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Ningretongo and Bakratongo: Race/ethnicity and language variation in 18th century Suriname

Margot van den Berg

Abstract
The Surinamese creole language Sranantongo emerged as a means of interethnic communication among (the descendants of) Africans and Europeans on Suriname plantations from the late 17th century onwards. The language is relatively well documented : the Suriname Creole Archive (SUCA) includes at least ten 18th century sources in and on Sranantongo that provide a window on its early stages of development. The sources display variation along multiple dimensions ; examples of different regional varieties, social registers and styles are encountered in addition to examples of diachronic language change (van den Berg 2007). This paper focuses on language variation in relation to race/ ethnicity in 18th century Sranantongo. The terms Ningretongo and Bakratongo are used to identify the extreme poles of a continuum of ethno-racial varieties of Sranantongo that became more and more complex in the course of the 18th century as the social stratification of Suriname's society intensified. Ningretongo is a cover term for those linguistic features that can be associated with the vernacular of the Surinamese population of African descent. Bakratongo is used to denote the linguistic features that associated with the European population and, to some extent, with free people of mixed racial background. Do different ethnoracial varieties of Sranantongo display different degrees of influence of the European and African languages that contributed to the emergence of Sranantongo ? In sum, I will present linguistic, sociolinguistic and demographic data on Suriname in the 18th century that will enable us to gain a deeper understanding of creole formation.

Résumé
Le Sranan Tongo s'est développé en tant que lingua franca interethnique entre africains et européens et (leur descendants) dans les plantations du Suriname dès la fin du 17e siecle. Le Sranan Tongo est relativement bien documenté. Le Suriname Creole Archive comporte au moins dix sources datant du 18e siecle en Sranan Tongo, ou portant sur le Sranan Tongo, qui offrent une perspective sur les phases initiales de son développement. Linguistiquement, ces sources exhibent un haut degré de variation identifiable dans plusieurs dimensions ; on y retrouve des exemples de différentes variétés régionales, de différents registres et styles sociaux en plus d'exemples de variation linguistique diachronique (van den Berg 2007). Cet article se focalise sur la variation linguistique en tant que fonction de facteurs raciaux/ ethniques dans le Sranan Tongo du 18e siecle. Les termes Ningretongo et Bakratongo sont ici utilisés pour identifier les pôles d'un continuum de variétés de Sranan Tongo qui est devenu de plus en plus complexe au cours du 18e siècle. Le terme Ningretongo
est une étiquette collective pour ces traits linguistiques qui peuvent être associés au vernaculaire des populations surinamiennes d'origine africaine, en particulier les esclaves des plantations. Le terme Bakratongo est ici utilisé en référence aux traits linguistiques associés à la population européenne, et jusqu'à un certain degré, aux personnes libres d'origine raciale mixte. Les différentes variétés ethno-raciales du Sranan Tongo exhibent-elles différents degrés d'influence des langues européennes et africaines qui contribuèrent à l'émergence du Sranan Tongo ? Je présente dans cet article des données linguistiques, sociolinguistiques et démographiques sur le Suriname du 18e siècle qui permettront d'approfondir notre connaissance de la créolisation linguistique.

Het Sranan Tongo ontstond in de late 17de eeuw als interetnische voertaal tussen Afrikanen en Europeanen (en hun afstammelingen) op de plantages van Suriname. Het Sranan Tongo is vrij goed gedocumenteerd. Het Suriname Creole Archive bezit tenminste tien uit de 18de eeuw daterende bronnen in het Sranan Tongo die een perspectief bieden op de vroege fasen van de ontwikkeling ervan. Vanuit taalkundig opzicht vertonen deze bronnen een hoge mate van variatie in meerdere dimensies ; er zijn voorbeelden van verschillende regionale variëteiten, registers en sociale stijlen ; daarnaast kan ook diachronische taalvariatie vastgesteld worden (van den Berg 2007). Dit artikel spitst zich toe op taalvariatie en raciale en etnische factoren in het 18de eeuwse

artikel presenteer ik linguïstische, sociolinguïstische en demografische gegevens over h
Suriname die ons in staat stellen om het ontstaan van creooltalen beter te begrijpen.

Ningretongo and Bakratongo: Race/ethnicity and language variation in 18th century Suriname

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1 Introduction

This year the Netherlands is celebrating and commemorating the 150th anniversary of the abolition of slavery with an extensive programme of events, ranging from exhibitions and extensive national news coverage on the slave trading enterprise to the memorial Keti Koti festival in the Oosterpark, Amsterdam. On July 1, 1863 the government of the Netherlands announced the abolition of slavery in all Dutch colonies, including Suriname among others. Despite the abolition of slavery, race/ethnicity remains a salient feature of social distinction in contemporary Suriname. This paper studies the links between language and the concepts of race/ethnicity in 18th century Suriname, before the abolition of slavery, when Suriname was a plantation economy that relied heavily on enslaved Africans who cultivated the coffee, sugar cane, cocoa and cotton plantations on the banks of the rivers of Suriname.

There is no intrinsic relationship between language and race/ethnicity, as noted already by Franz Boas and Edward Sapir (1921). Language use, however, can become a defining characteristic of a group of people with a particular racial/ethnic identity when they manage the language as a resource for performing their racial/ethnic group identity.(1) Their use of language reflects difference in socially expected norms, although there may also be limited availability of opportunity and motivation for adopting the language use patterns of other groups besides their own.

Most studies in the past focused on the relationship between language and race/ethnicity in terms of relatively stable ethno-racial varieties, also known as ethnolects, that are marked by distinctive features (e.g. Wolfram 1969, Labov 1972, Rickford 1999). A growing number of studies currently approach the relationship between language and race/ethnicity from a different perspective. The sociocultural linguistic approach (Bucholtz & Hall 2005) supports the study of the dynamic and emergent nature of linguistic forms as indexical links and the flexible possibilities of appropriating resources across ethno-racial boundaries in particular (e.g. Bucholtz 1999, Nortier & Dorleijn 2008, Chun 2011, Stell 2011, Cornips & van Rooij 2013, Migge & Leglise

(1) As the traditional distinction between race and ethnicity is considered highly problematic, I follow Grosfoguel's (2004) proposal to speak of 'racial/ethnic identity'.

2013). Indexed linguistic forms emerge through conventionalizing moments in which speakers semiotically assign them a race/ethnicity meaning. The process by which sets of linguistic forms become ideologically linked with places and social identities has recently been labelled as "enregisterment" (Agha, 2003, Johnstone et al. 2006), but the same process is known as a "focussing" process in creolist circles (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985).

In line with Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), Chun (2011) and others, I acknowledge that no single social dimension, whether race/ethnicity, nation, class, or sexuality can exhaustively define a community. This paper focuses on race/ethnicity because the social stratification of the 18th century Surinamese society was primarily based on race/ethnicity and racism was institutionalized. Race/ethnicity was linked to power in Suriname's slave society, where Europeans exerted power over less powerful Africans and their descendants.(2) The asymmetrical power relations between the Europeans and Africans are reflected for example in the lexicon of the languages that emerged as interethnic means of communication between the Europeans and Africans on the plantations: A lexicostatistic analysis of a 200-word Swadesh list of basic Sranantongo vocabulary shows that most word forms can be traced back to English (77,14%), Dutch (17,58%) and Portuguese (3,7%), while only 1,59% appears to be of African origin (Smith 1987, 2001).

Traditionally, the emerging Surinamese creole language that we now know as Sranantongo, Sranan or Surinaams (contemporary autonyms), but that was known as *'Neeger Engels'* ('Black English') or *'Bastert Engels'* ('Bastard English') at the time, is associated with the population of African descent in Suriname. Jan Reeps, a shipwrecked sailor, who stayed several months in Paramaribo in 1693, remarks: "De Engelse hebben hier een colonie gemaeckt en wort die taal daer nog meest bij de slaven gesproken" ['The English made a colony here and that language is mostly spoken by the slaves'] (Van Alphen 1963:307). However, the enslaved Africans and their descendants were not the only ones who used Sranantongo. Suriname-born descendants of European planters and merchants were often more proficient in the local creole language than in Dutch or another European language. This was one of the reasons for Claude Mourgues to petition in 1726 to open a school for the free white European population. He states in article 4 of the petition that '[h]y zal in de 2 Uuren schooltijd geen praat ongevraagt van de discipelen gedoogen voornamentlijk in 't Neger-Engelsch, hetwelk op straffe zal verboden worden'. ['During 2 hours of schooling he will not permit the students to speak mostly Sranantongo, for which they will be penalized'].(3)

(2) Note that Africans and their descendants are not depicted here as a powerless group or as powerless individuals. Various examples of resistance can be given that illustrate counterpower, ranging from (petit) marronage and revolts to individuals overcoming the social barriers posed by group membership: Thomas Herman, a free black, owned a small plantation of 20 acres in Suriname in 1685 (Van der Linde 1966).

