes available, this general question cannot be answered (but see Ladhams 1999 and Smith 1999 for more information).

As far as the available evidence indicates, both varieties discussed here, i.e. 'old English plantation language' and *Djutongo*, are mainly characterized by lexical differences from the other varieties. In the case of *Djutongo*, however, there is some evidence that it differed not only in terms of the words being used, but also in certain lexical-semantic aspects (some *Djutongo* words have a different meaning in Saramaccan, see Smith 1987: 126–127) as well as in pronunciation (*cf.* the remark under the entry *krijà*, quoted above).

4.2.3.3 *The Creole as spoken on other plantations*

[*Editor's Note*. Evidently, this section is unfinished. The reference may be relevant.]

One reference:

> The language one (i.e. a plantation manager, JA) should speak with the slaves is called Negro-English. However, on plantations where the owners used to be French, many French words occur. (Anon. ca 1740: 80–81)

4.2.4 Religion: 'church Sranan', the creole variety used by the Moravian missionaries

The label 'church Sranan' refers to the variety of Sranan used by the Moravian Brethren, which is characterized not only by certain phonetic features, especially spelling pronunciation, but also by lexical innovations used to denote Christian concepts. While they began their missionary work among blacks in Suriname in 1765, for more than 60 years their activities were largely restricted to Saramaka territory. This was because until 1828, when circumstances forced them to change their policy, most owners, fearing that christianization would lead to rebellion, refused to allow missionary activities among their slaves.[50] In the course of time, this special variety, which at first was only used by the Moravian Brethren themselves, became a prestige variety imitated by others. In both functions it is still used to the present day (for information on its use in the mid-20th century, see Voorhoeve 1971).

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50. But *cf.* Stähelin 1913–1919 (Pt I), who says that services were already held in 1736 by the Moravian missionaries on a plantation in the Para region.

The major distinguishing characteristics of church Sranan, as pointed out by Voorhoeve (1971: 310–313), have to do with pronunciation. The most salient phonological characteristics are: the frequency of word-final nasal consonants (as opposed to nasalization of the preceding vowel, e.g. [bɛn] instead of [bɛ~]), the presence of – in Voorhoeve's words – 'strange vowels' (such as certain diphthongs, all derived from Dutch, that are not used in 'ordinary Sranan', e.g. *mooi* instead of *moi*), and the absence of vowel elision, e.g. *tanapu* instead of *tnapu*. All these are the result of a literal pronunciation of the etymological spelling used by the Moravians in their writings – mainly Bible translations and religious tracts. Apart from this, there is some specialized vocabulary for Christian concepts (mostly borrowed from Dutch or German; see below), there are some archaic words, and – in the written variety only – sometimes the preposition *na* is used instead of the serial verb *gi*.[51]

In some cases the specifically 'church Creole' character of such features can be traced back to the past. For example, in the Preface to his 1856 dictionary Wullschlägel refers to the coinage of new words to denote Christian concepts:

> The fact that not only the vernacular, but also the – if you may call it that – spiritual or pulpit language, which was built little by little by the missionaries and which is well understood by the blacks, has been taken into account, will be considered useful by those for whom the book was primarily written – the neophyte missionaries of the Moravian Community. (Wullschlägel 1856: iv)

In the Introduction to the same work Wullschlägel writes:

> Many Dutch words, which up to then [i.e. until the Moravian missionaries started their large-scale missionary work among the slaves, i.e. 1828, JA] were completely alien to the blacks, were introduced into the language by us missionaries while translating the Psalms and the New Testament, and they are now fairly generally understood, at least by the blacks educated in our schools.
>
> (Wullschlägel 1856: vii–viii)

Examples of Moravian lexical innovations are not hard to find. A quick search through the first three chapters of the 1829 Sranan translation of Acts (Anon. 1829) yielded the following: *Gadokondre* (lit. 'God's country') for 'the Kingdom of God', *hopo bakka* ('get up again') for 'resurrection', *kibrisanni* ('hidden things') for 'visions', *gran avoo* ('great forefather') for 'patriarch', *draai en libi* ('turn one's life') for 'convert', *tron baka* ('turn back') for 'be remorseful', and *santa liebi* ('holy life') for 'piety'.

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51. Note that the latter feature may also be an archaism, not specifically characteristic for church Sranan: Schumann's (1783) dictionary – which, in spite of the fact that the author was a Moravian missionary, mostly presents vernacular Sranan rather than church Sranan – contains a number of cases where dative/benefactive *na* is used instead of Modern Sranan *gi*.

Lexical differences, however, are not the only characteristics of church Sranan mentioned by Wullschlägel. With regard to pronunciation, he says that

> some words, whose etymology the blacks, of course, do not know, are pronounced incorrectly. In cases where such an incorrect pronunciation, or rather distortion, of words is not in general use, or at least should not be imitated, it is added within parentheses, because one should be familiar with it. Thus *j'repi* for *helpi*[52] ('help'); *fristeri* for *feliciteri* ('congratulate'); *piesiroetoe* for *absolutoe* ('absolute'), etc.
> (Wullschlägel 1856: viii)

Needless to say, the 'correct', i.e. etymological, pronunciation was the one used by the Moravians, whereas the 'incorrect', i.e. creolized pronunciation was the one used by the blacks. Similar remarks concerning 'correct' pronunciation can be found in Schumann's (1783) Sranan dictionary under the entries *lei*, 'lie' and *lai*, 'load', where it is said that the pronunciation of both words should be clearly kept apart by lowering and lengthening the vowel in the latter as compared to the former. This shows that one of the features mentioned by Voorhoeve as being characteristic for 20th century church Sranan – the use of Dutch-derived 'strange' diphthongs such as the long /ai/ – was already present more than two hundred years ago.

A third area, apart from vocabulary and pronunciation, in which church Sranan shows some differences from ordinary Sranan is lexical semantics. An example is given by Schumann under the entry *pikkado*:

> *pikkado*, sin: for the blacks this word refers only to some of the worst sins, such as adultery, murder, poisoning. But we[i.e. the Moravian Brethren, JA] use this word in a general sense, referring to all kinds of sins (source: Schumann).
> (Schumann 1783, s.v. *pikkado*)

An obvious reason for this difference would seem to be a difference in *Weltanschauung* between the missionaries andthe blacks, i.e. the fact that all kinds of behavior that were considered to be sins by the Moravian missionaries simply did not fall into this category from the Blacks' point of view. This semantic extension, however, was apparently unsuccessful, since the 1829 translation of Acts, referred to above, does not use *pikkado*, but Dutch-derived *zondoe* (< 'zonde', i.e. 'sin') instead. Some examples of Moravian neologisms for Christian terminology found in Schumann's dictionary are presented in the next table.

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52. Significantly, the use of *helpi* as opposed to *yepi* is mentioned by Voorhoeve (1971: 312) as one of the 'church creole' features.

Table 4.7 Examples of semantic extensions of Sranan words used by Moravian missionaries to denote Christian concepts

Word	Original meaning	Extended meaning
helpiman	midwife	Savior
jeje	forefather	ghost/spirit[53]
vo bunne hatti	from a good heart	an expression used to refer to the special nature of the gift of heavenly goods, such as grace
wassi	wash	baptism

These examples from 18th and 19th-century sources show that the history of 'church Creole' goes back to the late 18th century, when the Moravian missionaries started to work among the black people of Suriname.

I have not been able to establish to what extent 'church Creole' – apart from its use in certain formal, non-religious settings mentioned above – may have influenced the vernacular, although it is hard to imagine that the blacks educated in Moravian schools would have been totally immune to such influence. This is especially true for the period when Sranan was the only language of instruction used in those schools, i.e. at least until 1876, when Dutch was officially declared the language of instruction, but even after that, since Sranan continued to be widely used in education. On the other hand, this influence may have been largely restricted to written language, and even there may have been confined to Christian terminology.

Since many of the earlier Sranan sources are of Moravian origin, a more important matter is the question to what extent these sources can be taken be reliable reflections of the 'real' (i.e. vernacular) Creole and whether they can be reliably used as data for historical-linguistic research. Although this question can certainly

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53. As in *santa jeje* 'Holy Ghost'. As appears from Schumann's comment quoted below, this semantic extension was explicitly modeled on Saramaccan *jeje*, which already had 'ghost' as one of its meanings. Schumann's comment under *jeje* gives some insight into the practice of 'semantic engineering' used by the Moravian Brethren:

> Among the Paramaribo blacks this word [i.e. *jeje*, JA] actually did not have this meaning [i.e. 'ghost', JA], at least not clearly (it did however among the Saramaccans); among the Paramaribo blacks it meant 'an ancient man' and 'ancestor' of a big family, with children's children into the fourth and fifth generation; on some plantations (for instance on the Upper Cottica) *jeje* or *djeje* also means 'family', 'kinfolk' … But this meaning included a certain superstitious concept in that they took such an ancestor as a ghost or a semi-god, rather than a human being. Therefore it was not difficult for these blacks to capture the true meaning of *jeje*, namely 'ghost' (and to abandon the old, incorrect one); and now it has become so generally accepted that we can use it without any objection.
>
> (Schumann 1783, s.v. *jeje*)

not be definitively resolved on the basis of the rather limited data discussed in this section, I would like to maintain that – based on my overall experience with this material, and pending evidence to the contrary – these sources provide adequate data bases for diachronic research. A possible exception will have to be made with regard to phonological issues since in this area significant differences between church Sranan and ordinary Sranan may be found.

4.2.5 Place of birth: Native and non-native Sranan

Since large numbers of new, African-born slaves continued to be brought to Suriname throughout the 18th and into the 19th centuries, Sranan functioned both as a first language and as a second language. This raises the question as to what differences may have existed between these two varieties. That these differences must have existed until quite late appears, e.g. from an archival document from 1823 stating that sometimes it takes African (i.e. bozal) slaves years to master Sranan (Everaert 1999: 125). Cf. also Klinkers' (1997: 35) reference to two slaves who after some years in Suriname were reported in 1823 still not to be able to express themselves well in Sranan.

Unfortunately, the concrete evidence for differences between native and non-native Sranan is very scant. Also, it seems to be largely limited to pronunciation, as in the first two quotations below. Under the entry *kriólo* in Schumann's Sranan dictionary the informant is quoted as follows:

> if you want to hear *nengre tongo*, you must listen to how the Creoles [i.e. locally-born blacks, JA] pronounce it (Schumann's informant).
>
> (Schumann 1783, s.v. *kriólo*[54])

Since the word *taki*, translated here as 'pronounce', may also have the more general meaning of 'speak', at face value it is not entirely clear whether this remark refers to general differences or more specifically to phonetic differences between the two varieties. However, since precisely the same combination of words – *taki krin* – is used by Wullschlägel (s.v. *Aussprache*, 'pronunciation') with regard to quality of pronunciation, it seems safe to assume that the remark made by Schumann's informant similarly refers to pronunciation, and not to general features of Sranan as spoken by native speakers.

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54. The exact wording in Sranan reads: *ju wanni kissi Ningre tongo krîn, ju musse harki na kriolo, hufa dem takki*, lit. 'if you want to catch black Sranan clear/pure, you must listen to the Creoles, how they speak/pronounce it'. The word *kriolo* refers to those speakers who had been born in Suriname.

Focke, writing some 70 years later, unambiguously refers to pronunciation when he writes that "[l]ater[i.e. after the initial formative stage of Sranan, JA], the locally-born Negroes (Creoles) made the pronunciation more uniform and pure…". Although the concept of 'purity' in itself is not entirely unambiguous, the fact that Focke also refers to 'uniformity'[55] here seems sufficient to conclude that what he intends to say is that the pronunciation of locally-born is more regular than that of African-born. If this is correct, this would be in line with a view of creolization as a process in which koineization qua gradual reduction of inter-dialectal differences is one of the constituent elements (*cf.* Siegel 1997).

The third remark discussed here is less informative than the preceding two in that it refers to a very specific – rather than a more general – difference in the pronunciation between native and non-native speakers of Sranan. Under the entry *passumà, pánsuma*'get stuck, stay small, not grow', Schumann's dictionary says:

> *pánsuma* and *passumà* are the same: Salt Water Negroes [i.e. 'bozals', JA] say *pansumà* [sic, JA], because that's a Loango[56] word; but *we Creoles* [italics mine, JA] have made it shorter,[57] we say *passumà* (Schumann's informant).
>
> (Schumann 1783, s.v. *passumà, pánsuma*)

This remark unequivocally refers to a phonological difference: the pre-consonantal nasal in the 'Loango word' is deleted in the pronunciation of the locally-born speakers.[58] Apparently, slaves originating from Loango had difficulty learning Sranan, as claimed by Teenstra (1835, vol. 2: 180): 'They [i.e. 'Loango Negroes', JA] learn the Negro-English language only wit the greatest difficulty'. That Loangos distinguished themselves linguistically from other slaves is also supported by archival documents that refer to specifically Loango words for certain plants, as well as word like *Loango dron*, *Loango banya* and *Loango tetei* (referring to a specific type of drum, banya, and rope, respectively (*cf.* Beeldsnijder 1994: 297n11; *cf.* also Schumann 1783).

Two points emerge from these observations, both of which are important even though they are not very surprising in themselves. Their importance is due to the

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55. The Dutch original has 'gelijkheid', which, in this context, means 'sameness'.

56. The word 'Loango' refers to the slave recruitment area around the mouth of the Zaire River, where West-Bantu languages were spoken.

57. My translation in this case differs substantially from Kramp's (1983: 342), who translates this sentence as: 'but we creoles became their offspring'. This rendering is not only strange in this context, but it is also not warranted on linguistic grounds.

58. Although the acute accent in *pánsuma* might be taken to indicate stress, I find it more likely to be due to a writing error or a transcription error. Compare, e.g. Focke's dictionary, which gives both *pansoemà* and *passoemà*.

fact that they provide historical evidence with regard to two issues – nativization and substrate influence – for which truly historical – i.e. documentary – evidence is rarely available. The first point, evidenced by all three quotations, is that there were indeed differences between native Sranan and non-native Sranan. That both a native and a non-native variety of Sranan existed up to Schumann's time is supported by the historical-demographic evidence brought forward in Chapter 5, which shows that even as late as the end of the 18th century the majority of those who spoke Sranan were non-native speakers.[59] The second point – referred to in the third quotation and, again, not very surprising in itself – is that the pronunciation of Sranan by non-native speakers was influenced by their native language. This observation is supported, of course, by a wealth of contemporary research showing that the phonology of Sranan bears clear traces of the African languages that were involved in its formation (*cf.*, e.g. Smith 1987; Alber & Plag 2001; Plag & Uffmann 2000).

