

Morphology, cross-linguistic effects, and creole formation

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1. Introduction

Given the socio-historical circumstances in which the Surinamese creole languages have emerged it is no surprise that we find traces of West African languages in these creoles. Traces are found for example in the lexicon: Sranan Tongo *ase* 'witchcraft, sorcery' is clearly derived from the word *àzè* that is encountered in several Gbe languages. The Sranan form bears a close phonological resemblance to the Gbe form. If functions as a noun that denotes events and actions that can be subsumed under the label witchcraft or sorcery (with both negative and positive undertones) in Sranan Tongo as well as in the Gbe languages. The influence of the West African languages on the Surinamese creole languages is not restricted to the lexicon. However, the influence of the West African languages on the emergence of the grammatical system is a controversial matter. While a word such as *ase* is clearly of Gbe origin, different views have been proposed for the emergence of the grammatical system. For example, Migge (2006), Winford and Migge (2007) and Migge and Winford (2009) conclude that the TMA systems of the Surinamese creole s display many features that parallel those of the Gbe languages, while McWhorter (1999) maintains that the TMA systems of the Surinamese creoles are innovations as they dimly reflect patterns of the West African substrate languages. A solid methodology is needed to demonstrate cross-linguistic effects in the Surinamese creole languages (see van den Berg, Muysken, and Smith this vol.). Essential components are socio-historical and linguistic analyses. The socio-

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historical analysis should focus on the demographic development of the Surinamese population and its subgroups, the ethnolinguistic origin of the people, and the patters of interaction at the time when the language was formed, see also Arends (1995a) and Migge (2003a) among others. The linguistic analysis should not only include a comparison of creole features and their equivalents in the languages that contributed to their emergence, but also a way to show that the similarities that may be found between the creole and the contributing languages are cross-linguistic rather than random effects due to universals operating in first and second language acquisition and use.

The findings presented in this paper are based on historical rather than contemporary data in the case of Sranan Tongo. The Suriname Creole Archive holds a substantial collection of historical texts that form a window on language use in the 18th century (van den Berg & Bruyn 2008, Arends & Perl 1995). Cross-linguistic effects are identified on the basis of a comparison of 18th century Sranan Tongo features and their equivalents in varieties of the dominant European and African languages that contributed to the emergence of Sranan Tongo, that is English, Dutch, Akan languages and Gbe languages (Smith 1987, Arends 1995a). They are subsequently compared with their equivalents in contact languages that emerge out of contact between the same languages, but in different times, places and contact settings, such as those that are presently emerging from contact between English and the Akan and Gbe languages in urban areas in Ghana. A comparison of Early Sranan with other outcomes of contact between the Gbe and Akan languages and English provides a solid type of evidence of transfer of forms, features, functions, meanings or distributional properties from one language to another. If a specific feature occurs in 18th century Surinam as well as in 21st century Ghana, where the same languages are in contact, than it is a likely cross-linguistic effect of language contact rather than universals operating in first and/or second language acquisition and use.¹

2. The Suriname Creole Archive

Sranan Tongo is one of the few creole languages for which a large body of historical texts is available documenting the language in earlier stages of development. The texts are stored in the Suriname Creole Archive (SUCA),

1. Furthermore, the feature should not be found in settings where these languages are not spoken.

a NWO funded computerized corpus of Early Sranan and Saramaccan texts that is under construction at the Radboud University Nijmegen in collaboration with the Max Planck Institute and the University of Amsterdam. It currently allows some quantitative analysis and search procedures facilitating automated extraction of data. The Sranan Tongo section of consists of several types of sources, ranging from language manuals, and court records to the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty of 1762. The documents listed as language manuals include wordlists (Herlein 1718; Nepveu 1770; van Dyk c1765; Weygandt 1798); dialogues (Herlein 1718; Nepveu 1770; van Dyk v1765; Weygandt 1798); playlets (van Dyk c1765; Weygandt 1798) and a Sranan – German dictionary (Schumann 1783). They are outlined in table 1 below. The reader is referred to Arends (2002, 1989), Arends & Perl (1995), Bruyn (1995), Voorhoeve & Donicie (1963), Voorhoeve & Lichtveld (1975), van den Berg (2007) among others for more information on the authors and contents of the language manuals.

Table 1. Overview of types of Early Sranan documents

SOURCES:		
LANGUAGE MANUALS		tokens
Early	Herlein (HL)	(1718) w; dl 200
Sranan	Van Dyk (VD)	(c1765) w; dl, p 14,000
	Nepveu (N)	(1770) w; dl 700
	Schumann (SCHUM)	(1783) dc 16,000
	Weygandt (WEY)	(1798) w; dl, p 15,000
Total		45,900
OTHER		
Court Records (CR)	(1707–1767)	500
Sranan version of Saramaka Peace Treaty (SPT)		
Total		1,900

(w = wordlist; dl = dialogue; p = playlet; dc = dictionary)

3. Languages in contact in 17th and 18th century Surinam

A number of studies are available that reconstruct in great detail the demographic developments of the Surinamese population in the long 18th century (Singler 1992, Arends 1995a, Draglenslein 2002, Migge 2003a, van den Berg 2007). Socio-demographic data are drawn from a wide variety of historical sources, ranging from general census data, overviews of payments

of head taxes, homestead and plantation counts by observant map-makers and other visitors, to plantation inventories in wills and registers of incoming slave ships and their cargo inventories. All in all, the data give a fairly good impression of the relative sizes of foreign-born and locally born populations of African and European descent in Surinam throughout the 18th century.² In short, Africans outnumbered Surinam-born Creoles on the plantations throughout the 18th century. Even in late 18th century Surinam, over a century after colonization, a large proportion of the plantation slaves had recently arrived from West Africa, because of the very high replacement rate of slaves. Only 30% of the slave population was locally born at that time (Arends 1995a: 269). The foreign-born planters, merchants, sailors and indentured servants came from all over Western Europe as well as the Caribbean and South America. The enslaved Africans were deported from various West African regions, sometimes via layovers on Caribbean islands.

Slaves of African descent were also brought to Surinam by relocation of planter families or through the Caribbean trade. For example, in a letter dated February 25, 1687, Willem Kerkinck from Curaçao seeks permission from the governor of Surinam, Cornelis van Aerssen van Sommeldijk (1683–1688), to move to Surinam with his goods and slaves, “wegens den miserbelen toestand en gebrek op Curaçao” [because of the miserable situation and deficiency in Curaçao] (van den Berg 2000). In sum, 18th century Surinam was a multicultural and multilingual society due to immigration from Africa, Europe and the Caribbean. The demographic data facilitate a detailed reconstruction of the development of the population of Surinam in the formative period of the creole language and afterwards, showing not only an increasing numerical disparity between Europeans and Africans and a greater number of languages, but also an increasingly complex social structure of the colony with different social groups and social group identities emerging.

Much scholarly attention has been paid to the calculation of ratios of Africans to Europeans (and their descendants) as they present information on interaction patterns and access to European language models by Africans. However, while close contact and frequent interaction certainly are important factors in creole formation, factors such as social distance, atti-

2. The original Amerindian population of Surinam is not investigated in this paper. The influence of the Amerindian languages on the Surinamese Creoles in their formative period seems to be restricted to some names of local flora and fauna.

tude and the need or desire to mark a local and/or group identity via a new language, may be even more decisive. Rickford (1985) already remarks that attitude determines whether language input becomes language intake, which is subsequently reflected in the output. Roberts (2000) shows how social distancing gave impetus and accelerated the formation of Hawai'i Creole.³ Thus we need to collect not only socio-demographic data on the demographic developments of the population but also on the patterns of interaction within the population to understand the processes that led to the emergence and subsequent development of the Surinamese creole languages, see also Arends (2001). Migge (2003a: 11) suggests that we look for data on the nature of the community settings as well as the official codes, loci, purpose and frequency of inter- and intra-group interaction in particular. It is not easy to find such data. It requires an integrated research methodology in which linguists, anthropologists, historians and even ethnobotanists work collectively, mining the archives for written material that can be used to reconstruct these patterns, in addition to the study of oral literature and contemporary linguistic and cultural practices that may complement the reconstruction of these patterns. In the remainder of this section I will discuss some socio-historical data on language use in 18th century Surinam. The functional differentiation of the languages spoken in Surinam in the late 17th and 18th century provides insight into the status and importance of these languages, and ultimately the attitudes towards these languages. Thus we advance our understanding of how the languages may have interacted at the societal and individual levels, in addition to how they contributed to the formation and subsequent development of the creole language.