(3) This source is cited in van Kempen (2002: 38), Oudschans Dentz (1956: 176) and Gobardhan-Rambocus (2001: 58). Van Kempen checked the original documents in the National Archives in The Hague (sign. 1.05.10.02 inv. nr. 11), only to find that the documents were degraded by iron gall inks (van Kempen 2002: 38).

Sranantongo is one of the few creole languages for which a large body of historical documents is available, range from religious texts (bible translations, hymns), to judicial documents (transcripts of interrogations, witness reports) and language manuals among others. They are stored in the Suriname Creole Archive (SUCA). This paper reports on the identification of distinctive features that exemplify ethno-racial varieties of 18th century Sranantongo in the Suriname Creole Archive. It further discusses the dynamic and emergent nature of linguistic forms as indexical links of race/ethnicity in 18th century Suriname as they are encountered in the historical sources from a contact linguistics perspective. Do different ethno-racial varieties of Sranantongo display different degrees of influence of the European and African languages that contributed to the emergence of Sranantongo?

The paper is structured as follows: In section 2 the research methodology is explained and the Suriname Creole Archive is introduced in more detail. Section 3 discusses the social stratification of the 18th century Surinamese society in relation to naming practices. Section 4 documents some distinctive morphosyntactic and lexico-semantic features of ethno-racial varieties of 18th century Sranantongo as they are encountered in the sources. Section 5 concludes the paper with a discussion of the ramifications of this study for the links between race/ethnicity and the emergence of Sranantongo in particular and creole formation in general.

2 Methodology

Sranantongo is one of the few creole languages for which a large body of historical documents of different text types is available. The historical texts are stored in the Suriname Creole Archive (SUCA), a NWO-funded computerized corpus of Early Sranan and Saramaccan texts that is currently under construction at the Radboud University Nijmegen in collaboration with the Max Planck Institute and the University of Amsterdam. At present, it allows some quantitative analysis and search procedures facilitating (semi-) automatic extraction of data.

Ten sources are included in the Early Sranan section of SUCA, dating from the beginning, middle and end of the 18th century, as well as one 19th century source. In this stage SUCA primarily focusses on 18th century language material. Focke's 19th century Sranan-Dutch dictionary is included because it is the first dictionary by a native speaker of Sranan. An overview is presented in table 1.

The Early Sranan section stores several types of documents, including a) religious texts such as bible translations and hymns (Schumann 1781; Anonymous c1800); b) judicial documents such transcripts of interrogations and witness reports (Court Records)[4]; c) official documents such as a peace

(4) Court records may be particularly useful as they include verbation accounts of what was being said during interrogations. The great majority of these records are contained in the archives of the *Hof van Politie en Criminele Jusititie* (Court of Police and Criminal Justice), while some are also stored in the archives of the *Sociëteit van Suriname* (Society of Suriname), see further van den Berg & Arends (2004).

Table 1. An overview of the sources in the Sranan section of SUC

Author		*year*	*text type*	*# pages*	*# SR tokens*	*total # tokens*
Anonymous (Court Records)	CR	1707-1767	dl; we	-	500	-
Herlein	HL	1718	w; dl	3	200	400
Nepveu	SP	1762	pt	12	1.900	1.900
van Dyk	VD	c1765	w; dl; pl	108	14.000	28.000
Nepveu	N	1770	w; dl	8	700	1.800
Schumann	SCH	1781	e	90	70.000	70.000
Schumann	SCH	1783	dl; dc	205	20.000	40.000
Stedman	ST	1790/96	we	-	300	-
Weygandt	Wey	1798	w; dl; pl	144	15.000	30.000
Anonymous	An	c1800	e	80	30.000	30.000
Focke	F	1855	dc	166	17.000	40.000
Total				*816*	*169.600*	*202.100*

(dc = dictionary; dl = dialogue; e = evangelical; pl = play; pt = peace treaty; w = word list; we = words and expressions)

treaty; d) travel reports and e) documents that were created for the purpose of language instruction such as dictionaries and language manuals. The latter were created by a Moravian missionary (Schumann) as well as government officials (Herlein, Nepveu), visitors (Van Dyk) and merchants (Weygandt). In short, SUCA is diverse in terms of text types and authorship (+/- secular; +/- native speaker).

Given the variety of text types and authors in the Suriname Creole Archive, variation within and among the SUCA texts may correspond to text type and authorship and further to dimensions of language variation that range from diachronic to social, stylistic as well as geographical variation (Smith 1987; Arends 1989, 1992; Bruyn 1995; van den Berg 2007). The following example, from Schumann's (1783: 22) Sranantongo – German dictionary, illustrates:

(1) *bringi, gebären. na Fotto dem no habi da muffe so menni;*
deliver give.birth LOC fort 3PL NEG have that word so many

da Djutongo: ma nuffe plantasi habi hem. Tog wan
it-be Jew-language but enough plantation have 3SG still one

reti Fotto-kriolo ben takki: isredeh mi kau bringi wan mannpikin (Schumann 1783: 22)
real town-creool PST say yesterday 1SG cow deliver a male-child
'Bringi, deliver. In the town they do not have that word so much, it's Djutongo. But enough plantations have it. Still, a real Town black said: "Yesterday my cow delivered a young bull." '

It records the comments of one of Schumann's language consultants on the use of the word *bringi* 'give birth'. He states that it belongs to the Sranantongo variety of the Jewish community in Suriname, and thus, is more likely to be heard on the plantations of Jewish owners in the interior than in the city. But then the consultant recalls an utterance that contained the word *bringi*, said by someone, who was, in his eyes, a typical city person ('*wan reti Fotto-kriolo'*). The example acknowledges variation in Early Sranan along a geographical dimension (urban vs. rural/plantation) and a social dimension (Jewish vs. Christian), and further shows that individuals may diverge from these stereotypical language practices. No background information is offered on the mentioned *Fotto-kriolo*, so we do not know why he used this socially marked form within earshot of Schumann's language consultant. He may have wanted to underscore his conversion to Jewish religion, or it may have appeared in his speech because he spent his childhood on a Jewish plantation before he was sent to the city for education as was common in those days, among other possible explanations.

While the above example is indicative of geographical and ethno-religious language variation, other examples in the SUCA texts illustrate ethno-racial language variation. I use the terms *Ningretongo* and *Bakratongo* to identify the extreme poles of a continuum of ethno-racial Sranantongo varieties that became more and more detailed and pronounced in the course of the 18th century, in tandem with the increasingly complex social structures of the Surinamese society. *Ningretongo* is a cover term for those linguistic features that can be associated with the speech of the Surinamese population of African descent, in particular the enslaved people on the plantations. The term *Bakratongo* is used to denote the linguistic features that associated with the speech of the European population and, to some extent, with the speech of the free people of mixed racial background. In some cases *Ningretongo* and *Bakratongo* features are identified by the authors of the texts or the recorded consultants, similar to example (1) above. In other cases they are reconstructed on the basis of comparison of variants of a certain linguistic variable within and across SUCA texts. The variants are subsequently compared with their equivalents in Eastern Maroon Creole, a cluster of related languages in the interior of Suriname that share ancestry with Sranantongo, as well as Dutch, English and the Akan and Gbe languages that primarily contributed to the emergence of the Surinamese Creoles (Smith 1987, Arends 1995). I assume that *Ningretongo* bore a close resemblance to Eastern Maroon Creole as opposed to *Bakratongo* that differed from Eastern Maroon Creole in that it had more Dutch-derived features than Eastern Maroon Creole. Furthermore, *Ningretongo* is assumed to exhibit more cross-linguistic effects that can be explained in terms of language contact with the Akan and Gbe languages, whereas *Bakratongo* is assumed to have exhibited more cross-linguistic effects that result from contact with Dutch, that was spoken by many of the Europeans, either as a home language or as the language for communication in public domains. Dutch was the official language of Suriname at that time (Gobardhan-Rambocus 2001).