An additional point to emerge from the first quotation is that by the late 18th century something of a 'consensus norm' (*cf.* Milroy 1992) had started to develop in the Sranan speech community with respect to what did and what did not count as 'proper'[60] Sranan . Another observation that is relevant here is the remark under the entry *bassia* 'bend' in Schumann (1783), where Schumann's informant says that, although the *Djutongo* word *bassia* is used by Creoles speaking Sranan, '*buku* is better'. This means that, although at that time a majority of those who spoke Sranan were second language speakers, at least some speakers had developed a clear judgment about the status and/or value of the different varieties of the language. In other words, it seems that Sranan as a whole was becoming established in terms of the awareness in the community of its existence as a separate entity, even though on a structural level the language was still not fully stabilized. Although a further exploration of the differences between native and non-native Sranan and their effect on the emerging Creole would be of paramount importance for a better understanding of the process of creolization, lack of data precludes any such investigation at this moment.

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59. Incidentally, the second remark ('we Creoles') indicates that at least one of Schumann's informants belonged to the category of native speakers. This information is important in terms of how to evaluate the data provided by this informant in the rest of the dictionary.

60. The sentence in Sranan (*ju wanni kissi Ningre tongo krîn, ju musse harki na kriolo, hufa dem takki*) literally means: 'if you want to catch *nengre tongo* clear (or: pure), you must listen to the Creoles, how they speak'. The intended meaning of *krîn* ('pure' or 'clear') is of crucial importance here.

4.2.6 Some additional observations

Apart from the five categories of variation discussed above, a few remarks can be found in the sources about cases of variation which do not seem to be related to any of these parameters. As with the categories discussed above, most of these examples concern pronunciation. Before discussing these, however, there is one other issue that needs to be mentioned here. In the early stages two developmental varieties of Sranan may have existed side by side, one more pidgin-like, the other more creole-like.

A second remark concerns the use of secret languages, which are discussed here under the rubric of variation, even though we cannot be sure that all secret codes mentioned in the sources are actually variants of one of the creole languages. This is the case for what seems to be a secret whistling language, mentioned by Herlein (1718):

> On Sundays the slaves in the town of *Paramaribo* [italics in original, JA] take a walk along the Waterkant [the bank of the Suriname River in Paramaribo, JA], or they go to the savannah in order to 'baljar', which is a kind of dancing, called thus by them; however, this is prohibited because they were having too much communication among each other, disclosing things they wanted each other to know by singing, sometimes even by whistling with the mouth.
>
> (Herlein 1718: 95–6)

Unfortunately, nothing more is known about this whistling code since, as far as I know, it is not mentioned by any other author. Still, Herlein's remark is worth quoting here as it shows that secret ways of communicating were used by slaves as early as the turn of the 18th century, both by whistling and by singing. Both types of secret communication are known from other places, both from slave societies and from other cultures. The use of whistling as a code is known, for example, from the Canary Islands, where a code called *Silbero* is still in use here and there. The use of singing to convey in-group messages in the presence of the out-group has been well established for Suriname, witness, for example, some of the songs, such as *Miauw*, reproduced in Chapter 6. The same practice has been amply documented for the American South in Abrahams' wonderful *Singing the master* (1992).

More concrete information on the use of secret codes by slaves is provided by Teenstra (1835):

> Unskilled as I am in the ordinary Negro-English, I am even less skilled in the so-called *Vara*, *Cropina* and *Para*; the first of these is the ordinary Negro-English, where *pá*, *pi*, *poe*, etc is added to each syllable (in order to be unclear to the Whites), for example: Ordinary Negro-English *Massera*, 'Master'; *Tangi*, 'Thank'; *Dago*, 'Dog', in the *Vara* language become: *Mapásserapá*, *Tapangipi*, *Dapagoepoe*.

> As for *Cropina*, *Para*, and other forms of speech, I am not sufficiently acquainted with them to be able to report anything. I believe that in Cropina they add *ra*, *ri*, *roe*, etc and in *Para* they add *ga*, *gi*, and *goe*, for example: *Massera*, *Magasragá*; *Tangi*, *Tagangigi*; *Dago*, *Dagágoegoe*. (Teenstra 1835, Pt 2: 209–210)

Of the three codes illustrated by Teenstra, at least two – Cropina and Vara – are still used today in certain Saramaka villages. Price (1976) describes no less than seven different play that were still used by Saramaka men (and only very rarely by women) in the 1970s and all of which are referred to generically as *akoopína* (< Coropina?) by their users. Most of these are (far) more complex than the ones described by Teenstra: some of them are based on a mixture of Saramaccan, Sranan and Ndyuka rather than just Saramaccan, or even on Guyanais (the French-based Creole of Guyana) while the linguistic manipulations involved are also more complicated. Play languages have been reported for Ndyuka, Aluku and Matawai (Price 1976: 39).

Mous and Haabo (2002) report on the so-called 'P-language'. The procedure of turning Saramaka words into P-language words consists of doubling every syllable while replacing the initial consonant by /p/, yielding, for example, *wapakapa* for *waka*. This procedure for turning Saramaka into a secret language is exactly the same as the one described above by Teenstra for turning Sranan into Vara. Although the fact that P-language is mainly used by children suggests that its primarily a play language, this does not mean that it was not used as a serious secret language in the past. In fact, the history of slavery strongly suggests it was, as slaves had every reason to conceal some of their communication from whites.

Apart from these remarks concerning secret languages, there are a few additional observations regarding variation in ordinary Sranan which should be mentioned here. First of all, there are a number of remarks concerning variation in Schumann's (1783) dictionary, all of which were contributed not by Schumann himself but by his informant(s).[61] The first case, presented without any further information as to which variety it belongs to, concerns the word *mússunja* – a synonym for *sunja* 'a certain type of grass' -, which is realized as *mussungu* in the speech of 'some Blacks' (Schumann 1783, s.v. *mússunja*). In the other two cases, the informant uses the phrase *wi takki…* 'we say…' to introduce the preferred alternative.[62] Since the informants were native speakers, this may suggest that the variant preferred by the informant belonged to a more authentic, 'deeper' variety of the language. The first of these has to do with the selection of the preposition in the Sranan equivalent of the phrase 'full of'. After the sample sentence *da glasi de fulu nanga wini* lit. 'the glass is full with wine', the informant adds: *datti wi takki*

61. This is so because they are in Sranan rather than German.

62. I am grateful to Adrienne Bruyn for drawing my attention to these examples.

morro hesi, leki: da glasi de fulu 'vo' wini; tog da bakkasanni no krukkutu 'we prefer to say that over *da glasi de fulu "vo"wini* [lit. 'the glass is full of wine', JA]; still, the latter is not incorrect' (Schumann 1783, s.v. *fulu*). The second example, regarding the possibly African-derived idiom of 'being cool', may be the clearest of the three as regards the question of 'deep' Sranan. The sentence *a no habi wan sari morro, a findi bro* 'he doesn't have any worries anymore, he found peace and quiet' is followed by the remark: *wi takki, hem hatti fadomm, a koure* lit. 'his heart has fallen, he is cold', i.e. 'his heart is at peace; everything is cool' (Schumann 1783, s.v. *hatti*).

A second source which contains interesting information regarding variation is Wullschlägel's (1856) dictionary; this case is more informative as it relates to a topic about which a considerable amount of information is available from other sources. Speaking about paragogic vowels, Wullschlägel writes that

> the unstressed final vowel [in Sranan, JA] is often pronounced differently or is changed by the blacks. Thus they sometimes say *zwaka*, 'weak', sometimes *zwake* or *zwaki*. Especially *e* and *i*, and *o* and *u* are used interchangeably.
>
> (Wullschlägel 1856: viii)

While the existence of variation in the quality of paragogic vowels in Early Sranan has been known since Smith (1987a), the remarkable thing about this observation is not so much the remark itself as its relatively late date. While research based on earlier sources, such as Schumann and Van Dyk, suggests that the change from paragogic <e> to another vowel, such as <i>, had been completed by the end of the 18th century, Wullschlägel's remark shows this was not the case. One way to explain this discrepancy would be to assume that the Sranan contained in Wullschlägel's mid-19th-century dictionary is closer to the plantation variety than that presented in 18th-century sources such as Schumann (1783). This assumption would not be far-fetched because the Moravian missionaries hardly had any contact with the plantation variety in Schumann's time, while in Wullschlägel's days they had been active among plantation slaves for almost thirty years. Since plantation Sranan is a more archaic variety than (see Section 4.2.4 above), this might explain that this change, which appeared to be completed around 1800 in the latter, was still in process in the former fifty years later.

Finally, under the entry *begi*, 'beg' in Schumann (1783) an interesting example is given of stylistic variation with respect to the person addressed when making a request:

> If blacks really request something from another black, they say: *tangitangi, mi hatti-lobbi, mi bossi ju futu, du mi da plessiri!* ('please, my dear beloved, I kiss your feet, do me that favour!', JA]; if blacks request something from a white, they say: *grangtangi vo Masra, effi Masra plîs va gi mi datti!* ('please, Master, would you please give me that!', JA] (Schumann's informant).
>
> (Schumann 1783, s.v. *begi*)

The fact that at this stage a class- or ethnicity-related difference in the linguistic encoding of politeness was expressed in Sranan, suggests that by the end of the 18th century the language had developed beyond the purely 'referential mode' and had begun to acquire an expressive mode making it possible to introduce stylistic options. It also supports the suggestion made earlier that normative ideas with regard to the language were beginning to develop.

As far as 'religious Saramaccan' is concerned, Schuchardt (1914: xxviii) notes that the language used in Saramaccan Bible translations contains a significantly higher proportion of English-derived words than ordinary, secular Saramaccan. According to Schuchardt, the proportion is about 75% to 25%, while in ordinary Saramaccan (according to Schumann's dictionary) the proportion is roughly fifty-fifty (the proportion refers to types; a token count would yield even larger differences). Apparently, the translators drew heavily on English (through Sranan, I suppose) to express Christian concepts, for which there was no word in Saramaccan. This is rather surprising in view of the fact that in their Sranan translations the Moravians borrowed Christian terminology largely from Dutch.

4.2.7 Summary and conclusion

Even when taking into account the limitations of our sources, it is remarkable that they do not contain a single reference to variation in syntax, whereas variation in pronunciation and lexicon is regularly reported. This lack of indirect evidence cannot possibly be due to the absence of such variation in 18th and 19th century Sranan, simply because we do have direct linguistic evidence of variation in syntax (e.g. in tense and aspect marking; see Chapter 4). More likely, it could be related to the fact that syntactic phenomena are not only less salient than lexical and phonological ones, but are also more problematic to describe and analyze, especially for lay linguists, even if they are relatively well qualified.

Turning to those types of variation for which we do have indirect evidence, let us now try to draw some conclusions by relating these findings to the three issues, mentioned in the introduction, concerning the importance of early variation in Creoles. Before discussing each of these issues in turn, it should be emphasized once again that since our findings are largely restricted to pronunciation and lexicon no wide-ranging conclusions can be drawn on the basis of these limited data.

First, with respect to the representativeness of early sources, the findings reported here may serve to make us aware of the fact that none of the early sources should be taken to represent *the* Sranan of a particular moment. This does not mean, however, that they are unreliable *per se*, only that they represent a particular variety of the language. The more we become aware of the different varieties that

were used, the more we will we be able to judge the value of each source and the better we will be able to reconstruct the language situation that obtained during the early stages. But the fact remains, of course, that most early sources are written by whites, either Moravian missionaries, who used church Sranan, or by planters and colonial officers, who spoke *bakra tongo*. In both cases, what these authors represent are the urban, non-native varieties of a language that we should wish to study in its native and rural form. But to the extent that we can determine the degree and the direction of deviation of a particular variety from the 'real Sranan', we will be able to obtain some sort of measure of representativeness or reliability of individual sources. However crude such a measure may be, it will still help us forward in determining the value of older documents as sources for early Sranan.

Second, since synchronic variation often reflects diachronic change, a combination of findings from both the synchronic and the diachronic perspectives may help to clarify issues in both areas. An example of this approach – based on what we know about the diachrony of paragoge – the mid-19th century variation in paragogic vowels reported by Wullschlägel (1856) can be explained as a feature of the archaic character of Wullschlägel's Sranan. It is to be hoped that future research will yield more information on synchronic syntactic variation since that could then be put in relation to the mass of information that is available about diachronic syntactic change (*cf.*, e.g. Arends 1989, Plag 1993, Bruyn 1995a, Van den Berg to appear, Braun 2005).

Third, if there is one thing that emerges from this chapter, it is the fact that variation was already present in the early stages of Sranan. In this respect, Sranan is not unique among creole languages: Lalla & D'Costa (1990: 98), for example, in an in-depth study of Early Jamaican Creole, report that

> (the corpus) does establish the existence, from the eighteenth century, of extensive variation (among speakers and within individual usage) in features of basilectal and acrolectal models of Jamaican speech. (Lalla & D'Costa 1990: 98)

Unfortunately, since these authors did not find any evidence of intermediate mesolectal varieties of Jamaican Creole, their research does not allow us to decide whether a continuum situation existed in 18th-century Jamaica (*cf.* Alleyne 1971).

When trying to determine whether a continuum existed in 18th-century Suriname, we are confronted with other problems. Due to the replacement of English as a lexifier language by Dutch, the conditions for a Creole continuum situation to emerge were not fulfilled. Therefore, a straightforward conclusion with respect to the historical time-depth of the continuum in Suriname cannot be drawn. On the other hand, some of the variation reported above, e.g. with regard to the amount of Dutch-derived vocabulary, may be construed as relating to a continuum-like situation, i.e. between Sranan and its secondary lexifier, Dutch.

Especially the fact that Dutch vocabulary shifted in the course of time from being an ethnic marker – serving to distinguish *bakra tongo* and *negre tongo* – to becoming a geographical and social marker – serving to distinguish low-status plantation Sranan from high-status urban Sranan – provides some evidence for the kind of social distribution of variation that is characteristic for Creole continua.