18th Century Surinam was a highly segregated society. Numerous factors, ranging from place of birth (Surinam, Europe, Africa), societal status (free, Maroon, manumitted, enslaved, indentured, etc.), religion, gender, profession/function, duration of residence (early vs. late arrivals), place of residence (Paramaribo, old vs. new plantation, bush), economic success, and even skin color, contributed to one's position in society and how one was treated by the legislative powers as well as by individuals. At least, five types of speech communities can be discerned in general, each with

3. The impact of attitude is particular visible in situations of language growth, such as youth languages and the spread of English as a global language for example, as well as in situations of language decay, where the diminished status and importance of a language in a society results mostly from a change in attitude of its speakers under pressure of external (economical) factors.

their own subgroups. They are the enslaved Africans and their descendants, the freemen of African descent, the Europeans and their descendants, the Maroons, and the Amerindians.

The European languages Dutch, French, Portuguese, and German were particularly associated with the more formal domains of life of the European planters, merchants, indentured servants and their families, as is exemplified by numerous official documents in the archives that were written in these languages. Colloquial varieties of these languages must have also been used in less formal domains, where they may have been competing with the emerging contact language in the early days of the colony. Jan Reeps, a ship-wrecked sailor who stayed several months in Paramaribo in 1693, when there were at least 319 European freemen and 4756 slaves present in Surinam (van den Berg 2007), observed that the language of the former colonial power was used mostly by the slaves: "De Engelse hebben hier een colonie gemaect 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). However, Surinam-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. In the proposal, he states that he will not permit any creole being spoken by the pupils during this two hour class (van Kempen 2002). Van Dyk (c1765) and Weygandt (1798) state that they intended their language instruction manuals to be read primarily 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. It was his experience that servants, shop owners, tailors and the like often expressed themselves "dikwils zich zeer gebrekkig en zontyds onverstaanbaar uitspreken" [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, 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 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. Notwithstanding the debate between Norval Smith and Jacques Arends on the continuation of English influence in Surinam after most of the English planters left in the late 17th century, we regularly find instances of English being used in the public domain in the 18th century. For example, in 1759 Hermanus Leonard Brommet was interrogated in relation to an act of violence towards an Englishman. He had first battered a slave child of this Englishman for stealing a basket and for beating up his child who was 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.⁴

In particular, when many Africans of the same ethnic group were living on a plantation, the African languages may have displayed a similar functional distribution as the European languages, ranging from formal to informal domains of life. Given the continuous influx of enslaved Africans, the anthropologist Richard Price suggests that "it would not be surprising, then, to find on the plantations in 1800 much purer 'Africanisms' in certain realms of life than existed in Saramaka at the same point in time" (1975: 471). Alternatively, the creole language may have been used in these domains, as shared ethnic identity did not always lead to the use of a shared African language as the main language of interaction and communication. One of the earliest creole text fragments, dating back to 1707, is a dialogue between the Africans Mingo and Waly. They 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 rather than in a shared African language (van den Berg 2001). On the other hand, we also find examples such as the one presented by the African Coridon, who was interrogated in relation to a plantation raid on 2 April 1750. Coridon was born in Africa, but "[s]legt zijn land niet te kennen, also hij gevangene alhier heel klein is gekoomen" [says he doesn't know his country as he was taken as a prisoner

4. 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 versond, dat hem sulx niet raakte, dat dat manije gestooen was, en hij t' weetom wouw hebben of anders van des ondergesz_e Hujs zoude afhaalen; hem ondergesz_e daar op zijde dan zoud gij doen als uw landsijde wel meer gewoon zijn te doen (...) uit de moorddaadige klauwen van dien Engelsman verlost hebben; dat den ondergeteckende die vervolgens ten zijne huise gebracht wierd bevond verloren te hebben een paar schoenen die hij als stoffen aan had" (2 Juny 1759).

and brought here when he was very young].⁵ 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" [but in the black English] (CR 1750). It may be the case that, since he was captured and deported to Surinam at a very young age, he was more proficient in the creole language than in the African languages that he spoke as a child. Alternatively, he may have opted for the creole rather than an African language, as it seemed the appropriate language to use given the situation and the interlocutors.

Not everybody was well versed in speaking the creole. 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 and a common African language, acted as a translator, as in e.g. the case of Afrikaan, who lived on plantation Jagtlust, "zijnde een Cormantijn neeger die de neeger Engelsche Spraak niet magtig was en dies desselfs gedeclareerde door een neeger van die lande aart getranslateert zijnde heeft verclaert dat hij een nieuwe neeger was, doe de andere hem meede genoemen hebben en hij diens vervolgens vant gepasseerde niets weet" [being a Cormantin black who is incapable of speaking Sranan Tongo, and who declares, after translation by a black from the same area, that he is a new black, that at that time somebody else took him and that (therefore) he doesn't know anything about what has happened (in his absence)] (CR 1762).⁶

On other occasions Europeans acted as translators, as in the following case from 1773. When one of the plantations of Samuel Cohen Nassy was sold to the Coenen family in 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" [Jew blacks]. This caused the slaves of the plantation to revolt. The subsequent police investigation revealed that procedures concerning the transition in ownership of the plantation were not carried out correctly. When a plantation was sold, the slaves of the planta-

tion 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; they were "nieuwe slaaven die de neeger engelsche taal niet verstonden en Cormantijns waeren" [new slaves who did not comprehend the creole language and were Cormantin] (CR 1773).⁷ 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. This example is interesting for a number of reasons, but is presented here as it underscores that both "Cormantijns", i.e. an Akan language, as well as the creole were to some extent "institutionalized".

From the mid-18th century onwards examples of formal uses of the creole are encountered more frequently. For example, the Saramaka Peace Treaty of 1762 was recorded in Sranan Tongo (Arends and van den Berg 2004) and Christian Grego and Johannes Alabi penned their letters on life as converted Christians in a variety of Saamaka that was used with non-Saamaka (van den Berg & Bruyn 2008, Arends 1995b). Even though Dutch was the dominant language in which the members of the literary societies of Paramaribo expressed themselves, Sranan Tongo was also part of their repertoire. The first instance of poetry in Sranan Tongo is the verse 'Een

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

6. The Dutch text is copied from the original document including all the original spelling inconsistencies, etc.

7. It is interesting that the Africans referred to themselves as Cormantin slaves. They may have been accommodating towards the Europeans, who use the term 'Cormantijn(s)' (Dutch) and 'Coromantee' (English) and its spelling variants to refer to Africans, that is Akan or non-Akan, who came from the Gold Coast, where fort Kornantin was one of the major embarkation ports. On the other hand, Konadu (2010: 14) argues that the Akan themselves "were also 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".

huishoudelyke twist' by Hendrik Schouten that appeared in the second edition of *Letterkundige Uitspanningen* in 1783 (Voorhoeve & Lichtveld 1975). The play in Weygandt's (1798) instruction manual that was mentioned earlier is a Sranan Tongo adaptation of Paul F. Roos' verse titled 'Schets van het Plantaadjeleven' ('A sketch of plantation life'). By the end of the 18th century it is clear that the creole language was not only used as an innovative solution to the problem of interethnic communication, but that it was also established as the general local language, used in informal as well as formal domains alongside other European and African languages. The examples presented above show that, in the 18th century, as in contemporary Surinam, most people were multilingual to some extent, speaking more than one language, albeit at different levels of proficiency.

