A Grammar of Early Sranan

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A GRAMMAR OF EARLY SRANAN

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Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ADV	adverb
AFF	(semi)-affix
ASP	imperfective aspect marker
COP	copula
EMP	emphatic
EXCL	exclamation
FOC	focus marker
FUT	future tense marker
IDEO	ideophone
INT	intensifier
LOC	locative preposition
N	nomen
NEG	negator
Q	question word
QSU	questioned semantic unit
S	singular
P	plural
PST	relative past marker
REDUP	reduplication

1 Introduction: Sources, background, methodology

1.0 Purpose of this book

Sranan, originally the lexically English-derived vernacular of the enslaved population of West-African descent in Suriname, is relatively well documented in its early stages in comparison with other languages that emerged as the result of language contact. Occasionally words that may be derived from a Sranan model appear in Dutch texts as early as the (late) 17th century (Van Donselaar 1996, Arends 2002). Furthermore, a number of 18th century texts are available, including wordlists, dialogues, plays, a Sranan – German dictionary, bible texts and judicial records. These different types of historical documents are extremely valuable: They provide a window on Sranan in its early stages of development.

The purpose of this book is to give a descriptive account of the structure of 18th century Sranan, or Early Sranan, based upon the empirical study of the available 18th century texts. While it is acknowledged that written records have their limitations as a primary source of linguistic data, I will show that they can be used to uncover the major linguistic structures that are likely to be of theoretical interest. As the historical linguist Campbell (1998: 334-335) points out, written records are "as valuable as our ability to interpret them and to determine accurately the phonetic and structural properties of the language which they represent". Thus, this book resembles in many ways descriptive works on contemporary languages.

Strong opinions on the alleged unreliability of early creole sources have been expressed in the past. Although such opinions can be easily dismissed as they are not supported empirically in the case of the early Suriname texts (see for example Arends 1989, 1995 and Bruyn 1995), they do touch on a potential problem: it is often difficult to determine exactly what type of speech is reflected in a source (Arends 1995, Muysken 1995). As a result, the representativeness, i.e. the fit between a text sample and the population it stands for, as well as the validity of a source are affected (Schneider 2002). Therefore, as much philological background information as is available is given for each source in section 1.3. Furthermore, the variation in the texts plays a central role in this book.

Variation is encountered not only in the domain of the lexicon, but also in the domain of syntax, morphology and lexical semantics. Variation in these domains is expected as different areas of grammar did not develop in tandem; variation can thus be indicative of language change. In some domains a relatively large degree of change took place (Arends 1989, Bruyn 1995, Plag 1993). Some changes followed cross-linguistically well established paths of development, whereas others were the result of language contact rather than language internal change (Bruyn 1999, Migge 2003). Although variation can be indicative of language change, it can result from the existence of regional variant forms and differences in register or style, nativeness, ethnicity, European domination and religious denomination (Arends 1992). Moreover, variant forms, expressions or constructions need not be representative of a certain regional variety or sociolect at all, they can be characteristic of a certain type of

document, as different types of text are stored in the Early Sranan corpus. Alternatively, they may be caused by an over-imaginative author or a sloppy typesetter. The comparative method discussed in more detail in the next section enables us to identify variant forms in the sources and to gain a deeper understanding of the possible cause of the variation encountered.

1.1 Methodological preliminaries

In historical linguistics, the standard comparative method is a set of procedures which compares cognate forms (sets of reflexes) in related language varieties in order to reconstruct their common ancestor (Hoenigswald 1960, Meillet 1967, Alleyne 1980). It consists of several steps that can be summarized roughly as follows: (1) assume relatedness of a set of languages, based on diagnostic linguistic evidence; (2) establish regular and systematic sound correspondences and cognate sets; (3) uncover and reconstruct more diagnostic evidence; (4) expand the number of related languages (Campbell 1998; Nichols 1996).

In comparative sociolinguistics the comparative method is developed further as it is combined with the quantitative variationist analysis characteristic of quantitative sociolinguistics: the set of cognate forms is studied in terms of the statistical techniques of multivariate analysis (Tagliamonte 2002: 732). The results are not individual occurences or overall rates of occurrence, but patterns of use of a linguistic feature. They are conditioned by several factors, i.e. constraints, that can be ranked in a certain order. Similarities and differences in the significance, strength and ordering of the constraints operating upon the linguistic feature provide a critical diagnostic for comparison. Thus, it is not the existence of a linguistic feature that is decisive for the reconstruction of the common ancestor, but the distribution of a linguistic feature.

Historical linguistics and comparative sociolinguistics are combined in this book in the following manner. The varieties represented in the various sources of Early Sranan are treated as separate 'lects', i.e. distinct varieties of Early Sranan that differ from each other in a minimal way. Each variety is described taking Comrie & Smith's (1977) questionnaire as a starting point. The questionnaire provided a useful general descriptive framework as the emphasis lies on expression rather than on interpretation and the general direction of the description is from function to form (Comrie & Smith 1977). Other works on language description that I frequently consulted are Payne (1997) and Shopen (1985). Furthermore, I used a simple but adequate concordance program to collect all the variants of a particular linguistic variable in the sources and their contexts. The feature is then circumscribed including its pattern of use for each source of Early Sranan. Next, the circumscribed feature is compared across the Early Sranan sources to explore differences and similarities in the constraints that operate upon it. After that, the Early Sranan feature is compared with its equivalent in contemporary Eastern Maroon Creole, in particular the variety spoken by the Ndyuka, whose ancestors fled the plantations in the first decade of the 18th century (see section 1.4). Eastern Maroon Creole is less subjected to language change under the influence of Dutch as opposed to Sranan; Sranan is influenced by Dutch.

In general, similarities in the distribution of a linguistic feature in the sources of Early Sranan suggest that it belongs to the linguistic system of Early Sranan, whereas differences in the distribution may be explained in terms of a) language change; b) a different language variety (regional, social); c) the type of text; d) (in)competence of the recorder. When a linguistic feature has a similar distribution in Early Sranan and the Ndyuka variety of Eastern Maroon Creole, it may have belonged to the variety of Early Sranan, or proto-Sranan, spoken by slaves and freemen of West-African descent during the turn of the century. Differences in the distribution of a linguistic feature in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole are examined in the light of linguistic universals, typological expectations, and based on what is known about language change, grammaticalization and language contact in creole languages.

1.2 Some historical background on Suriname in relation to the formation of Sranan

Suriname in the late 17th and 18th century was not only a multi-ethnic society, but also a multilingual society, as African, European and Amerindian languages occurred alongside various intermediate contact languages. In this section some of the factors that may have contributed to the emergence of these contact varieties are singled out. Detailed discussions of the early history of Suriname are Arends (1995, 2001, 2002), Carlin & Arends (2002), Beeldsnijder (1991, 1994), Buddingh' (1999), Dragtenstein (2002), Hartsinck (1770), Herksovitz & Herskovitz (1934), Hoogbergen (1985, 1992, 1996), Oostindie (1989), Postma (1990), Price (1976, 1983, 1990, 1992), Rens (1953), Smith (1987a, 1987b), Van der Linde (1966) and Van Stipriaan (1993) among others. The reader is referred to these works for detailed examinations of various aspects of life in 18th century Suriname from a variety of disciplines, including history, antropology and linguistics.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, the early history of the colony of Suriname can be described in terms of three different contact settings, based on the demographic development of the Suriname population of European and West-African descent, the ethnolinguistic origin of the population and the patterns of interaction between the various subgroups of the population (Arends 1995, 1998, 2002, 2003, in prep); Migge 1998, 2003; Winford 2003). As the Amerindian languages contributed little to the formation of the Suriname Creoles (for example, only a small portion of the basic vocabularies of the Suriname Creoles is derived from Amerindian languages), they are ignored in this book, but see Carlin (2002) and Dragtenstein (2002), for more information of the first peoples of Suriname.

Contact setting I (1650 - 1667). In 1650 English planters and indentured servants from Barbados settled along the Suriname River to establish a colony as ordered by Francis Willoughby after whom the colony was initially named.[1] The Roman Catholic priest Antoine Biet, who visited the newly founded colony in 1654, wrote in his account of his travels that, at that time, not more than 350 British lived around the

[1] Settlements prior to 1651 are generally assumed not to have had any effect on the formation of the Suriname creole languages, although there is a possibilty that some form of creole started to develop before the arrival of the English planters from Barbados in 1651, see Arends (2002).

fort (most likely what is nowadays called Fort Zeelandia) and that their homesteads were situated on the banks of the Suriname River where they cultivated tobacco and sawed planks (Rens 1953). They did not yet grow sugar. Oudschans-Dentz (1927), quoted in Dragtenstein (2002), sets the number of homesteads at 50. The Jews who arrived with Willoughby settled on the upper banks of the Suriname River, near Thorica. They joined the few Jewish families of Portuguese and Spanish descent, who came to Suriname earlier (about 30 persons). They first settled on the savannah near the Cassipoera creek, mainly living of the trade with the English and the Amerindians. Thus, the arrivals in the early 1650s included mainly English and Irish planters and their families, English and Irish indentured servants and soldiers and Jewish merchants and their families. Although it is not known in detail how many enslaved blacks and Amerindians were among the arrivals, it is generally assumed that whites outnumbered blacks in the early 1650s.

In the early 1660s Willoughbyland prospered. The main city was Thorarica, located on the upper left bank of the Suriname river. Planters grew not only tobacco but also sugarcane. Warren (1669:5) counted some 500 European families in 1663 (Dragtenstein 2002: 21). Rens (1953) estimates that there may have been approximately 1,500 to 2,000 slaves in 1663. The indentured servant William Gwilt writes to his father in England that he was on Sir Harley's plantation at Saint John's Hill with only one black for companion (Rens 1953: 77). In 1667 some 4,000 people, both free and enslaved, lived in Suriname (Wolbers 1861: 34 in Dragenstein 2002: 21). It is impossible to reconstruct the development of Suriname's population in great detail for this contact setting as specific data on the population are lacking. Therefore, numbers are based on estimates extrapolated from historical and archival documents such as travel reports, letters and the like. Arends (1995a) presents an overview of the figures for as many years and from as many sources as he could find, thus counterbalancing potentially deviant estimates.[2] The resulting figures are "sufficiently consistent to be considered reasonably reliable" (Arends 1995: 258). He then uses these figures to calculate the ratio of people of West-African descent to Europeans as equal numbers or low ratios are indicative of frequent interaction and access of Africans to European language models.[3] High ratios suggest less interaction and less access of Africans to European language models. Low ratios suggest more interaction and more access to European language models. However, we need to keep in mind that low ratios not necessarily lead to greater convergence of the black's second or third language to the European languages of the whites. Close contact and interaction provide good models for language learning, factors such as attitude of the groups involved determine in part whether input becomes intake, or is reflected in the output (Rickford 1985).

[2] Arends (1995a) consulted the following sources for this contact setting: Williamson (1923) in Van Eyk-Benjamins (1927); Calendar State Papers in Rens (1953: 78-81) and archival documents and historical maps in Voorhoeve & Lichtveld (1975: 3).

[3] Migge (2002) used only one of these sources, that is Voorhoeve & Lichtveld 1975), to calculate the ratio of people of West-African descent to Europeans and reaches a similar conclusion: the ratio of Europeans to Africans remained relatively constant between 1:1 and 1:2 between 1652 and 1668.

Table 1.1 below incorporates the findings of Arends as well as my own. For example, I added figures from Scott's *Description of Guyana* (1669) and Byam's *Journal of Guiana* (1665-1667), as well as estimates reported by Oudschans-Dentz (1927) in Dragtenstein (2002). I also included information on the number of homesteads, as the ratio of Africans to Europeans alone is not sufficiently informative to infer interactional patterns between Africans and Europeans. An undated anonymous manuscript map drawn around 1663 lists 175 homesteads (Wekker 1983: 43). The map in the *Blathwayt Atlas* of 1667 shows 167 homesteads, of which 7 are owned by Jews. I further included the numbers of Jews derived from Arends' (1999) discussion of Rens (1954). Additionally, I looked for information on the number of inhabitants of Thorarica, also known as Sand point in those days, and the area around Fort Willoughby but to little to no avail: Warren (1667) describes Thorarica as a settlement of 100 houses and a chapel. William Byams reports that black slaves worked in 1666 at Fort Willoughby and that many fell ill. He further writes that 100 whites and sixty blacks manned the fort in february 1667.