Finally, as to the question of the speed of Creole formation, the evidence reported here lends supports to gradualist views of creolization, which assume a step-by-step construction of creole languages (*cf.* Arends 1986, 1989, 1993a, 2002a). In such a scenario, variation would be precisely what one would expect in the early stages of Creole formation. However, since the evidence of variation reported here is largely restricted to lexical and phonological matters, it cannot serve as decisive evidence in favor of gradualism. For that to be the case, more evidence of early variation in other areas such as morphology and syntax would have to be found.[63]

4.3 Language choice and attitudes

Until now, the questions of language attitudes and language choice in the early stages of creole languages have not received much attention in the literature (but *cf.* Mühleisen 2002). While this may be explained to some extent by the fact that information on these issues is not easy to come by, a search of the historical literature regarding Suriname has shown that such evidence is by no means entirely lacking. The evidence reported here is derived from a large number of historical sources: primarily 18th and 19th-century histories, travel accounts, and 'descriptions' of Suriname, but also early dictionaries, grammars, and language manuals. None of these works was perused with the explicit goal of collecting information on language attitudes and choice. Rather, what I did when reading or consulting such works for more general purposes was to note down any relevant information on these specific topics I happened to come across. While I do not make any claim to completeness, I do believe that the information collected here on the basis of primary historical and archival sources yields a more complete picture on these issues than can be found in any other work on the Suriname Creoles, or any Creole, for that matter.

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63. This should not be taken to imply, however, that these findings provide evidence in favor of instantaneist models of Creole formation, such as Bickerton's Bioprogram Hypothesis. In fact, this theory cannot in principle be falsified by this type of evidence. This is so because it claims that creolization is completed within the first generation of speakers whereas all the evidence presented here dates from later stages.

Historical data on language attitudes and language choice are important as they may yield information regarding questions which are often taken for granted without any documented evidence. Some of these questions are: How did people really feel about Creole? Who actually spoke Creole? For how long did African languages remain in use? And, what other languages besides Creole were spoken in the colony? Since almost all the information presented here derives from European-authored sources, we should be careful in our interpretation of it. With only a few exceptions, if the Blacks' point of view is represented here at all, it is through the eyes of whites (or, in a few cases, coloureds). In other words, the voice of the black never reaches our ears directly, but only through a white filter. Furthermore, since virtually all the information I have been able to find is restricted to Sranan, the other Surinamese Creoles will be largely left out of the discussion. Finally, in most cases those quotations given below that contain information relevant to more than one subsection will only be presented once. After they have been given in full in a first instance, they will not be repeated but only referred to in subsequent subsections. We will by discussing the evidence regarding language attitudes. In Section 4.3.2, we will deal with questions of language choice.

4.3.1 Attitudes towards Sranan

Unfortunately, our sources are extremely poor in the amount of information they present on the attitudes of the Blacks towards Sranan. The only relevant comment I have found is the following remark made by Helmig van der Vegt in the Preface to his Sranan manual:

> Everyone who has visited the colony knows that no Creole (native)[64] can be found who does not possess a strong love for his native language, even to the extent that he speaks it with a pride as if he were a Frenchman.
>
> (Helmig van der Vegt 1844: 3)

This remark indicates that Sranan was not only the primary language among Suriname's locally-born, including blacks, but also that it was held in high esteem by them. Remarks explicitly concerning the attitudes of Europeans towards Sranan are more numerous. Although negative opinions predominate, a number of positive comments may be found as well. Listen, for example, to what Captain John Stedman has to say:

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64. Helmig van der Vegt's addition in parentheses ('inboorling' in the Dutch original) suggests that the most likely interpretation of the word 'creole' as used here is that it refers to locally-born persons, either black, colored or white. In any case, blacks and coloreds are clearly implied.

> …this mixt speech…is so sweet, & Sonorous that even Amongst the Genteelest European Companies, nothing Else is spoke in Surinam; it is also extremely Expressive and Sentimental…. (Stedman 1790: 515–6)

Stedman also claims to be 'perfectly well acquainted with Sranan (p. 515), which suggests he found it easy to learn. This is also reflected in a comment made by Fermin (1769):

> Je n'eus pas beaucoup de peine à comprendre ce langage; parce que je sçavois l'Anglois, & qu'il y est beaucoup analogue. (Fermin 1769, Pt 1: 20)

Another author who viewed Sranan positively, at least in a number of respects, was A. F. Lammens, a white colonial official who was President of the Court of Civil Justice when he wrote his *Contributions to the knowledge of the Suriname colony* (published as Lammens 1982) around 1823.[65] Since the passage on the language situation contain several interesting remarks, it is quoted here in full.

> Since Suriname's population consists of people who have gathered there from all countries, such as Dutch, Germans, English, French, Italians, Portuguese and German Jews, in addition to those who were born in the colony and are called Creoles, one can understand that several languages are spoken there. Every group has retained its native language. When we add to this the different Negro languages as well as the Arabic, spoken by some Negroes, then there is no less differentiation than there is in the different religions adhered to by everyone. These languages are supplemented with a national language of their own, called Negro-English, which is a kind of general language spoken mainly with the slaves. It is a composition of several languages, of which English is the most important, then Dutch. This language is very poor and it is pronounced in an extremely sloppy fashion. At first hearing it is pleasant; it seems that the way it is spoken, the manifold vowels added at the end of most words give it a singing tone or melody as a result of which it sounds somewhat like Italian.[66] The language is learned easily, the children prefer speaking it to the other languages they hear their parents speak. A very imperfect grammar[67] of it has been published and some printed books, especially suited for the church service of the Moravian Brethren. The Herrnhutters have enriched the language with a number of words and compiled a dictionary of it, which has not been published.

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65. This date is based on the fact that the manuscript was written between 1821 and 1824 (De Bruijne 1982: ix, xi).

66. *Cf.* Focke's (1855: viii) almost identical remark referring to Sranan's 'Italian-like euphony', which he claims is due to the tendency to end words with a vowel.

67. This probably refers either to Van Dyk (c1765) or Weygandt (1798).

> The indifferent use of the letters 'l' and 'r' is confusing for someone who is not sufficiently acquainted with the language. For example, for 'bottle' they say *batla* or *batra*; for 'pure', 'clean' they say *krien* or *klien*; for 'roll' they say *lorre*, etc. Whenever there is a strong sounding 'l', they almost certainly replace it by 'r', as in the case of 'klein' and 'klont': *krein*, *kront*.[68] A second feature showing the poverty of the language is the necessity to add an auxiliary noun to another noun in order to make it understandable, for example the word *wieriwieri*, whose general meaning is 'herbs of the field', becomes 'grass' when the word 'horse' *haasi* is added to it; it means 'hair' when the word 'head' *hede* is added to it, 'feathers' by adding the word 'bird' *fowlu*; *kappewieri* is 'wildshoots'.[69] It is the same with the word *sanni*: *Teesanni* is 'tea set', *brikkisanni* is 'breakfast', not to give any further examples. However, the language is fully adequate to express everything that is needed in daily life. Whenever a word is lacking, a Dutch or English word is used for it and it is understood. Also, there is no lack of proverbs or figurative expressions in the language. It would be important to make a whole of all this and the language is susceptible to much civilizing. The nature of this work does not allow to substantiate this with examples and most readers would be very indifferent to it. Still, I wish to note that I do not know of any swear words in the Negro-English language; when they curse, they use the appropriate words from English or Dutch, without making any changes to them. (Lammens 1982 [c1823]: 119–20)

As regards the topic of this subsection, attitudes towards Sranan, the relevant – though sometimes contradictory – features attributed to Sranan by Lammens are that

- it is a very poor language; this is shown in that
- it does not distinguish 'l' and 'r' properly
- it has to resort to compounding in order to refer to a wider range of concepts
- yet, it is completely adequate to express everything needed in daily life
- it is spoken in an extremely sloppy fashion
- yet, it is pleasant at first hearing
- it is easy to learn
- children prefer it to other languages
- it does not have any swear words

As we will see later on, the negative features mentioned by Lammens (poverty, sloppiness) were attributed to Sranan by a number of other observers as well. First, however, we will discuss two authors who have expressed themselves in an unusually positive tone about the language. It may not be accidental that both of

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68. Note that the latter two examples are words from Dutch, not Sranan.

69. Note that the last example is not relevant here: the interpretation of *kappewieri* as *kappe* + *wieri* 'cut' + 'herbs' is based on a folk etymology. The correct etymology is Ptg. *capoeira* 'brushwood'.

these were linguistically much more sophisticated than most of the other observers. The first is H. R. Wullschlägel, Moravian missionary and author of an excellent Sranan dictionary (1856) as well as a concise but good Sranan grammar (1854). In his only known article on the subject (partly identical to the Introduction to his dictionary), Wullschlägel (1855) has the following to say concerning the alleged poverty of the language.

> The Negro-English language is usually considered to be *very* [italics in original, JA] poor; this, however, is not entirely indisputable, at least not to the extent that this is generally found. To be sure, for many concepts which are common to us the Negro does not have a fitting expression; but this is a result of the fact that he does not yet have that concept or it is foreign to him: if he had the concept he would soon find the correct expression for it, perhaps even without having to resort to new words. I cannot help believing that other languages, such as English, which originally was also a mixture of several languages, were not richer than Negro-English in the beginning, before the general civilization of the people had overcome those difficulties, introduced new words with new concepts and added figurative meanings they did not have before to those they already had. In daily life the Negroes know how to express themselves fluently and concisely, often with a surprising accuracy, sometimes even more concise and pithy than we Europeans do.
>
> (Wullschlägel 1855: 288–289)[70]

Being among the linguistically most active Moravian missionaries, along with such talented and relatively unbiased people as Christian Ludwig Schumann and Wilhelm Treu, we would perhaps only expect Heinrich Wullschlägel to hold these enlightened opinions.

By far the most linguistically sophisticated remarks, however, were made not by a missionary stationed in Suriname, but by an extremely gifted English philologist (Reinecke 1987: 23), who had never set foot in the colony: William Greenfield. Greenfield was employed as a superintendent of the editorial department of the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS), when in 1830 he published *A defence of the Surinam Negro-English version of the New Testament* (part of which was reprinted in JPCL 1(1) in 1986). In this 76-page pamphlet, Greenfield argued against an anonymous attack which had been leveled against the Sranan translation of the New Testament, published by the BFBS the year before (Anon. 1829). While the *Defence* would warrant a much fuller discussion than it can be accorded here (see Reinecke 1987 and Harris 1985 for further information), let us limit ourselves here to a discussion of the points most relevant to the issue at hand.

Since the essence of the attack on the Sranan version of the New Testament (written by someone who obviously did not know anything whatsoever about

70. These remarks are very similar to those made in Wullschlägel (1856: vi–vii).

Sranan) was that Sranan was not a 'real language' but merely 'broken English', the *Defence* is aimed at showing that this is not true. Greenfield's main arguments (pp. 66–75), based on solid linguistic scholarship and showing a remarkably modern point of view, may, to the extent that they are relevant here, be summarized as follows (*cf.* Harris 1985: 218 for a fuller treatment). First, Sranan is a language in its own right, with a history of its own. This emerges, among other things, from the fact that it is clearly independent from English and from the fact that its lexicon contains several layers (English, Dutch, Portuguese) which it acquired in the course of time. Second, it is a complete, accurate and rule-governed language as Greenfield claims to have shown in his detailed analysis of its lexicon, grammar, and word structure. Third, Sranan is no more barbarous than any language is to those who are unacquainted with it. This is shown by a comparison of Sranan with other languages, such as English, that have particular traits such as a certain degree of 'corruption' and 'intermixture' in common with it. While English was often considered barbarous in the past, it is now regarded as one of the most civilized languages.

While there are many passages showing Greenfield's attitude towards Sranan, let me restrict myself to quoting the one remark which gives the best overall summary of his views.

> The human mind is the same in every clime; and accordingly we find nearly the same process adopted in the formation of language in every country. The Negroes have been proved to be in no degree inferior to other nations in solidity of judgment, or fertility of imagination; and therefore it may fairly be presumed that they are capable of forming a language from the materials with which they are furnished qualified for expressing with accuracy and precision the ideas presented to their mind. (Greenfield 1830: 51)

Since the ultimate goal of the *Defence* was to show that Sranan was not unfit for a translation of the New Testament, it is only logical for him to stress the fact that Sranan, 'however rude and barbarous it may be deemed, is capable of expressing the great truths of Christianity with accuracy and precision' (Greenfield 1830: 41). But the main importance of his work for the topic under discussion is that it shows that well before creolistics was established as an academic discipline there were Europeans who had a positive attitude towards Creoles, based on an unbiased and informed view of these languages. However, the fact that Greenfield was largely forgotten for the next 150 years shows that he was too far ahead of his time to have any real influence at the time. This is reflected by the fact that the number of authors expressing a negative opinion on Sranan exceeds that of those representing a positive attitude.

Many of these negative authors either stress the alleged lack of grammatical rules or the idea that Sranan is not capable of expressing everything, something which many of these authors claim is due to the lack of words for abstract concepts. From this it is often concluded that the language is (very) 'poor'. Often, both alleged features are seen as a clear sign that the language is 'uncivilized'.

An example of the poverty claim is found in Van Dyk (c1765: 3), who states that '[I]t is a language that is not capable of expressing everything…'. Fermin (1769, Pt 1: 22) describes it as a 'jargon, qui n'est qu'un Anglois fort corrompu, mêlé de quelques mots Hollandois…'. A little further on he writes:

> [I]ls'ont voulu apprendre la langue des Anglois, qui ont primitivement possédé cette Colonie; mais sans y pouvoir réussir; ce qui a fait qu'ils l'ont estropiée, en y mêlant divers mots de leur idiôme d'Afrique, par lesquels ils ont cru même la rendre plus élégante. Ensuite ils se sont vu contraints, pour se fair entendre, d'y insérer plusieurs mots Hollandois, depuis que cette Nation les a conquis…
>
> (Fermin 1769, Pt 1: 22–23)

Teenstra (1835, Pt 2: 210) flatly claims that 'Negro-English is not a language', after having described it as a

> hodge-podge of distorted English, Dutch, French, Spanish, Portuguese and Negro words, even Russian, such as *Malenker*[71] for short, invalid Negroes; this *jargon* or *patois* can only be learned through daily contacts with lower classes.
>
> (Teenstra 1835, Pt 2: 209)

According to Helmig van der Vegt (1844: 5), the number of nouns is very small due to 'the poverty of the language'; this renders it difficult to express one's thoughts in a single word, making it necessary to express oneself through paraphrase.