So far, I have only focused on speakers of the creole language of African and European descent living in the city and on the plantations. But throughout the 17th and 18th century slaves escaped from the plantations and formed societies in the interior. These Maroon societies differed sharply from the plantations in terms of demographic development. At the end of the 18th century, over a century after colonization, a large proportion of the plantation slaves had recently arrived from West Africa, because of the very high replacement rate of slaves in Surinam. Only 30% of the slave population was locally born at that time (Arends 1995a: 269). Even though precise figures on population growth of Maroon societies are lacking for the 17th and 18th century, Price estimates that by the late 18th century, "well over 99% of the Saramaka population would have been Surinam-born" (1975: 471). This is in sharp contrast with the Surinamese plantations. So while Africans outnumbered Surinam-born Creoles on the plantations throughout the 18th century, locally born Saramaccans soon formed the majority among the Saamaka population. For example, several (late) 17th century kinfolk of Alabi, a renowned chief of the Saamaka in the late 18th century, were already Surinam-born (Price 1990).⁸ Furthermore, Saamaka society had been officially closed to newcomers since 1762, as this was one of the conditions stipulated in the peace treaty between the Saamaka and the Dutch colonial government (Arends & van den Berg 2004). Even though the Saamaka may have occasionally allowed new people into their midst, the newcomers would never have outnumbered the old-timers and locally born Saamaka. Given these socio-historical circumstances, it is

8. The Surinam-born forefathers of Alabi include Yaya (1684–1782), Dabi (1689–1765), Adjagbo (1705–1799), Abini (1700–1767) and Akoomi (1700–1780) among others, see Price (1990: 10).

indeed more likely to find 'purer' Africanisms on the plantations rather than in Saramaka, as stated by Price (1975).

4. Cross-linguistic effects below word level

An emerging language requires a lexicon. Many words in Sranan Tongo can be traced back to English, Dutch, Portuguese, and less frequently, African and Amerindian languages, as shown by Smith (1987) and Koefoed and Tarenskeen (1996) on the basis of lexicostatistic analysis of a 200-word Swadesh list of basic vocabulary and a 3050 Sranan Tongo – Dutch – English word list (Woordenlijst Sranan – Nederlands – Engels 1980) respectively. Their findings on the sources of the lexical items on their lists are given in percentages in Table 2.

Table 2. Lexical sources of Sranan Tongo words

	Swadesh list of basic vocabulary (Smith 1987, 2001)	Sranan Tongo – Dutch – English word list (Koefoed & Tarenskeen 1996)
English	77.14%	18.00%
Dutch	17.58%	21.50%
English or Dutch	–	4.30%
Portuguese	3.70%	3.20%
African	1.59%	4.30%
innovations	–	36.00%
other	–	12.70%

Note that the 200-word Swadesh list and the 3050-word Woordenlijst Sranan – Engels (1980) are not comparable. While the Swadesh list focuses on basic vocabulary, the Woordenlijst Sranan – Engels (1980) is a list of frequently used words with a bias toward animal and plant names. It is therefore no surprise that we find a somewhat higher percentage of African sources in the Woordenlijst Sranan – Engels than in the Swadesh list, as animal and plant names belong to culturally significant domains like religion, food, crafts, health care etc., where African words are expected to be more numerous. The Sranan Tongo word *ase* 'witch, witchcraft' (< Gbe *àzè*), which was mentioned in the introductory section of this chapter, falls into this category. Furthermore, Smith (1987, 2001b) focuses on the direct source of the phonological forms of the Sranan Tongo words, while Koefoed & Tarenskeen (1996) investigate the forms and the meanings and further, in the case of complex words, the internal structure. They find many

self-made linguistic expressions in which (parts of) English, Dutch, and African forms are used in ways that differ from their source languages, with changed meanings and novel structures. Koefoed & Tarenskeen (1996) classify these expressions as innovations, even though (parts of) the forms can be traced back to other languages and other cross-linguistic effects can be observed. This is shown for some Early Sranan words for body parts in Table 3.

Table 3. Cross-linguistic effects in Early Sranan body part words

EARLY SRANAN	GBE	ENGLISH	DUTCH
Complex forms	Complex forms	Complex forms	
<i>bóbbi-watra</i> breast-fluid	<i>àn-śin</i> (Gun)	<i>mother's milk</i>	<i>moeder-melk</i>
<i>hai-buba</i> eye-skin	<i>níkun-fló</i> eye-skin	<i>eyelid</i>	<i>ooglid</i>
Complex forms	Complex forms	Simplex forms	
<i>bakka-futu</i> back-foot	<i>àf-ś-gódó</i> (Gun)	<i>heel</i>	<i>hak</i>
<i>kallabassi va heddi</i> calabash of head	<i>tà-ká</i> head calabash	<i>skull</i>	<i>schedel</i>
Simplex forms	Simplex forms	Simplex forms	
<i>billi</i> 'belly; pregnancy'	<i>xo</i> 'belly; pregnancy'	(Old Gbe) <i>belly</i>	<i>buik</i>
<i>nancy</i> 'belly; pregnancy'	<i>xoto</i> 'belly; pregnancy'	(Gun) <i>(*pregnancy)</i>	<i>(*pregnancy)</i>
<i>foeten</i> 'leg; foot'	<i>affo</i> 'leg; foot'	(Old Gbe) <i>foot</i> <i>(*leg)</i>	<i>voet</i> <i>(*leg)</i>
<i>futu</i> 'leg; foot'	<i>afś</i> 'leg; foot'	(Gun)	

While a body part is denoted by a simplex lexeme in English (*heel*) or Dutch (*hak*), Early Sranan may have a complex word (such as *bakka-futu* [lit. back-foot] 'heel') resembling its Gbe equivalent. Furthermore, a body part word may be complex in English and Dutch, as well as Early Sranan, but the compound is not a retention of English. Although the word forms may be inherited from English, they appear to be combined in a Gbe way: The Sranan word for 'eyelid' is *hai-buba* (lit. eye-skin) as in the Gbe languages. Moreover, the range of meanings of the Sranan simplex forms corresponds frequently to the range of meanings of the Gbe lexemes, while there is less overlap with the English forms. While Sranan *futu* is obviously derived from English *foot*, it refers to both the foot and the leg – this is not the case in any 17th or 18th century varieties of English (Oxford English

Dictionary 1989; Wright 1898–1905). In the *Grammaire Abrégée* (1730), however, two different entries – foot and leg – are translated by the same word: *affo*. In the contemporary Gbe languages, this has not changed (Aboh and van den Berg 2002; Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002).

In the next section, the derivational processes of compounding and affixation are discussed in more detail. An overview of derivational morphemes that expand the lexicon in a productive manner is presented. Derivational morphemes are particularly interesting, as the word complexes in which they participate are generally regarded as tightly integrated closed structures. The degree of structural integration of a linguistic feature is an important linguistic factor in borrowing: derivational morphemes such as clitics and affixes are often regarded as difficult to identify in a source language and difficult to integrate into a recipient language; therefore they are not likely to be borrowed (Thomason 2001: 69). Furthermore, derivation is learned in a later acquisitional stage than compounding, which occurs relatively early in language acquisition. Various language acquisition studies have shown that L2 speakers tend to use compounding rather than derivation in the early stages of L2 acquisition. Compounding, in particular N-N compounding, can be used as a compensatory strategy, resulting in innovative compounds that are not encountered in the target language (see Broeder, Extra, van Hout 1996 among others). So in L2 varieties of English, we may find compounds such as *shop-man*, rather than derivations such as *manager*, among others.⁹

Derivational morphemes may not be borrowed, but they can be transferred. The following case reported in Broeder, Extra & van Hout (1996) presents an interesting example of transfer of features of a derivational L1 morpheme into an L2 item. Fatima, a Moroccan woman in the Netherlands learning Dutch, used the Dutch word *oma* 'grandmother', but from the discourse context it was clear that she was referring to her aunt, not her grandmother. The word *oma* in Fatima's speech actually consisted of the standard Dutch kinship term *oom* 'uncle' and the Arabic female suffix *-a*, resulting in the bilingual combination *oom-*a*, (i.e. 'uncle' + *-a*) 'aunt'. Fatima also used this strategy for reference to a female doctor in Dutch, producing *doktor-*a*, where *dokter* 'doctor' would have been sufficient in L1 Dutch (Broeder, Extra, van Hout 1996, see also Perdue 1993). These

9. Note that *shopman* was used in 19th century English, but in contemporary English it is rare (Oxford English Dictionary). It is unlikely that the L2 English speakers in the corpus of Broeder, Extra, van Hout (1996) had any knowledge of 19th century English.

examples show that L2 learners can (and will) combine derivational word formation strategies of different languages below word level, and further, that compounding of nominals is not the only productive lexical expansion strategy in earlier stages of L2 acquisition. Prerequisites for transfer are a) morphological awareness, that is, the ability to reflect upon and manipulate morphemes, and to use word formation rules to construct and understand morphologically complex words (Kuo and Anderson 2006), and b) perceived similarity in morphological structures of the languages involved (Pasquarella et al. 2011, Wang, Cheng, and Chen 2006). But note that even though Dutch has no female affix *-a* (*oma* 'grandmother') to set up an interlingual identification with the Arabic female affix *-a* and subsequently create productively derived nouns with female reference.