Table 1.1 *Population of Suriname 1650 – 1667*

year	enslaved blacks	settlers	source*	black-to-white-ratio	number of homesteads
1650		50	VEB		> 2 **
		300	S		
1652	200	200	VEB/V&L	1:1	
		300[4]	R		
		(not including 30 Jews)	R		
1654		350	R		50
1661	2,000	1,000	V&L	2:1	
1663	1,500 - 2,000	(4,000)***	R		175
		500 families	D		
1665	3,000	1,500 (men)	V&L, S		
		(including 100 Jews)	R		
1666	500		VEB		
	2,200[5]		V&L		
1667	2,000	500	R, W	2:1	160 + 7
		(including 150 - 200 Jews)	R		(Jewish)

*VEB = Van Eyk-Benjamins (1927); R = Rens (1953, 1954); V&L = Voorhoeve & Lichtveld (1975: 3); D = Dragtenstein (2002); S = Scott (1669); W = Wolbers (1861)

[4] Arends (1995) lists only the figures from Voorhoeve & Lichtveld (1975). However, Rens (1953: 23) states that from a passage from the official protest presented by Willoughby circa 1656 to Cromwell, it appears that in 1652 300 English settlers arrived. It is not clear whether Moreover, this number does not include the Jews that arrived with Willoughby.

[5] The different numbers are from different sources. The low number of 500 is given by Van Eyk-Benjamins (1927), Voorhoeve & Lichtveld (1975) suggest that 2,200 Africans lived in Suriname in 1666. Arends (1995a: 258) explains this discrepancy as follows: Voorhoeve & Lichtveld (1975) did not include the large number of deaths caused by an epidemic that wiped out a quarter of the population.

** Lord Willoughby founded two plantations; one at the Suriname River, another at the Commewina River (Scott 1667). Therefore, there were at least two plantations in 1650.
*** It not clear whether this figures represents whites only, or if enslaved blacks are to be included in it (Rens 1965: 79)

In conclusion, the slaves in this period are likely to have acquired varieties of English in various degrees, ranging from English as a second language to a pidgin variety of English. The mother tongues of the slaves must have included Gbe languages, as the majority of the West-African slaves were deported from the Slave Coast (Arends 1995a), and Arawak, as the majority of the Amerindian slaves were of the Arawak tribe. In addition, a pidgin may have been spoken by the West-African slaves (Smith 1987a, 2001).

Contact setting II (1667 – 1695). In februay 1667 Abraham Crijnsen, a representative of the Province of Zealand, one of the Dutch provinces, seized control of Suriname. The Province of Zealand had jurisdiction until 1683, the year in which the *Societeit van Suriname* (Society of Suriname) took over. In 1668, the total amount of settlers and slaves is estimated at 3,000 (Postma 1990). Of 167 plantations only 24 were in working order, others were dismantled or molested by the English settlers after the Dutch conquest. In the following fourteen years the population seriously declined due to a variety of causes. The province of Zeeland failed to establish an adequate governing structure for the colony. People left, including British and Jewish settlers and their slaves. Furthermore, another war with both France and England and increasing conflicts with Caribs and Maroons as well as several slave revolts brought the colony close to its demise. Moreover, few Europeans arrived in Suriname during this period. The number of plantations increased from 107 in 1671 to 116 in 1675 and from 116 to 141 in 1686 (see also Van der Linde 1966: 54).[6] Binder, cited by Postma (1990), counted 11 slave-ships arrivals with 3,404 slaves on board between 1668 and 1674. Postma comments on these figures that they appear to be rather high, although they may reflect an initial effort to develop the colony. Not a single slave ship arrived in the colony during the period 1678-1681 (Postma 1990: 178-179).

After 1683 the situation changed. With the appointment of Cornelis van Aerssen van Sommelsdijck as governor new settlers arrived, including Jews of Portuguese and Spanish descent, French Huguenots, French and Dutch Labadists and Dutch Protestants. The latter included 177 orphans under the age of 12 from an orphanage in Amsterdam (Van der Linde 1966). New plantations were founded on the banks of the Commewina River, the Cottica River and Perica River (Dragtenstein 2002: 95). The Slaves were imported on a regular basis. From 1681 to 1684 six slave ships arrived with a total of 2,226 slaves. From 1685 to 1689 seventeen ships carried 7,072 slaves to Suriname. Four ships carried 2,076 slaves from 1690 to 1694 (Postma 1990: 186). While in the previous setting the slave population consisted of African and Amerindian slaves, the majority of the slaves were of West-African descent in this setting, most speaking Gbe and Kikongo languages natively (Arends 1995, 2002; see

[6] These findings are based on a comparison of three maps: The map in the *Blathwayt Atlas* of 1667 presents the number of plantations under English rule, the map

also Smith 1987a, 1987b and Migge 2003). Note that even though the number of Europeans decreased, the number of Europeans speaking different (varieties of) European languages increased. In general the social distance between the different societal groups increased.

Paramaribo became the capital of the colony. In the late 1660s it existed of thirty to fifty houses, mostly inns and smugglers' dens (Wolbers 1861: 56). As far as I know, no detailed figures of the development of the population of the city are availabe for this period. Van der Linde (1966) estimates the number of (white) parishioners in Paramaribo at 15 to 20 families.

During this setting, a new social group of free men and women was formed by some of the sons and daughters of European men and African or Indian women and others, who were set free by their masters as well as those who bought themselves free (Beeldsnijder 1991). Socially they ranked below poor whites at first, but they quickly rose up the social ladder as they learned various trades, including that of carpenter, coppersmith, brick-layer, cook and house servant. The earliest attestion of free blacks dates from 1670 (Dragtenstein 2002: 27). The first known free black was Thomas Herman, who owned a small plantation of 20 acres in 1685 (Van der Linde 1966). In 1731 a free black paid head taxes for his slaves.

Up to 1684 it is difficult to reconstruct the development of Suriname's population in great detail, as figures derive from various types of historical documents, see also contact setting 1. From 1684 onwards overviews of payments of head taxes, paid on annual basis by the free citizens for members of their families, their servants and their slaves were studied systematically by Postma (1990: 185), but statistics are available only for the years 1684 and 1695 in this setting. However, I have found lists of payments of head taxes for the years 1693 and 1694 in the *Nationaal Archief* in The Hague. Note that head tax payment figures deviate from the actual numbers of people in Suriname as new settlers were exempt from these taxed during the first ten years of their stay in the colony. Furthermore, taxes were evaded by underreporting the number of slaves. Postma estimates the deviation due to these factors at maximally 10%. Table 1.3 is an adaptation of Arends' (1995a) overview of the growth of the population of Suriname. It presents an overview of the development of the population of Suriname from 1668 to 1695, based on both historical and archival documents and head tax payment figures. As Postma's deviation percentage is not incorporated in his figures for 1684 and 1695, it is not incorporated in the figures for 1693 and 1694 presented below.

Table 1.2 *Population of Suriname 1668 - 1695*

year	enslaved blacks	settlers	source*	black-to-white-ratio	number of plantations
1668	700		VdL		24 (working order)
	1,850	1,070	V&L; P	2:1	
1671	1,200 new slaves 1,300 old slaves	800 (not including Jews)	V&L, P, RS	3:1	107 (W, RR)
1673	3,000		R		
1675	1,600 new slaves 1,300 old slaves	550 600	V&L M	6:1	116
1679**	900 new slaves, 100 old slaves	460	V&L	2:1	
	2700 (total of enslaved blacks and Amerindians on plantations)	500 in May 1679; 325 in August 1679	VdL, P	5:1 8:1	
1681/2	543 black men and 429 black women; 10 Amerindian men and 13 Amerindian women (on Jewish plantations) 1200 black men and 955 black women; 29 Amerindian men and 54 Amerindian women (on christian plantations) total: 3,332 (3,127 blacks)	362 (not including Jews)	VdL	6:1	152
1684***	3,332	652	P	5:1	
	4,281	579 plus 232 Jews (58 people, including 45 men; in the Suriname River area)	RS	5:1	
1686			W (RR)		141 (+ 7)
1689	9,000 (on Jewish plantations)	570 Jews (92 Sephardic families plus 10 or 12 Ashkenazic families)	VdL	15:1	40 (Jewish)
1693	4,756	319	VdB	14:1	
1694***	4,691	352	VdB	13:1	
1695	4,618	379	P	12:1	

*VEB = Van Eyk-Benjamins (1927); RS = Rens (1953, 1954); V&L = Voorhoeve & Lichtveld (1975: 3); D = Dragtenstein (2002); S = Scott (1669), M = Mulert (1917); VdL = Van de Linde

(1966); P = Postma (1990); VdB = Van den Berg (2000); W = Wekker (1983); RR = Renselaar (1966)
** While Voorhoeve & Lichtveld (1975) give estimates based on unnamed historical sources and archival documents, Van der Linde (1966) quotes the former Suriname governor Heinsius (1679).
***Further research is needed to account for the discrepancies.

Even though there are hardly any linguistic data from this turbulent period, it is clear that this contact setting must have triggered the emergence of various new language varieties, including those that consequently developed into the contemporary Suriname Creoles (Arends 2002,2003; Migge 2003; see also Holm 1989). As these new varieties came about in a different contact setting, I assume that the varieties spoken by the slaves arriving in this period differed from the range of L2 and pidgin varieties of English that emerged in the previous setting. One of the determining factors is the rate of replacement, i.e. the ration of the number of slaves imported in a certain period to the number present at the beginning of that period (Arends 1995a). Until 1700 the black population, the vast majority of whom had been born in Africa themselves, was continuously being supplemented and outnumbered by new arrivals from Africa. This ratio is particularly high for the 1680s, as "by the end of that decade every pre-1680 arrival was surrounded by five or more post-1680 imports" (Arends 1995a: 263).

The setting is not only characterized by a greater numerical disparity between Europeans and Africans and a greater number of languages, but also by a different social structure of the colony, giving rise to different social groups and social group identities (Arends 1995, 2002; Migge 2003; Van Stipriaan 1993). Typically, the new slaves worked as field slaves on the plantations, while the old slaves became the new slave elite, some performing skilled labor or working as domestic slaves. A black overseer stood at the top of the black community and in direct, frequent and elaborate contact with the white owner or plantation manager. Furthermore, blacks working as house servants, hunters or craftsmen or other skilled workers had regular contact with the whites on the plantation. Female servants were sometimes taken as concubines by managers and white overseers. The least elaborate and frequent interaction probably occurred between the plantation manager and the field slaves, as they most likely communicated through the black overseer and only occasionally had direct contact with the manager. African field slaves and European indentured servants may have communicated more frequently, but the latter were generally looked down upon by the slaves. This attitude may have influenced language transmission.

Thus, the linguistic resources available to new slaves must have consisted mainly of a range of varieties spoken by older slaves, including the L2 varieties of English of slaves who arrived during the previous setting. In particular the varieties of the old slaves must have been an important linguistic resource, because new slaves were 'seasoned' by old slaves, who also introduced them to the varieties spoken on the plantation (Arends 1995; Beeldsnijder 1993). However, during the 1680s access to seasoned slaves became more difficult due to the large number of new arrivals. New slaves may have further resorted to strategies characteristic of naturalistic second language acquistion. Thus, a set of related varieties emerged that overlapped to varying

degrees, since they emerged in similar interactions and they continually influenced each other (Migge 2002; Baker 1990).

Whereas the interaction between the majority of the enslaved blacks and the few Europeans on the plantations must have been limited, except for black overseers and house servants, the interaction between these societal groups was less limited in the city, despite the social distance. There, Africans and Europeans hussled and traded on the market, they occasionally drank and played dice together and both black and white costermongers went door to door to sell their goods.

The life of the preacher planter Johannes Basseliers (c1640 – 1689), discussed by Van der Linde (1966), provides a window on this contact setting. He came to Suriname in 1668 and stayed until his death in 1689. He owned and managed a plantation at the Suriname River since 1671. In 1684 his plantation was populated as follows:

Table 1.3 *The Surimombo plantation of Johannes Basseliers at the Suriname River in 1684*

Europeans			Africans				Amerindians			
men	*women*	*girls*	*men*	*women*	*boys*	*girls*	*men*	*women*	*boys*	*girls*
6	2	2	28	23	8	7	2	3	1	2

Source: Van der Linde (1966: 75)

One of the boys arrived recently from Angola, as he was bought by Basseliers on september 7, 1684 for 5100 pond of sugar, that equals 255 guilders in those days. The Europeans are Basseliers himself, his son Nicolaes and most likely four indentured servants, including Gerrit Roelofsen whom Basseliers bought for 4140 pond of sugar. The women are his wife and, probably an (older) orphan from Amsterdam. One of the girls is his daughter Elisabeth. The Africans worked on the sugar cane fields, the Amerindians worked as fishermen, hunters and around the house. Note that the black to white ratio (6.6:1) differs only marginally from the general black to white ratio for 1684 (5:1, see table 1.2).