C. E. Lefroy, an English member of Suriname's Mixed Court against Slavery from 1819 until 1829 and the author of an anonymous, abolitionist novel entitled *Outalissi* set in Suriname (1826), calls it 'a barbarous jargon of Dutch and English'. In an 'Editorial epilogue', the 'editor' (i.e. Lefroy himself), says:

> …their own jargon [i.e. Sranan, JA], which is so scanty as not to contain perhaps above five hundred words, and must, I think, be quite an inadequate vehicle to convey any comprehensive impression in all its foundations, parts, and purposes, of the sublime spiritual temple of Christianity. (Lefroy 1826: 289)

To this passage he adds a note in which he claims that

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71. Although Teenstra is to be commended for his imagination, allowing for Russian influence in Sranan (!), we prefer to derive this word from French *malingre* 'sickly, infirm'.

> …the great truths of Christianity…certainly will not admit of definite explanation in the negro language at Surinam without the frequent introduction of English, Dutch, or German terms and idioms… (Lefroy 1826: 289)

In another note, he refers to

> [t]he introduction of a barbarous jargon of Dutch and English amongst the negroes by way of a language…The whole vocabulary does not comprise above five hundred words, and those incapable of modification. How can any adequate idea of Christianity be conveyed in the mind by such a vehicle as this?
> (Lefroy 1826: 310–311)

Finally, Prince Roland Napoléon Bonaparte (1884: 193) refers to the fact that the Moravian missionaries 'had great difficulty to supplement words for abstract concepts which did not exist in the languages, such as 'grace', 'benediction', and 'eternity". The perceptive reader will have noticed, I assume, that the first two examples (to some extent, perhaps, also the third) given by Bonaparte concern Christian concepts for which Sranan would not be expected to have a word of its own, simply because Christianity was not part of the world view held by those who originated the language. A more enlightened view on this matter is espoused by Wullschlägel (1855), but then again, being the author of the first published Moravian Sranan dictionary, it was part of his job to come up with Sranan equivalents for Christian concepts.

> [o]ne should not be led to believe that the Negro language is unfit for that [i.e. the expression of Christian ideas, JA]. To be sure, some ideas cannot be expressed in Negro-English as precisely as they can in German or Dutch, but that does not mean they should be abandoned. All one has to do is circumscribe them, being perhaps a little more verbose. At the same time, many things can be said more briefly and more concisely. (Wullschlägel 1855: 289–290)

Another type of linguistic 'poverty' is the alleged lack of grammar, referred to by, e.g. Nassy (1791), Beijer (1823), and Helmig van der Vegt (1844). Nassy (1791, Pt 1: 18) claims that Sranan, 'a gibberish of the country, … has neither order nor rules…', while Beijer (1823: 88) is a little more explicit when says that it has 'no rules of grammar'. According to Helmig van der Vegt (1844: 3), Sranan is '…a language without recognized and fixed basic rules'. Characteristically, none of these authors provides any examples to illustrate this alleged lack of grammar. Sometimes a more general complaint of incompleteness is expressed, even by such a competent lexicographer (and native speaker) as Hendrik Charles Focke, who refers to Sranan as 'an incomplete mixture of Portuguese, English and Dutch words' (Focke 1855: vii).

This same author has also pointed to the alleged 'uncivilized' nature of Sranan (Focke 1855), along with others such as Beijer (1823), Van Breugel (1842), and Helmig van der Vegt (1844). According to Beijer (1823: 88), Sranan '…is so uncivilized as to be unfit for writing', while Van Breugel (1842: 90) says Sranan is a dialect without grammatical rules and so uncivilized as to be unfit for writing. And while Helmig van der Vegt (1844: 3) flatly claims that Sranan '…is an uncivilized language…', Focke (1855) seems to relate this to the fact that '…it is spoken by a people full of a lively imagery and strong passions'. Also in this category belongs Nassy (1791, Pt 2: 18) who, while not using the word 'uncivilized' explicitly, manages to use the word 'gibberish' ('jargon' in the French original) no less than three times in one paragraph when speaking about Sranan.

Apart from these outright negative comments, there are a few others which contain a mixture of negative and positive judgments. Surprisingly, some of these were made by the same authors whose explicitly negative opinions were discussed above. An example of this is Beijer (1823: 88), who, after having said that Sranan is too uncivilized to be used in writing, adds:

> This patois or common vernacular can only be learned by practice. The essentials are easily understood by everyone. But since the language of the Negro is rich in imagery and mysterious, there is much that remains incomprehensible for the European, even after many years' residence. Only those foreigners who, living on plantations for a long period of time, are in daily contact with many Negroes will learn the language to its full extent. (Beijer 1823: 88)

By way of introducing the collection of 300 *odo*s included in his book, Teenstra, whose outright negative opinions were quoted above, writes:

> It is generally known that a language with a poor vocabulary has many imaginative, ambiguous and mysterious sayings, is naïve and symbolic, and has many folk sayings, and borrowed expressions. Teenstra (1835, Pt 2: 209)

Similarly, Van Breugel (1842), who thought Sranan an uncivilized, grammar-less language unfit for writing, also called it 'flowery and mysterious', easy enough to learn for daily purposes but requiring 'many years' residence to be able to express oneself well with a Negro and to understand him well' (Van Breugel 1842: 90). In the same vein, Focke says:

> Although the Negro-English language…is an incomplete mixture of Portuguese, English and Dutch words, which have been distorted and mutilated by an African pronunciation, it still has so many idiosyncrasies and is so pithy and picturesque in its expressions that often a foreigner who is not acquainted with the customs and uses of the Negroes would be at a loss if he would only make a literal translation of what was said because in that case he would still not understand the meaning. (Focke 1855: vii)

In his review of Focke (1855) and Wullschlägel (1856), Moes (1858) writes that Sranan is 'a defective language' (Moes 1858: 300), yet it is not 'as defective as many make it out to be' (301). He also writes that '[a]ll everyday matters can be expressed in it with sufficient clarity and often with great power and conciseness' (Moes 1858: 301). Finally, W. Boekhoudt, who served as a protestant minister in Suriname from 1841 until 1846, felt that, while Sranan was poor in words, it was rich in proverbs (*odo*s). More remarkably, he is the only author in my sample who sees Sranan as basically an African language:

> The language of the Negroes, Negro-English (*Ningretongo*), is the language of the African tribes, on which the succeeding European planters with whom they came into contact, such as English, Portuguese and Dutch, yes even French and Germans, exerted an unmistakable influence. (Boekhoudt 1874: 91)

Thus, this linguistic dilettante put forward – albeit without any supporting evidence – the idea of Creoles as restructured African languages some ten years before it was elaborated by the linguist Lucien Adam (Adam 1883).

When surveying the opinions on Sranan expressed by early white or colored authors, one cannot escape the conclusion that negative attitudes predominate. This is not surprising, in view of what we know about how Europeans felt about creole languages more generally in those days. At the same time, however, we also see, in a number of authors at least, some striking contradictions in the opinions they express. People like Beijer, Van Breugel and Focke, while noting the uncivilized and/or grammarless nature of the language, also stress its 'flowery', 'picturesque' and even 'mysterious' qualities, noting that in order to fully understand it one has to be intimately acquainted with the culture of the blacks. Perhaps this curious mixture of condescension and respect is representative of how many people felt about Creole at the time.

4.3.2 Linguistic repertoires

Another topic worth looking at from a historical perspective is the question who – apart from the blacks – actually spoke Sranan and what other languages were in use, both among blacks and whites. It turns out that, in spite of the negative attitudes towards Sranan often found in early sources, it is often reported to be used quite frequently by Europeans. In this context, it may also be interesting to look at what the sources say concerning the use of Sranan by Maroons. Since most Europeans did not speak any of the Maroon Creoles – they had difficulties particularly with Saramaccan – communication between the two groups usually took place in Sranan. (This appears, among other things, from the documents

concerning the negotiations which led to the 1760s peace treaties with the Ndyuka and the Saramaka, discussed elsewhere.)

By definition, language choice implies that more than one alternative is available. This was certainly true in Suriname, where, apart from the creole languages, a number of European languages were spoken as well. There is also considerable evidence that languages from the African continent remained in use, even well into the 19th century. Therefore, we will also discuss what our sources have to say concerning the use of Dutch, English, Portuguese, Spanish, French, and German, as well as African languages and Arabic. Finally, we will also take into account what information can be gleaned from these sources about the use of interpreters and about literacy both among whites and blacks, since this may help us get a better picture of the language situation in colonial Suriname.

4.3.2.1 *Sranan*

The earliest source showing that the use of Sranan was not entirely limited to blacks is the 1699–1701 *Studienbuch* (lit. 'study book', a kind of scholarly diary, published in Beer 1976) kept by the German/Dutch aquarellist and naturalist Maria Sibylla Merian. She visited Suriname from 1699 until 1701 and in this diary she mentions several Sranan words when describing Surinamese flora and fauna. Davis (1998: 179; Davis 1995) says that Merian used Sranan to communicate with the Amerindian slaves who assisted her in collecting and determining local flora and fauna, claiming that 'she…learned it as [she] had learned Dutch years before…'. However, to what extent Merian actually used Sranan as an everyday language remains unclear.

For the remainder of the 18th century we found five comments. In 1726, one Claude Mourquis, requesting permission to act as a teacher in Suriname, announced that he 'would not tolerate any unsolicited speech from the pupils, especially not in Negro-English, which will be prohibited by punishment' (Benjamins & Snelleman 1914–1917: 518, quoted in Van Kempen 2003: 236). The second is an anonymous source, dating from 1752 and commonly referred to as 'the *Recueil*' (Anon. 1752). Due to the nature of this work – a collection of documents concerning a conflict between the governor and a number of planters – it contains many (quasi-) verbatim extracts. According to historian Ruud Beeldsnijder (1994: 133, 298n39), who studied this text in detail, it contains evidence that 'some whites spoke Sranan so frequently that they even used it when expressing themselves emotionally'. In a personal communication, Beeldsnijder added that 18th-century archival documents, especially letters and reports concerning certain conflicts, frequently contain 'scoldings in which Sranan is not shunned' (Beeldsnijder, p.c. 3/1/95).

The third remark is from the manuscript commentary on Herlein (1718), written in the 1760s by governor Jan Nepveu:

> Most whites learn the Negro-English language very easily; it being broken English, which has been retained since the English had their possessions there and which has now become mixed somewhat more with Dutch.
>
> (Nepveu 1770: f°6)

Referring to the 1770s, Captain Stedman wrote that '…this mixt speech…is so sweet, & Sonorous that even Amongst the Genteelest European Companies, nothing Else is spoke in Surinam…' (Stedman 1790: 515–516). Dating from roughly the same period is a remark by David Nassy, who talks about 'the women and young maidens continuously chattering in Negro-English' 1791, Pt 2: 51).[72] Finally, women's preference for Sranan is also mentioned by Bolingbroke (1807: 400), who refers to 'the negro English, or talkee-talkee…, which is spoken by the Creole ladies in preference to any other dialect'.

Continuing with the 19th century, we have some more sources at our disposal. Von Sack (1810), referring to the years 1805–1807, writes:

> But as all the new-comers from Europe were anxious to learn this language, in order to be understood by the Negroes, and as their children of course were attended by them, they learned from them, by which means it is now become the common language of the colony, so that frequently a long conversation is carried on by English and Dutch inhabitants in this common dialect [i.e. Sranan, JA], without the assistance of which they would not understand one another. The Moravians have made a grammar of this mixed language, but they were obliged to coin many new words, for the purpose of conveying to their hearers an idea of the Christian religion. (Von Sack 1810: 117–118)

The role of children in the diffusion of Sranan across the white population is also highlighted by Lammens (1982 [c1823]: 119), when he says that 'the children' prefer Sranan to the other languages they hear their parents speak.[73] White children are mentioned specifically by Benoit, when he writes that 'the white children adopt it easily, which may give difficulties later on' (Benoit 1980 [1839]: 40).

Finally, there are a number of authors who refer to the use of Sranan among the white population in more general terms. One of these is Helmig van der Vegt (1844: 3), who claims that if you don't speak Sranan as a newcomer you 'will not be able to take part in conversations for months…'. This is echoed by J. N. Helstone (1903: 117), a native speaker-cum-amateur linguist, who says that 'in Suriname the

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72. From the context, it is not entirely clear whether this remark refers to women in general or more specifically to Jewish women, although the former interpretation seems the more likely one.

73. Although Lammens does not refer explicitly to *white* children, the context makes it very probably that it is them who he has in mind.

Surinamese language [i.e. Sranan, JA] is spoken by everyone'.[74] A similar remark, emphasizing the role of women is made by Moravian missionary Van Calker, who in a manuscript quoted by Lenders (1996) writes (*cf.* Nassy's remark discussed above):

> It is not only the language of slaves but also of free and coloreds. Women, or rather ladies, who are dressed in silk mantillas, speak Negro-English among each other. (Van Calker 1860 MS, quoted in Lenders 1996: 270)

This quotation is reminiscent of Nassy's remark quoted above where women are also particularly mentioned as being prone to using Sranan among each other.

While it is widely known that the Moravian missionaries made extensive use of Sranan in their missionary and educational activities, it seems that occasionally they used it in their daily life as well. Lenders, in a detailed historical study of the Moravian mission in Suriname, claims that '[a]mong each other the missionaries spoke German as well as occasionally Negro-English; with their personnel[75] they spoke Negro-English' (Lenders 1996: 294n7). The Herrnhutters, however, were not the only Christian mission to use Sranan. The Catholic church, which did not begin serious missionary work in Suriname until the early 1820s, did so too, and even the Jews resorted to it occasionally, as appears from a reference to a speech held in Sranan by rabbi Lewenstein in 1861 at the admittance of one Venus van Louise Johanissen[76] to the Jewish congregation (De Bye 2002: 149).

Apart from the fact that Sranan was sometimes used by whites when speaking to other whites, in most cases it was the only language available when communicating with Maroons. This was especially so with the Saramaka, whose language – which is structurally more distant from Sranan than the Eastern Maroon Creoles are – appears to have presented many difficulties to them (due to its tonal system, perhaps). This appears from the manuscript diaries kept by the Moravian missionaries, where it is stated repeatedly that they were having trouble mastering the language. Brother Stoll, for example, did not feel sufficiently confident until four (!) years after his arrival in Saramaka to hold a sermon in it (Arends 1993a: 107; *cf.* also Price 1991). Not only missionaries, but colonial officials too sometimes had problems with the language, even if they knew they were up for a long-term stay in Saramaka, as in the case of officer Dörig, who, shortly after having arrived in Saramaka as a 'postholder'[77] in 1763, did not understand a thing

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74. It should be added that in the next sentence Helstone modifies this claim somewhat by saying that Sranan is not as widespread in Suriname as Dutch and German are in Holland and Germany, respectively.