3 Language use and race/ethnicity in Suriname

In this section the links between language use and race/ethnicity are explored via naming practices in the historical sources (section 3.1) and metalinguistic information on language use of Africans and their descendants (section 3.2) and Europeans and their descendants (section 3.3)

3.1 Race/ethnicity in Suriname: naming practices

The primary social distinction in the 18th century Surinamese population is the one that distinguished between whites (‘*blanken’*) and blacks (‘*negers*’) and that often, but not always, overlapped with being free or enslaved. In the public perception blacks were by default slaves. Free Africans and their descendants are referred to in the various historical documents via expressions such ‘*freynegers*’ or ‘*vrijnegers*’ (‘free-negros’), ‘*vrije negers*’ (‘free negros’), as well as ‘*vrij gemaakte neger*’ (‘free made negro’) and ‘*vrij geboren neger*’ (‘free born negro’) that refer to the processes by which an enslaved African could become free, i.e. by manumission or by birth. The Moravian missionaries used the word ‘*freyneger*’ exclusively in reference to the Maroons, but not the manumitted creoles (Pfaff-Reinberg 2008: 77). Government officials and others in Paramaribo called the Maroons ‘*wegloopers*’ (‘runaways’) or ‘*boschnegers’* (‘bush negroes’). After peace treaties were signed between the colonial government and several groups of Maroons, members of these particular groups were called ‘*bevredigde boschnegers*’ (‘pacified bushnegroes’) or *‘vrije boschneger’* (‘free bushnegro’). Or, when they were born in the forest, they would be known as ‘*vrije boscrioolen’* (‘free bush creoles’). Place of birth was further used to distinguish free and enslaved Africans and their locally-born descendants in general. The black population was divided into those who were foreign-born, called *‘zoutwaternegers’* (‘saltwater negro’), and those who were born in Suriname, the *crioolen* or *creoolen* (‘creoles’). Occasionally the term *criool* was also used in reference to the locally-born all white population, but in the SUCA texts it used primarily in reference to the locally born black population or locally-born people of mixed African-European descent. For example, we find in Court Records from 1766 the following description of a small settlement of plantation runaways:

2) “achter de plantagie van de heer Tousset in Sarnous creeq, dat aldaer een een dorp was, groot thien huijse en nog besig waere tot ‘t bouwe van meerder, de slaaven bestaen in mans en wijfe, soo *criole*, als *soudwater* en twee aldeaer gemackte *boscroele* na gissing oud 7 a 8 jaere deselve soude van cost wel voorzien zijn als Rijst, bannane” [‘Behind the plantation of mister Tousset in Sarnous creeq, there was a village, ten big houses and more were being built, the slaves are men and women, creoles as well as saltwater and two bush creoles made there, estimated of 7 or 8 years old, they are supplied with rice and bananas’] (CR 30 July 1766)(5)

(5) 1.05.04.06 Overgekomen brieven en papieren uit het archief van Suriname 1751-1767, inv. nrs. 330, folio 50 (National Archive The Hague).

The group of '*zoutwaternegers*'(6) is further divided into several subgroups that derive their names from various places of embarkation on the Winward Coast, the Gold Coast, the Slave Coast and Loango in West Africa.(7)

- '*Gangu*' or '*Gango*' was used in reference to people from the Winward Coast. The name derived from Gangara, used for the Mande people by the Hamite and some Mandingo tribes. In Suriname it referred to tribes with Mandingo culture who came from the area of present day Sierra Leone, Liberia and Ivory Coast (Hoogbergen 1991: 3).

- **'***Loango'* is used in reference to people who embarked from a Dutch trading post on the banks of the Congo river (formerly known as the Zaïre river) in the kingdom of Loango (or Brama), that stretched at that time from the Ogooué river to the Congo river. The Dutch traded in particular in the region north of the Congo river, i.e. Cabinda and the coastal regions of present day (People's) Republic of the Congo and the Democratic Republic of the Congo and southern Gabon (Arends 1995). While Hoogbergen (1990) states that the Surinamese Loango slaves were captured south of Cape Lopez, the living area of the Vili or Bavili, the Mayombé and the Luangu, Arends (1995) underlines that Loango was the only supply area that had a large hinterland from the beginning of the slave trading enterprise: "Although the first wave (before 1720) of Loango slaves entering Surinam, consisting largely of Kikongo speakers, already may have contained speakers of non-coastal languages, the second was (after 1740), which was brought form as far inland as the Ubangi river valley and the northern hinterland of Angola, must have contained speakers of other Bantu languages, such as Kimbundu" (Arends 1995: 250). An illustration from Stedman's well-known book entitled 'Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam' (1776) depicts a family of Loango slaves. Apprehended runaways frequently mention the existence of Loango villages in the interior of Suriname in interrogations by government officials (van den Berg 2000). When Avontuur was asked how many villages he encountered on his escape, he replied: "drie dorpen te wetens Creole dorp, Loango en Papa met de geboorne creolen van 't bos, 6 dorpen" ('three villages knowing Creole village, Loango and Papa with the born creoles of the forest, 6 villages ') (CR 1754). Coridon, who was accused of poisoning and witchcraft, was asked to explain how a certain powerful spiritual medicine arrived on the plantation, and he replied "met Cadet in't Luango dorp van de negerin Amimba (toebehorende Berend Cappen) geweest te sijn alwaer Primo gekomen en de wirriwiri aen Cadet gegeven, goed sijnde om 't hoofd daermede te wasschen, waneer *Gado door hem, mama kom na hem hede*" ('[that he] went with Cadet to the Loango village of the black Amimba (belonging to Berend Cappen), where Primo came and gave the medicine to Cadet, it is good to wash the head when spirits entered him, when the spirits came into his head') (CR 1745).

(6) The origin of the term 'saltwater slave' may be traced back to the salt mines on the West African coast, that were operated mostly by slaves procured at inland fairs and markets.

(7) The reader is referred to Arends (1995) and Borges (in prep.) for detailed demographic studies of the places of departures of Surinamese slaves.

- '*Papa'* is used in reference to people from the Slave Coast, that includes contemporary eastern Togo, Benin and the western part of Nigeria. *'Papa'* can be regarded as a spelling variant of '*Popo*', that is listed in the Historical Dictionary of Benin by Houngikpo and Samuel Decalo (2012) as a cover term for the coastal lagoon kingdoms west of the city of Ouidah (Whydah or Juda), the main port of the kingdom of Dahomey. '*Papa negers'* ('Popo negroes') embarked from the ports of (Grand) Popo in modern Benin and (Little) Popo (Aneho) in modern Togo, where there was a Dutch factory named belonging to A. Koppeling (Strickrodt 2001). The *'Papas'* are generally assumed to be speakers of the languages of the Gbe cluster of Benue-Kwa languages, and may have included Fon, Phla-Phela, Ge or Aja, depending on the period and place of embarkation (Arends 1995, Smith 2001). The Court Records include several interrogations of people whose name is preceded or followed by 'Papa', e.g. Papa Quassie, Battie Papa etc., and apprehended runaways report the existence of Papa villages in the interior (see above).

Hartsinck (1770: 918-922) further mentions several other ethnic groups among the Surinamese slaves that can be traced back to the Slave Coast, such as the *'Foin'*, the *'Ardra',* the *'Fida'* and the *'Abo'* among others. *'Foin'* refers to the Fon, the people of the kingdom of Dahomey in the southern part of modern Benin (Gbe). *'Ardra'* and *'Fida'* are used in reference to the people who were procured by the Dutch via the ports of Ardra or Allada and Whydah, among the oldest trade posts of the Dutch West India Company in West Africa, in the Aja kingdoms of Allada and Whydah (Gbe). It is still debated who the *'Abo'* were. Hoogbergen (1990, 2008) traces '*Abo*' back to the Bakundu (northwest-Bantu language group) in modern Cameroon. Smith (2001), on the other hand, links '*Abo'* to Abomeny, the main capital of the former kingdom of Dahomey in the Zou district of modern Benin. The '*Abo'* are then the Agbomɛ people, who speak the Agbomɛ dialect of Fongbe. Alternatively, *'Abo'* may refer to the slaves procured via the town of Aboh in the Bight of Biafra. Aboh was the principal slave market for local traders between the Bonny and Old Calabar rivers in the late 17th century (Uchendu 2002). Until 1705, the Dutch were the leading European traders in the Bight of Biafra (Nwokeij 2010). From 1652 to 1709 7,247 enslaved arrived in Suriname from unknown destinations (Arends 1995).(8) Dutch traders may have procured *'Abo'* slaves from local traders in the Bight of Biafra and shipped them off to Suriname. Furthermore, '*Abo*' may refer to subjects of the Igbo kingdom of Aboh (1650- 1900) in West Niger Igbo delta, that emerged from 1650 onwards. Even though they are generally regarded as the foremost slave dealers in the Nigerian delta in the 18th and 19th century (Nwaubani 1999, Uchendu 2002), it does not exclude the possibility that subjects of this kingdom fell victim to the slave trade. In addition to captivity in war, kidnapping, trade and punishment for offenses such as theft, adultery, gambling and indebtedness could result in enslavement. More research is clearly needed.

(8) Slave ships from unknown destinations: 1652 – 1679 4,574 (94,6%), 1680 – 1689 1,032 (10,6%), 1690 – 1699 1,203 (16,4%), 1700-1709 528 (6,7%) (Arends 1995: 243).

- '*Kormantin*' and spelling variants thereof are used to name the people who were deported from the Gold Coast, the central and eastern part of modern Ghana up to Accra. In particular the fort at Abandze, named fort Cormantin under English occupancy (after the nearby village of Kormantse) and fort Amsterdam under Dutch occupancy, was a major port of embarkation of the enslaved. Arends (1995) distinguishes between two waves of shipments of enslaved from the Cold Coast. The first Gold Coast wave (1720 – 1740), included most likely Akuapem (Akan) and Gã (Ga–Dangme branch within Kwa). As the Asante empire (Akan) expanded to the north and northwest into the living areas of the Abron (Akan) and the Anyi-Baule (Akan), people from these areas were most likely captured and sold as slaves to Dutch traders in the second Gold Coast wave (1750 – 1780).