A few years before, in 1681, Basseliers paid taxes for 50 slaves over 12 years of age. At that time only five planters had more adult slaves than Basseliers, including Jan van Scharpenhuizen (63 slaves), Isaack Mesa (53 slaves), Samuel Cohen Nassy (80 slaves), the heirs of Pieter Versterre (70 slaves) and Anton de Silva (62 slaves). Note that three major planters are Sephardim of Portuguese/Spanish decent; they are Mesa, Nassy and de Silva. The total number of planters was 152. In addition to Basseliers and the five other major planters, 78 planters paid taxes for ten to fifty slaves; 68 planters paid taxes for less than ten slaves. I assume that the black-to-white ratio on plantations with less than ten slaves must have been lower than that of plantations with more than fifty slaves.

Contact setting III (1695 – 1775). In short, this setting is characterized by large-scale sugar production resulting in an econominal expansion that lasted until the financial crisis of the 1770s (Arends 2002). Whereas an average plantation counted twenty slaves in 1690, the number of slaves increased to an average of one hunderd slaves per

plantation during this setting (Arends 1995). The social groups that were founded during the former setting expanded in number; social group identities were strenghtened; the creole varieties were more and more acknowledged as the primary means of interethnic communication by blacks and whites, while at the same time certain linguistic variables became increasingly associated with specific social groups, regions and ethnicities, so that a complex linguistic repertoire emerged. In particular I will address the varietes spoken by blacks and whites in the city and on the plantations.

The slave population of Suriname increased dramatically from some 4,000 in 1690 to some 60,000 in 1775, despite the high death rate (Arends 1995, 1998, 2002). Arends (2002) describes the slave population of Suriname as follows: "Due to the high death rate, the low life expectancy upon arrival, and the continuous importation, in particular of young male slaves, Suriname's African population was characterized by an age bias in the 15-25 year range and a disproportion of African-born over Surinamese-born. Even as late as 1750, three out of every four blacks in Suriname (apart from the Maroons) had been born in Africa (...). This means that one hundred years after the beginning of the colony Sranan was still a second rather than a first language for three quarters of the population" (Arends 2002: 123). Similar to the previous setting, new slaves worked mostly as field slaves and they were 'seasoned' by old slaves. However, the new slaves were introduced mainly to the creole varieties created by the old slaves, which I will name *Nengretongo*, literally 'black man's language' from now on. As most of the new slaves who arrived prior to 1740 spoke varieties of Gbe and they thus shared similar ethnolinguistic background with the old slaves (Arends 1995), I assume that if *Nengretongo* as spoken by the old slaves exhibited Gbe-derived features, these features must have been reinforced as the new slaves resorted to strategies characteristic of naturalistic second language acquisition, including transfer from their native Gbe languages, see also Migge (2003).

The European population increased from 379 in 1695 to some 2,000 in 1775, speaking various European languages such as Dutch, French, German, Swedish, Danish, Portuguese and English (Arends 1995, 2002). The ratio of Europeans to African slaves was 1:25 in 1775 (Arends 1995a, 2002). Many Europeans, mostly single males, came to Suriname to make a fortune and left either by boat or by the grave. Others, in particular those who fled Europe in pursuit of religious freedom, stayed until they perished. Most Europeans acquired a variety of creole, and used it not only to facilitate communication with Africans and their locally-born offspring, but also among themselves. In 1737, for example, half of the plantations was in possession of non-Dutch owners (18% Portuguese, 25% French 7%, English/German) (Van Stipriaan 1993; Arends 1995a). Presumably, the varieties displayed transfer from their native tongues, so that these varieties became known as *Bakratongo*, literally 'white man's language'.

The third social group that increased in number, albeit at a low rate, in the course of the 18th century, was formed by free blacks and people of mixed (i.e. African and European) background. In 1762 the number of free blacks amounted to 330 out of the total population of 2,720 free men and women (Dragtenstein 2002; Vrij 1998). In 1783 their number was 589 of a total of 2,722 free men and women (Beeldsnijder

1991: 8). In 1790 the number of free blacks and mulattos outnumbered the whites living in the city: 1,760 blacks and mulattos as opposed to 1,240 whites (Beeldsnijder 1991: 8). Most of them were born in Suriname and must have spoken a variety of creole natively as opposed to most of the slaves for whom the creole was a second or third language. As free blacks and people of mixed racial background ranked high in terms of social status, their variety of creole speech is considered to have been a prestiguous one. An alternative scenario is proposed by Essed-Fruin & Gobardhan (1992): they claim that this group spoke Dutch rather than a variety of Sranan to distinguish themselves from the slave population. Given their education and their social status plus the fact that there are letters written in Dutch by free blacks and mulattos to the governement in the Netherlands, it is clear that they had a good command of Dutch, but I find it even more likely that they were bilingual in both Sranan and Dutch (see also DeKleine 1999).

During this setting the creole varieties spoken on the plantations and in Paramaribo, the main city of Suriname, increasingly diverged as both societal groups developed numerically and in terms of social structure. Plantations can be regarded as relatively small, stable and tightly-knit societies, whereas the city is a relatively large, more dynamic and loosely-knit community (Milroy & Milroy 1982). These differences in community size, network structure and stability may have different implications for linguistic structure as plantation residents are likely to share more information with each other, display greater conformity in their linguistic behaviors and maintain group norms more strictly than city dwellers (Trudgill 2002; Milroy & Milroy 1985, 1992). Moreover, linguistic change may have been slow on the plantations, whereas it may have been rapid in the city. There is some late 18th century linguistic evidence that the varieties spoken on the 'old' English plantations founded prior to 1667 differed from the varieties spoken on the plantations founded after 1667 (Schumann 1783), see also section 7.1. The creole varieties spoken in Paramaribo are subsumed under the name *Fototongo* literally 'fort's language'. Whereas detailed information on the socio-demographic development of Paramaribo in the late 17th and the first half of the 18th century is limited, the situation is a little better for the late 18th century as property taxation lists from this period give an impression of the number of (taxable) houses and their residents. The taxation lists specify the owner of each property, his address and the amount due, "thus providing a full register of properties and their owners in Paramaribo" (Cohen 1991: 82). Furthermore, there is the ode by the Scots military man John Gabriel Stedman (1992 [1796]). He describes Paramaribo in the early 1770s as follows:

> "The number of buildings in Paramaribo is computed to be about one thousand four hundred (...) The Protestant church, where divine worship is done both in Low Dutch and French, has a small spire, clock, and dial, besides which there is a Lutheran chapel, and two elegant Jewish synagogues, the one German and the other Portuguese. Here is also a fine, large hospital for the garrison that is never empty. The military storehouses, powder-magazines, &c. are kept in the fortress Zeelandia, where the Society soldiers are also lodged in barracks and some officers in proper pavilions.

> The town of Paramaribo has a very good road for shipping, the river before the town being above one mile broad, and containing sometimes above one hundred vessels of burden, which are moored within a pistol shot from the waterside. Indeed there are seldom less than fourscore, which load coffe, sugar, cacao, cotton, and indigo for Holland, including the Guineamen that bring slaves from Africa, and the brigs, schooners, &c., that import from North America and the Leeward Islands flour, salt-herring, beef, pork, and horses, and for which they export molasses to distill their rum. (...)
>
> Paramaribo is a very lively place, the streets being crowded with planters, sailors, soldiers, Jews, Indians, and Negroes, while the river swarms with canoes, barges, yawls, ships, boats, &c., constantly going and coming from different estates, and crossing and passing each other like the wherries on the Thames, and mostly accompanied by bands of music. This, and all the different-colored flags perpetually streaming in the wind, while continually some guns are firing in the roads from the shipping, and whole groups of naked girls are playing the water like so many mermaids, cannot but have a truly enchanting appearance from the beach, and in some measure compensate for the many curses that one is here exposed to daily. I might still add the number of carriages, saddle horses, and profuseness in dress, which is truly magnificent – silk, embroidery, Genoa velvets, diamonds, gold- and silver-lace being daily wear – not so much as a captain of a trading ship appearing in less than solid gold buckles to his stock, breeches, &c., nor are they less refined at their tables, where everything that can be called delicate is produced at any price, and served up in the newest fashioned silver plate and Japan china. But nothing so much displays the luxury of the inhabitants of Surinam as the quantity of slaves that constantly attend them, sometimes in one family to the number of twenty and greatly upwards, a European man- or maidservant being almost never to be met with in the colony." Stedman (1796: 126-130), edited by Price & Price (1992: 126-130).

Although his estimate of the number of houses (1,400) is exaggerated (only 811 properties were taxed in 1772, Cohen 1991: 84), Stedman's description captures the essence of the city. In the late 18th century it was the administrative, economic and cultural center of the colony.

Djutongo literally 'Jew's language' refers to the creole varieties spoken originally on the Portuguese and Spanish owned plantations on the Upper Suriname River (Price 1976; Arends 1992, 1999; Smith 1987a, 1999, 2002). The economic crisis of the 1770s forced many Jews to sell their plantations and move with some of their slaves to the city as a result of which Djutongo words and expressions are expected to turn up in *fototongo* (see section 7.1). Jews owned 219 out of a total of 1119 houses of Paramaribo in 1787: Sephardim of Portuguese and Spanish descent possessed 127 houses, Ashkenazim of French, German and Polish descent had 86 houses, another six were used as residences for poor Jews (Cohen 1991: 84). *Nengretongo*, *Bakratongo*, *English tongo, Fototongo* and *Djutongo* are discussed in more detail in section 7.1.

The development of the population of Suriname is outlined in the following tables. Table 1.4 to 1.6 present the Suriname population in the early, mid- and late 18th century respectively. They are adapted from Arends (1995a) and Postma (1990) with additional figures from various other primary and secondary sources. Note that the black-to-white ratio refers to the ratio of enslaved Africans to Europeans on the plantations. The black-to-white ratio cannot be calculated for the city, as numbers on the demographic development of the population of the city are lacking. Only for the year 1787 figures are available. About 9,000 to 10,000 people lived in Paramaribo at that time, counting 1350 Europeans (including 615 Sephardim and 430 Ashkenazim), 650 free people of African descent and 7,000 to 8,000 enslaved blacks (Cohen 1991: 84). Thus, the black-to-white ratio was 4:1 in the city in 1787. [7] The black-to-white ratio on the average plantation was 24:1 in 1783.

[7] Free people of (mixed) African descent are included as whites in the calculations.