Urban vernaculars, and in particular highly hybrid juvenile sociolects such as Nouchi in Abidjan (Ivory Coast), Sheng in Nairobi (Kenya) and Camfranglais in Yaoundé and Douala (Cameroon) among others, display similar lexical manipulation on all linguistic levels, including morphology (Kiebling and Mous 2004). Derivational crossing or morphological hybridization and dummy affixation are most common. In Camfranglais one finds for example hybridization by affixation of the Pidgin English agentive suffix *-man* to non-Pidgin English words: *dánmàn* 'easy going guy who is generous' (< French *donner* 'to give') and *élékémàn* 'useless fool who is too strict with obeying rules unnecessarily' (Kiebling 2005: 65).

4.1. Derivational morphemes in Early Sranan and Gbe and Akan languages

Lexical expansion strategies in Sranan Tongo have been studied by Bruyn (1989, 2002), van den Berg (2000, 2003, 2007), Braun (2001, 2009), and Plag and Braun (2003) among others. Migge (2003b) and Veenstra (2006) describe these strategies for Eastern Maroon Creole (Ndyuka, Pamaka) and Saamaka respectively. A major difference between Saamaka on the one hand, and Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole (EMC) on the other, concerns the productivity of synthetic compounding. While synthetic compounds such as *téi-mánu-ma* (take-man-AFF) 'man eater' are plentiful in Saamaka, they are rare in Eastern Maroon Creole and Sranan.¹⁰ Eastern Maroon Cre-

ole and Early Sranan further share a number of morphemes that are used to derive nouns, numerals and adverbs, see Table 4.

The categorial status of these morphemes has been debated. Some suggest they are lexemes, others claim some or all are derivational morphemes. While word complexes result from the combination of two lexemes in the former approach (compounding), they result from a morphological operation on a lexeme in the latter (derivation). Admittedly, most of these derivational morphemes share some semantic content with their free lexical sources, except for the numeral deriving morpheme *-tentin*.¹¹ However, derivations and compounds differ from each other with regard to productivity and regularity: the meaning of the derivational morpheme predicts the meaning of the productively derived word, while the meaning of the compound cannot always be deduced from its compositional meaning. Several relations are possible between two compounded morphemes. Moreover, it may be difficult to predict which lexemes may be compounded, but it is possible to predict the type of base a derivational morpheme will take (Lefebvre 1998, 2003; Lefebvre & Brousseau 2002; DeGraff 2001; see also Booij 2005). An overview of the most productive Early Sranan derivational morphemes, their bases and meanings is presented in Table 5.

The differences between the free forms and the bound morphemes *-man*, *-wan* and *-tron* indicate a loss of lexical autonomy of these forms suggesting that they may be regarded as true affixes, while this is less so in the case of the semi-affixes or affixoids *-soma*, *-sanni* and *-fasi*.¹² The latter

contemporary Sranan Tongo, though some synthetic compounds may be found in more acrolectal Sranan Tongo varieties of educated speakers in Paramaribo and the Netherlands, who also speak (Surinamese) Dutch. Synthetic compounds occur frequently in Dutch.

11. The suffix *-tentin* derives numerals ranging from twenty to ninety when it is attached to a numeral base denoting a numeral between two and nine. It has no homophonous free form in Early Sranan, contemporary Sranan or Eastern Maroon Creole; it is derived from the English construction in which *times* is preceded by a cardinal numeral and followed by *ten* or another numeral or expression of quantity to express the multiplication of the number, as in *three times ten* (Oxford English Dictionary 1989; *four times fifty living men* (Oxford English Dictionary 1989) or *an animal of ten times my strength* (Oxford English Dictionary 1989), respectively.

12. The term semi-affix is applied to those morphemes that have an intermediate status between an affix and a free compounded morpheme. Semi-affixes are homophonous with simplex words, and their phonological, syntactic and semantic features display some overlap. In their complex morphological struc-

10. Unpublished field research by the author on word formation strategies in Paramaribo and several plantations in the Para district (Surinam) in 2003 suggests that synthetic compounding is not a productive lexical expansion strategy in

are less selective with regard to the category of their base, and they differ minimally with their simplex source etyma *somma* 'person, people, someone, who?', *sanni* 'thing, something, what?', and *fasi* 'manner, mode, nature, stature', in terms of phonology (van den Berg 2007).

Does the system of derivation in Early Sranan display cross-linguistic effects that can be traced back to the African languages that contributed to the formation and subsequent development of the creole language? Complex nouns, numerals, and adverbs are formed via a complex interplay of phonological and morphological processes in the Gbe and Akan languages. These include tonal changes, high tone suffixation, reduplication, permutation/object fronting, prefixation, suffixation, dropping of TMA and Polarity markers, as well as compounding, among others. Here, I focus primarily on postposed derivational morphemes, as they are the primary means of derivation in Early Sranan, but note that the overview of derivational morphology in the Gbe and Akan languages is relatively skewed as little attention is paid to derivation via prefixes and the other processes just mentioned.

Similar to Early Sranan, the Gbe and Akan languages have a limited set of morphemes that derive participant nouns (agent/patient/experiencer nouns), non-participant nouns (possessor nouns, nationality nouns, and identificational nouns),¹³ diminutives, locative nouns, temporal nouns, manner expressions, and numerals. The overview in Tables 6 and 7 present a selection of postposed derivational morphemes in the Gbe and Akan languages, based on a number of scholarly works including Ameka (1991), Amuzu (2005), DaCruz (1998), Ofori (2006), Appah (2004, 2005), Agyekum (2008), Appah and Amfo (2011), among others, as well as my own observations during field work in Ghana in 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012. It shows that even though the sets of derivational morphemes in the Gbe and Akan languages may be smaller than those of some of the world's languages, in particular the Gbe derivational system is more elaborate than it is sometimes made out to be in the creolist literature.

ture, however, they have a specialized function, which is usually more general and abstract than its simplex source. Semi-affixes are more productive and regular than compounds.

13. In line with Appah (2006) I speak of participant nouns and non-participant nouns. Participant nouns include agentive, patient, and experienter nouns that are derived from verbs, as well as nouns that are derived from nouns that refer to participants in the event expressed by the nominal base. Non-participant nouns refer to location nouns as well as possessor nouns and nouns that typify referents by their qualities.