Interestingly, Hartsinck (1770) lists various names of groups among the Surinamese slave population that bear some resemblance to contemporary endonyms of Akan groups, e.g. '*Fantynen'* for the Mfantsefo or Fante, '*Akimsche'* for the Akyem, *'Asiantynen'* for the Ashanti, *'Wassasche'* for the Wassa, '*Hantasche'* for the Ahanta.

Hartsinck may be among the few whites who were aware of the multiple ethnic groups among the black population of Suriname. The most frequently encountered labels in the historical sources are *'Loango'* (i.e. Bantu (Kikongo, Kimbundu)), '*Cormantijn'* (i.e. Akan) and *'Papa'* (i.e. Gbe). They correspond to 'official' labels used by government officials. In the Court Records they are often used in reference to a particular racial/ethnic group by the interrogated African as well as Dutch interviewer in order to establish racial/ethnic identity:

3) Africaan, sijnde een Cormantijn neeger die de neeger Engelsche Spraak niet magtig was en dies desselfs gedeclareerde door een neeger van die lande aart getranslateert sijnde heeft verclaert dat hij een nieuwe neeger was" ["African, being a Kormantin negro, who did not speak black English and who declared, while being translated by a negro from that country, that he was a new negro"] (CR 1762).

Institutional discourses such as the one displayed in (3) support the reality of ethnicity/race for the enslaved via labels such as '*Kormantin', 'Papa'* and '*Loango'*. Although the labels are European in origin, their uses in the historical sources show that they were adopted by the interrogated Africans as well as Europeans. Adoption of European labels illustrates on the one hand accommodation towards European norms and expectations in line with the asymmetrical power relations that dominated Surinamese African-European interactions in general, and this type of discourse setting, a criminal investigation that could lead to punishment, in particular. On the other hand, adoption of these labels appears to coincide with the formation of local group identities, as illustrated by the use of these labels in reference to villages of runaways in the interior. Konadu (2010: 14) notes that the Akan in particular "were (...) very aware of who they were on the Gold Coast littoral and on the forest fringe, and they engaged the Americas through their foundational self-understandings". The reality of race/ethnicity for the Akan as a central axis of self-definition coincided with European institutional discourses, which resulted in the incorporation of the labels in the emerging Surinamese creole languages that have been used to date.

In the historical sources the labels are also used to express negative ethnic-racial stereotypes (from a European perspective) as illustrated by the following example, taken from a complaint by a Dutch resident in Paramaribo against an African. Within a single utterance, the accused African is labeled a *'criool'* as well as a *'zoutwaterneger'*, and a *'Kormantin'* as well as a *'Papa'*:

4) "dat hij een schurk is, een criool, soo een cormantie Cojo, dat is hij voor bekent en een papaneger, want hij draagt de papamonie onder aan sijn broeck" ['that he is a villain, a creool, such a Kormatin Cojo, that is he known for and a Papa negro, because he wears the *papamonie* at the bottom of his pants'] (CR 1763). (9)

3.2 Language use and race/ethnicity in 18th century Suriname: the African population

Given the continuous influx of enslaved Africans throughout the 18th century from supply areas more or less relatively homogeneous from a linguistics perspective, one could argue that the African languages of the larger ethno-linguistic groups were maintained rather than abandoned, even though they were not transmitted across generations.(10) General factors that foster the ongoing use of a language include the functions of a language (domains of use) and distinctive niches (particular contexts where the language is used), acquisition (transmission across generations), motivation for use and governmental policy regarding language use (UNESCO 2003). The following examples suggest that in particular the Akan languages may be classified as languages of moderate or dwindling vitality in 18th century Suriname, rather than inactive/critically endangered or even extinct languages.

In particular when many Africans of the same ethnic group were living on a plantation, their shared African language may have been maintained rather than abandoned, as it could be used in most social domains and for most functions with the community on the plantation. In those cases, the creole language would be used in a limited number of social domains and for several functions, primarily interethnic communication among different African ethno-linguistic groups and African-European interaction. Such plantations could be found even by the end of the 18th century, more than a century after prior colonization, as the following example illustrates. When one of the plantations of Samuel Cohen Nassy was sold to the Coenen family in

(9) *Papamonie*, literally Papa-money, refers to the cowrie shell, used as a means of exchange, amulet or for decoration by various West African groups.

(10) The data presented in Arends (1995) can roughly be summarized as follows:
1650-1700 50% Slave Coast and 50% Loango (Gbe, Kikongo)
1690-1720 66% Slave Coast and 33% Loango (Gbe, Kikongo)
1720-1740 66% Gold Coast and 33% Slave Coast (Gã, Akan, Gbe)
1740-1803 50% Windward Coast, 25% Slave Coast, 25% Gold Coast (Kru, Southern Mande, Gbe, Akan).

Borges (to appear) presents a more up to date, but more or less similar, overview on the basis of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database.

1773, the 22 slaves of the plantation were not content with the new director, who was not of Jewish background similar to the former director. The new director was not willing to let the slaves have their time off for Sabbath and showed them little respect in general, referring to them as 'smouse negers'. This caused the slaves of the plantation to revolt. The subsequent police investigation revealed that procedures concerning the transfer of ownership of the plantation were not carried out correctly. When a plantation was sold, the slaves of the plantation had to be asked if they were willing to serve under the new plantation director. If this procedure was not followed accurately, it could lead to an uprising on the plantation, and subsequently cause a nation-wide slave revolt, hence the concern of the government officials. The new director Coenen maintained that he informed the slaves of the change in ownership of the plantation, addressing them in the creole language, as it was his impression that they were proficient in the creole language. The slaves, however, maintained that they were kept ignorant of the change in ownership. They did not speak the creole language; they were 'nieuwe slaaven die de neeger engelsche taal niet verstonden en Cormantijns waaren' ['new slaves who did not comprehend the creole language and were Cormantin'] (CR 1773). Their statements were supported by Europeans from neighboring plantations, as well as by director Reule from plantation Soeten who was well known for his skills as a 'Cormantijns' translator. Reule had been asked to come down to the plantation to translate the information on the transition in ownership, but was overruled by Coenen, who persisted that the translation of the information about the change in ownership into 'Cormantijns' was not necessary; he knew the plantation and its people, and it was his experience that most of them communicated in the creole language.

This example is interesting as it shows that even by the late 18th century, there were plantations were Akan was the dominant language for in-group and as well as out-group communication. It also illustrates the governmental policy regarding the use of Akan, as it underscores that both 'Cormantijns', i.e. Akan, as well as the creole language were 'official' languages in the sense that they were institutionalized.

On the other hand, the sources also mention cases of language loss and language abandonment. There is for example the case of Coridon, who was interrogated on April 2nd, 1750 in relation to a plantation raid. Coridon was born in Africa, but "[s]egt sijn land niet te kennen, also hij gevangene alhier heel klijn is gekoomen" ['says not to know his country as he was taken as a prisoner and brought here when he was very young'].(11) When he was asked during the interrogation about his dealings with the plantation raiders and the language that they used for communication, as that may be a runaway group identifier, he answered that he did not speak to them in an African language, "maar wel in 't neger Engelsch" (CR 1750). It may be the case that, since he was captured and deported to Suriname at a very young age, he was more proficient in the creole language than in the African languages that he must have spoken as a child. Alternatively, he may have opted for the

(11) The reader is referred to Arends (1995) for more information on African children in Suriname.

creole language rather than an African language as it seemed the appropriate language to use given the situation and the interlocutors.

An example of language abandonment is found in one of the earliest attestations of Early Sranan, a dialogue between the Africans Mingo and Waly that dates back to 1707. Mingo and Waly most likely belonged to the same ethnic group, and they may have had one or more African languages in common, but they conversed in the creole language rather than in a shared African language (van den Berg 2001).

Not everybody was well-versed in speaking the creole language. Judicial records of interrogations of apprehended slaves and runaways of African descent mention regularly (in Dutch) that the interrogated person does not speak the creole language (van den Berg 2000). In some of those cases another African, who had some command of both the creole language and the African language of the interrogatee, acted as a translator/interpreter, as in the case of Afrikaan exemplied in (3) above. Europeans could also act as translators/interpreters, see for example Reule in the Coenen case mentioned above. There are also instances of interrogations in the Court Records that were terminated because of the unavailability of translators/interpreters.

In conclusion, this section deepens our understanding of the multilingual nature of the African population in the following ways. While it is clear that many of the African languages of the enslaved were eventually lost and/or abandoned and replaced with the developing creole language that was perceived by many as the language of the land, the examples presented above further suggest that certain African languages, in particular those associated with the socially and numerically dominant '*Kormantin'*, '*Papa'* and '*Loango'* groups, may be considered languages of moderate or dwindling vitality, rather than inactive or critically endangered languages. In particular the Akan language appears to have functioned as an institutionalized medium for out-group communication.