Table 1.4 *Population of Suriname in the early 18th century (1700 – 1730)*

year	enslaved blacks	free blacks, mulattos	European settlers	source*	black-to-white-ratio	number of plantations	city dwellers
1701				R		83 (Commewijne) 36 (Cottica)	
1703	8,000 adults 1,321 children total: 9,321		652 adults 125 children total: 777	VdB	12:1		
1705	8,433 adults 1,330 children total: 9,763		601 adults 132 children total: 733	P, VdB	13:1		
1706	8,542 adults 1,446 children total: 9,988		586 adults 151 children total: 737	VdB	14:1		
1710	10,372 adults 1,737 children total: 12,109		672 adults 173 children total: 845	P	14:1		
1711	10,839 adults 1,839 children total: 12,678		676 adults 180 children total: 856	VdB	14:1		
1712	10,558 adults 1,795 children total: 12,353		657 adults 200 children total: 857	VdB	14:1		(c500 house, VdL)
1715	9,702 adults 1,962 children total: 11,664		671 adults 167 children total: 838	P	14:1		
1720	11,347 adults 2,257 children total: 13,604		767 adults 166 children total: 933	P	15:1		
1730	15,391 adults 2,799 children total: 18,190		909 adults 176 children total: 1,085	P, W	17:1	224 (incl. 93 Jewish plantations)	

* P = Postma (1990); VdL = Van der Linde (1966); VdB = Van den Berg (2000); W = Wekker (1983); R = Renselaar (1966)

Table 1.5 *Population of Suriname in the mid-18th century (1735 – 1765)*

year	enslaved blacks	free blacks, mulattos	European settlers	source*	black-to-white-ratio	number of plantations	city dwellers
1735	18,799 adults 3,397 children total: 22,196		1,038 adults 228 children total: 1,266	P	18:1		
1736	1,9409 adults 3,288 children total: 22,697		1,067 adults 129 children total: 1,288	B	18:1		
1737				W		400 (incl. 115 Jewish plantations)	
1744	20,707 adults 4,428 children total: 25,135		1,028 adults 166 children total: 1,217	P	21:1		
1752	19,008 sugar 16,029 coffee 534 wood etc. 2264 in Paramaribo total: 37.853		1,504 adults 204 children total: 1,708	VS, B	22:1		(c700 houses, C)
1754	27,533adults 5,890 children total: 33,423		1,275 adults 166 children total: 1,441	P	23:1		
1762		330	2720	D			

* P = Postma (1990); D = Dragtenstein (2002); VS = Van Stipriaan (1993); B = Beeldsnijder (1994); W = Wekker (1983), C = Cohen 1991)

Table 1.6 *Population of Suriname in the late 18th century (1770 – 1800)*

year	enslaved blacks	free blacks, mulattos	European settlers	source*	black-to-white-ratio	number of plantations	city dwellers
1769							
1772				C			(811 houses)
1774	16,584 sugar 37,179 coffee 3071 wood 3,089 in Paramaribo total: 59,923			VS			
1782							(1015 houses)
1783	51,096	598	2,133	B	24:1		
1786				D		c.500 (incl. 80 – 90 Jewish plantations)	
1787		650	5356	B			2000 Europeans (incl. 615 Sephardim, 430 Ashkenazim, 650 free blacks)
				C			7000 slaves 1119 houses
1790		1760	3240	VS			3000 (incl. 1760 free blacks)
1791			3360 (incl. 2030 Jews)	W		591 (incl. 46 Jewish plantations)	
1795	12,232 sugar 26,710 coffee 4209 cotton 2204 wood 2800 in Paramaribo total: 48,155			VS			

* P = Postma (1990); VS = Van Stipriaan (1993); W = Wolbers (1861); D = Dragtenstein 2002); B = Beeldsnijder (1991); C = Cohen 1991)

1.3 Sources of Early Sranan

All of the sources used in this study are part of the computerized corpus of early Sranan and Saramaccan texts that is being built at the Radboud University of Nijmegen in cooperation with the University of Amsterdam[8].

Five sources form the core of the present study: the third (and most extensive) edition of a manuscript dictionary of Schumann (1783 [16,000 tokens]); Weygandt's language manual (1798 [15,000 tokens]); the undated phrase-book-cum-grammar by Van Dyk (c1765 [14,000 tokens]); Herlein's text (1718 [200 tokens]), and written in reaction to that, Nepveu's version of the same text with some additions (1765 [700 tokens]).[9]

Data from the sources mentioned above are supplemented with data found in the judicial archives (Van den Berg 2000, Van den Berg & Arends 2004 [500 tokens]) and the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty conducted in 1762 (Hoogbergen and Polimé 2000, Arends & Van den Berg 2004 [1,900 tokens]). The total number of Sranan tokens in the corpus is about 53,200. Note that the number of tokens is merely mentioned in order to give a rough estimate of the size of the texts as word boundaries are arbitrarily observed in the texts due to non-standarized spelling conventions in the 18th century.

Note that the sources include different types of text: word lists, dialogues, playlets, language guides, a dictionary, transcripts of (parts of) Court Records and the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty of 1762. See table 1.8. A brief overview of each source and some relevant background information on the author is given in the following sections.

Table 1.8 *Overview of types of Early Sranan documents*

word lists and language manuals			tokens	0ther		tokens
Herlein (HL)	(1718)	w; dl	200	Court	(1707 -	
Van Dyk (VD)	(c1765)	w; dl, p	15,000	Records (CR)	1767)	500
Nepveu (N)	(1770)	w; dl	700	Sranan version		
Schumann (SCHUM)	(1783)	dc	20,000	of the Saramaka		
Weygandt (WEY)	(1798)	w; dl, p	15,000	Peace Treaty (SPT)	(1762)	1,900
		TOTAL	50,900			

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

[8] The Suriname Creole Archive project (NWO INV-05-01) is the most recent project in the line of several undertakings that have been carried out at the University of Amsterdam, the University of Leiden and the Radboud University of Nijmegen over the years in order to transcribe and computerize 18th century Suriname Creole texts, including Sranan and Saramaccan.

[9] Note that the texts written by Van Dyk, Herlein and Nepveu are available in the volume on Early Suriname Creole texts by Arends & Perl (1995); the Herlein fragment has been published by Schuchardt (1914), Rens (1953) and Voorhoeve & Lichtveld (1975). Schumann's (1783) dictionary appears in Kramp's (1983) dissertation.

Schneider (2002: 72) developed a classification of text categories that represent a continuum of increasing distance between an original speech event and its written record, ranging from recorded, recalled, imagined, observed to invented. Recorded texts are the most reliable, whereas texts belonging to the other categories need to be assessed carefully in terms of representiveness and validity. The classification is based on the following criteria: a) the reality of a speech event portrayed (the speech event may have occured in real life or it may represent a hypothetical utterance); b) the relationship between the speaker and the recorder (they may or may not be the same person); c) the temporal distance between the speech event and the time of the recording (they may not take place at the same time). The Court Records and the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty belong to the 'recorded' category as they are direct records of singular speech events, written down on location. Schumann's (1783) dictionary most likely belongs to the 'recalled' category as the Sranan entries and examples may have been written down some time after they were uttered, presumably from notes and/or memory. However, as Schumann checked his texts with his consultants (Kramp 1985) and the dictionary shows several corrections and insertions that were added later, some parts of the dictionary should be regarded as recorded. Herlein's text and Nepveu's checked version of it may also belong to the 'recalled' category, as the authors appear to have taken note of what was said verbatim and faithfully. Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Weygandt's (1798) manual hold the middle between 'observed' and 'invented' as the authors present examples of words, phrases and idiomatic expressions that they regard as characteristic of the language (typical of the 'observed' category), but they also include dialogues and plays, reflecting hypothetical, imagined speech not associated with a real-life speech event ('invented'). With regard to the observed category, Schneider comments that lists of common words, phrases and expressions are typically prescriptively motivated, and that the speech events are not unique but typical, and "thus one step more indirect as a record of speech, filtered not only by perception, but also by the evaluation of the author" (Schneider 2002: 73).

1.3.1 Herlein's (1718) fragment

The identity of the author of the earliest printed Sranan fragment from the book titled 'Beschrijvinge van de volk-plantinge Zuriname' (1718) remains somewhat of a mystery (Arends 1995, 2003, in prep.). In the book he is mentioned only by his initials, J. D. Hl. The full name of the author, Herlein, is cited in the 'ode to the author' included in some copies of the first edition of this book (Arends 1995, Lichtveld 1966), but not in the second edition that is used here. A certain Jean Herlin, which could be a spelling variant of J. Herlein, acquired civil rights of the town of Leeuwarden in the province of Friesland, the Netherlands in 1709. However, as J. D. Herlein was in Suriname at that time, the names Jean Herlin and J. D. Herlein may not refer to the same person (Arends 1995: 12).

Two years prior to the publication of this work, a similar book appeared in print by the same publisher Meindert Injema in Leeuwarden, in which presumably the same author describes his journey to Suriname with a ship called 's Lands Welvaren (captain: Anderies Martens). It left Texel on October 16, 1706 and arrived in Suriname

thirteen weeks and several days later (Lichtveld 1966). Assuming the author is indeed Herlein, he must have landed in Suriname in the second week of January 1707. At that time, the governor of Suriname was Van der Veen, whom Herlein mentions in the acknowledgements. Cornelis Pietersen Ederssen and Adriaan van Zwol are also acknowledged. The former was a merchant of Paramaribo, who hosted Herlein; the latter a plantation manager. It is not clear when Herlein left exactly, although there is some biographical evidence that the year may have been 1715 (Arends 1995: 12). Arends (1995: 13) concludes that the variety represented in Herlein's (1718) text "would be the white rather than the black variety, and/or the urban rather than the plantation variety". In other words, it represents the urban *bakratongo* variety of Early Sranan, the variety of Sranan spoken by the Europeans in the city.

Note that the text alternatively can be regarded as representative of the old varieties of Early Sranan spoken on the plantations on the Commewina River, that were founded by the British. The Sranan fragment covers three pages, including two dialogues and some words and phrases. Schuchardt (1914), Rens (1953), Voorhoeve & Lichtveld (1975) and Arends (1995: 16-17) all focus on the presence of a number of English-derived words and phrases, that have become obsolete later. Regarding the complex spelling of these words and phrases, Arends remarks that "Herlein's spelling seems consistently closer to English pronunciation than Nepveu's; especially striking is Herlein's way of rendering English diphtongs, as in *draei, gaeu* and *bie laeu*" (Arends 1995: 17). Furthermore, Herlein gives detailed information on Suriname plantations and Suriname plantation in the book, based on written sources and personal communicaton and observation. The plantation manager Adriaan van Zwol may have been a significant source of information. What is more, he may have acted as one of Herlein's consultants on the language. We know very little of this person, but if he worked on one of the old plantations on the Commewina River, it would explain the presence of English features in the text. It is more likely that English influence would be preserved on a plantation than in the city, as the former is characterized by stronger communal ties than the latter (Milroy & Milroy 1985).

1.3.2 Nepveu's (1770) corrections of Herlein's text

Jan or Jean Nepveu (1709-1779; born in Amsterdam) is the author of the corrections of Herlein's (1718) Sranan fragment, titled 'Annotatien op de Surinaamsche Beschrijvinge van A^0 1718' (1770)'. The Sranan material covers about nine pages in the 400 page long manuscript, that was intented to become a revised edition of Herlein's (1718) book. A draft version appeared in 1765, containing six pages of Sranan material (Arends 1995, Voorhoeve & Lichtveld 1975). Both versions include one page of corrections of Herlein's (1718) text, that are identical (Arends 1995: 19).

Nepveu went to Suriname in 1734, when he was about fifteen years old. He held several public offices; from 1770 to the day he died in 1779, he was governor of Suriname. More biographical information on the life of Jan Nepveu is found in Arends (1995: 17 – 19).

Note that Nepveu had been in Suriname for thirty years at the time of the publication of the draft version. Thus, he must have been fluent in the *bakratongo*

variety of Early Sranan, in particular the *bakratongo* variety spoken by the Europeans in the city (*fototongo*).[10]

1.3.3 Court Records (1707-1767)

Court records from the judicial archives stored in the Nationaal Archief in The Hague contain more or less verbatim reports of what was being said during an interrogation, so that the testimonies of slaves and freemen of West-African descent are occasionally reproduced in Sranan. An indication of the authenticity of these records may be found in the repeated use of a swear word such as *you mama pima* meaning 'your mama's cunt' (Van den Berg & Arends 2004).

Apart from a number of interesting metalinguistic observations, these documents contain some purely linguistic data as well, in the form of some 500 isolated Sranan words (tokens) and 54 short Sranan passages. Due to the particular type of record we are dealing with here, often containing more than one account of the same event, some of these passages occur more than once, although not always in exactly the same wording. Although sentence boundaries are sometimes difficult to determine in this type of material, a provisional analysis yielded a total of around 70 sentences. However, since some of these sentences occur more than once, whether in exactly identical phrasing or not, the actual number of different 'sentence types' may be estimated at some 55. The average sentence length is 5 words, which is comparable to that in the Herlein fragment, where it is 4,5. The earliest document mentioning a lawsuit concerning an African slave dates from 1684, while the earliest Sranan words and sentences (about ten passages) date from 16 -18 July 1707. The remaining passages are from records dating from the 1745-1767 period (Van den Berg 2000, Van den Berg & Arends 2004).

1.3.4 The Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty of 1762, by Louis Nepveu

The Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty records the contents of the treaty as it was read to the Saramaka Maroons on September 19, 1762, at the junction of Sara Creek and Suriname River. It also discloses the Saramaka replies to the treaty. This document was rediscovered in the archives by the Dutch anthropologist Wim Hoogbergen (Hoogbergen & Polimé 2000). Arends & Van den Berg (2004) produced a more accurate transcription that is available on the internet, including scans of the original text, see http://www.creolica.net.