Table 4. Overview of productive Early Sranan and EMC derivational morphemes

EARLY SRANAN		1707–							EMC	
		1767	1718	1762	c1765	1770	1783	1798		
		CR	HL	SPT	VD	N	SCHUM	WEY	(NDYUKA)	
Noun	-man	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-man	+
Verb	-man	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-man	+
Adjective	-man	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-man	+
Adjective	-wan	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-wan	+
Numeral	-tentin	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-tenti	+
Numeral	-tron	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-toon	+
Noun	-somma	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-sama	+
Verb	-somma	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-sama	+
Adjective; Quantifier	-somma	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-sama	+
Noun	-sanni	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-sani	+
Verb	-sanni	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-sani	+
Adjective; Quantifier	-sanni	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-sani	+
Noun	-fasi	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-fasi	+
Verb	-fasi	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-fasi	+
Adjective; Quantifier	-fasi	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-fasi	+

Table 5. Derivation in Early Sranan

Derivational morpheme	Category of BASE	Word Category	Function
X-man	verb	noun	agent/experiencer of X (X is an activity)
X-man	noun	noun	agent/possessor of X
X-man	adjective	noun	animate referent has the quality of X
X-wan	adjective	noun	the referent can be identified by the quality of X
X-tentin	numeral	numeral	derives cardinal numerals 20–90 from numerals 2–9
X-tron	numeral	adverb	derives multiplicative numerals from cardinal numerals
X-somma	noun	noun	human referent is from a place denoted by X, or belongs to a group denoted by X
X-somma	adjective, quantifier	noun	specifying a human referent by the quality of X
X-sanni	noun	noun	non-human referent having the quality of X
X-sanni	adjective	noun	specifying a non-human referent by the quality of X
X-fasi	noun	adverb	in the manner of X
X-fasi	verb	adverb	in the manner of X
X-fasi	adjective	adverb	in an X manner
X-tcm	noun	noun	time/season of X

Table 6. Functions of selected derivational morphemes in the Gbe languages¹⁴

Deriv. morph.	BASE Category	Word Category	Function	Source	Language
X-tɔ	N, nominalized V, A	Noun	participant noun (agent of X, X is an activity)	tɔ 'father'	Ewe, Fon, Maxi, Gun, Aja, Gen, Waci, Xwela, Old Gbe
X-tɔ	N, nominalized V, A	Noun	non-participant noun (possessor of possession/ qualifying property X)	tɔ 'father'	Ewe, Gen, Waci, Xwela
X-tɔ	N, nominalized V, A	Noun	non-participant noun (inhabitant/member of location/group X)	tɔ 'father'	Ewe, Aja, Gen, Waci, Xwela
X-tɔ	Numeral	Numeral	ordinal of number X	tɔ 'father'	Gungbe
X-tɔ	N, nominalized V, A	Noun	non-participant noun (referent can be identified by quality X)	tɔ 'father'	Ewe
X-nɔ	N, nominalized V, A	Noun	non-participant noun (possessor of possession/ qualifying property X)	nɔ 'mother'	Ewe, Fon, Maxi, Gun, Aja, Xwela, Gen
X-dɛ	N	Noun	Non-participant noun (referent is from place/group X).	dɛ 'person, someone'	Ewe (interior dialects)
X-si	N	Noun	Gender-specific non-participant noun (female referent is from place/group X)	si 'wife'	Ewe
X-lá	N, nominalized V	Noun	participant noun (agent of X, X is an activity)		Ewe
X-ví	N, nominalized V, A	Noun	diminutive of X	ví 'child'	Ewe, Gen, Gun, Fon, Xwela

14. Consulted works include Agyekum (2008), Ameka (1991), Appah (2004 2005, 2006), Appah and Amfo (2011), DaCruz (1998), Lefebvre (2002), Migge (2003), Ofori (2002), Osam (1993). Different forms are listed for different languages. Old Gbe refers to the language variety that is found in the historical sources *La Doctrina Christiana* (1658) and *La Grammaire Abregée* (1730), see Aboh (2000).

X-a	N, nominalized V, A	Noun	non-participant noun (referent can be identified by quality X)	Ewe
X-gbé	N	Noun	activity involving X	Ewe
X-nù	N, nominalized V, A	Noun	non-participant noun (inhabitant/member of location/group X)	Fon, Maxi, Gun
X-φé/ -fé/ -(k)pé	N, nominalized V, A	Noun	location where X takes place	afé 'house' Gen, Ewe, Waci, Fon
X-xu	N, nominalized V, A	Noun	location where X takes place	Aja
X-ten	N, nominalized V, A	Noun	location where X takes place	Maxi
X-mè	N, nominalized V, A	Noun	location that contains X	Ewe, Fon
X-tæ	N, nominalized V, A	Adverb	in the manner of X, with X	Ewe
X-γi	nominalized V (+Obj)	Noun	time for X	Ewe
X-ηɔli	N	Noun	season of X	Ewe
X-gbè	N, nominalized V, A	Noun	date of X	Ewe
X-gɔ	Numeral	Numeral	ordinal of number X	Fon, Xwla
X-gɔn	Numeral	Numeral	ordinal of number X	Gen

Table 7. Functions of selected derivational morphemes in the Akan languages

Deriv. morph.	BASE Category	Word Category	Function	Source	Language
X-fo	N, nominalized V, A	Noun	participant noun (singular); agent/patient/experiencer of X		Fante, Akuapem
X-fo	N, nominalized V, A	Noun	participant noun (plural); agent/patient/experiencer of X	fo 'persons'	Fante, Akuapem
X-fo	N, nominalized V, A	Noun	non-participant noun (singular); nationality X, quality X		Fante, Akuapem
X-fo	N, nominalized V, A	Noun	non-participant noun (plural); nationality X, quality X	fo 'persons'	Fante, Akuapem
X-foɔ	N, nominalized V, A	Noun	participant noun (plural); agent/patient/experiencer of X	fo 'persons'	Asante
X-foɔ	N, nominalized V, A	Noun	non-participant noun (plural); nationality X, quality X	fo 'persons'	Asante
X-nyi	N, nominalized V, A	Noun	participant noun (singular); agent/patient/experiencer of X	o-nyi 'person'	Fante
X-nyi	N, nominalized V, A	Noun	non-participant noun (singular); nationality X, quality X	o-nyi 'person'	Fante
X-ni	N, nominalized V, A	Noun	participant noun (singular); agent/patient/experiencer of X	o-ni 'person'	Asante, Akuapem
X-ni	N, nominalized V, A	Noun	non-participant noun (singular); nationality X, quality X	o-ni 'person'	Asante, Akuapem
X-ba	N, nominalized V, A	Noun	diminutive of X	ɔ-ba 'child'	Fante, Akuapem
X-wa	N, nominalized V, A	Noun	diminutive of X		Twi, Akuapem
X-e	Nominalized V	Noun	non-participant noun; result of X, quality of X identifies referent		[Akan]
X-e	nominalized V	Noun	location where X takes place		[Akan]

Different views have been proposed with regard to the categorical status of some of the Gbe and Akan morphemes listed in the tables above. In particular the categorical status of the morphemes that may appear as free forms (Gbe *tɔ* 'father', *nɔ* 'mother', *vi* 'child'; Akan *o-ni/o-nyi* 'person', *fɔ/fo* 'person', *ɔ-ba* 'child') is under debate. Some view the derivational morphemes as compounded nouns, while others see them as suffixes. See Ameka (1991) and Appah (2004, 2005) for discussion.

4.1.1. Diminutives

Both the Gbe and the Akan languages derive diminutives via a derivational morpheme that can be traced back to the word for child, as is the case for a number of languages (Körtvélyessy and Stekauer 2011). Similarly, the diminutive is also derived from the word for child in Early Sranan, but the position of the Early Sranan form differs from that of the Gbe and Akan languages. In the Gbe and Akan languages, the derivational morpheme that forms a diminutive is postposed: *afé-ví* 'sheep-DIM 'lamb' (Ewe, Ameka 1991: 209), *a-nomaa-ba* SG-bird-DIM, 'baby/small bird' (Fante, Appah and Amfo 2011: 88). However, the Early Sranan diminutive is usually formed via a nominal phrase in which the property item *pikin* 'small, child' modifies the head noun in pre-nominal position, as in (1a) and (1c). Contrary to the Gbe/Akan model, *pikin* precedes the noun it modifies; *pikin* in word-final position (inside a compound) refers to a child or the young of an animal as in (1b) and (1d).¹⁵

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|-----------------------------------|----|----------------------------------|
| (1) | a. | <i>pikin uman</i> (Sch 1783: 135) | b. | <i>umampikin</i> (Sch 1783: 135) |
| | | small woman | | woman child |
| | c. | 'girl, young woman' | | 'daughter' |
| | | <i>pikin kau</i> (Sch 1783: 135) | | <i>kaupikin</i> (Sch 1783: 135) |
| | | small cow | | cow child |
| | | 'young cow, small cow' | | 'calf' |

15. Van Dyk (c1765:10, 37) was not aware of this distinction; he repeatedly translates *pikien homan*, lit. little woman as *dogter* (Dutch) 'daughter'; *homan pi(e)kien* or similar constructions with *pi(e)kien* in phrase final position are not encountered in the manual, the dialogues or the playlet.