75. The word 'personnel' refers to the slaves owned by the Moravian missionaries.

76. Probably a former slave, judging by the name.

77. A 'postholder' was a colonial official who resided in Saramaka to ensure that the terms of the Peace Treaty were kept.

when the Saramaka captains 'put their heads together' (De Beet & Price 1982: 157). That he did not know the language had already become clear on his trip upriver when he saw an old woman on the river bank 'chattering in a language I could not understand' (De Beet & Price 1982: 153).

Most of the evidence for the use of Sranan in communication between Maroons and whites is contained in documents concerning the peace negotiations with the Saramaka in 1749[78] and 1761–1762, and with the Ndyuka in 1760. The earliest piece of evidence is from the diary of Lieutenant Creutz, leader of the colonial delegation to the Saramaka in 1749, who writes that the colonial officials 'made clear the conditions as well as possible and explained them in Negro-English' to *granman* Adoe (De Beet & Price 1982: 64). Creutz also notes that, of all the government officials, Louis Nepveu was best understood by the Saramaka (De Beet & Price 1982: 66). This is not surprising as the latter led the successful negotiations of 1761–1762, which were also conducted in Sranan. (Cf. Nepveu's diary of the 1762 trip, published in De Beet & Price 1982, esp. pp. 121–122).

In less peaceful encounters between Maroons and whites Sranan was also sometimes used, as appears, e.g. from an archival document relating to the Tempati rebellion of 1757 mentioned by Dragtenstein (2002). According to this document, these Maroons used Sranan when negotiating with government soldiers about the latter's retreat (Dragtenstein 2002: 168). When contacts between Maroons and the Sranan-speaking coastal area increased after the conclusion of the Peace Treaties, their knowledge of Sranan increased too, especially among males, who, due to the nature of their employment, were much more mobile than females. This appears, e.g. from Bonaparte (1884), who is referring both to Saramaka and Ndyuka Maroons, when he writes:

> Due to their frequent contacts with the capital, the majority of the Maroons have learned Sranan, which they pronounce in a very particular manner.
>
> (Bonaparte 1884: 148)

Finally, it should be realized that not all blacks whom one would expect to know Sranan actually did. A document discussed in De Beet & Price (1982) says that many of the black soldiers who took part in a 1755 campaign against Maroons did not know Sranan (De Beet & Price 1982: 83). When pondering the question which language(s) they did speak, the only realistic option – since normally speaking black soldiers were not speakers of any of the Maroon Creoles – would be to conclude that they were bozals who had not yet acquired Sranan sufficiently and who were still speaking their native African languages.

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78. The 1749 negotiations failed.

4.3.2.2 *European languages*

Although the theme of this book is the history of the Suriname Creoles, it is important to look at the use of other languages as well, in order to get as complete and representative a picture as possible of the language environment in which these Creoles developed. Almost from its very beginning as a plantation colony, Suriname was a multilingual society in which apart from English a number of other European languages were spoken, including Dutch, Portuguese, Spanish, French, German, and probably others, such as Scandinavian languages and Italian. The presence of these languages was a direct consequence of the demographic history of Suriname, which attracted colonists, government officials, soldiers and sailors from different language backgrounds. While colonists and officials were drawn from a number of European countries, this was even more so in the case of ships' crews and military forces. Especially in the Dutch colonial orbit, these were known to have been composed of people of very diverse origins.

While some of these, such as soldiers and sailors, did not always become permanent inhabitants of Suriname, they still played a role in the linguistic ecology of the colony, all the more so as they formed a significant portion of the overall white population. Also, at least some of these sailors and, especially, soldiers did become settlers, thereby contributing a more permanent linguistic influence. And even sailors who were in Suriname only temporarily often stayed there for considerable periods, up to several months or more. While part of the activities of the soldiers took place outside of Paramaribo, many of the sailors, contrary to what one would perhaps expect, made frequent trips to the plantations in order to trade (Pares 1956). This means that even temporary and semi-permanent groups had an opportunity to have a linguistic influence in Suriname.

The presence of several European languages did not only lead to multilingualism at a societal, but also at an individual level, not only among whites but among blacks as well. Oostindie (1997: 220), for example, mentions the mid-19th century female slave J. C. Jonas, who spoke Dutch, English, French and German fluently. The Boni Maroon leader Baron is reported to have learned Dutch, French and English, when, prior to his escape, he was sent to Holland for his education in the late 18th century (Oostindie 1986: 18). But multilingualism in European languages was more widespread among whites, at least among the upper class, as appears from Benoit (1839), who claims that 'almost all wealthy citizens of Paramaribo know French, English, and Dutch' (Benoit 1989 [1839]: 40). In what follows, we will discuss the European languages that were spoken in Suriname in the order in which they entered the colony beginning with its permanent settlement by the English in 1651.

4.3.2.2.1 *English*

Although part of the English colonists left Suriname after it had been taken over by the Dutch in 1667, this by no means entails – in spite of frequent assumptions to the contrary – that English stopped being spoken there (*cf.* Chapter 3). The earliest post-1667 document that is relevant to this issue is a manuscript by one Jan Reeps (1693–1694), published in Van Alphen (1963). In his eye-witness account, based on a 7-month stay in 1693 and 1694, Reeps writes that 'the English have founded a colony here and that language is still spoken mostly by the slaves over there' (Van Alphen 1963: 307). While recognizing the problems involved in the interpretation of this sentence (*cf.* also Arends 1995c: 14), a literal reading implies that some version of English was widely spoken by blacks around the turn of the 18th century. Similarly, a literal reading of Herlein's (1718: 121) remark that the blacks[79] 'have mostly learned their language [i.e. English, JA]' indicates that some form of English, albeit with 'Negro words in it', was widely used by blacks in the early 18th-century. However, since both authors refer specifically to blacks as the speakers of 'their/that language', a more likely interpretation would be that what they have in mind here is some restructured form of English (although, of course, the degree of this restructuring still remains unclear).

The only other piece of evidence is from Stedman (1790) in a passage where he describes his first encounter with a Creole-speaking female slave on the night of his arrival in Paramaribo:

> I asked if her Master was at home – she spoke but I could not understand her – I then mentioned him by his Name when she burst out into an immoderate fit of Laughter…[and she] explained in the best manner she was able by gesticulation and broken accents that her *Massera* with all the Family were gone to his plantation to stay a few Days upon business – & that she was left behind to receive an English Captain whom she supposed to be me – I signified that I was *Captain Stedman*…I made shift to Enter with this black woman into a kind of Conversation, which nevertheless I was glad to end with my bottle – [italics in original, JA].[80] (Stedman 1790: 43)

Although it is not entirely clear what to make of this passage, it suggests that the young woman was able to make herself understood, to some degree at least, to Stedman. However, since Stedman, who had been born and raised in the

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79. The context strongly suggests that 'Blacks' only refers to slaves here, not to Maroons.

80. Stedman does not add here that later that night he entered into a conversation of a different kind with her, as appears from his unpublished diary, where he describes the nightly encounter somewhat laconically as follows: 'go to sleep at Mr. Lolkens, who was in the countrij, I f—k one of his negro maids' (Price 1989: 27; see p. 11 for a reproduction of the relevant diary entry; a qualitatively better reproduction can be found in Price & Price 1988: xxviii).

Netherlands, did not only speak English but Dutch as well, and since it was not unusual for domestic slaves to know (some) Dutch (see below), the conversation may have taken place in some form of Dutch rather than English.

While the evidence for the use of English among slaves is ambiguous at best, it is not much clearer regarding its use among Maroons. The only clear case concerns the Maroon leader Boston (aka Adjaka), who had been brought to Suriname from Jamaica. During the Tempati rebellion of the 1750s, Boston communicated with his colonial adversaries in letters written in a rudimentary form of English (*cf.* Hoogbergen 1992: 44, 57; De Beet & Price 1982: 200n1; Van den Bouwhuijsen et al. 1988: 15, 22–27, 49, 97, 101–4).[81] The other case, from Stedman's *Narrative*, is more problematic. Stedman claims that a Ndyuka Maroon understood him when he said to someone else in English to '*give him a Dram, and* he would be gone' [Stedman 1988: 510; italics as in original, JA]. Taking into account the context – Stedman uttering this sentence to a companion in an effort to get rid of the Maroon – it seems that the latter's understanding of it may have been largely based on the three major content words – 'give', 'dram', and 'go' -, which are quite similar in Sranan (*gi*, *dram*, and *go*, respectively).[82]

As to the use of English by whites, the only remarks I found date from the 19th century. In a remark quoted above, Benoit mentions English among the languages spoken by 'almost all wealthy citizens of Paramaribo' (Benoit 1980 [1839]: 40). While it is not entirely clear whether Benoit's remark refers to actual, daily use of English – rather than merely academic knowledge of the language (*cf.* his mentioning of French in the same context) – a less ambiguous statement is found in Beijer, who flatly claims that in the 1820s 'apart from Dutch, much English was spoken in Paramaribo' (Beijer 1823: 87). The position of English was especially strong in the western region of Nickerie, which attracted many English-speaking planters during the early 19th century, when the government of the colony was temporarily in the hands of the English (1799–1802; 1804–1816). This left a linguistic stamp on that part of the colony, as appears from Teenstra's remark that 'everybody [in Nickerie] except government officials and military speaks only English and Scottish' (Teenstra 1835, vol. 1: 119). Although the proportion of English-speaking planters in the remainder of the colony must have been much lower, it was certainly more significant than is usually assumed. Wolbers (1861: 677–678) notes that some 60 English 'owners of land and property' ('grond- en goedbezitters') paid tribute to Prince Hendrik (a son of King William II) during his visit to Suriname in

81. See De Beet & Price (1982: 112) for a printed version of one of these letters.

82. Assuming that in direct discourse the sentence ran something like 'Give him a dram and he'll go (away)', i.e. containing the form 'go' rather than 'gone'.

1835. Assuming that most of these were plantation owners, this means that there was a significant number of English planters present in Suriname at that time. This is confirmed by the fact that for some time after 1812 an English-language newspaper appeared in Suriname, while from 1804 onwards another newspaper was published in a bilingual (Dutch-English) edition (Van Kempen 2003: 329). An analysis of archival documents concerning Emancipation has shown that as late as 1863 there were still a dozen English plantation owners in Suriname, among whom one Hugh Wright, the biggest slave-owner in the colony (Ten Hove, Helstone & Hoogbergen 2003: 55–68; *cf.* also Wolbers 1861: 768). English plantation managers were also present, e.g. in the early 19th century on plantation Mon Bijou (Oostindie 1989: 232). While the use of English in Nickerie seems to be related, although indirectly, to the English interregnum, this was probably less so in Paramaribo, since the role of the English there was largely restricted to administrative circles. It does not seem too far-fetched, therefore, to assume that English was spoken in Suriname during the 18thcentury as well.

4.3.2.2.2 *Portuguese and Spanish*

Since the majority of Suriname's Sephardic Jews had entered the colony in the years 1665–1667, i.e. just before it was taken over by the Dutch, it is no surprise to find that official documents in the post-1667 period were sometimes translated into Portuguese and/or Spanish. The earliest reference to such a case is from 1669, when one of the governor's decisions was translated into Spanish and Portuguese (De Bye 2002: 328). While the use of Portuguese may be explained by the fact that many of these Jews came to Suriname from the Portuguese-speaking colony of Pernambuco (North-East Brazil), this is not the case for Spanish. One should realize, however, that although Spanish may not have been used very much in Brazil, it was the most important language of commerce in the rest of Central and Latin America at the time. Since the activities of the Jews in the New World were primarily focused on commerce, it is only to be expected that those who came to Suriname were well acquainted with it. In addition, it is important to know that part of the Sephardic Jews came to Suriname directly from Europe, from places like Amsterdam and Livorno, among whose Sephardic communities both Portuguese and Spanish were spoken at the time.

For some Sephardic Jews in Suriname, their primary language may even have been Spanish rather than Portuguese. This has been claimed, for example, for David Nassy, the author of the *Essai historique* (1788), mentioned in several places in this chapter. Based on the fact that the books of poetry owned by him were primarily in Spanish, Cohen (1991: 114) concluded that this must have been his primary language. Nassy himself also mentions both languages when he writes that the 'usual language [of the Sephardic Jews in Suriname, JA] is the Portuguese

and Spanish' (Nassy 1791, Pt 1: 3; *cf.* also Pt 2: 72). Note, incidentally, that Nassy's phrasing may also suggest that he perceived Spanish and Portuguese as (two varieties of) one language rather than two separate languages, a perception that was to some extent warranted by the historical reality.

Nevertheless, in the course of time Portuguese remained as the only important Iberian language in Suriname, with references to Spanish becoming less and less frequent. De Bye (2002: 109, 116), for example, mentions archival documents showing that court trials at Jews Savannah were conducted in Portuguese until as late as 1793.[83] A document referred to by the same author indicates that in religious contexts Portuguese remained in use at least until 1837, when it was decided that the minutes of the Mahamad[84] would be written in Dutch from then on (De Bye 2002: 325; *cf.* also Oudschans Dentz 1927: 26). Portuguese also remained in use in more secular activities at Jews Savannah, as appears from an 1828 document saying that 'the bidding for the sale of the Miswot will take place in Portuguese *as usual*' [De Bye 2002: 322; italics mine, JA]. It can be no coincidence that all three references discussed here are to Jews Savannah, the semi-autonomous Jewish enclave along the Suriname River, where the conditions for the maintenance of Portuguese into the 19th century were better than in the rest of the colony. However, with the demise of Jews Savannah and the relocation of many Jewish planters to Paramaribo later that century Portuguese eventually went out of use.

4.3.2.2.3 *Dutch*

While it is usually assumed – although often tacitly – that very few blacks in Suriname knew any Dutch, it is not clear on which this assumption is based. This is not to say that knowledge of Dutch was widespread among blacks, but only to stress that this assumption is not based on historical evidence. The fact that Sranan was the primary language for blacks both among each other and in their communication with whites does not imply, of course, that it was their only language. In fact, it would be quite surprising to find that Dutch was not known at all among the black population, especially among those who would hear a fair amount of Dutch in their daily lives, e.g. domestic slaves, manumitted slaves, and mulattoes. Since all three categories of blacks lived predominantly in Paramaribo, they would hear (much) more Dutch than plantation slaves would. For many mulattoes there would be an additional opportunity for acquiring Dutch: since sexual unions between a

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83. At that time, the Jewish community at Jews Savannah still had its own jurisdiction, independent from the courts in Paramaribo.