3.2 Language use and race/ethnicity in 18th century Suriname: the European population

After the second Anglo-Dutch war (1665-1667) had ended and Suriname was retained by the Dutch after Crijnsen had recaptured Suriname for the second time from the English in 1668, not many people from the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands (Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden) were keen on starting a new life in Suriname. Throughout the 17th and 18th century the Dutch were never the majority among Suriname's European population, which contained not only significant numbers of Portuguese and Spaniards, but also French and Germans. Some scholars have hypothesized that a mutually intelligible contact language may have arisen among European colonists in this multilingual setting, that was used both in interactions with Europeans speaking different languages as well as with the enslaved (Arends 1995; Rens 1953; van den Berg 2007). It is still being debated whether Suriname Dutch, a local variety of Dutch with distinctive non-Dutch features existed already in the 18th century (see De Kleine 1999, 2002; Essed-Fruin & Gobardhan 1992; Gobardhan 1995). Little evidence of distinctive non-Dutch features is encountered in the following late 18th century letter fragment,

written by Jetie, a free woman of mixed European-African descent, to her Dutch lover J. W. Krafft who had returned to the Netherlands. The letter is mostly written in Dutch without any non-Dutch features, except for the part that is written in Sranantongo:

> "Dag myn beste siele vrind. En verlaat myn niet: denk hoe goed myn siel altoos voor u was hier by myn in alles *og mi hati lobi bakra,* ben je by myn gekomen om myn so te doen lyden dat ik treurende moet sterven om u is dit nu de beloninge (...) Nu dierbaare Engel Gods. Zyt hylig versekerd dat ik Eeuwiglyk blyven uwe suyver opregte beste Jetie alleen tot in all Eeuwighyd amen. Adieu myn beste boesemvrind vaar wel Kom gau *taki joe pikin odie odie*."

> "Bye my best soul mate. And do not leave me: Remember how good my soul was to you here with me in everything *Oh my European sweetheart*. Did you come to me to make me suffer so that I have to die in sorrow because of you. Is this the reward? (...) Well, dear Angel of God. Be solemnly reassured that I am eternally your pure and sincere dearest Jetie, alone throughout all Eternity. Amen. Adieu my best bossom friend. Farewell. Return soon. *Give your children (my) greetings*."

Early 18th century proof of creole language use by Europeans has been found in the request of Claude Mourgues that was presented in the introduction of this paper. Van Dyk (c1765) and Weygandt (1798) state that they intended their creole language instruction manuals primarily to be read by new arrivals, in particular Dutch merchants, plantation owners and directors, carpenters and masons who had to interact with slaves, and thus, had to be proficient in speaking the creole language. Weygandt (1798) further stipulates that the manual may also be useful for people living in Paramaribo, whose profession requires a good command of the creole language language. It was his experience that servants, shop owners, tailors and the like often expressed themselves 'dikwils zich zeer gebrekkig en zomtyds onverstaanbaar' ['often very poorly and sometimes even incoherently']. Weygandt was a member of one of the literary societies that emerged in Paramaribo in the late 18th century (van Kempen 2002), and from his writings it is clear that it was not only his intention to facilitate interethnic communication, but also to show that the creole language could be used for all sorts of purposes, including literary functions.

Because of the heterogeneous origin of the European population, other European languages in addition to informal varieties of Dutch, French and Portuguese as well as Dutch, French and Portuguese dialects may have been used in private as well as in public domains in addition to the creole (Arends 1995, van den Berg 2007). Notwithstanding the debate between Norval Smith and Jacques Arends on the continuation of English influence in Suriname after most of the English planters left in the late 17th century (Smith 2009), I did find instances of English being used in the public domain in the 18th century (van den Berg 2000). For example, Hermanus Leonard Brommet was interrogated in relation to an act of violence towards a certain Englishman (CR 1759). He had molested an enslaved child of this Englishman for stealing a basket and for beating up his own child who was first in possession of the basket. The Englishman had come to his house for clarification, and it ended

in a fight. Brommet reports that the Englishman addressed him in English, which he could only partly understand.(12)

In conclusion, many of the population of European and African-European descent were multilingual, speaking one or more European languages, in addition to the developing creole language, and, occasionally, an African or an Amerindian language.

4 Language variation and race/ethnicity: Ethno-racial varieties of Early Sranan

Preceding sections exemplified the cultural and linguistic heterogeneity of the population in 18th century Suriname: Many individuals were bi- or multilingual, either in one (or more) African language(s) and the developing creole, or one (or more) European language(s) and the developing creole, depending on one's race/ethnicity. Given the asymmetrical power relations between Africans and Europeans and the social distance between these groups, it is likely that African and European ethno-racial varieties of the developing creole language emerged simultaneously. Schumann's consultants refer to these varieties by the names of *Ningretongo* and *Bakratongo,* as shown by the following examples:

5a) *grun* (…) *ma datti da Bakkra-tongo; wi taki: lala*. (Schumann 1783: 54)
green but that COP Bakkra-tongo 1PL say fresh
'*Grun* (…) but that is Bakratongo, we say: *lala*.'

5b) *Ningritongo na ha so menni trobbi va leri*. (Schumann 1783: 184)
Ningretongo NEG have so many trouble to learn
'Ningretongo is not difficult to learn.'

Recent studies show that, even though bilinguals can and sometimes do keep their languages separate, they do not always do so (Muysken 2000, Grosjean 2001, Treffers-Daller and Mougeon 2005). Differences between *Ningretongo* and *Bakratongo* result most likely from transfer or interference) from the European and African languages due to source language agentivity (van Coetsem 1998, 2000; Winford 2005). Alternatively, *Ningretongo* and *Bakratongo* may differ in the etymological origin of the word forms as illustrated by the example presented in (5a) above. The *Bakratongo* word *grun* 'green' derives from Dutch *groen* 'green', while the *Ningretongo* equivalent *lala* 'fresh, green, unripe' derives from English *raw* that is reduplicated similar to its equivalents in the Akan and Gbe languages (see section 4.1). Moreover, differences between *Ningretongo* and *Bakratongo* may result from innovations that are not contact-induced.

(12) The text in the original report reads as follows: "Waarop hij Engelsman antwoorde in t' Engelsch, voor soo ver als den ondergeschr_e daar uijt verstond, dat hem sulx niet raakte, dat dat mantje gestoolen was, en hij 't weerom wouw hebben of anders van des ondergesz_e Huijs zoude afhaalen; hem ondergesz_e daar op zeijde dan zoud gij doen als uw landslijde wel meer gewoon zijn te doen (...) uit de moorddaadige klauwen van dien Engelsman verlost hebben; dat den ondergeteekende die vervolgens ten zijne huijse gebragt wierd bevond verloren te hebben een paar schoenen die hij als sloffen aan had" (2 Juny 1759).

Van den Berg (2007) identifies some thirty morpho-lexical, morpho-semantic and morpho-syntactic variables that have a *Ningretongo* and/or a *Bakratongo* and/or neutral variant in the SUCA texts. Some of these variables have been identified on the basis of observations of consultants similar to (5a) above, where a certain word or phrase is presented and labeled as *Bakratongo*, and an alternative in the language of the consultant, that is *Ningretongo*, is given (*wi takki …* 'we say …'). Others are reconstructed on the basis of the etymological origin of the word form: Dutch-derived forms are more recent additions than English-derived ones. Furthermore, comparisons are set up between the creole forms and their equivalents in Eastern Maroon Creole, in particular Ndyuka, and the African languages that contributed to their emergence. I assume that *Ningretongo* bore a close resemblance to Eastern Maroon Creole as opposed to *Bakratongo* that differed from Eastern Maroon Creole in that it had more Dutch-derived features than Eastern Maroon Creole. Furthermore, *Ningretongo* is assumed to exhibit crosslinguistic effects that can be explained in terms of language contact with the Kikongo, Akan and Gbe languages, whereas *Bakratongo* is assumed to have exhibited more crosslinguistic effects that result from contact with Dutch as Dutch was the official language of Suriname at that time.

An overview is presented in the following table, listing *Bakratongo* forms on the right, and *Ningretongo* on the left, and neutral or unmarked forms in the middle.

4.1 Differences in color naming in Ningretongo and Bakratongo

Studies of worldwide color naming show that there is a limited number of universal basic color terms that can be organized into a coherent hierarchy on the basis of the order in which cultures begin to use monolexemic color words (Kay and Berlin 1969, Kay and Maffi 1999). Cultures with two color terms may distinguish between colors by means of qualifications that would translate into English as 'light' or 'warm' and 'dark' or 'cool' for the colors that are described in English as 'white', 'red' and 'yellow' on the one hand, and 'black', 'green' and 'blue' on the other (stage I). If a culture has three color terms, the terms denote 'white', 'red/yellow' and 'black/green/blue' (stage II). Cultures with four color terms distinguish between 'white', 'red/yellow', 'black' and 'green/blue' (stage III). Five color terms cultures express 'white', 'red', 'yellow', 'black' and 'green-blue' (stage IV). Cultures with six color terms further distinguish between 'green' and 'blue' (stage V). Cultures with more than six color terms also have different color terms for 'orange', 'pink', 'purple' and/or 'gray'.