Both texts were recorded by Louis Nepveu (a relative of Jan Nepveu), who was the colonial government's delegate to the negotiations. In the opening lines of the text, Louis Nepveu is identified as the author:

[10] Note that this is at odds with Smith (1982), who suggests on the basis of the analysis of nasal stop clusters in this text that it represents a variety that is towards the basilectal end of the creole continuum. Even though it may be correct that it is a basilectal variety phonologically speaking, the variety presented in this text displays several morphosyntactic features that we would associate with a rather acrolectal variety of Early Sranan.

(1) *Granman langa coertoe sendie masara Loúis Nepveú foú meki da fri. A poti*
governor and court send master Louis Nepveu to make the treaty 3S put

alle dissi santi deja na inni gi dem foe hakisi dem effi dem wandi holli dati alle.
all these thing here LOC in GIVE 3P to ask 3P if 3P want hold that all
'The Governor and the Court of Police have sent Mr Louis Nepveu to conclude the treaty. He wrote all these things down for them in order to ask them if they are willing to stick to all these agreements.'

Both texts represent second language varieties of Early Sranan, as Louis Nepveu is assumed to have spoken Dutch and perhaps French natively and the Saramaka Maroons, of course, Saramaccan. Moreover, due to the formal setting and the official status of the document, the recorded variety is most likely a rather formal variety of Early Sranan.

1.3.5 Pieter Van Dyk's (c1765) language guide

Even though the full name of the author of the first Sranan manual is known, it is not clear who Pieter van Dyk was, as not enough evidence is available to positively identify him (Arends 1995, Van Trier-Guicherit 1991). It has been suggested that he may have been a white overseer (Arends 1995, Lichtveld & Voorhoeve 1980). Furthermore the year of publication is not known, although it cannot have been published before 1757 or after 1769 based on bibliological and historical evidence (Arends 1995: 20). The full title is 'Nieuwe en nooit bevoorens geziene onderwyzinge in het Bastert Engels, of Neeger Engels, zoo als het zelve in de Hollandsze colonien gebruikt word' ['New and unique instruction of Bastard English, or Negro English, as it is used in the Dutch colonies']. It was published by the heirs of the widow of Jacobus van Egmont in Amsterdam, the Netherlands and clearly intended for Dutch readership. The total number of pages is 112: 15 pages of vocabulary; 3 pages of common expressions; 24 pages of dialogues numbered one to twelve, and a play about a Suriname coffee plantation manager and his slaves (66 pages), a title page and a dedication.

The validity of the book is strenghtened in a number of ways. For example, the author announces on the title page of the book that it is based on many years of trial and experience. Furthermore, he dedicates the book to Tepper, whom Van Dyk introduces as his friend and eye witness to the events portrayed in the play. He also performs as an actor in the play. The book is labeled an *Onderwyzinge* 'instruction' on the title page and a *Gramére* 'grammar' in the dedication; the various sections in the vocabulary are titled accordingly. Thus, one finds headings such as *Toegevoeggelyke Naamen* 'attributive names', *Van de tafel en Vlees* 'of the table and meat' and *Toekoomende Tyd* 'future tense'. Closer examination of the contents of a section reveals that the examples do not always relate to the heading, see (2). The original translation is given in between brackets.

(2)	TOEKOOMENDE TYD.		'Future tense.'
	Mi za kissi.	['Ik zal krygen.']	'I will get.'
	Joe za kissi.	['Jy zal krygen.']	'You will get.'
	Wi habi kaba.	['Wy hebben gedaan.']	'We have finished.'
	Mi vredi.	['Ik vrees.']	'I fear.'
	Mi zabi.	['Ik weet.']	'I know.'
	Mi locke.	['Ik kyk.']	'I look.'
	Mi go didde.	['Ik sterf.']	'I am dying.'

Furthermore the Dutch translation contains forms that are typical of a colloquial variety of Dutch rather than a formal variety (Van der Wal 1998), including the copula form *binnen* instead of *zyn* (3) and the use of the form *myn* instead of *my* as the first person singular indirect object pronoun, as in (4).

(3) *Meester myn Handen binnen Gebrekkelyk, hoe zal ik doen* (VD c1765: 59)
'Master, my hands are ailing, what shall I do.'

(4) (...) *zoo dat ik myn heb moeten Verschoonen, dat* (...) (VD c1765: 71)
'(...) so that I had to put on clean clothes, that (...)'

Examples such as (3) and (4) underline the overall impression that it was not Van Dyk's primary intention to publish a prescriptive language manual, or that he was a skilled grammarian. His main concern, as stated on the title page, is to educate new planters, servants and merchants so that they will learn to treat slaves humanely. [11]

Van Dyk describes the language in the dedication as a language in which not everything can be expressed as it is an adaptation from English, and therefore called *Neeger Engels* 'Negro English' or *Basterd Engels* 'Bastard English'. The variety of Sranan represented in this source has been categorized as a more conservative plantation variety (Schuchardt 1914, Arends 1995) as well as a urban variety (Donicie 1951; Voorhoeve & Donicie 1963). Van Trier-Guicherit (1991) suggests that this work reflects the language of the African slaves as well as the language of the Surinam-born people of European descent. She points out that out of twelve dialogues, seven are conversations between Europeans, taking place in a city setting. On the other hand, the setting of the play is a plantation. DeKleine (1999) suggests that Van Dyk was a native speaker of Sranan, but according to Lichtveld & Voorhoeve (1980), he may not have been a fluent speaker of the language. Bruyn (1995) assumes that the latter may have been misled by the 'inconsistent and sometimes Dutch-like orthography' of the text in addition to some faulty translations by Van Dyk. As Sranan was not generally used as a written language at that time, and it lacked a standardized orthography, she argues that orthography is of no importance for the assessment of the text, and that "[o]n the morphosyntactic level, it is not evident that Van Dyk's language is influenced by Dutch, nor that he was not a fluent speaker of Sranan" (Bruyn 1995: 42). Even though it has no bearing on Van Dyk's competence in Sranan, the Dutch-

[11] Similar novels of manners appeared frequently in the 18th century; several of them are discussed in Van Kempen's excellent dissertation on the literary history of Suriname.

like orthography can be important for the assessment of the text as it may follow from the fact that it was printed in the Netherlands and with Dutch readership in mind. It was intended for people who had no or little knowledge of Sranan and wanted to prepare prior to their departure to Suriname. Although his competence in Sranan is debated, it is generally agreed upon that he had first handknowledge of plantation life. The detailed description of certain events such as the circumstances of the rape of Filida, the burial ceremony and the *pree* ('dance'), and the response of the blacks towards their treatment as well as the depiction of their feelings in the play suggest that Van Dyk himself may have lived on a plantation (Van Trier-Guicherit 1991, see also Arends 1995).

1.3.6 Weygandt's (1798) language manual

G. C. Weygandt's 'Gemeenzaame leerwyze om het basterd of neger-engelsch op een gemakkelyke wyze te leeren verstaan en spreken' ['Informal instruction to easily learn to understand and speak Basterd or Negro-English'] was published in Paramaribo by W. W. Beeldsnijder in 1798. Not much background information is available on the author, but he worked as an auctioneer of books in Paramaribo from 1814 to 1821.[12] In the preface of the book, he states that it represents the urban variety of Sranan as opposed to the rural varieties of Sranan, but that the differences between the varieties can be overcome by daily practice. Further, he states that it is intended for newcomers and those who need to be able to speak and understand Sranan in their profession. Moreover, he pleads that only those who understand Sranan will be his judges.

The book contains a vocabulary, an idiom, several dialogues and a short descriptive grammar focussing mostly on the verbal system. Both in terms of structure and contents it is partly an adaptation of Van Dyk's (c1765) manual, as parts of the dialogues numbered 2, 3, 5 and 7 appear in Weygandt's (1798) manual, but with different numbers (Schuchardt 1914; Arends 1989, 2002, Bruyn 1995). Dialogue number 11 resembles in some aspects the playlet in Van Dyk (c1765). However, Weygandt's book lacks the inconsistent spelling found in Van Dyk. Furthermore, listings such as (2) above are not encountered in Weygandt's (1798) manual. He includes elaborate paradigms illustrating the verbs *abie* 'have', *dee* 'be', *aksie* 'ask' and *fom* 'punish' in declarative sentences, questions and various tenses and moods. The Dutch translation exhibits several features that are associated with a formal variety of Dutch (Van der Wal 1998, 2000). For example, *gy* and *gylieden* denote the second person singular and plural as opposed to *je* and *jelui* in Van Dyk's guide (c1765). Furthermore, the conjugation of the copula *zyn* 'be' is fairly regular, compare the present tense forms of the copula in (5). Moreover, pronouns have case endings as in (6).

[12] G. C. Weygandt appears as an auctioneer of books in the listing of public book auctions in the 18th and 19th century (Van Kempen (2002). We also checked the names of those who were a member of several literary socities listed by Kempen (2002), but Weygandt was not among them.

(5)

	Van Dyk (c1765)	Weygandt (1798)		Van Dyk (c1765)	Weygandt (1798)
1S	*ben/bin*	*ben*	1P	*zyn*	*zyn*
2S	*bin(t)/ben(t)/zyt*	*zyt*	2P	*bint*	*zyt*
3S	*is*	*is*	3P	*binnen/ zyn*	*zyn*

(6) a. *Hebben zy hunnen Boek heeden gehad?* (Wey 1798: 46)
'Did they receive their book today?'

b. *Eet meer brood tot uwen vleesch* (Wey 1798: 95)
'Eat more bread with your meat.'

Although Weygandt was certainly indebted to Van Dyk, he was influenced even more by Paul Francois Roos. Dialogue number 12 resembles Roos' poem 'Schets van het Plantaadjeleven' ('A sketch of plantation life'), written around 1780. Roos wrote this poem of 204 Dutch verses for his younger brother in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, to give him an impression of the good life in Suriname. Van Kempen (2002: 116) describes the poem as follows. In the poem the plantation director gives a tour of the plantation, starting at the vegetable garden where he instructs the gardener, he then visits the duck pond, the henhouse, the pigsty and the dwellings of the other animals. Weygandt's director walks the same tour, in the exact same order. He too instructs the gardener. Then, both Roos' and Weygandt's directors are visited by slaves who are ill and in need of treatment. Subsequently both directors check upon the coopers and the carpenters. Note the similarities in (7) and (8). The (a) and (b) examples derive from Weygandt's manual, the examples given under (c) are ultimately from Roos (c1780). They are cited in Van Kempen (2002: 116).

(7) a. (...) *dan mie dee go loekoe da wroko foe den leesie Koepa nanga Temree-nengree.*
b. (...) ging ik de werken der luie Kuiper en Timmerlieden nazien.
(Wey 1798: 136)
c. (...) luie kuipers en (...) trage timmerliên (Roos 1780)
Free translation: '(...) I then go look at the work of the lazy coopers and (slow) carpenters.'

(8) a. *so heesie Drictoro no drai em baka, ofoe den dee hietie Hamra nanga Deslee na wan sey*
Free translation: 'But, as soon as the director turns his back, they put hammer and adze aside.'
(9) aanstonds legt hamer en dissel aan een kant zo ras de Directeur van honk is.
Free translation: 'But quickly put hamer and adze aside as soon as the director leaves base.' (Wey 1798: 136)

c. Maar, zet ik voet van honk, dan staan de hamers stil. (Roos c1780)
Free translation: 'But, (when) I leave base, then the hammers fall silent.'

When the evening falls, both the director in Weygandt's play and the one in Roos' poem prepare for bed in the following manner, see (9).

(9) a. *mie de poeloe mie klosie en mie dé werie mie japon nanga maskieta broekoe foe tapoe mie foe maskieta.*

b. dan verkleede ik my in myne nachtjapon en maschiete broek om voor het ongedierte daar in te schuilen (Wey 1798: 142)
Free translation: 'I undress and wear my night clothes and mosquito pants to protect me from the mosquitos.'

c. Ik eisch myn nachtjapon, musquitenbroek en muilen,
Om voor het ongediert' my in dit kleed te schuilen (Roos c1780)
Free translation: I demand my night clothes, mosquito pants and slippers to hide from the mosquitos in this dress.'