84. A Mahamad is the 'Church Council' of a Jewish Community.

white woman and a black man were very rare, mulattoes would almost by definition have a white father. To the extent that these fathers kept in touch with their children – which was the case more often than is sometimes assumed – and to the extent that they were speakers of Dutch, many mulatto children would grow up speaking both Sranan and Dutch.

This is confirmed to some extent by our historical data, where all three categories of blacks are mentioned a number of times in relation to knowledge of Dutch.

The earliest source in this connection is Herlein (1718: 93–94), who mentions a black woman who not only became a Christian but also learned Dutch when she lived in Amsterdam accompanying her master. The question is how much of her Dutch persisted after coming back to Suriname as she quickly 'sought the company of her own people', dropping her newly-found religion in the process. Notarial documents dating from 1727 show that a mulatto called Charloo Jansz was able to read and write in Dutch, while his black half-sister, the free and wealthy Elisabeth Samson, left many letters written in Dutch (McLeod 1993: 25, 40, 96). Beeldsnijder (1994) mentions a 1738 document stating that some of the domestic slaves on plantation Ornamibo understood Dutch (Beeldsnijder 1994: 149).[85] The same author mentions a slave called Cornelis van Maarssen, who in the years 1740–1741 wrote three letters in Dutch, requesting his freedom (and, ultimately, succeeding!) (Beeldsnijder 1991: 13–14). In the same work, a 1789 advertisement in a Surinamese newspaper offered for sale a slave named Jauw, with the following – partly redundant – recommendation: 'typographer and printer, knows how to read and write' (Van Kempen 2003: 259). Finally, there is the case of the 'celebrated *granman* Quassie', who in 1777 sent a letter to the Prince of Orange to explain certain grievances (Dragtenstein 2004: 78). However, the extremely formal style of the letter (reproduced in Dragtenstein 2004: 101–102), makes it very unlikely that Quassie himself was the author. Nevertheless, we have to assume Quassie knew how to read and write: he is mentioned as the author of an account of an expedition to the Ndyuka Maroons led by him in 1762 (Dragtenstein 2004: 66); he is also known to have received letters addressed to him in his capacity as a widely-known herbalist (he discovered the medicinal power of 'Quassia Amara Linnaeus', known in Sranan as *kwasi bita*).

Apart from slaves, mulattoes and free blacks, there were also some Maroons who knew (some) Dutch. Dragtenstein (2002), for example, mentions a Maroon who in 1753 used Dutch in oral communication with whites (Dragtenstein 2002: 149–150), while Price (1990) presents a reproduction of a 1769 letter (mostly a list of goods) written in Dutch by Gemmis, a Saramaka boy who had been

85. According to this document, most of these domestic slaves were Creoles, some of them were mulattoes.

taught reading and writing by the Moravian missionaries (Price 1990: 95–96). Other Maroons reported to know Dutch were the Boni leader Baron, who had learned it before his escape, when he was in Holland in the late 18th-century, and the Ndyuka boy Johannes Kojo, one of the blacks who were 'displayed' at the World Exhibition in Amsterdam in 1883 (Oostindie 1986: 18, 23).

Just as it is not true that blacks did not know any Dutch, it is also not the case that all whites did know it. While the early sources frequently report that Dutch was the most frequently used language in Suriname (*cf.*, e.g. Nassy 1791, Pt 2: 72; Beijer 1823: 87; Benoit 1980 [1839]: 40), this does not mean that all whites knew it. Nassy, for example says that a large part of the Jews [86] did not understand Dutch sufficiently in order not to be disadvantaged in the courts (Nassy 1791, Pt 1: 176). The same author reports that sometime in the past many of the French *refugiés*[87] did not know Dutch well enough to understand sermons in that language, adding that this was no longer the case at the time of his writing (Nassy 1791, Pt 2: 16–7). Other groups reported to have a limited competence in Dutch are the members of the Dutch Reformed Church, about whom Van Schaick (1856: 26) says that many only knew a little Dutch while many of the women didn't know it at all,[88] and the Moravian missionaries, who preferred their native German or Sranan (Lenders 1996: 294).

While all the remarks above refer to adult Europeans whose Dutch was defective, that does not mean children always learned the language fluently. Teenstra (1835), for example, points to the fact that the locally-born (white) children have 'a somewhat corrupted accent…confusing *r* with *l* and vice versa' (Teenstra 1835, Pt 2: 208),[89] an example of interference from Sranan, which does not distinguish /r/ and /l/ systematically. Kappler (1983 [1854]: 24) even goes so far as to claim that 'very few children know how to write Dutch without errors or speak it purely'.[90] Although these are the only sources I have found to make this observation, it is important in that it ties in with what we know about the 'ecology of language

86. Here, as elsewhere in his book, Nassy uses the designation 'the Nation' to refer to the Jewish population of Suriname.

87. This refers to the French Huguenots, who had been coming to Suriname since the revocation of the Nantes Edict in 1685.

88. This is especially remarkable since this would refer to the majority of the Dutch people in Suriname.

89. It should be noted that, while the context suggests Teenstra is referring to Dutch here, the examples he gives further on in the same paragraph are from Sranan.

90. Although Kappler uses the word 'children' without any further qualification, it seems clear from the context that the reference is to white children in particular.

acquisition' for white children in Suriname. Many of these children were taken care of by a so-called 'Creole mama', a – usually elderly – black woman who would be charged with the daily supervision of both black and white children. Since, as a result of that, white children would hear much more Sranan than Dutch, both from their primary caregiver and from their peers, they would be more inclined to use Sranan than Dutch. This important – though often neglected – fact has wide-ranging implications; in particular for the role white children may have played in serving as channels for superstrate interference in the formation of Creoles.

4.3.2.2.4 *French*

Although a number of French-speaking colonists had stayed in Suriname for a few years around 1670, they did not become a substantial and continuous part of the white population until the late 1680s and 1690s, when several hundred Huguenots came to Suriname – often via Holland – after the revocation of the Nantes Edict in 1685 (Abbenhuis 1943: 131–132).[91] The influence of these French colonists can be seen, among other things, in French plantation names, such as *Ma Retraite*, *La Diligence*, *Mon Souci*, and *La Prospérité*. The number of such names is relatively high: e.g. around 10% of the 303 plantation names listed in Focke (1855: 153–160) is French. That the French were not only successful as planters appears from the fact that at least six of Suriname's governors came from Huguenot families (Abbenhuis 1943: 132). The success of the French colonists both as planters and as administrators may, of course, have given the French language an importance beyond the sheer number of its speakers, an importance which may even have been strengthened by the fact that in Suriname, just as in Europe, French had the status of an elite language (see below).

Just like the Sephardic Jews, the Huguenots adhered to their native language for a long time after their arrival in Suriname. Stedman (1988: 234) notes that in the 1770s services in the Protestant church in Paramaribo were still held in (Dutch and) French, apparently for the sake of the French who did not understand Dutch (*cf.* also Nassy 1791, Pt 2: 16–17). This custom must have been abandoned shortly afterwards since Nassy, writing in 1788, says that at that time sermons were only held in Dutch (Nassy 1791, Pt 2: 17).[92] Nevertheless, for some time during 1792 a French language bi-weekly was published in Paramaribo (Van Kempen 2003: 267).

The high social status of many of these French colonists probably contributed to the prestige enjoyed by their language in the colony, although the role of French

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91. Their number is estimated at 500 around 1700 by Abbenhuis (1943: 132).

92. In the same sentence, however, Nassy also says that from time to time sermons are still being held in French. Although there may be several explanations for this contradiction, we will not go into these.

as a prestige language in 18th-century Europe may also have played a role. This prestige function probably played a role in the custom of using French in writing the addresses on correspondence destined for the Netherlands. In a 'notification' by the Court of Police and Criminal Justice from 1759, the inhabitants of Suriname are asked 'at the request of some Dutch sea-faring skippers' to use Dutch instead of French for that purpose (De Smidt 1973, 1: 655). Another indication of the importance of French can be found in Van Dyk's (c1765: 38) Sranan manual, where a mother, inquiring after her daughter's progress in school, asks whether she is practicing her French everyday. More substantial evidence is provided by Nassy, who claims that many people in Suriname understand French (though not as many as in Europe) (Nassy 1791, Pt 2: 72) and that some French is taught in the schools (Nassy 1791, Pt 2: 68).

Quite remarkably, knowledge of French is also sometimes mentioned with reference to blacks, not only slaves but Maroons as well. The earliest reference (from 1730) is about a mulatto girl who could answer questions from the catechism in French (as well as Dutch) (Beeldsnijder 1994: 126). While this may refer to rote learning more than anything else, this does not seem to be the case with an escaped slave, about whom an advertisement in the *Nieuwsvertelder* of July 1792 claims that he 'speaks French' (Neus-Van der Putten 2003: 44). One of the documents related to the 1762 Peace Treaty, collected in De Beet & Price (1982), mentions a Saramaka Maroon who 'speaks French well and understands it even better' (De Beet & Price 1982: 120, 133). More than a century later, the Ndyuka boy Johannes Kojo, present at World Exhibition Amsterdam 1883, was claimed to speak 'a little French' (Oostindie 1986: 23). These Maroons' knowledge of French may be explained by the fact that several Maroon groups, especially those living along the Marowijne River (the Ndyuka and the Boni) or traveling regularly to Guyane (the Saramaka), were in contact – to a greater or lesser degree – with French (or French Creole) from quite early on. In this context it is no surprise to find an 1839 document reporting knowledge of French Creole among Boni Maroons living in Guyane (Hoogbergen 1992: 270).

4.3.2.2.5 *German*

Although the Moravian missionaries formed the most important group of German-speaking people in Suriname – both in terms of numbers and of influence – ever since they first arrived there in 1735, this does not mean there were no other speakers of that language present in the colony. Already in the early 18th century, Herlein (1718: 48) mentions Germans among the inhabitants of Paramaribo. Another group that probably had German in its linguistic repertoire (besides one or more Slavic languages and, perhaps, Yiddish) was the Ashkenazic Jews who started coming to Suriname from the late 17th century onwards. Unfortunately,

however, I did not find any information in the historical sources regarding the linguistic practices of the latter groups. Around the middle of the 20th century a number of German-speaking colonists arrived, but their attempts at colonization were not very successful. Nevertheless, the following remark by Schumann shows that the German language was sufficiently known in Suriname to warrant the inclusion of the word *Duits tongo* 'German' in his (1783) dictionary:

> the Dutch and the German language are both called *Duits-tongo*[93] (source: Schumann). (Schumann 1783, s.v. *bakkra*)

Although the Moravian missionaries are known for their extensive use of Sranan in their missionary work, they continued to use their native German (next to Sranan) for in-group communication (Lenders 1996: 294n7). This means that, to some extent at least, German remained continuously present in Suriname, something which is further strengthened by the fact that for some time in 1792 a German language weekly newspaper was published in Suriname (Van Kempen 2003: 267). This may explain why by the middle of the 19th century German and Dutch were no longer referred to by the same name, as they had been in Schumann's time. In Wullschlägel's dictionary, the Sranan word for 'German' is given as *opo-duisi* or *hog-duisi* (lit. 'up German, high German') while the word for 'Dutch' is *hollands* (the Dutch word for 'Dutch') (Wullschlägel 1856, *s.v.* 'Deutsch' and 'Holländisch', respectively). Whatever may be the case, it seems clear that German was spoken in Suriname for a considerable stretch of time by a small but influential group of people. Apart from the Moravian missionaries, however, there were other speakers of the language, as appears from the fact that German translators were employed by the courts in Paramaribo as late as the first quarter of the 19th century (Beijer 1823: 87–88).

4.3.2.3 *The use of African languages and Arabic*

Several creolists have claimed that the native African languages of the slaves fell quickly out of use once they had arrived in the colony. One of these is Robert Chaudenson, who, concentrating on French-lexicon Creoles, has held this position for a long time, up to his most recent book (Chaudenson 2003: 91–97; but see also e.g. Chaudenson 2001: 78–81). This position, however, is based on a number of assumptions derived from publications on the history of slavery which are not entirely up-to-date to say the least. Chief among these assumptions is that the number of African languages involved was simply too large for there to be any real chance for substantial numbers of speakers of the same language to end up on the same plantation. This assumption, in turn, is based on the idea that because very large number of languages was spoken in the slaves' catchment areas

93. Regarding the use of the word 'Duits' to refer both to German and Dutch, see note 7.

in Africa similarly high numbers of languages must have been represented on the plantations. However, as shown in recent work on the history of slavery, especially Eltis et al. (1999), Eltis 2000), the degree of ethnic homogeneity in the colonies was much higher than was hitherto assumed. Therefore, the idea of a quick death for the slaves' native languages is no longer warranted.

Another creolist who holds this position is Derek Bickerton, who has not only defended it for Creoles in general but also for the Suriname Creoles in particular. Speaking about the Saramaka Maroons, for example, Bickerton (1994: 70) has claimed that 'it is highly unlikely that subsequent generations [after ca 1700, JA] would have learned African languages'. This is based on the entirely unwarranted assumption that 'few if any speakers of those languages entered the community after 1712'. New runaways- among whom many African-born – continued to arrive in Saramaka well into the 18th century, even beyond the conclusion of the Peace Treaty in 1762.

In view of these ill-founded ideas, it may be worthwhile to look at what the historical sources have to say about the use of African languages in Suriname. The picture that emerges from these sources shows that African languages remained in use well into the 19th century. Important evidence in this regard is provided by historians of plantation culture, such as Ruud Beeldsnijder, who on the basis of his wide knowledge of archival documents, says: 'Some court records show that slaves, such as the Cormantins, continued speaking their own language, especially when they were together as a group' (Beeldsnijder 1994: 132). This is not really surprising once it is realized that the slaves who continued to be brought to Suriname until around 1830 needed some time to get acquainted with Sranan, while some, especially the adults, may never have become fluent in it. (Cf. Section 4.2.5. above, where it was shown that slaves did not always find it easy to learn Sranan.) Also, the frequently made claim that slaves could not continue speaking their native tongue because there would be no fellow slaves speaking the same language, due to the alleged divide-and-rule policy, has been shown to be poorly founded. Since, to the contrary, the degree of ethnic homogeneity in Suriname was rather high, it is no surprise to find a number of references to the use of African languages, as well as, occasionally, Arabic, in the historical documents.