Schumann (1783) gives detailed information on Early Sranan color terms. Early Sranan *blakka* or *brakka* (< English *black*) corresponds to German *schwarz* 'black' and *blau* 'blue', and further conveys the sense of dark or murky (Schumann 1783: 18). *Redi* and *ledi* translate into German *roth* 'red', *gelb* 'yellow' and *hellbraun* 'light brown' (Schumann 1783: 144). Furthermore, *grûn* and *grün* (< Dutch *groen* 'green') are listed in Schumann's Sranantongo – German dictionary, with the following comment from his consultant: 'ma datti da Bakkra-tongo, wi taki: lala' ['but that is Bakkratongo, we say: 'lala'.'] (Schumann 1783: 54). The entry *lala* (< English raw, reduplicated) is translated as 'roh, frisch, grün seyn', meaning 'raw, fresh, to be green' (Schumann

Table 2 *An overview of* Ningretongo *and* Bakratongo *forms and constructions (adapted from van den Berg 2007)*

section	feature	*Ningretongo*	source	<
2.1.1	possession	POSSR (*fu*) POSSE	CR, HL, SPT, VD, N, SCH, WEY	<
5.5	possessive clause	SUBJ = POSSE/POSSR	VD, SCH	<
2.2.1	logophoric PRON	yes	VD, SCH	<
2.2.2	reflexive	body part noun	VD, SCH	<
2.2.3	reciprocality	(*nanga*) *makandra*	VD, SCH	<
2.3.1.3	body-state expr. I	*njam*	VD, SCH	<
	body-state expr. II	POSSE *kisi* POSSR	SCH, N	<
	body-state expr. III	POSSE COP *na* POSSR	VD	<
2.3.1.4	light verb constr.	SUBJ *meki* N	SCH	<
2.3.1.5	obl. compl. constr.	*naki* OBJ. vs. *fom* OBJ.	SCH	<
2.4	status property item:	predicator	SCH, VD, N, WEY	<
2.5.1	color terms	*lala* 'green'	SCH	<
		redi/*lepi* 'yellow'	SCH	<
2.5.2	cardinal numerals	*tutenti* 'twenty'	VD, SCH, WEY	<
2.5.2	ordinal numerals	DEM *fu meki* NUM	WEY	<
2.5.3	universal quantifiers	*ibri*(*wan*), *ini*(*wan*)	SCH, WEY	<
2.5.3	mid-scalar quantifiers	*pikin, som*	SCH	<
2.5.4	intensifiers	N-*srefi*	SCH	<
2.5.5	adverbs	*kaba* 'already'	VD, SCH, WEY	<
2.6	prepositions	LOC *baka* NP	SCH, VD	<
		LOC *ini* NP	SCH, WEY	<
		Ø (*miti* 'meet')	SCH	<
		LOC *middri* NP	SCH	<
3.1	morphology	*-tentin*	VD, SCH, WEY	<
3.3	morphology	redup. of V > A with resultative state interpr.	SCH	<
4.1	TMA	*setti* (Ingress. Aspect)	SCH	<
4.1	TMA	*habi wroko* (Need)	VD, SCH, WEY	<
4.1	TMA			
5.6	comparative	Allative; Exceed-1	SCH	<
5.10	cleft constructions	*da* V SUBJ. V (OBJ.)	SCH	<
6.1.1	conjunct. coordination			
6.1.1	conjunct. coordination	*so srefi*	SCH	
6.1.2	disjunct. coordination	*efi*	SPT , SCH	<
6.2.1.1	complementation	*taki* (COMP)	SPT	<
6.2.1.2	compl. taking pred.	manipul. verb in SVC	CR	<
6.4.1	time clause	headed by *te(h)* or *di(si)*	SPT, VD, SCH, WEY	<

Table 2 shows that the differences between *Ningretongo* and *Bakratongo* are multiple, varied and wide-ranging; differences are found at word level (lexicon, lexical semantics) and in the grammars of *Ningretongo* and *Bakratongo* (morphosyntax). The following sections illustrate in more detail the differences between *Ningretongo* and *Bakratongo* on the basis of follow up studies on color naming and body state expressions.

	intermediate	source	>	*Bakratongo*	source
	POSSR (*fu*) POSSE	CR, HL, SPT, VD, N, SCH, WEY	>	POSSR (PRON) POSSE	WEY
			>	SUBJ = POSSR	WEY
	no		>	no	WEY
	PRON-*srefi*		>	PRON-*srefi*	WEY
			>	PRON-*srefi*	WEY
			>	*hati*	VD, N, SCH ,WEY
			>	POSSR *kisi* POSSE	VD, SCH, WEY
	POSSR COP *na* POSSE	SCH	>	POSSR COP *nanga* POSSE	SCH,WEY
	SUBJ *habi* N	VD, SCH,WEY	>	SUBJ V	VD, SCH ,WEY
	naki (*OBJ.)	VD	>	*fom* (OBJ.)	VD, WEY
	indeterminate	HL	>	complement of copula	N, WEY
			>	*grün*/*groen* 'green'	SCH, WEY
			>	*geel*/*geelie* 'yellow'	SCH, WEY
			>	*twinting*, *twenti*	N, WEY
	use cardinal numeral	VD, SCH			
			>	*iderwan*	VD
			>	*pikinso*	WEY
			>	N-*srefi* (bound), *srefi* (free)	VD, WEY
			>	*arede* 'already'	VD, SCH
			>	*baka* NP	WEY
			>	*ini* NP	VD
			>	(LOC) *fesi* NP	SCH
	LOC *middri*/*ondro* NP	SPT	>	LOC *ondro* NP	WEY
			>	*-tien*	N
			>	redup. of N for emphasis	SCH, WEY
			>	*bigin (fu)* (Ingress. Aspect)	WEY
			>	*habi vandu* (Need)	SCH
	wanni (Desire)	HL, SPT, VD, N, SCH, WEY	>	*wensi* (Desire)	VD, WEY
	Particle Comparative (*na*)	SCH	>	Particle Comparative (*leki*)	SPT, VD, SCH, WEY
	da NP/PP SUBJ. V (OBJ.)	VD, SCH, WEY	>	*da* NP REL SUBJ. V (OBJ.)	WEY
	simple juxtaposition	VD, SCH, WEY	>	*dan* marks temp. sequence	WEY
	(da) so	VD, SCH, WEY			
			>	*ofu*	SPT, VD, WEY
			>	*dati* (COMP)	SPT, CR, VD, WEY
			>	manip. verb with *fu* compl.	SPT, VD, WEY
	headed by *datem*	SPT, VD, SCH, WEY			

Table 3 Color naming in the creole languages and the languages in contact in 18th century Suriname

	English	Dutch	Early Sranan		EMC	Akan	Gbe (Ewe, Fon)
			Bakratongo	Ningretongo	Ndyuka		
I	black	zwart	blakka	blakka	baaka	tuntum	wiwi (1894) yibɔ
	white	wit	weti	weti	weti	fitaa fufuw	wewe (1894) ɣí, yi/yé
II	red	rood	redi	redi	lebi	kɔkɔ(ɔ), kɔbene, memene	vovo (1894) dzi/dzē
II	green	groen	grûn, grün, groen	lala	guun	bun/mono ahabammono (leaves-fresh) ebunebun	amamuño (1894) (mú)mu(i) 'raw'
	yellow	geel	geel/geelie	redi	taya, donu	angoa akokɔ srade 'chicken fat'	vovo (1894) dzi/dzē
IV	blue	blauw	blau	blakka	baau	bruu* bibire	(a) fefe (1894) yibɔ blû*
V	brown	bruin		redi	sukaati	ntokowa dodoee/ɛ < dow 'to become roasted'	avu-mi-kɔla dog-shit-color
VI	purple	paars				pɛpol* beredum	
	pink	roze				penke* memen	
	orange	oranje				ɔrange*	
	violet	violet				vawolete*	(a) fefe (1894)
	grey	grijs		ássesi 'ash'	asisi 'ash'	nson 'ash'	kpii

NB. The examples marked with an asterisk derive from English originally.

1783: 64). *Lala wirriwirri*, literally raw weed, refers to green grass or herbs (Schumann 1783: 204). *Lala meti*, literally raw meat, refers to fresh meat that is not yet cooked instead of green meat (Schumann 1783: 97). The color term *geelie* ´yellow´ (< Dutch *geel*) is not found in Schumann´s dictionary, but it is encountered in Weygandt´s language manual (1798), alongside other Early Sranan color terms such as *blau* 'blue' (< Dutch *blau* 'blue') and *groen* 'green'. Table 3 below lists the color terms found in the SUCA texts and further gives their equivalents in Dutch and English and Eastern Maroon Creole (Ndyuka in particular) as well as in the Akan (Fante, Twi Akuapem) and Gbe languages (Ewegbe). Data for the Akan and Gbe languages result from my own field work in Ghana and Togo, as well as from the literature.(13) Note that only the

(13) In addition to my field notes, I consulted Nyst (2007), Hagan (1970), Obadele Kambon's posting on basic color terms in Twi (www.abibitumikasa.com, accessed June 20, 2013), Christallen (1881) and Welmers (1909) for Akan. Literature on the Gbe languages includes Ameka (1991), Delafoss (1894) and Adjei (2005).

words for 'black', 'white' and 'red' are true basic color terms in the Akan and Gbe languages, as they are monolexemic, basic roots that primarily denote color (Nyst 2007, Ameka 1991). Ewe may have a fourth color term, (*mú*)*mu*(i) 'green', but it is metaphorically linked to *mumú* 'raw' (Ameka 1991: 102), similar to Early Sranan *lala* 'green, ripe'. The other terms are not basic color terms as they are derived by metonymic associations (Akan *nson* 'ash'), or they are circumlocutions (Akan *akokɔ srade* chicken-fat 'yellow', Ewe *avu-mi-kɔ́la* dog-shit-color, 'brown') or ideophones (Ewe *kpii* 'greyish'). I included them in table (3) as they bring out the differences in color naming between the languages in contact in 18th century Suriname.