If the Early Sranan diminutive expression was formed on the basis of a Gbe model or an Akan model or a Gbe/Akan model via transfer, it should follow the noun rather than precede it. As this is not the case, I conclude that no Gbe or Akan influence via transfer was involved in the emergence of the Early Sranan diminutive.

4.1.2. Location nouns

Location nouns are formed by means of a derivational morpheme that combines with a verbal base in the Gbe and Akan languages as well as Sranan Tongo. The morpheme *-e* derives locative nouns from nominalized verbs in the Akan languages. The Gbe languages have different forms that derive location nouns; some are listed in Table 4. In particular, the morpheme *-phé* (< Gbe *aphé* 'house'), which is alternatively found as *-fé* and *-pé* in the literature,¹⁶ is interesting as it bears some phonological resemblance to the morpheme *-pe* in Eastern Maroon Creole (Huttar & Huttar 1994, Migge 2003a). It is generally considered to be a more grammaticalized variant of *-peesí* (< English *place*). Both *-pe* and *-peesí* can be used to derive location nouns from verbal bases in Eastern Maroon Creole. On the basis of the close semantic and structural similarities between derived location nouns in Eastern Maroon Creole and the Gbe languages, Migge (2003a: 84) concludes that via interlingual association between the English and Gbe words for place/location, "the semantic and syntactic properties of the Gbe suffixes were projected onto (...) place in the original English compounds. Once reinterpreted, the newly emerged suffixes could be attached to other nouns and verbs to create new nominal concepts that would not have been part of the English input".

However, not all slaves in Surinam were Gbe speakers (Arends 1995a), and non-Gbe speakers may have done the same as the Gbe-speakers with a similar outcome. Compare for example Akan *ada-e* literally rest/sleep-place 'sleeping place' with Gengbe *edon-pe* literally rest/sleep-place 'sleeping place'. They are semantically and structurally similar: a nominalized verb, meaning to rest or to sleep, is combined with a derivational morpheme to form a location noun. Only a detailed comparison of a substantial number of Akan, Gbe and Eastern Maroon Creole location nouns can reveal

16. Note that *phé* and *-fé* are the same voiceless bilabial fricative represented by two different orthographic symbols; *-xwé* (a.k.a. *-x"é*) is the Eastern Gbe cognate. According to Capo (1991), the Proto-Gbe form was */*x"é/*.

whether location nouns in Eastern Maroon Creole are modeled on Gbe, as claimed by Migge (2003a), or Akan, or that they are innovations. Even though socio-demographic evidence suggests that the majority of the slaves shipped to Surinam in the formative period of the Surinamese creole languages were Gbe speakers (Arends 1995a), it is not unlikely that the Akan languages may have been the dominant ancestral languages of the Ndyuka. An alternate name for the Ndyuka, Okanisi, may have originated from Akan *okan-ni* literally 'Akan-person 'Akan' (Konadu 2010).¹⁷ If the majority of the Ndyuka had been Gbe, they would not have presented themselves as Akan.

Eastern Maroon Creole *-pe* not only derives location nouns from verbal bases, it is also involved in the formation of function words. In combination with the question particle *o* it forms a locative question word (*o*)*pe* 'where?'. With the singular definite article *a* 'the', it forms the deictic place adverb *ape* 'there', and with quantifiers such as *ala* 'all' it forms place adverbs, e.g. *alape* 'everywhere'.

Both the forms *-pe(h)* and *-ple(s)* are encountered in Early Sranan. Schumann (1783: 133) labels *peh* a "dictio enclitica", a clitic. Schumann further states that *peh* cannot occur as an independent lexeme.¹⁸ Indeed, variants of *peh* are never encountered as free lexical items in the sources; they always co-occur with determiners, demonstratives, quantifiers or variants of the question particle *hu*, forming place adverbs and the question word meaning 'where?', respectively, as exemplified in (2). Note that the resulting construction may be split up by an infixed intensifier, as in (2c) and (2d), but this cannot be regarded as counterevidence to Schumann's claim concerning the status of *-pe(h)*, as this type of expletive infixation can occur at the level of the syllable as well as the level of the word.

17. Thoden v. Velzen & Hoogbergen (2011:4) provide an alternate explanation of the term Okanisi. In their version, the name stems from the Auka plantation ca 90km south of Paramaribo on the Suriname river, people called several groups of Maroons (federations, in Thoden van Velzen and Hoogbergen's terms) from the area "vrije negers van Agter Auka" [free negroes from behind Auka]. These groups became known collectively as *Aukanners* (self denomination Okanisi), and later *Ndyuka*, which had previously been the name of one such federation.

18. "PEH macht für sich allein kein eigen Wort aus, sondern muss allemal an ein anderes hinten angehängt werden; als dann aber hat es die Bedeutung, einen "Art", "Platz", "Stelle" anzuzeigen" [*peh* on its own is not a word, it can only occur in combination with another word and then it indicates manner, place or location] (Schumann 1783: 133).

Table 8. The bound morphemes *-pe* and *-ples* in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

		EARLY SRANAN					EMC	
		1718 HL	1707–67 CR	1762 SPT	c1765 VD	1770 N	1783 SCHUM	1798 WEY (NDYUKA)
function word	<i>-pe</i> _{ADV/Q}	<i>plc</i>	-	-	<i>ply</i>	-	<i>peh</i>	<i>plec, pree + pré, préce</i>
function word	<i>-ples</i> _{ADV/Q}	<i>plasje plesje plesse</i>	-	<i>plessie</i>	<i>plessi</i>	<i>pleisi</i>	-	<i>pleesie + plesie</i>
	Verb- <i>pe</i> _N	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
	Verb- <i>ples</i> _N	-	-	-	<i>plessi</i>	-	<i>plesi</i>	+

- (2) a. *mi no sabi hoe ple alle santi kom oppo*
 1S NEG know Q place all thing come.out
 'I don't know where all (these) things came from.' (CR 1745)
- b. *hoe ply joe de hele de*
 Q place 2S COP all day
 ['waar heb je de heelen Dag geweest']
 'Where have you been all day?' (VD c1765: 71)
- c. *no wan peh mi de go, ODER: no wan reti*
 no one place 1S ASP go / NEG one right
peh mi de go
 place 1S ASP go
 ['iche gehe nigends hin, nach keinen eigenlichen, gewissen Ort']
 'I'm going nowhere in particular.' (Sch 1783: 134)
- d. *da srefi peh mi ben go tu*
 thesame place 1S PAST go too
 ['eben dahin bin ich auch gegangen']
 'I have also been to that same place.' (Sch 1783: 134)

These findings suggest that *pe(h)* is a bound morpheme. However, it does not derive location nouns from verbs as its Eastern Maroon Creole equivalent. Complex words with a verbal base and (variants of) the form *peh* are not encountered in Schumann's dictionary, or in the other sources of Early Sranan.

Instead, location nouns can be formed by combining a verbal base with a variant of *plesti* 'place' (< English *place*): *zére plesti* literally 'sell-place 'market' (VD c1765: 9), *beriplesi* literally 'bury-place 'cemetery' (Sch 1783: 16), *lo-plesti* literally 'be-flat-place 'flat land' (Sch 1783: 102) etc. Thus, Early Sranan differs from Eastern Maroon Creole in the following: In Eastern Maroon Creole *-pe* as well as *-pesti* can be combined with a verbal base to form a location noun (Huttar & Huttar 1994, Migge 2003a), whereas only *-plesti* is combined with a verbal base in the sources of Early Sranan. Contemporary Sranan resembles Eastern Maroon Creole: *-pe* as well as *-plesti* can derive location nouns from verbal bases. Therefore I conclude that (a) at the time Eastern Maroon Creole and Early Sranan diverged, i.e. at the beginning of the 18th century, *-plesti* was the main form used to form function words as well as location nouns and that (b) the form *-pe(h)* emerged later as the result of grammaticalization in Early Sranan and in Eastern Maroon Creole independently, first in function words and later in location nouns. The findings are summarized in Table 8. It shows

the distribution of types of constructions in the historical sources as well as spelling variants.