The earliest source that is relevant to this issue is Herlein (1718: 121), who defends the inclusion of a Sranan specimen in his book with the argument that 'their own native language is incomprehensible', clearly implying that African languages were being used in his time (around 1700). Also relevant in this regard is a remark in the Preface, where Herlein says that 'the languages both of the Indians and of the Moors are very difficult to learn' (Herlein 1718, Preface, p. 4^{r}). Further support may be derived from the fact that Herlein actually makes a 'linguistic' comment on these languages, claiming that the Indians and the Blacks

have 'strange designations in their languages, for they express one and the same thing by different words, not always using the same ones' (Herlein 1718, Preface, p. 4[r]). Whatever the quality of this observation, it strongly suggests that African languages were spoken in Suriname around 1700.

References to the use of African languages are by no means restricted to this early stage, however, as appears from observations made in several 18th and even 19th century-documents. It is remarkable to find that many of these sources, especially those from the 18th century, mention one language in particular, a language the authors refer to as 'Cormantin'. Assuming that this name refers to the language spoken in the area around the slave trading fort of the same name, located roughly half-way between the forts Elmina and Accra, and accepting Hair's (1967: 260) well-founded claim that the location of languages in this area has not changed much since the 17th century, the most likely interpretation would be for it to refer to languages from the Akan cluster, especially Twi (a term covering both Asante and Akuapem), which is spoken in an area along the coast of South Ghana (*cf.* also Eersel 1998: 100). Although there are several other languages spoken around Cormantin, such as the Akan language Fante, the Guang languages Awutu and Efutu, and the Ga-Adangme language Gã, these are spoken in (much) smaller areas and by (much) smaller numbers of people. In addition to that, the identification of 'Cormantin' as Twi is supported both by historical-demographic evidence concerning the slave trade to Suriname and by linguistic evidence concerning substrate retentions in the Suriname Creoles.

The earliest occurrence of 'Cormantin' known to me is from a 1738 court record referring to a slave who was overheard talking to another slave 'in Cormantin' (Beeldsnijder 1994: 132, 298n34). Dragtenstein (2002: 193) mentions a 1760 archival document stating that Ndyukas spoke African languages among each other, among which was a language called 'Cormantin'. Referring to the 1770s, Hoogbergen (1992: 48, 210) refers to a document saying that Kormantin Kodjo, a Boni Maroon, never learned to speak Sranan and continued to speak 'Cormantin'. Stedman (1790: 515) presents a two-sentence specimen of an African language 'Call'd *Coromantyn* [italics in original, JA]', crediting his 'Boy Qwaccoo, Who belong to that Nation' for the data .[94] It should be added, however, that Stedman does not say explicitly that this language was used in Suriname at the time.

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94. It should be noted, however, that one of these sentences looks more like Portuguese Creole than like any African language. The sentence is given as *Me Yeree, Nacomeda mee* and glossed by the author as 'my Wife, I am Hungry' (Stedman 1790: 515). This gloss becomes more plausible when the original sentence is written as *mujeri, na come da me* 'woman, ? food give me' (Matthias Perl, p.c.). The linguistic affiliation of the other sentence – *Co fa ansyo na baramon bra* 'Go to the River & fetch me Some water' – is unclear.

The fact that it is this particular language which is mentioned specifically by these early authors becomes less surprising if we realize that the same language is often mentioned as being used in song, especially in religious (*winti*) contexts. For example, Hoogbergen (1992: 138) mentions an archival document from the 1770s referring to Maroons singing a song in the 'Kormantin' language (*cf.* also Von Sack 1821, Pt 1: 101). Even to this day, 'Kromanti' is one of the main surviving ritual languages used in *winti* ceremonies (*cf.* Voorhoeve 1971; Eersel 1998); it is also still used in oral history (Hoogbergen 1992: 164, 241, 312n266; Hoogbergen 1996: 182). (For a brief sample of Kromanti, see Chapter 7.) Cormantin, however, was not the only African language reported as being used in Suriname. There are also a number of references to a language called 'Loango', as in a report from 1766[95] about a confrontation between colonial military and a group of Maroons: '…furthermore a negro called out in the Loango language, which was understood by one of the commando negroes'. Since 'Loango' was the name for the slave recruitment area covering the coastal regions of the Congo and Angola, the most likely interpretation for 'Loango' as the name of a language would be for it to refer to a West-Bantu language, most likely either Kikongo or Kimbundu or both (*cf.* Chapter 3).

Some indirect, but not less powerful evidence supporting the use of African languages in Suriname is provided by a 1720 archival document mentioned by Dragtenstein (2002: 79) which talks about two whites who knew 'the African languages of the slaves'. Even though this document does not refer to the use of African languages by blacks, it still constitutes strong evidence in favor of it: After all, why would white people in Suriname go through the trouble of learning African languages if these were not spoken there?

It is often assumed that, even if African languages continued to be used for some time, this could never have lasted very long, say more than a century after the beginning of colonization. Still, this is precisely what we find with regard to Suriname. Even in the 19th century African languages were still in use, as emerges, for example, from Lammens' (1982 [c1824]: 119) reference to '…the several Negro languages as well as Arabic, spoken by some Negroes…'. Similarly, Hoogbergen (1996: 54) mentions documentary evidence form 1829 about a runaway slave who spoke 'a kind of Loango [probably a West Bantu language, JA], mixed with Sranan'. This same language – Loango – was also mentioned some 100 years earlier, in a 1736 document mentioned by Beeldsnijder (1994: 297n11), where it is said that Loango slaves had their own names for certain plants. Writing about the same period, Teenstra (1835) says:

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95. CR 1.05.04.06, 331, f 429v°.

> Among the *Pré-Negroes* there are many good workers and in their language and pronunciation they are closest to the *Abo* and *Gola* Negroes, as a result of which these tribes understand each other in their native language.
>
> (Teenstra 1835, Pt 2: 183)

Evidence of a different kind can be found in Wullschlägel's (1856) German-Sranan dictionary, more particularly in the section (pp. 301–40) which contains a large collection of *odo*s (a kind of proverbs) This collection contains two 'Koromanti' *odo*s (nos. 228 and 405) in their original form, accompanied by their equivalents in Sranan and German. Because of their importance, the two 'lemmas' are quoted here in full. (In order to distinguish the languages used in these quotations, different type faces are used: roman for English (German in the original), italics for Sranan, and bold for 'Koromanti'.)

> 228. *Koromanti koti wan odo, taki*: **Aze minjami** – *alsani na Gado wani*. The Koromanti Negroes have a proverb: **Aze minjami** – Everything according to God's will. – As God wants it. (Wullschlägel 1856: 313)
>
> 405. *Koromanti koti wan odo, taki*: **Sodjapee**: *Vo joe, joe lobbi; vo tra soema, joe no lobbi*. The Koromanti Negroes have a proverb: **Sodjapee**: what's yours, you like; what's someone else's, you don't like. You think also: Charity begins at home. Also: Everything that belongs to you, you like; what belongs to others, you find ugly. (Wullschlägel 1856: 323)

The fact that these proverbs are mentioned as late as 1856, more than 200 years after the first slaves arrived in Suriname, shows that African languages remained in use for a considerable time, even after fully-fledged creole languages had been available for a number of generations. Although it could be objected that the use of a few African proverbs does not necessarily mean that African languages were used in daily communication, the remarks by Lammens and Teenstra quoted above strongly suggest they were.

Still another type of evidence is formed by the fact that the Sranan lexicon contains a separate word – *kondre tongo* or simply *kondre* – to refer to 'native African language'. All three major Sranan dictionaries – Schumann (1783), Focke (1855), and Wullschlägel (1856) – report the use of this word with precisely this meaning. That the word *kondre (tongo)* has this specific meaning appears from a number of things. First of all, in Wullschlägel's dictionary the word *kondre tongo* is clearly distinguished from words meaning 'Sranan', such as *ningre tongo*, *bakra tongo,* and *taki vo kondre* (*cf.* Wullschlägel 1856, *s.v.* 'Landesart', 'Muttersprache', 'Sprache'; *cf.* also p. vi). Second, although one of the examples given by Wullschlägel (1856, s.v. 'Muttersprache') – *a de taki hem kondre-tongo* 'he speaks his native language' – would in principle allow for *kondre tongo* to refer to 'Sranan', this is clearly not the case with the following sentences presented by Schumann and Focke:

Mi vergeti mi kondre-tongo kaba 'I have forgotten my native language'
(Schumann 1783, s.v. *kondre-tongo*)

A de tâki hem kóndre tóngo 'He speaks the language of his country'
(Focke 1855, s.v. *Tóngo*)

In these examples, the word *kondre tongo* can only be plausibly construed to refer to 'native African language'. The fact that the concept of 'native African language' was lexicalized in Sranan before the late-18th century and remained in use until after the middle of the 19th century, constitutes another piece of evidence for the continuing use of these languages, even until after the importation of slaves had stopped around 1830.

Finally, apart from the reference by Lammens (1982) [c1824] to the use of Arabic quoted above, there is at least one other source concerning the use of this language in Suriname. An article in a Moravian missionaries' magazine from 1837, based on an eye-witness account, mentions a Moslem slave in Paramaribo who had written down the essentials of the Islamic faith in Arabic (Klinkers 1997: 32). While Arabic is often overlooked by creolists as one of the languages spoken by African slaves, this is clearly not justified because many slaves were taken from islamized areas such as Senegambia, where Arabic was used, if only in religious contexts. Although Senegambia was not among the major slave recruitment areas for Suriname, apparently enough Arabic-speaking blacks were brought to Suriname to be noticed by careful observers such as Lammens. At the same time, the presence of Arabic does not seem to have been strong enough to leave any traces in the Suriname Creoles, except, perhaps, in the naming system for the days of the week in Saramaccan (Martinus 1996).

4.3.2.4 *Some miscellaneous observations*

That Maroons had contacts with other Maroons from other tribes and with French Guyana also appear from the fact that the bas language for some of the Saramaka secret languages is a mixture of Sranan, Ndyuka and Saramaccan, or Guyanais (Price 1976).

Apart from the observations discussed in the preceding sections, which were directly concerned with language repertoires, there are a number of additional remarks to be found in the early sources which are relevant to this issue, even though they touch on it only indirectly. One topic that comes to mind in this connection is literacy. This is so because until the introduction of compulsory education in 1876 – when the creole languages were rarely used in writing – if blacks knew how to read and write, this almost certainly implied that they knew a European language, either Dutch or English. Apart from the cases from the 1740s and 1750s where we know which language was used in writing – the slave

Cornelis van Maarssen, who used Dutch, the Ndyuka Maroon Boston, who used English – (both discussed earlier), there are a few other places in the literature where reference is made to Blacks' literacy without the language in question being mentioned. One of these is Stedman's *Narrative* (1988: 85n), where it is said that the Boni Maroon Baron was taught to read and write by his owner. Another case of literacy among Maroons is that of 'three mulattoes who could read and write in the so-called 'Criole-dorp' (Price 1983a: 93, referring to a 1747 document). Finally, there are the blacks present at the World Exhibition in Amsterdam in 1883, some of whom were also said to be able to read and write (Oostindie 1986: captions to illustrations on pp. 23, 25). Since all these (semi)literate blacks are reported to know (some) Dutch, we may assume this was the language in which they wrote.

A second issue which has some relevance for the topic of language repertoires is the use of interpreters and translators in Suriname. The earliest reference to this practice comes from a 1739 document concerning a Jew who acted as an interpreter in court for slaves from Jewish plantations (Beeldsnijder 1994: 132). Since we know that in this period Sranan was used in court cases involving slaves (Van den Berg & Arends 2004), this suggests that the Creole spoken on Jewish plantations was not mutually intelligible with Sranan. The use of translators became more formalized later on, as appears from Anon. (1757: 112) (De Hooge Regeering…), where it is said that sworn translators were employed at the courts of Paramaribo for French (1), English (1) and Portuguese/Spanish (3). According to Beijer (1823: 87–88), this was still the case almost three quarter of a century later (with the addition of German). A document listed in De Bye (2002: 116) also mentions the use of a Hebrew interpreter in the Ashkenazic Jewish community in 1793. The 'Surinamese almanac' for 1818 even mentions the existence of no less than six interpreters for Sranan (Van Kempen 2003: 377). Finally, translators for Amerindian languages were also occasionally employed, as in the case of the Carib translators who worked for the colonial government in the 1770s (Quandt 1807: 282–283). The use of interpreters and translators for English, French, Spanish and Portuguese clearly suggests that these languages remained in active use until well into the 19th century.

Finally, a few remarks will be discussed here which are directly about language but for which there was no place anywhere else in this chapter. First, as to the language spoken on the plantations, it may be interesting to note that according to Van den Bosch (1843: 360), who in the 1820s visited both Suriname and the Dutch Antilles, there were two plantations on the Lower Suriname River – St. Barbara and 'a neighboring plantation' – where 'Curaçaoan' was spoken. Since Van den Bosch had visited Curaçao shortly before coming to Suriname and knew Papiamentu well, we assume 'Curaçaoan' to refer to Papiamentu. This assumption

receives further support from the following remark made by Van den Bosch himself, which is quoted here in full, if only to satisfy the reader's curiosity:

> [T]hey seem to be originally from that island [i.e. Curaçao, JA]. We spoke with some of them in Papiamentu; they answered our questions, to the extent they could, but they did not show any surprise about the fact that we could understand their language. However, we were not able to find out where they came from.
>
> (Van den Bosch 1843: 360)

Although Van den Bosch' supposition that these slaves came from Curaçao certainly makes sense, especially in view of the fact that he could communicate with them in Papiamentu, a few problems still remain. For example, the fact that 'they answered our questions, to the extent they could' suggests that the use of Papiamentu as a means of communication was not entirely successful. Also, the fact that he was 'not able to find out where they came from' shows that he did not get his supposition confirmed by the people themselves. For these reasons it seems better to leave open the possibility that they were not from Curaçao but from Suriname and that their language was not Papiamentu but a language mutually intelligible with it. This would, in principle at least, allow for the possibility that the language in question was *Djutongo*, the Portuguese-lexicon Creole once spoken on the Jewish plantations. This idea is not entirely unwarranted as St. Barbara was located within the Jewish plantation area and since *Djutongo* was still in existence by the time Van den Bosch had this encounter. If this supposition could be proved, this would be the latest attestation for the use of Djutongo that is available.