Table (3) shows that the *Bakratongo* and the *Ningretongo* varieties of Early Sranan have different color term systems: the *Ningretongo* variety of Early Sranan has a three basic color term system similar to the Akan and Gbe languages, while the *Bakratongo* variety of Early Sranan has a six basic color term system similar to English and Dutch.

Suriname's turbulent history is reflected in its color term system: the first three basic color terms derive from English, the subsequent ones are from Dutch.(14) Interestingly, the Eastern Maroon Creole basic color system resembles more closely the European basic color system rather than the *Ningretongo*, the Akan and Gbe basic color systems, contrary to my expectation. For example, the *Ningretongo* color term *redi* 'red, yellow, brown' has no Eastern Maroon Creole equivalent, as the colors red, yellow and brown are expressed by different color terms in Eastern Maroon Creole: *lebi* 'red' ranging from dark or light true red to pink, maroon and copper, *taya* or *donu* 'yellow' ranging from pale or bright yellow to dark gold-brown, and *sukaati* 'chocolate' ranging from light brown, dark brown to purple (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 607). Note that Eastern Maroon Creole *lebi* can additionally mean 'ripe' and 'be ripe' similar to Early Sranan *repi* or *lepi* 'ripe; be ripe; become ripe' which is occasionally used to refer to the color yellow in Schumann's (1783) dictionary.

6) *lepi banna* (Schumann 1783: 12)
ripe banana
['gelbe Bananne']
'Yellow banana.'

This extension of meaning stems from the metonymic association that is triggered by the change of color from green to yellow and/or red in many fruits, including bananas among others, when they ripen. The same phenomenon is observed in the Gbe languages. For example, the Fongbe verb *myá* means 'to be ripe/to become ripe' as well as 'to be red/to become red' (Lefebvre 2002: 360, Segurola 1963). The Eastern Maroon Creole color term *taya* may be derived via metonymic association from the word *tayer,* the local name for a

(14) It is interesting that continued language contact is reflected in the expansion of the basic color term system in the Surinamese creole and Maroon languages as well as in contemporary Akan. In all of these languages the more peripheral basic color terms are borrowed from the dominant languages in the contact setting, that is Dutch in Suriname and English in Ghana.

tropical plant that is primarily grown as a root vegetable. The etymological origin of *donu* is unclear and remains for future investigation. *Sukaati* can be traced back to Dutch *sukaati,* a spelling variant of *sucade* 'succade', the candied peel of any of the *citrus* species (Kluyver 1898).

In conclusion, the findings presented in this section show that the *Bakratongo* and the *Ningretongo* varieties of Early Sranan have different color term systems that can be traced back to Dutch in the case of *Bakratongo* and to the Akan and Gbe languages in the case of *Ningretongo*.

4.2 Body state expressions

Bodily states can be expressed in at least 10 different ways in the Surinamese Creoles, ranging from constructions where body parts occur as grammatical subjects, to constructions where the undergoer or experiencer of the bodily state is the grammatical subject, with different verbs meaning 'hurt', 'have', 'eat', 'get' or 'be with'. An overview is presented in table 4.

Table 4 Bodily state expressions in Early Sranan

Construction	**Example**	
NP 'have' NP	*mi habi hekki* 1SG have hiccups 'I have the hiccups.'	(Sch 1783: 64)
NP 'be with' NP	*mi de nanga sari* 1SG COP with sadness 'I am sad.'	(Sch 1783: 150)
NP 'be at' NP	*mi de na sari* 1SG COP LOC sadness 'I am sad.'	(Sch 1783: 150)
NP 'be at' NP	*koorze de na joe* fever COP LOC 2SG 'You have fever.'	(VD c1765: 41)
NP 'catch/get' NP	*mi kissi hekki* 1SG catch hiccups 'I have hiccups.'	(Sch 1783: 64)
NP 'catch/get' NP	*hekki kissi mi* hiccups catch 1SG 'I have hiccups.'	(Sch 1783: 64)
NP 'eat' NP	*mi heddi de jam mi* 1SG head ASP eat 1SG 'I have a headache.'	(Sch 1783: 9)
NP 'hurt' NP	*mi bakka hati mi* 1SG back hurt 1SG 'My back hurts (me).'	(Sch 1783: 9)
NP 'hurt'	*a hati* 3SG hurt 'It hurts.'	(Sch 1783: 90)
NP 'hold' NP	*koorse holi mi* fever hold 1SG 'I have a fever.'	(Sch 1783: 87)

The verbs *hati* 'hurt' (< English *hurt*) and *(n)jam* 'eat; enjoy; experience' are used interchangeably in body state expressions in several SUCA texts, as illustrated by the following dialogue between a female slave [A] and a plantation manager [B] in Van Dyk's (c1765) language guide.

7) [A] *Mastra mi hatti jami foe troe*.
mater 1SG heart eat-1SG for true
['Meester myn Hart doed zoo Zeer.']
'Master, my heart is really hurting.'

[B] *Na netti joe kom na mi mi za myki joe hatti no za hatti joe morre* LOC night 2SG come LOC 1SG 1S FUT make 2SG heart NEG FUT hurt 2SG more ['Als je van Nagt by myn komt, dan zel ik maaken dat je Hart niet meer Zeer zal doen'] (van Dyk c1765: 51-52)
'I'll make your heart not hurt you anymore.'

Body state expressions in which a verb meaning 'eat' selects a body part as its subject and a pronoun as its object to express a state of pain or hurt are associated with West-African languages in general (Koopman 1986) and with the Gbe languages in particular (Ameka 1991; Lefebvre 1998; Lefebvre & Brousseau 2002, Essegbey to appear). They are not encountered in English or Dutch. The use of *njam* 'eat' to express a bodily state may therefore be regarded as a typical *Ningretongo* feature, and the use of *hati* 'hurt' as a *Bakratongo* feature.

The verbs *abi* 'have; possess' (< English *have*) and *kisi* 'get; catch; have' (< English *catch*) can be used to denote various bodily functions and mental or physical states. The verb *abi* 'have' takes a direct object denoting a bodily function or a mental/physical state (similar to contemporary English and Dutch), whereas *kisi* 'get; catch; have' takes a subject or an object denoting a bodily function or a mental/physical state. Example (8) illustrates:

8a) *mi habi hekki; mi kissi hekki; hekki kissi mi* (Schumann 1783: 64)
1SG have hiccups 1SG catch hiccups hiccups catch 1SG
'I have the hiccups.'

8b) *a habi hem wintie* (...) ook *wintie kissie him* (Nepveu 1770: 233)
3SG have 3SG wind also (Dutch) wind catch 3SG
['Hij heeft zijn windt (...) zijn windt heeft hem gekreegen of bevangen']
'He is at ease.'(15)

In Schumann's (1783) dictionary *kisi* is found with subjects as well as direct objects denoting bodily functions or mental/physical states, as shown in (8a) above. Note that bodily state expressions in which an equivalent of *kisi* takes a subject denoting a bodily function or a mental/physical state are found in various West African languages that contributed to the emergence of Sranantongo (Alleyne 1980; Arends 1989; Ameka 1991; Lefebvre 1998; Lefebvre & Brousseau 2002), including the Gbe languages among others:

(15) The translation captures the general meaning of the Early Sranan expression.

9) *Fiva dze -m* (Ewegbe, Yevudey, p.c.)
fever catch/fall-1SG.OBJ
'Fever caught me.'

The English translation of the Ewegbe phrase in (9), however, shows that the same type of construction is also used in English.(16)

There are no equivalents of *abi* 'have; possess' in the Gbe and Akan languages as far as I know(17), though particular mental and/or physical states can be expressed via constructions with a locative verb or a copular construction in combination with a locative prepositional phrase, as in the Ewegbe example in (10).

10) *Me le vevesese me* (Ewegbe, Yevudey, p.c.)
1SG be.at pain.feeling inside
'I am in pain.'

In Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, mental and physical states can appear as subjects of copular constructions taking a complement headed by the locative preposition *na* 'at' (11).

11) *Koorze de na joe* (van Dyk c1765: 41)
fever COP LOC 2SG
['Gy hebt de Koorts.']
'You have fever.'