4.1.3. Participant and non-participant nouns

Participant nouns express agentive, patient, and experience meanings; they derive from nominalized verbs or nouns, that denote the activity or event in which the referent is participating. Non-participant nouns refer to locations or possessors, or they typify referents by their qualities. Participant and non-participant nouns can be formed via a number of ways in the Gbe and Akan languages, ranging from circumlocation to compounding and derivation, but the most productive strategy to derive participant nouns is by means of a derivational morpheme that is combined with a nominalized base, as illustrated for the Gbe languages in (3) from one of the oldest historical sources on the Gbe languages, the *Grammaire Abrégée* (1730).

- (3) Houcouton 'canotier' ('Old Gbe, *Grammaire Abrégée* 1730, see Aboh & van den Berg 2002)
- hun-kûn-tɔ*
 boat-drive-AFF
 'tower'

The derivational morpheme can be traced back to *tɔ* 'father' in the Gbe languages, and to *o-ni/o-nyi* 'person' (singular) and *-fo/-foɔ* 'persons' (plural) in the Akan languages. While Gbe *tɔ* 'father' and Akan *o-ni/o-nyi* 'person' can appear as free forms, *-fo/-foɔ* 'persons' has no equivalent free form in the contemporary Akan languages (Appah 2006). In Early Sranan, singular as well as plural participant and non-participant nouns are formed via the derivational morpheme *-man*. Note that man can further function as a free form meaning 'man' (< English/Dutch *man*). While the free form is gender-specific, referring exclusively to human males, the gender-neutral bound form can refer to human males and females as well as other animate beings (van den Berg 2003). In earlier work, I suggested on the basis of multiple similarities between word complexes ending in *-man* in Early Sranan and their equivalents in the Gbe languages that the Early Sranan strategy to derive participant and non-participant nouns may have been modeled on Gbe (van den Berg 2003, see also Migge 2003a), but I will show in the remainder of the chapter that an exclusive Gbe model may not be tenable. I will present some preliminary findings on the basis of a

comparison of 90 Early Sranan participant and non-participant nouns ending in *-man* with their historical and contemporary Akan and Gbe equivalents.¹⁹ I looked for similarities in form and meaning, as well as in the internal structure of the base (if complex, i.e. consisting of more than one morpheme) and also categorical status of the base. The comparison brings out several similarities between the Akan and Gbe languages that make it difficult to maintain that the derivational morpheme *-man* was modeled on Gbe exclusively. In addition to words such as Early Sranan *aseh-man* 'witch, sorcerer' where the base can be traced back to a Gbe word, in this case *àzè* 'witchcraft, sorcery', we also find Early Sranan words with a similar structure that have an Akan base. Compare for example Early Sranan *gongossa-man* 'liar, hypocrite, gossip' with Akan (Twi) *gkonkonsá-ni* 'liar, hypocrite, gossip'.

Table 9. Structural similarities of the base in Early Sranan and the Akan and Gbe languages

Early Sranan	Akan (Twi)	Gbe (Ewe)	Gloss
<i>asch-man</i>	<i>ɔbɔyɪ-fɔ(ɔ)</i>	<i>àzè-tɔ</i>	'witch'
witchcraft-AFF	witchcraft-AFF	witchcraft-AFF	
<i>begi-man</i>	<i>ɔdesre-fɔ(ɔ)</i>	<i>nubia-lá</i>	'beggar'
beg-AFF	beg-AFF	beg-AFF	
<i>fredde-man</i>	<i>ohu-fɔ(ɔ)</i>	<i>kle-nɔ</i>	'scared person'
fear-AFF	fear-AFF	fear-AFF	
<i>poti-man</i>	<i>onihá-fɔ(ɔ)</i>	<i>ahé-tɔ</i>	'poor person'
poverty-AFF	poverty-AFF	poverty-AFF	
<i>lau-man</i>	<i>(ɔ)ɔɔdán-fɔ(ɔ)</i>	<i>tsukú-nɔ</i>	'mad person'
mad-AFF	madness-AFF	madness-AFF	
<i>siki-man</i>	<i>ɔyare-fɔ(ɔ)</i>	<i>dɔ-nɔ</i>	'sick person'
sick-AFF	sickness-AFF	sickness-AFF	
<i>gudu-man</i>	<i>osika-ni</i>	<i>hɔtsui-tɔ</i>	'rich person'
good(s)-AFF	gold-AFF	cowry-AFF	
<i>wroko-man</i>	<i>odwumaye-fɔ</i>	<i>dɔ-wɔ-lá</i>	'worker'
work-AFF	work-do-AFF	work-do-AFF	

19. The Early Sranan forms come from various 18th century sources stored in the Suriname Creole Archive, whereas the Akan and Gbe words were retrieved from various dictionaries and language descriptions as well as translations by native speakers of the languages. At present the database includes the major Akan languages Twi, Akuapem and Fante as well as an Ewe variety of Ghana and Mina of Togo. Other Gbe languages (Fon, Adjá) will be included as well as Gã-Dangme and further Kikongo in due time.

Early Sranan *adjabre-man* lies/falsehood-AFF 'liar' may also have an Akan base, as it bears some resemblance to Twi *ɔɔabɔɔbra-fɔ* lies/falsehood-AFF 'liar'. Alternatively, it may be Gbe, as its Ewe equivalent is *adava-tɔ* lies/falsehood-AFF 'liar'.

Further evidence against an exclusive Gbe model for the derivation of participant and non-participant nouns in Early Sranan is presented by examples such as the ones presented in Table 9. The categorical status of the base (prior to nominalization) is similar in the Akan and Gbe languages, so both the Akan languages and the Gbe languages could have provided the model for the Early Sranan noun. In addition, there are nouns ending in *-man* in Early Sranan that are more similar to their Akan equivalents than to their Gbe equivalents. While they are synthetic compounds in the Gbe languages, their Akan equivalents are not. Some examples are presented in Table 10.

Table 10. Structural similarities of the base in Early Sranan and the Akan languages, but not Gbe

Early Sranan	Akan (Twi)	Gbe (Ewe)	Gloss
<i>baiman</i>	<i>ɔtɔ-fɔ(ɔ)</i>	<i>nu-dzɔ̀-lá</i>	'buyer'
buy-AFF	buy-AFF	thing-sell-AFF	
<i>skrifman</i>	<i>ɔwere-fɔɔ</i>	<i>nu-ɣlɔ́-lá</i>	'writer'
write-AFF	write-AFF	thing-write-AFF	
<i>harkiman</i>	<i>atle-fɔ(ɔ)</i>	<i>to-ɔ̀-lá</i>	'listener'
hark-AFF	listen-AFF	ear-listen-AFF	
<i>repieman</i>	<i>ɔɔoa-fɔ(ɔ)</i>	<i>xàn-amè-tɔ</i>	'helper'
help-AFF	help-AFF	help-person-AFF	
<i>leiman</i>	<i>ɔtoro-fɔ(ɔ)</i>	<i>aku-via-tɔ</i>	'liar'
lie(s)-AFF	lies-AFF	neck-melt-AFF	
<i>kruutman</i>	<i>ɔfutu-fɔ(ɔ)</i>	<i>nuxɔ́amena-lá</i>	'council'
council-AFF	council-AFF	advice-give-AFF	

Out of the sample of 90 words, of Early Sranan words ending in *-man* resemble their Ewe equivalents, while 31 cases are similar to the Akan languages. Thus, there is no evidence in this dataset that Sranan structure follows mainly Ewe structure and not Akan structure. In fact, these data suggest a higher Early Sranan-Akan similarity than Early Sranan-Ewe similarity (Z-test for comparing proportions 20 out of 90 versus 31 out of 90: Z = 1.8, p value = 0.069). These preliminary findings are in line with the hypothesis proposed by Konadu (2010), who suggests that, because of the their exceptional skills in to warfare, medicinal plant use and cultural and spiritual practice, the Akan people had a considerable influence on the

newly emerging languages and cultures of the enslaved in settings such as Surinam, despite the fact that they never formed a majority among other Africans in the Americas. Further investigation is clearly needed.