Bruyn (1995) states that Weygandt clearly intended to create a language manual for the purpose of language instruction, more so than Van Dyk and that "[t]his may have had its effect on certain aspects of language use as well. This implies that differences on the morphosyntactic level between the two texts are not necessarily related to differences in developmental stage" (Bruyn 1995: 43). The sketchy comparison of Weygandt's manual and Roos' poem above shows that Weygandt not only intented to create an instrument for language instruction so newcomers could get by in the colony, but also to show that the language could be used for a 'higher' purpose. In the latter half of the 18th century several literary societies emerged in Paramaribo (Van Kempen 2002). Weygandt may have wanted to show that Sranan could measure up to Dutch and French as a literary language. Thus, the variety of Sranan represented in this manual is *Bakratongo* rather than *Ningretongo*, reflecting a variety of Sranan spoken in the city rather than on the plantations and written in a style that is somewhat more literary than colloquial.[13]

Recently, Schneider & Wagner (2006) published their findings on the literary representation of the Jamaican Creole continuum in Thelwell's novel 'The harder they come'. They conclude that "Thelwell has succeeded remarkably well in creating a fictive world which reflects the linguistic variation within the speech community highly accurately (...) Thelwell's language competence is an "intuitive pan-lectal "super-"competence": it enables him to recreate accurate and consistent representations of what would be the possible sets of performance output phenomena of more than a dozen other individuals of different social ranks and backgrounds" (Schneider & Wagner 2006: 85). Based on these findings, one may wonder whether Van Dyk and/or Weygandt were also endowed with an intuitive pan-lectal supercompetence.

So I have compared the utterances of three characters in two fragments from Van Dyk's guide and Weygandt manual; one is a two page dialogue between a slave

[13] Note that the poem of Roos (1780) is written in a manner that is characterized by Van Kempen (2002) as smooth. The language is relatively simple in comparison with other classical epic verses from that period. Thus, we do not expect Weygandt to have produced a very literary text.

and a plantation director situated at a plantation, the other is a three page conversation between two city dwellers. The former compares a fragment from the playlet in Van Dyk and dialogue number 11, the latter compares Van Dyk's dialogue number 5 with Weygandt's dialogue number 3. In line with Finegan & Biber (1994, 2001), I assume that in particular attributive adjectives, prepositional phrases, relative clauses and coordinating and subordinating conjunctions (including complementizers) are indicative of a more formal or literary register, whereas their absence is taken to indicate a less formal, more colloquial variety. These elaboration features can be regarded as exemplars of expressed, rather than contextually implied, relationships among clauses, phrases and nouns; they express greater explicitness. The findings are presented in table 1.9 below. In addition to numbers of words and sentences the average word count per sentence is given as well as the ratio of lexical items to functional items. Functional items include attributive adjectives, prepositions, relativizers, coordinating conjunctions, complementizers as well as copulas, intensifiers, tense, mood and aspect markers, question words, numerals, attributive adjectives, articles, time, place and manner adverbs, terms of address and imperative *meki, go* and *kom.*

Table 1.9 *Comparing slaves, directors and city dwellers in Van Dyk and Weygandt (1798)*

	Van Dyk's guide (c1765: 30-32; 49-51)			Weygandt's manual (1798: 96-99; 126-127)		
	Slave	Director	city dweller*	Slave	Director	city dweller*
number of sentences	6	13	23.5	4	12	37
number of words	38	74	116	34	63	189.5
(functional item**)	(15)	(25)	(45.5)	(17)	(34)	(86.5)
average word per sentence	6.3	5.7	5.0	8.5	5.3	5.15
ratio lexical item: functional item	1: 0.65	1:0.51	1:0.65	1: 1	1: 1.17	1: 0.84

* Average of two city dwellers conversing with each other

** Functional items include copulas, intensifiers, tense, mood and aspect markers, sentential coordinators and subordinators, prepositions, question words, numerals, attributive adjectives, articles, time, place and manner adverbs, terms of address and imperative *meki, go* and *kom*

The findings in table 1.9 provides us with answers to the following questions regarding the lexical item – funtional item ratio: Does the lexical item – funtional item ratio differ between the characters in these books? Does the the lexical item – funtional item ratio differ between the books? First, I tested the lexical item – funtional item ratio of each character in each book. The slave, the director and the city dweller do not differ significantly in Van Dyk's manual (chi square test: $\chi^2 = 0.64$, d.f. = 2, not significant), and the same applies to Weygandt's book: the lexical item – functional item ratio of the slave, the director and the city dweller differ not significantly (chi square test: $\chi^2 = 1.37$, d.f. = 2, not significant). Because there are no significant differences in the lexical item – functional item between the characters of these books, I bulked them for each book, and compared the Van Dyk lexical item –

functional item ratio (142.5 lexical items and 85.5 functional items) with the Weygandt lexical item – functional item ratio (149 lexical items and 137.5 functional items). This way Van Dyk and Weygandt differ significantly: Weygandt uses significantly more functional items than Van Dyk ($\chi^2 = 5.69$, d.f. = 1, $p<0.025$). Thus, I conclude that Van Dyk and Weygandt are not endowed with Thelwell's intuitive pan-lectal supercompetence. Their books, however, can be regarded as representing different registers and different styles to some extent.

In terms of representativeness, i.e. the fit between a text sample and the population it stands for (Schneider 2002), Weygandt's (1798) manual may be more representative and less idiosyncratic than Van Dyk's (c1765) manual as the former is printed and published in Suriname to be distributed among people in Suriname,[14] whereas the latter is printed in the Netherlands with Dutch readership in mind in order to prepare them for plantation life in the Dutch colonies.

1.3.7 Schumann's (1783) dictionary

Christian Ludwig Schumann, a Moravian Brother or Hernhutter, was born on 28 September 1749 in Pilgerhut, Berbice (Guyana). He received training in theology in Germany. He stayed in several places in Suriname from 1776 until 1783, learning Amerindian languages as well as Sranan and Saramaccan. In addition to his religious duties, he worked on dictionaries and bible translations in Sranan and Saramaccan during his stay. The manuscript dictionary that I consulted is the third edition of 'Neger-Englisches Wörterbuch' ['Negro-English Dictionary'], dated April 1783. It was first transcribed by Kramp (1983) and later corrected and digitalized by Adrienne Bruyn at the University of Amsterdam. It is a sophisticated dictionary, as it not only includes translations of Sranan words and lists varieties of Sranan, but it also includes information on the different senses a word can convey, its uses and its (grammatical) functions. He further includes information on flora and fauna, cultural customs and religious practices (see also Kramp 1983). Really remarkable is the fact that he worked with one or several consultants, who are quoted throughout the dictionary in the first person plural as in (10).

(10) *passumà, pánsuma*, zurück bleiben, nicht fortwollen, ins stecken gerathen, nicht wachsen, klein bleiben: *pánsuma nanga passumà da wan: Soutwatra Ningre takki "pansumà", bikasi da Loango-muffe; ma wi kriolo ben tronn hem pikin, wi takki "passumà"* (Sch 1783: 132)
'*passumà*, *pánsuma*, stay behind, not continuing, be stuck, not growing, stay small: *passumà* and *pánsuma* are one and the same, saltwater blacks say "pánsuma" because it is a Loango word, but we locally-born blacks have altered it somewhat, we say "passumà".

Thus, at least one of his consultants must have been a locally-born black (*wi kriolo*). It is not known whether this person was a free man or a slave, but as the missionaries

[14] For example, it may have been used at school to educate the free mulattos and blacks. A night school for free mulattos and blacks opened in 1794, but they were allowed to be taught how to read and write since 1760 (Van Kempen 2002; Gobardhan-Rambocus 2001).

owned slaves, he could have been one of them. Kramp (1983) suggests that Schumann most likely recorded the variety of Sranan spoken in the city, but the consultant in (11) clearly distinguishes himself from the city blacks (*fotto ningre*), so it is most likely not the *fototongo* variety of Early Sranan that is represented in the dictionary.

(11) *brens*, das Gehirn*, tumtum va heddi* (Engl. brain) *da reti English tongo; "wi" no habi hem, kaba dem fotto Ningre no jeri hem kwetikweti, na dem oure English plantasi dem habi hem; wi no takki tarrafasi, leki: tumtum va heddi.* (Sch 1783: 21)
'*brens*, the brain, *tumtum van heddi* (English brain), that is true (black) English; we don't have it (referring to *brens*), and the city black certainly can't understand it, (but) on the old English plantations they have it, we don't say it differently, that is *tumtum va heddi*'.

The names of the different lects of Early Sranan in section 1.1 are mostly derived from Schumann's (1783) dictionary, where they are described as in (12).

(12) a. *a jeri Bakkra,* er versteht die Neger-Sprache. Denn wenn die Neger *bakkratongo* sagen, so verstehen sie darunter die Neger-Englische Sprache, so wie "die Europäischen Blanken" hier reden: hingegen die Holländische sowol als die deutsche Sprache heisst: *duitstongo.* (Sch 1783: 11)
'*a jeri Bakkra,* he understands Sranan. When the blacks say *bakkratongo,* they mean the variety of Sranan spoken by the Europeans. Alternatively, the Dutch as well as the German language are named *duitstongo.*'

b. *ju wanni kissi Ningretongo krîn, ju musse harki na kriolo, hufa "dem" takki* (Sch 1783: 91)
'If you want to speak *Ningretongo* well, then you have to listen to the locallyborn blacks, how they speak.'

Schumann further lists several words and phrases that he labels as *Djutongo*, the English-derived language of the blacks that is mixed with Portuguese (13).

(13) *Djutongo* nennen die Neger hier die mit dem Portugiesischen vermengte Neger-Sprache. (Sch 1783: 32)
'*Djutongo* name the blacks the variety of Sranan that is mixed with Portuguese'

These lects are not and should not be regarded as distinctive codes; they often overlap as is illustrated in (14). Here, the verb *bringi* 'deliver; give birth to' is labeled *Djutongo* by Schumann's consultant, adding that it is not used as much in Paramaribo whereas it is found on several plantations. He then reconsiders his stament and adds that he did hear a typical city black use it.

(14) *bringi,* gebären. *na Fotto dem no habi da muffe so menni; da Djutongo: ma nuffe plantasi habi hem. Tog wan reti Fotto-kriolo ben takki: isredeh mi kau bringi wan mannpikin*
(Sch 1783: 22)
'bringi, deliver. In the city they do not use this word as much, but plenty plantations have it. However, a real city black said: 'yesterday my cow gave birth to a bull'.

1.4 Eastern Maroon Creole

Eastern Maroon Creole includes four languages that are spoken by four different groups of Maroons, descendents of people who feld the plantations and settled in the forest in Eastern Suriname. They include the Ndyuka or the Aukaners, the Paamaka, the Aluku-Boni and the Kwinti (Holm 1989). Of these four groups, the Ndyuka are the oldest and the largest group. The ancestors of these people fled the plantations on banks of the Commewina River and first settled east of this river. The earliest document reporting on runnaway slaves in this area dates from 1706 (Dragtenstein 2002: 95). Their number increased in 1712, when the French admiral Cassard invaded Suriname, and many slaves escaped the plantations. In archival records from 1714, a village Pennenburg is mentioned, that is located on the banks of the Pennicacreek, one of the sidearms of the Commewina River. The village was inhabited by about hundred people. The chief was Bongo, also known as Bongo Pieta, who fled the plantation of Daniël van Mildert in 1709 (Dragtenstein 2002: 97). Because the Bongo Marrons regularly raided the plantations in the Commewijne area, several expeditions by the government were undertaken to stop them. In 1717, Bongo was captured and the village Pennenburg was discovered. However, most of its inhabitants escaped and they moved deeper into the forest, settling in the area between the Tempaticreek and the Marowijne River (Dragstenstein 2002: 102). Around 1749 their number is estimated to be about 1500. When they were pacified in 1760, their number is estimated at some 350 to 400 men and about five to six times that number including women, children and the elderly (Dragtenstein 2002: 14; Hoogbergen 1992; Scholtens 1994). In other words, their number more then doubled in the mid-18th century.

The predecessors of the Nduyka must have spoken varieties of plantation Sranan in addition to some West-African languages (mostly Gbe and Kikongo languages) and other contact varieties when they fled. As they did not enter into close contact with Europeans, their language is assumed to be less subject to change due to language contact than for instance the *Ningretongo* varieties of Sranan spoken on the plantations and in the city. In those places the *Ningretongo* varieties of Sranan continued to develop under the influence of *Bakratongo* and the various European and West-African languages spoken by Suriname's inhabitants.