Mental and physical states are denoted by the complement of the copula in a similar manner in Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual: Complements of the copula can be headed by *na* as well as *nanga* in these sources, as exemplified in (11a) and (11b) below. As *na* and *nanga* are used interchangeably, it may be the case that *na* is not the locative preposition *na* but really an phonological reduction of *nanga* due to grammaticalization: *nanga* > *na*.

12a) *mi de na sari* OD. *nanga sari* (Schumann 1783: 150)
1SG COP LOC sadness / with sadness
['ich bin betrübt, ich gräme mich.']
'I am sad.'

12b) *mi dee nanga wan tranga koorsoe* (Weygandt 1798: 126)
1SG COP with a strong fever
['ik ben met een zwaare koorts bezet']
'I have a strong fever.'

(16) The translation is checked with several native speakers of English.

(17) Several language specialists and native speaker consultants were asked if the same verb that was used in the expression 'I have a car' could also be used in the expression 'I have a headache'.

It is possible that these types of constructions emerged under the influence of (17th century) English, as copulas and prepositional phrases are used in English to express bodily states (*I am in pain, I am with sorrow* etc.). On the other hand, copular constructions are also used in the Akan and Gbe languages to express certain bodily functions and/or physical/mental states, as shown by example (10) for Ewegbe. More fine-grained research is needed to bring out the differences and similarities between expressions of bodily states in the languages that contributed to the emergence of Sranantongo in order to determine to what extent contact-induced processes such as source language agentivity and recipient language agentivity contribute to creole formation, and what role innovation (not contact-induced) plays in creole language formation.

Even though further research is clearly needed, the Early Sranan examples presented in this section show that body states can be expressed differently in the *Ningretongo* and *Bakratongo* varieties of Early Sranan, and the differences can be traced back, to some extent, to the European and African languages that contributed to the emergence of Sranantongo. The use of the verb *nyan* 'eat' to express the feeling of pain is *Ningretongo* (as in the Gbe languages), while the verb *hati* 'hurt' is the *Bakratongo* equivalent to express pain (as in English). Bodily functions and mental/physical states often appear as grammatical subjects in *Ningretongo* (as in many West-African languages), while they tend to occur more frequently as grammatical objects in *Bakratongo* (as in English and Dutch).(18)

5 Concluding remarks

The linguistic, sociolinguistic and demographic data presented in this paper show that already in the earliest developmental stages of Sranantongo, there existed at least two creole varieties of Early Sranan, that is a *Ningretongo* variety that is associated with the African population and their descendants, and a *Bakratongo* variety that is linked to the European population and their descendants. This paper discussed distinctive features of both varieties in order to deepen our understanding of the processes by which sets of linguistic forms become ideologically linked with social identities. The differences between *Ningretongo* and *Bakratongo* are partly contact-induced and they result largely from source language agentivity: Typical *Ningretongo* features can be traced back to the African languages of the enslaved while typical *Bakratongo* features derive mostly from Dutch and to a lesser extent from English. I have shown that *Ningretongo* and *Bakratongo* originally had different color term systems, and furthermore, that body states were expressed in different ways in *Ningretongo* and *Bakratongo* via distinct

(18) At present a more detailed study of body state expressions in the Surinamese Creoles and the languages that contributed to their emergence takes place at the Radboud University of Nijmegen (van den Berg, Yevudey and Yankson 2013, in prep.); it investigates specifically the verbs that are used in bodily state expressions in these languages and the grammatical structures in which they appear in relation to differences and similarities in the sociocultural perceptions of bodily states and their causes in Suriname and West Africa.

verbs and different grammatical structures. Some people were aware of these differences, as shown for example by the comments of Schumann's consultants. The co-occurrence of *(n)yan* 'eat' and *hati* 'hurt' in the same text by van Dyk (c1765) in example (7) above underlines how *Ningretongo* and *Bakratongo* forms may have been used in interethnic communication: While the plantation manager could have simply repeated what the woman said, the verb *(n)yan* 'eat' is replaced with *hati* 'hurt' and the original object appears as the grammatical subject in his utterance. Even though the text is part of a play, and it may therefore be less authentic than for example the Sranantongo fragments in the Court Records, it is illustrative of how *Ningretongo* and *Bakratongo* may have been used in interethnic communication to mark group membership, identity and social distance.

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ABSTRACT

The Surinamese creole language Sranantongo emerged as a means of interethnic communication among (the descendants of) Africans and Europeans on Suriname plantations from the late 17th century onwards. The language is relatively well documented: the Suriname Creole Archive (SUCA) includes at least ten 18th century sources in and on Sranantongo that provide a window on its early stages of development. The sources display variation along multiple dimensions; examples of different regional varieties, social registers and styles are encountered in addition to examples of diachronic language change (van den Berg 2007). This paper focuses on language variation in relation to race/ethnicity in 18th century Sranantongo. The terms Ningretongo and Bakratongo are used to identify the extreme poles of a continuum of ethno-racial varieties of Sranantongo that became more and more complex in the course of the 18th century as the social stratification of Suriname's society intensified. Ningretongo is a cover term for those linguistic features that can be associated with the vernacular of the Surinamese population of African descent. Bakratongo is used to denote the linguistic features that associated with the European population and, to some extent, with free people of mixed racial background. Do different ethno-racial varieties of Sranantongo display different degrees of influence of the European and African languages that contributed to the emergence of Sranantongo? In sum, I will present linguistic, sociolinguistic and demographic data on Suriname in the 18th century that will enable us to gain a deeper understanding of creole formation.

RÉSUMÉ

Le Sranan Tongo s'est développé en tant que lingua franca interethnique entre africains et européens et (leur descendants) dans les plantations du Suriname dès la fin du 17e siecle. Le Sranan Tongo est relativement bien documenté. Le Suriname Creole Archive comporte au moins dix sources datant du 18e siecle en Sranan Tongo, ou portant sur le Sranan Tongo, qui offrent une perspective sur les phases initiales de son développement. Linguistiquement, ces sources exhibent un haut degré de variation identifiable dans plusieurs dimensions; on y retrouve des exemples de différentes variétés régionales, de différents registres et styles sociaux en plus d'exemples de variation linguistique diachronique (van den Berg 2007). Cet article se focalise sur la variation linguistique en tant que fonction de facteurs raciaux/ethniques dans le Sranan Tongo du 18e siecle. Les termes *Ningretongo* et *Bakratongo* sont ici utilisés pour identifier les pôles d'un continuum de variétés de Sranan Tongo qui est devenu de plus en plus complexe au cours du 18e siècle. Le terme *Ningretongo* est une étiquette collective pour ces traits linguistiques qui peuvent être associés au vernaculaire des populations surinamiennes d'origine africaine, en particulier les esclaves des plantations. Le terme *Bakratongo* est ici utilisé en référence aux traits linguistiques associés à la population européenne, et jusqu'à un certain degré, aux personnes libres d'origine raciale mixte. Les différentes variétés ethno-raciales du Sranan Tongo exhibent-elles différents degrés d'influence des langues européennes et africaines qui contribuèrent à l'émergence du Sranan Tongo? Je présente dans cet article des données linguistiques, sociolinguistiques et démographiques sur le Suriname du 18e siècle qui permettront d'approfondir notre connaissance de la créolisation linguistique.

SAMENVATTING

Het Sranan Tongo ontstond in de late 17de eeuw als interetnische voertaal tussen Afrikanen en Europeanen (en hun afstammelingen) op de plantages van Suriname. Het Sranan Tongo is vrij goed gedocumenteerd. Het Suriname Creole Archive bezit tenminste tien uit de 18de eeuw daterende bronnen in het Sranan Tongo die een perspectief bieden op de vroege fasen van de ontwikkeling ervan. Vanuit taalkundig opzicht vertonen deze bronnen een hoge mate van variatie in meerdere dimensies; er zijn voorbeelden van verschillende regionale variëteiten, registers en sociale stijlen; daarnaast kan ook diachronische taalvariatie vastgesteld worden (van den Berg 2007). Dit artikel spitst zich toe op taalvariatie en raciale en etnische factoren in het 18de eeuwse Sranan Tongo. De termen *Ningretongo* et *Bakratongo* worden hier gebruikt als polen van een continuum aan variëteiten van het Sranan Tongo dat in de loop van de 18de eeuw steeds ingewikkelder werd. De term *Ningretongo* is een gemeenschappelijke benaming voor taalkenmerken die teruggevoerd kunnen worden op de Surinaamse bevolkingsgroepen van Afrikaanse herkomst, in het bijzonder slaven op de plantages. De term *Bakratongo* wordt hier gebruikt om te verwijzen naar taalkenmerken die teruggevoerd kunnen worden op de Europese bevolking, en tot op zekere hoogte op 'vrije' personen van gemengde raciale herkomst. Vertonen de verschillende etnoraciale variëteiten van het Sranan Tongo een verschillende invloed van de Europese en Afrikaanse talen die tot het ontstaan van het Sranan Tongo bijdroegen ? In dit artikel presenteer ik linguïstische, sociolinguïstische en demografische gegevens over het 18de-eeuwse Suriname die ons in staat stellen om het ontstaan van creooltalen beter te begrijpen.