English, Dutch, and the Akan and Gbe languages were not only in contact in the Caribbean and South America, but also in West Africa. Earlier, I illustrated morphological hybridization by affixation of the Cameroonian Pidgin English agentive suffix *-man* to non-Pidgin English words. The agentive suffix *-man* also productively derives participant and non-participant nouns in Ghanaian English: Dako (2003) lists for example *afraid man* 'coward' (cf. Early Stranan *freddeman*), *booze man* 'drunkard', *force man* 'soldier', *parliament man* 'member of parliament' and *sufferman* 'person who has difficulties' among others in her glossary of Ghanaianisms. The glossary further contains words such as *wash(er)man* 'laundry man' among others, that are now obsolete in British English (Oxford English dictionary 1989), but that are also encountered in Early Stranan (*wassiman* 'washerman'). In addition, we find words such as *staffer* 'employed by the president' in the glossary. On the one hand they may be English retentions, as *staffer* is also encountered in American English. On the other hand, they might be innovations, as derivation through affixation of *-er* to a nominal base is not encountered frequently in the varieties of English as spoken in the United Kingdom or the United States; it is not a very productive process. It is a productive process, however, in both the Akan and the Gbe languages, as shown by examples such as *ɔbayi-fɔ(ɔ)* 'witchcraft-AFF 'witch' and *àzɛ-tɔ* 'witchcraft-AFF 'witch' respectively, that illustrate affixation of *-fɔ(ɔ)* and *-tɔ* to a nominal base. Note that Akan and Gbe derivational morphemes can also be conjoined to non-Akan and non-Gbe bases. In 1985, a popular Ghanaian highlife number by Nana Ampadu was titled '*Driverfo*'; it was an ode to lorry (public transport) drivers (van der Geest 2009). The base of *driverfo* is the English derived noun *driver* that consists of a verbal base *drive* and the agentive affix *-er*. Even though the word is already marked for agentivity via *-er*, and awareness of the process of derivation via *-er* can be demonstrated for Ghanaian English, Akan *-fo* is added. Akan *-fo* is often regarded as a plural suffix, in particular in the Fante dialect of Akan, but it is also functions as a singular suffix marking identity in the Akan languages (Appah, 2006). Particularly in the case of the expression of occupational or professional identity, the participant noun is marked by the (singular) suffix *-fɔ(ɔ)*.²⁰ A similar but not identical example can be found

in a Twi – German dictionary that was published in the late 19th century, almost a century earlier. In this dictionary, which was written by Johann Gottlieb Christaller in 1881, one finds the entry *kupafo* 'cooper'. *Kupafo* differs from *driverfo* in that the base *kupa* has no internal morphological structure. It is a nativized English borrowing, *cooper*, a derived noun with a verbal base *coop* that denotes the activity of hammering copper bands on wooden containers.²¹ Interestingly, the same derived noun functions as a base in Early Stranan; Schumann lists *kupaman* in his Stranan Tongo – German dictionary (1783).

Nationality nouns are formed in a similar manner: the base denoting the nationality is borrowed, nativized, and combined with the derivational morpheme that expresses that the referent is from the located denoted by the base. Thus we find *frenkye-ni* 'French-AFF 'French' and *gyaman-ni* 'German-AFF 'German' in the Akan languages, and *frensi-tɔ* 'French-AFF 'French' and *dzɛmā-tɔ* 'German-AFF 'German' in the case of Ewe(gbe).

The difference between *kupafo* (1881) and *driverfo* (1985) is particularly interesting as it underscores the intensification of contact between English and the African languages in Ghana from the late 19th century until the present day. While borrowing of words, which denote culture-specific items and concepts such as *kupai cooper*, usually takes place in settings of moderate contact, the kind of morphological hybridization that is exemplified by *driverfo* is found in settings of intense contact. The latter is often encountered in multilingual societies with a majority of multilingual individuals. 19th Century Ghana differs from 20th century Ghana in that, nowadays, more and more people are proficient, albeit in different degrees of proficiency, in one or more African languages as well as English due to schooling.

5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I set up a comparison of Early Stranan complex words with their equivalents in the Akan and Gbe languages of Ghana in order to investigate cross-linguistic effects below word level in Early Stranan. Several types of cross-linguistic effects are encountered in the word formation processes of compounding and derivation, ranging from retention and bor-

20. Appah (2006) shows that the distinction between the singular and the plural is marked by the prefix *o-* rather than the presumed plural suffix *-fo*.

21. A cooper is someone who makes containers such as barrels, wooden buckets and butter churns among others.

rowing of forms to various types of transfer of functions, meanings and distributional morphosyntactic properties.

While the forms of many compounded Early Sranan body part words mostly derive from English, influence from the Gbe languages is exhibited via the retention of the structure of the Gbe body part words in Early Sranan as well as the retention of Gbe meanings in some cases. Furthermore, influence from English as well as Dutch can be observed in addition to innovations that are typically Sranan Tongo.

Early Sranan as well as the Gbe and Akan languages (but not English) share a limited set of postposed derivational morphemes that can be characterized as semi-affixes or affixoids rather than true affixes. In general, there is little evidence of transfer of the Akan and Gbe sets of derivational morphemes. Nationality nouns and agentive, patient, and experient nouns are derived via different morphemes in the Gbe and Akan languages but not in the case of Early Sranan where they are all derived via the derivational morpheme *-man*. The Akan and Gbe diminutives are derived via postposed derivational morphemes that can be traced back to the words for 'child' in the Akan and Gbe languages, but the Early Sranan diminutive is formed via the attributive use of the property item YOUNG that can also function as a noun 'child, young' as well as verb 'being small/young/little'. In the case of the formation of location nouns, some convergence can be observed, triggered by the formal resemblance of Early Sranan *-peh*, Gbe *-pɛl-pɛl* *-ɔ̃*, and, more distantly, Akan *-e*. However, Early Sranan *-peh* is not used to derive location nouns but rather location function words (*da-peh* 'there'). Location nouns are derived via *-plesɪ* (< English *place*) in Early Sranan and I have not found any examples that resemble their Akan or Gbe equivalents but not also their English equivalent.

While the findings present little support for the transfer of the set of Gbe and/or Akan derivational morphemes, cross-linguistic effects are observed in the formation of participant and non-participant nouns. Examples of participant and non-participant nouns are presented that illustrate similarities in form and meaning (retention), as well as similarities with regard to the internal structure and the categorical status of the base. Contrary to earlier claims that invoke a Gbe model for participant and non-participant nouns in the Surinamese creole languages, the findings presented here suggest that Early Sranan is significantly more similar to the Akan languages than to Ewe. Further research is needed, in particular as substantial morphosyntactic differences between the Gbe languages have been observed (Capo 1991; Kluge 2006).

At the beginning of this chapter, I stated that a comparison of Early Sranan with other outcomes of contact between the Gbe and Akan languages and English provides a solid type of evidence of transfer of forms, features, functions, meanings or distributional properties from one language to another. In contemporary Ghana, the derivational morpheme *-man* productively derives innovative participant and non-participant nouns in Ghanaian English. Some of these Ghanaianisms are very similar to their Early Sranan equivalents, while differing from their British or American English equivalents (Early Sranan *freddeman* = Ghanaian English *affair man* ≠ British English *coward*). Comparable examples of participant nouns with a non-Akan base and the Akan derivational morpheme *-fo* are also attested.

The qualitative and quantitative data presented in this chapter show that different types of cross-linguistic effects occur below word level in Early Sranan. Furthermore they show that only a detailed comparison of Early Sranan with the languages that contributed to its emergence can bring out the resourcefulness, linguistic creativity and innovativeness of the speakers of Early Sranan in 18th century Surinam.