From the 1990s onwards, several studies on contemporary Ndyuka have been published; in particular George and Mary Huttar (1994), Bettina Migge (1998, 2002) and Laurence Goury (2003) have contributed greatly to the description and documentation of this language.

1.5 Guide to the book

The main objective of this book is to gain a deeper understanding of the development of the creole languages spoken in Suriname in the 18th century. In section 1.3 it is shown that the sources of Early Sranan could represent distinct varieties of Early Sranan, differing on regional, social, stylistic and temporal dimensions. Thus, the main research question under investigation is: do the sources of Early Sranan represent different (regional, social, temporal) varieties? In order to answer this question satisfactorily, a number of related questions emerge, including the following:

- What does Early Sranan look like? Which features are stable and which variable?
- What are the variants of the variable? How do variants pattern? Do variants co-occur in one source or do they occur in different sources?
- Which stable features have an Eastern Maroon Creole equivalent? Which variable features have an Eastern Maroon Creole equivalent?

In the chapters 2 to 6 these questions are adressed. For each source, Early Sranan features from various language domains are discussed, identifying stable and variable features. Subsequently, these features are compared with their Eastern Maroon Creole equivalents. The discussion of Early Sranan is restricted to morphology, syntax and lexical semantics. Early Sranan phonology is adressed in detail by Smith (1987a) in the context of the history of its English-derived vocabulary from a comparative point of view. It is therefore not adressed here.

In chapter 2 characteristic functions and key morphosyntactic properties of the basic grammatical categories of Early Sranan are outlined, ranging from nouns, pronouns, verbs, property items and modifiers such as adjectives, numerals, intensifiers and adverbs, to adpositions.

Chapter 3 Early Sranan adresses Early Sranan morphology. The processes of derivation, compounding and reduplication and their outcomes are discussed, including the most conspicuous affixes and semi-affixes.

In chapter 4 some characterics of the Early Sranan verbal system are discussed in more detail. The grammatical or syntactic valency of verbs is studied. Furthermore, a brief overview of the expression of the categories of Tense, Mood and Aspect in the sources of Early Sranan is given.

Sentence structures are investigated in chapters 5 and 6. In chapter 5, different types of simple sentences (containing a single clause) are discussed, including declarative clauses, negative clauses, interrogative clauses, imperative/prohibitive clauses as well as comparative clauses and predicate nominals. Predicate nominals are constructions in which the semantic content of the predication is embodied in a noun, expressing proper inclusion, equation, location, existence and possession. The predication can expressed by a copula. Alternatively, the subject and the nominal predicate can simply be juxtaposed without an intervening copula. Examples of exclamations, swear words and insults conclude this chapter.

Complex sentences (containing more than one clause) are discussed in chapter 6. They include several types of coordinate constructions resulting from conjunctive coordination, disjunctive coordination and adversative coordination as

well as types of subordinate constructions that arise due to sentential complementation. Complementizers as well as complement-taking predicates are studied. Furthermore, Early Sranan serial verb constructions and paratactic constructions with verbs are treated. Finally, several types of subordinate adverbial claused are presented, ranging from temporal and locative clauses to concessive and cause clauses. Note that relative clauses, i.e. subordinate clauses that modify noun phrases, are discussed in detail by Bruyn (1995, 1996) and will therefore not be discussed here.

In chapter 7 the differences in morphology, syntax and semantics between the sources of Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole are summarized along various dimensions. Furthermore, it is discussed how variation in Early Sranan relates to the formation of Early Sranan in particular and contact languages in general.

2 Grammatical Categories

2.0 Introduction

The characteristic functions and key morphosyntactic properties of grammatical categories of Early Sranan are outlined in this chapter. Grammatical categories are the building blocks of linguistic structure, also known as parts of speech. Following Payne (1997), I prefer grammatical categories over other terms because the category of a word in a language such as Sranan depends as much on how the word is used in discourse as on its conventionalized meaning. Nouns are discussed in section 2.1, pronouns in 2.2, in section 2.3 verbs are investigated, property items are treated in section 2.4. Modifiers including adjectives, numerals, quantifiers and the intensifier/identifier *srefi* are discussed in section 2.5. Section 2.6 on adpositions concludes this chapter.

2.1 Nouns

From a notional or semantic point of view, the prototypical Early Sranan noun expresses a very time-stable concept as opposed to the verb, which denotes a very time-unstable concept (see 2.2). Nouns can function as heads of complex noun phrases (1), as well as a single element in a noun phrase (2).

(1) a. *Mi jerri wan mooye fogelen* (VD c1765: 44)
1S hear a beautiful bird
['Ik hoor een mooije Vogel.']
'I hear a beautiful bird.'

b. *Mi vergiti da man nem* (VD c1765: 29)
1S forget the man name
['Ik vergeet die Man zyn naam.']
'I forget the man's name.'

(2) *Zon komotte* (HL 1718: 123)
sun come.out
['De Zon komt op.']
'The sun rises.'

Case and grammatical gender are not relevant in Sranan. Number is not expressed on the Early Sranan noun, but determiners can mark a noun for number and/or definiteness, see section 2.4.1. Nouns that are not marked by a determiner or another specifying element can be indefinite, but they can also be generic (Bruyn 1995; forthcoming). Furthermore, nouns can be modified by adjectives (2.4.1), possessors (2.1.1), and relative clauses (Bruyn 1995).

Proper names differ from the prototypical common nouns described above in that they cannot be preceded by a determiner; nor can they be marked for number or definiteness.

I have found no differences in the distributional or structural properties of mass nouns and count nouns other than that mass nouns cannot be preceded by plural determiners or other items expressing plurality while maintaining their mass noun reading, compare (3a) and (3b). Example (3c) shows that a mass noun such as *dungru* 'darkness' can be preceded by the singular indefinite article *wan* 'a'.

(3) a. *da janjam faija* (Sch 1783: 39)
the food hot
['das Essen ist heiss.']
'The food is hot.'

b. *alla janjam na mi djari no repi jette* (Sch 1783: 71)
all food LOC 1S garden NEG ripe yet
['alle meine Gartenfrüchte sind noch unreif.']
'All the edible goods in my garden are not ripe yet.'

c. *da wan dungru datti?* (Sch 1783: 26)
FOC a darkness that
['das heisst stockfinster!']
'That's darkness, that is!'

2.1.1 Possessability and possession

There are no examples in the sources of Early Sranan nouns that cannot be grammatically possessed. Inherently and inalienable possessed nouns such as names for body parts and kinship terms can be preceded by a noun or pronoun denoting the possessor, but this is optional, see (4) and (5).

(4) a. *Hede de hatti mi.* (VD c1765: 41)
head ASP hurt 1S
['Ik heb Pyn in 't Hoofd.']
'My head is hurting.'

b. *me hedi hatti mi* (VD c1765: 50)
1S head hurt 1S
['myn Hoofd doed Zeer.']
'My head hurts.'

(5) a. *mama lassi*[15] (VD c1765: 18)
mother laugh
['Moeder Lagt.']
'Mother laughs.'

b. *mi mama lassi* (VD c1765: 24)
1S mother expire
['Myn Moeder is Overleeden.']
'My mother has passed away.'

Possession is indicated by juxtaposition of the preposed pronominal or nominal possessor and the possessee (1b, 4b, 5b) or with a prepositional construction in which variants of the contemporary preposition *fu* function as a possessive marker linking the possessor pronoun (or noun) to the possessee (6b). [16] The two strategies can also be combined resulting in an ambiguous phrase as the definiteness of the phrase is not expressed and grammatical number cannot be determined (6b).

(6) a. *jou no meester vor mi* (CR 1707)
2S NEG master of 1S
'You are not my master.'

b. *dem sa moessoe callie neem foe alla den hedieman foe dem condre* (SPT 1762: art.4)
3P FUT must call name of all the.PL head-man of 3P country
['zij zullen opgeven wie haar opperhoofden zijn sijn']
'They will have to report the names of all the chiefs of their villages.'

Possessor and possessee can also be linked by an intervening pronominal possessor that is coreferential with the preposed possessor, but examples of this construction are encountered only in Weygandt's (1798) language manual; they are given in (7).

(7) a. *mie Piekien em Oema* (Wey 1798: 15)
1S child 3S sister
['myn Zoonsvrouw, Schoondochter']
'my son's wife, daughter in law.'

---

[15] The <ss> is a mistake by the type setter, it should have been <ff>.

[16] In addition to *fu,* Heine & Kuteva (2001) suggest another preposition that may act as a possessive marker introducing the possessor in contemporary Sranan, that is the locative preposition *na.* It is supposed to be restricted to those instances where the possessor noun is encoded as a locative adverbial phrase. Except for Schumann's (1783) dictionary, no such instances are found in the 18th century sources. The few examples in Schumann's dictionary favor a locative reading of *na* over the interpretation of *na* as a possessive marker*:*

(1) *alla janjam na mi djari no repi jette*
(Sch 1783: 71)
all food LOC 1S garden NEG ripe yet
['alle meine Gartenfrüchte sind noch unreif.']
'All the edible fruits of/in my garden are not ripe yet.'

b. *Den ben moesoe go toe froekoe na gron, biefosie den ben tron Drictoro,*
3P PAST must go too early LOC ground before 3P PAST turn manager

en diesie den ben dé mara Bakrabasja; iebrie wan em beurtie. (Wey 1798: 132)
and when 3P PAST COP but overseer every one 3S turn
['Men heeft ook vroeg naar 't veld moeten gaan, voor men Directeur geworden is, en toen men maar Blankofficier was; dus yder zyn beurt.']
'But they too had to go early to the grounds, before they became manager, when they were but overseers; everybody (gets) his turn.'

Note that possessive pronouns are not specially marked; they resemble personal pronouns (see section 3.1.2). Schumann describes the expression of possession as follows:

> *"Nota": "Dein" heisst "ju", wenn das Wort, worauf sich das "dein" bezieht, ausdrücklich da steht, als: TEKI JU KLOSSI: Steht aber "dein" allein, so heisst es VA JU. Eben so ist "mein", MI, od. VA MI; "sein", HEM, VA HEM; "unser", WI, VA WI; "euer", UNE, VA UNE; "ihr" DEM, VA DEM. Man kan aber auch sagen: klossi va ju, hatti va mi, hosso va hem* (Schumann 1783: 75).
>
> [Note: 'your' is *ju*, when the word to which 'your' relates is explicitly mentioned, such as *teki ju klossi*: is it 'yours', than it is *va ju*. In the same way, 'my/mine', *mi* or *va mi*, 'his', *hem* or *va hem*; 'our/ours', *wi*, *va wi*; 'your/yours', *une*, *va une*; 'their/theirs', *dem*, *va dem*. It is also possible to say: *klossi va ju, hatti va mi, hosso va hem*]

Although all of the strategies illustrated in the examples above can be used to express alienable and inalienable possession, inalienably possessed nouns seem to have a preference for a preposed possessor, whereas alienable possessed nouns are often encountered with the postposed prepositional *fu*-phrase denoting the possessor. As other factors such as number marking, emphasis and the use of modifiers also influence the position of the possessor (see also Bruyn 1995b), examples such as (8b) are found alongside examples such as (8a).

(8) a. *dem tu brara no lukku dem tatta* (Sch1783: 29)
the.PL two brother NEG look.after the.PL /3P father
['die 2 Gebrüder bekümmern sich nicht um ihren Vater']
'Those two brothers don't take care of their father.' or:
'Those two brothers don't take care of (their) fathers.'

b. *dem no luku tatta va dem* (Sch1783: 29)
3P NEG look.after father of 3P
'They don't take care of their father.' (*'They don't take care of their fathers.')

Nouns denoting body parts are less flexible than kinship terms; more often than not they are preceded by the possessor noun or pronoun in the sources. Moreover, bodypart nouns with a postposed possessor have an alienable reading in several sources, as in (9), except for when they function as subjects, see (10).

(9) a. *mi locke na da bossi mi no zi foete fo hem* (VD c1765: 78)
1S look LOC the bush 1S NEG see foot of 3S.OBJ
['ik heb wel over-al in het Bos gekeeken of ik ook Voetstappen zag']
'I looked in the forest, but I didn't see any trace of her.'

b. *gi mi wan bakka-futu va pingo, mi no wanni fesi-futu* (Sch 1783: 48)
give 1S a back-foot of pig 1S neg want front-foot
'Give me one hind leg of a pig, I don't want front legs.'