Finally, while the Amerindian languages are not often mentioned in connection with either whites or blacks, there are several historical sources which show that at least some whites and/or blacks were acquainted with Carib and/or Arawak. Thus, an archival document reports that the famous ex-slave Quassie knew both Carib and Arawak (Hoogbergen 1992: 59). Hoogbergen also presents evidence from 1839 showing that some of the Bonis in Guyane knew Carib (Hoogbergen 1992: 270). Some whites were also interested in the Amerindian languages, as appears from an early 18th-century document about a Jewish planter named David Cohen Nassy (not to be confused with David de Izak Cohen Nassy, author of the *Essai historique*), who knew 'the language of the Indians' (De Bye 2002: 53).

4.4 Appendices

4.4.1 Lexical items labeled '*bakratongo*' in Schumann's (1783) Sranan dictionary

The following items in Schumann's Sranan dictionary are marked as being typical of *bakra tongo* as opposed to *nengre tongo*. Although in some cases the label 'Dutch' rather than '*bakra tongo*' is used by Schumann, it seems evident that these items belong to the *bakra tongo* variety. The commentary in the dictionary, which is either in German (by Schumann) or in Sranan (by Schumann's informant), is presented here in an English translation. These translations, as well as those of sample sentences and phrases, were made by the author.

Apart from the items listed below, there are an additional seventeen words in Schumann's dictionary which are marked with a sign meaning 'restricted usage/regional variation'. Although in these cases no information is given as to whether these words are *bakra tongo*, it seems probable they are since most of these (fifteen) are derived from Dutch. These words are: *düri* (< Du. 'duur'), 'expensive', *dwars* (< Du. 'dwars'), 'cross', *fanga* (< Du. 'vangen'), 'catch', *fou* (< Du. 'vouw'), 'fold', *he(e)le* (< Du. 'heel'), 'very', *krone* (< Du. 'kroon'), 'crown', *pardon* (< Du. 'pardon'), 'sorry', *rau* (< Du. 'rauw'), 'raw', *slave* (< Du. 'slaaf'), 'slave', *steiffi* (< Du. 'stijf'), 'stiff', *steki* (< Du. 'steken'), 'stab', *strafe* (< Du. 'straffen'), 'punish', *strepi* (< Du. 'streep'), 'stripe', *swampo* (< En. 'swamp' or Du. 'zwamp'), 'swamp', *verwondre* (< Du. 'verwonderen'), 'wonder', *wassi* (< Du. 'wassen'), 'wash', *warm* (< En. 'warm' or Du. 'warm'), 'warm'.

Finally, there is one item in Schumann's dictionary – *kibri* 'cover' – which is labeled *nengre tongo* but for which no *bakra tongo* equivalent is mentioned. For that reason, it is not included in the list below.

adjossi (< Pt. 'adeus'), 'farewell'.
"That's *Bakkratongo*: blacks say *kroboi* but almost all blacks use *adjossi* too" (Schumann's informant).
Under the entry *krobòi* the following information is given:
"'farewell'. Approximately the same as *adjossi*; *kroboi* is the actual expression of the blacks, *adjossi* stems from the whites" (Schumann).
"The two words are the same, *kroboi* and *adjossi*; *kroboi* is our own, *adjossi* we took from the whites" (Schumann's informant).

agêhn (< En. 'again'), 'again'.
"Blacks would rather say *bakka*; *ju de komm bakka agehn*" (Schumann's informant).

aréde (< En. 'already'), 'already'.
"That's *Bakkratongo*: blacks say *kaba*; *da dedde skin de tingi 'aréde'*, that's clear to us, who are used to *Bakkra*; *da dedde skin de tingi 'kaba'*,[96] that's more clear, because all blacks understand that" (Schumann's informant).

bakka (< Du. 'bakken'), 'bake'.
"Whites say that: we blacks say: *lossi*" (Schumann's informant).

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96. Both sentences mean: 'the corpse is already smelling'.

beginn (< En. 'begin' or Du. 'beginnen'), 'begin'.
"That's *Bakkra-tongo*; we say *setti*" (Schumann's informant).
best (< En. 'best' or Du. 'best'), 'best'.
"Dutch, see *morro betre*" (Schumann).
betrou (< Du. 'betrouwen'), 'trust'.
Dutch, see *bribi*" (Schumann).
boutu (< Du. 'bout'), 'thigh'.
"Dutch, see *biggi-futtu*" (Schumann).
deki, dekki (< Du. 'dik'), 'fat'.
"It is *Bakkra-tongo*; blacks say: *biggi*" (Schumann's informant).
dondro (< En. 'thunder' or Du. 'donder'), 'thunder'.
"blacks say: *tappo bari*"[97] (Schumann's informant).
dübri (< En. 'devil'), 'devil'.
"That's *Bakkratongo*; blacks say: *didübri*" (Schumann's informant).
duku (< Du. 'doek'), 'cloth'.
"*Bakkratongo*" (Schumann).
dumm (< En. 'dumb' or Du. 'dom'), 'stupid'.
"*Bakkratongo*, see *tanfuru*"[98] (Schumann).
en (< Du. 'en'), 'and'.
"*Bakkratongo*, see *kaba* and *nanga*" (Schumann).
fesi (< En. 'face'), 'face, front'.
"*mi de go fesi hem*[99]; whites say this; blacks say *mi de go mitihem*"[100]
(Schumann's informant).
flaute (< Du. 'flauwte'), 'swoon, faint'.
"Dutch" (Schumann).
geel (< Du. 'geel') 'yellow'.
"That's *Bakkratongo*; blacks say *redi* or *ledi*" (Schumann's informant),
"which means both 'yellow' and 'red'" (Schumann).
Gemeente (< Du. 'gemeente'),[101] 'Community' [in the religious sense, JA].
"Dutch" (Schumann).
hüre (< Du. 'huren'), 'rent, let'.
"Dutch, see *juru*" (Schumann).
kalfe (< Du. '(af)kalven'), 'cave in'.
"Is used when the earth of the side of a trench or a dam collapses little by little,
da gotro sa kalfe[102] (Dutch)" (Schumann);
"that's *Bakkra tongo*; blacks say *brokko*, *da gotro de go brokko*"[103] (Schumann's informant).

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97. Lit. 'the sky is shouting'. The implication that can be derived from other information under this entry is that whites say *dondro bari*, 'thunder cries', or *dondro pikki*, 'thunder answers'.

98. Lit. 'be foolish'.

99. Lit. 'I'm going towards him'.

100. Lit. 'I'm going to meet him'.

101. Perhaps this word is better viewed primarily as 'church creole' rather than *bakratongo*.

102. Transl. 'The trench will cave in'.

103. Lit. 'the trench will break'.

kamera (< Du. 'kamer'), 'room'.
"*Bakkratongo*, see *hosso*" (Schumann).
kappe (< Du. 'kappen'), 'cut'.
"Dutch, better *kotti*" (Schumann).
klagi (< Du. 'klagen'), 'complain'.
"*Bakkratongo*, see *takki* and *tori*" (Schumann).
laaste (< Du. 'laatste'), 'last'.
"Dutch, see *bakkawan, bakkasanni*"[104] (Schumann).
leni (< Du. 'lenen'), 'lend, borrow'.
"*Bakkratongo*, see *juru*" (Schumann).
maniri (< Du. 'manier'), 'behavior, manners'.
"Whites say it; blacks say: *fasi*" (Schumann's informant).
mankeri (< Du. 'mankeren'), 'lack, be absent'.
"Dutch, see *libi*" (Schumann).
morse (< Du. 'morsen'), 'pollute, neglect, spoil'.
"That's *Bakkra tongo*; blacks say *dotti* and *pori*; *da somma morse alla moni en gudu va hem*;[105] we say: *a pori a truehalla hem gudu*; *da pikin morse tumussi*;[106] we say: *a dótti*"[107] (Schumann's informant).
ondro (< En. 'under' or Du. 'onder'), 'under, below'.
"But that's *Bakkratongo*; blacks say: *biló, na biló*"[108] (Schumann's informant).
pili/piri (< En. 'peel'), 'peel, pluck'.
"Also 'pull someone's leg'. *Bakkratongo*" (Schumann).
printje (< Du. 'prentje'), 'picture'.
"Dutch (Schumann). blacks say: a *jorka*, or: a *djersi*" (Schumann's informant).
sibi (< En. 'sieve'), 'sweep'.
"Also 'sieve' (verb). *Bakkratongo*, see *dorro*. Also 'sieve' (noun), see *manári* and *Bakkra-kondremanári*"[109] (Schumann).
sneier (< Du. 'snijder'), 'tailor'.
"That's *Bakkratongo*; blacks say *naiman*"[110] (Schumann's informant).
üre (< Du. 'uur'), 'hour, watch'.
"Dutch. See *juru*" (Schumann).

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104. Lit. 'back-one', 'back-thing'.

105. Transl. '(s)he squanders everything (s)he's got'.

106. Transl. 'the child is very dirty'.

107. Transl. 'it's dirty'.

108. *(na) bilo* is the older expression, witness its occurrence in Herlein (1718). In Modern Sranan, however, the Dutch-derived phrase has won out as the general expression, the English-derived one being restricted to the meaning 'down stream'.

109. Lit. 'European sieve'.

110. Lit. 'sew-person'.

vandu (< Du. 'van node') 'necessary, needful'.
"*Bakkratongo*" (Schumann).
"*mi habi vandu vo datti*.[111] blacks say: *mi habi worko nanga datti* or *vo datti*[112] (Schumann's informant).
weifi (< En. 'wife'), 'wife, spouse'.
"*Bakkratongo*. *weifi* can only be used in this sense; in all other cases one has to use *uman*. And the blacks themselves use *uman* rather than *weifi* in this sense" (Schumann).
winiboom (< Du. 'wijn' + 'boom', i.e. 'wine tree'), 'vine'.
"The blacks say *droifi boom*"[113] (Schumann).

4.4.2 Lexical items labeled *Djutongo* in Schumann's (1783) Sranan dictionary

The following words are labeled *Djutongo* in Schumann's Sranan dictionary (source: Smith 1987: 125–6). As in the previous appendix, the commentary in the dictionary, which is either in German (by Schumann) or in Sranan (by Schumann's informant), is presented here in an English translation. These translations, as well as those of sample sentences and phrases, were made by the author.

adjabre (<Gbe 'àja' + 'bl ', i.e. 'conflict' + 'deceive'[114]), 'betray(al), treacherous'.
"*adjabre* is *Djutongo*; we blacks say: *lei*, *meki lei*, *tori lei*" (Schumann's informant).
affitùh (< Pt. 'aflito', i.e 'oppressed'?[115]), 'constipation'.
"That's *Djutongo*: *mi habi affitùh*,[116] that means: *mi belle tappa, belle tranga*"[117] (Schumann's informant).
bae (< Pt. 'baio' or < Pt. 'vermelho' or < Gbe 've'[118]), 'red/yellow' (s.v. *geel* 'yellow').
"It is *Djutongo*" (Schumann's informant).
bassia (< Pt. 'baixar'), 'bend'.
"*bassia* is *Djutongo*; still we use it too; but *buku* is better than *bassia*" (Schumann's informant).
bika (< En. 'because') 'because' (s.v. *bikasi* 'because').
"Jews say *bika*" (Schumann's informant).

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111. Lit. 'I have need of that'.

112. Lit. 'I have work with/for that'.

113. < Du. 'druif' + 'boom', lit. 'grape tree'.

114. Proposed as a possible etymology by Smith (1987a: 127).

115. Proposed as a possible etymology by Ladhams (1999: 235).

116. Lit. 'I have constipation'.

117. Lit. 'my belly is closed', 'belly is strong'.

118. Etymologies proposed by Schuchardt(1914: 50), Ladhams (1999: 235) and Smith (1987b), respectively.

bringi (< En. 'bring'), 'give birth'.
"In Paramaribo they don't use that word very often; it's *Djutongo*: but quite a number of plantations use it. Still a real city Creole said: *isredeh mi kau bringi wan mannpikin*"[119] (Schumann's informant).
bruija (< Pt. 'embrulhar') 'confuse'
"Approximately the same as *bulja*, 'mix up'; *Djutongo*" (Schumann).
"*bruija* and *bulja* is the same word; but we use *bulja* more often"[120] (Schumann's informant).
buija (< Pt. 'bulhar'), 'cause trouble'.
"It is *Djutongo*; we say: *kwari*, *trobbi*" (Schumann's informant).
fikka (< Pt. 'ficar'), 'stay (behind)'.
"It's *Djutongo*; we say *libi* or *tann*; but still we use *fikka* too" (Schumann's informant).
frementu (< Pt. 'fermentar'), 'leaven'.
"*Djutongo*, see *surdegi*"[121] (Schumann).
fruta (< Pt. 'fruta'), 'fruit'.
"We don't have that word at all, it's *Djutongo*; we say: *jamjam*" (Schumann's informant).
glua, grua (< Pt. 'crua'), 'green, raw'.
"That's *Djutongo*; we say *grûn*,[122] or *lala*" (Schumann's informant).
krijà (< Pt. 'criar'), 'breed, raise'.
"Approximately the same as *kweki*"[123] (Schumann).
"*krijà* is *Djutongo*; but still we use it rather frequently. Saramaka say *kilja*" (Schumann's informant).
mai (< Pt. 'mai'), 'mother'.
"*Djutongo*" (Schumann).
paai/pai (< Pt. 'pai'), 'father, honorific term for old person'.
"*Djutongo*" (Schumann).
panja (< Pt. 'espalhar'), 'spread'.
"*panja* is *Djutongo*; in our language we say: *platti*[124]; but still we use *panja* too" (Schumann's informant).
plattiri, plattérin (< Pt. 'parteira'), 'midwife'.
"That's *Djutongo*; other blacks say: *helpiman*" (Schumann's informant).
tanga (< En. 'tongs' or Du. 'tang'), 'pliers'.
"That's *Djutongo*; other blacks say: *Kneiptang*"[125] (Schumann's informant).
faija tanga (< En. 'fire' + *tanga*), 'fire tongs'.
"*Djutongo*; other blacks say: *issri va fassi krofaija*"[126] (Schumann's informant).

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119. Transl. 'yesterday my cow had a bull calf'.

120. But compare the entry under *bulja*, where Schumann's consultant says "It is Djutongo".

121. < Du. 'zuurdeeg', i.e. 'leaven'.

122. < Du. 'groen', i.e. 'green'.

123. < Du. 'kweken', i.e. 'raise'.

124. < Pt. 'partir', i.e. 'distribute'.

125. < Du. 'knijptang', i.e. 'pliers'.

126. Lit. 'iron for holding glowing coal'.