(10) *hai va hem de siki* (Sch 1783: 55)
eye of 3S.OBJ ASP be.sick
['er hat böse Augen.']
'He has very sore eyes.'

2.1.1.1 Possessability and possession in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

Huttar & Huttar (1994) report no formal differences in the expression of alienable and inalienable possession; temporary and permanent possession; past and present possession and the possession of persons, animals or things (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 299).[17]

Possession can be expressed by preposing the possessor to the possessed, by postposing *fu* and a possessor nominal to the possessed nominal, by *fu* or *du/di fu* preceding the possessor while the possessed follows the possessor. The construction with *du/di fu* is used to express contrast (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 399). In contemporary Sranan a pronominal possessor can by emphasized by placing *di fu* either before or after the head noun, as in *di fu mi oso* 'my house' or *a oso di fu mi* 'my house' (Bruyn 1995, Donicie 1954). No examples of this construction are encountered in the sources of Early Sranan.

2.2 Pronouns

A number of types of pronouns can be distinguished: personal pronouns (3.2.1), reflexive pronouns (3.2.2), reciprocals (3.2.3), demonstratives (3.2.4), relative pronouns (3.2.5), and indefinite pronouns (3.2.6). Interrogative pronouns are identical to question words, see section 7.3.

[17] However, alienable and inalienable posssession may be expressed differently in Eastern Maroon Creole as Payne (1997: 105) illustrates the standard way of expressing alienable and inalienable possession with an Eastern Maroon Creole example from George Huttar, in which alienable possession is expressed by the construction possessed item – *fu* – possessor and inalienable possession by the construction possessor pronoun – possessed item.

2.2.1 Personal pronouns

In line with the vast majority of pronominal paradigms in the world's languages (Cysouw 2003), the traditional singular categories 'speaker', 'adressee' and 'other' are coded by three different morphemes in the Sranan pronominal paradigm: *mi* refers to the speaker, the adressee is the referent of *ju* and 'other' is expressed by *a* or *hem*. Three non-singular pronominal categories are distinguished: *wi* means something like 'I and my associates', *une* and *dem* can have both a plural and an associative meaning.[18] Pronouns occur in the same syntactic positions as nouns and noun phrases.

Features such as gender[19], animateness or inclusive/exclusive are not expressed in the Early Sranan pronominal system. Pronouns are invariant for case except for the third person singular pronoun: the third person singular subject pronoun is *a* (11a), the form *hem* is used to refer to the third person in all other grammatical relations such as direct object (11b), indirect object and oblique object. Schumann describes the third person singular pronoun as follows: "*a,* er, sie, es: aber nur im nominativo: in allen ander casibus wird *hem* gebraucht." ['*a* means 'he, she, it' but only in nominative case, in all other cases *hem* is used'] (Schumann 1783: 3).

(11) a. *à wilkom loeke joe na agter dina tem* (Hl 1718: 122)
3S will-come visit 2S LOC after dinner time
['Ze wilje t'agtermiddag komen bezoeken']
'She'll come and visit you in the afternoon.'

b. *mi pothie hem na wan sij caba* (CR 1745)
1S put 3S.OBJ LOC a side already
'I have put him on his side already.'

Furthermore, the third person singular pronoun *hem* can function as a pronominal subject in certain contexts: subjectival *hem* indicates emphasis, or it is used anaphorically or logophorically. All personal pronouns can be emphasized as a result of intonational stress (see section 7.7), fronting (section 7.9), clefting (7.10), the intensifier *srefi* 'self; even; very' (see section 3.1.3), except for the third person singular pronoun *a*. The pronoun *a* cannot undergo these operations, *hem* on the other hand, can. Schumann (1783) acknowledges this emphatically used *hem* as follows: "*hem* wird anstatt *a* gesezt, wenn auf dem: 'er' od. 'sie', ein Nachdruck liegt; wie auch, wenn 'er' od. 'sie' alleine steht" ['*hem* replaces *a* when it is emphasized or when it stands alone'] (Schumann 1783: 64) [20]. Schumann illustrates the above with the examples represented in (12). Note that the inverted commas flanking the pronoun in the German translation indicate emphasis.

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[18] Schumann (1783: 29) comments upon *dem*, that it is used 'wenn man von vielen redet', meaning when one talks of many.

[19] Nepveu (1770) includes in his text the following note: "NB Men maakt in die taal geen onderscheyd in masculin en feminin" ["Note: In that language masculine and feminine are not distinguished"] (Nepveu 1770: 275).

[20] Here, Schumann possibly refers to pronouns in subject complements and pronouns in prepositional phrases.

(12) a. *Jesus Christus da Massra va wi, bikasi <u>hem</u> ben bai wi nanga hem brudu,*
Jesus Christ that master of 1P because 3S.EMP PST buy 1P with 3S blood

va wi dini hem, va wi lobbi hem, (Sch 1783: 64)
that 1P serve 3S.OBJ that 1P love 3S.OBJ
['J. Chr. ist unser Herr, denn "er" hat uns erkauft mit seinem Blute, dass wir ihm dienen u. ihn lieben.']
'Christ$_i$ is our$_j$ Lord, because he$_i$ bought us$_j$ with his$_i$ blood, that we$_j$ serve him$_i$, that we$_j$ love him$_i$.'

b. *lukku da Missi, dissi de komm, <u>hem</u> ben bai da Ningre uman*
look that lady REL ASP come 3S.EMP PST buy that black woman

nanga hem pikin, va a komm hem futuboi, va a worko gi hem (Sch 1783: 65)
and 3S child to 3S come 3S servant to 3S work for 3S.OBJ
['sieh, die blanke Frau, die da kommt, "die" hat die Negerin mit ihrem Kinde gekauft, um ihr *futuboi* zu werden, u. für sie zu arbeiten.']
'Look, that lady$_i$, that is coming, she$_i$ bought that black woman$_j$ with her$_j$ child, in order to make her$_j$ her$_i$ servant, so that she$_j$ will work for her$_i$.'

The examples in (12) demonstrate that *hem* is used not only emphatically, but anaphorically as well. There are various examples in the sources that show that the emphatic quality of *hem* is not the main reason for using *hem* instead of *a* as a pronominal subject. In those examples, *hem* selects a specific referent in the extralinguistic context, while *a* is less specific. The dialogue in (13) from Herlein's (1718) text shows that *hem* can be used to disambiguate between two possible referents: *hem* refers back to *misisi* and not the referent of *entre.*

(13) [A] *Mie Misisi take jou oudy. Akesi of joe tan an house? à Wilkom loeke joe*
1S mistress say 2S hello 3S-ask if 2S stay LOC house 3S want-come see 2S

na agter dina tem
LOC after dinner time
['Mijn Vrouw laat je goedendag zeggen. En vraagt of je t'Huis zult blijven? Ze wilje t'agtermiddag komen bezoeken.']
'My mistress$_i$ sends you her greeting. She$_i$ asks if you are at home? She$_i$ wants to come see you after dinner time.'

[B] *No mie ben benakese ta entre ples à reddi wen. As <u>hem</u> ples*
NEG 1S PST send-ask COMP other please already ? if 3S.EMP please

<u>hem</u> kom te maare. (Hl 1718: 122)
3S.EMP come tomorrow
['Neen ik heb al by een ander late vragen of 't haar beliefde dat ik zou komen. Als 't haar belieft zo kan ze morgen komen.']

'No, I have sent already to ask someone else$_j$ if it would please her$_j$. If she$_i$ wants, she$_i$ can come tomorrow.'

Note that the form *a* can refer to an antecedent but it can also occur without one (*dummy subject*): *a bon,* it be-good 'it's good'; *a tru*, it be-true 'it's true' and (14) below, where *a* has neither an antecedent nor a referent in the extralinguistic context.

(14) *a fütti wi va takki tangi na Gado* (Sch1783: 45)
3S be.fitting 1P to say thanks to god
[es ist unser Schuldigkeit, es gehört sich, dass wir Gott danken]
'It is fitting for us to thank God.'

In complement clauses to complement-taking utterance predicates such as *takki* 'say' and propositional attitude predicates such as *membre* 'think, believe' in Van Dyk's (c1765) and Schumann's (1783) dictionary, the anaphoric scope of subjectival *hem* is restricted to the referent of the subject of the main clause. If the antecedent of the third person singular pronominal subject of the complement clause is the one whose speech, thoughts or feelings are reported by the complement clause, then the appropriate pronominal form is *hem* (coreference), as in (15b, 16b). If the antecedent of the third person singular complement subject is not coreferential with the subject of the main clause, then *a* is the correct form of the subject pronoun (switch reference), see (15a, 16a). Thus, *hem* is used logophorically (Van den Berg & Arends 2004).

(15) a. *a takki, a no komm jette* (Sch1783: 65)
3S say 3S NEG come already
['(lat. dicit, eum nondum venisse,) er sagt, dass er ein anderer noch nicht gekommen ist.']
'He$_i$ says that he$_j$ has not yet come.'

b. *a takki, hem no komm* (Sch1783: 65)
3S say 3S.LOG NEG come
['(lat. dicit, se non venturum,) er sagt von sich selbst, dass er nicht kommt.']
'He$_i$ says that he$_i$ has not yet come.'

(16) a. *a membre, a de wan bigisanni* (Sch1783: 65)
3S think 3S COP a big.thing
['er denkt (von jenem Menschen), dass er (der andere) etwas grosses ist.']
'He$_i$ thinks that he$_j$ is the greatest.'

b. *a membre, hem de wan biggisanni* (Sch1783: 65)
3S think 3S.LOG COP a big.thing
['er denkt von sich selber, dass er etwas grosses ist']
'He$_i$ thinks (of himself) that he$_i$ is the greatest.'

In order to explain the correct use of the third person singular pronouns *a* and *hem*, Schumann compares them to their Latin equivalents:[21]

> *Ferner ist noch ein Unterschied zwischen HEM u. A, just wie im lateinischen zwischen se u. eum; und zwar ist HEM das lat. se, u. A das eum: Nemlich, wenn ich jemandes Worte anführe, u. dieselben gehen auf ihn selber, so setze ich "hem"; gehen aber die Worte auf einen dritten, so setze ich "a". z.E.* (Schumann 1783: 65)
>
> [The distinction between *hem* and *a* resembles the Latin distinction between *se* and *eum; hem* equals the Latin reflexive pronoun *se*, and *a* corresponds to the third person pronoun *eum* (accusative case): That is to say, when I quote somebody, and the quote refers to that person, I'll use *hem*, but when it concerns a third party, I'll use *a*.]

Schumann's observations on *a* and *hem* in complement clauses to complement-taking utterance predicates and propositional attitude predicates are supported by evidence from Van Dyk's (c1765) manual. An overview of the distribution of the third person pronominal subjects in complements to utterance predicates and propositional attitude predicates in the sources is presented in table 2.1.

Table 2.1 *Coreference and switch reference in the sources of Early Sranan*

	1707-1767 CR	1718 HL	1762 SPT	c1765 VD	1770 N	1783 SCHUM	1798 WEY
$NP_i\ V_{UPP}$ (COMP) [a_i]S	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
$NP_i\ V_{UPP}$ (COMP) [a_k]S	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
$NP_i\ V_{UPP}$ (COMP) [hem_i]S	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
$NP_i\ V_{UPP}$ (COMP) [hem_k]S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

(V_{UPP} = utterance and propositional attitude predicates; + 'present', - 'not present')

In Schumann's (1783) work and Van Dyk's (c1765) manual coreference and switch reference are marked by different forms, although Van Dyk's manual contains a few examples in which *a* occurs instead of *hem*. In Weygandt's (1798) text the third pronominal subject of a sentential complement is always *a*, marking both coreference and switch reference. The sources contain no examples of *hem* marking switch reference.

[21] Wim Remmelink (Department of Latin Linguistics and Literature, University of Amsterdam, p.c.) confirmed that Schumann's comparison of Latin and Sranan to explain the difference in referential quality of the pronouns is correct. However, the languages differ with respect to the following: while Latin the anaphoric pronoun in the accusative case denotes a different referent from the one of the subject in the main clause, the Sranan pronominal form signaling coreference is similar to the accusative pronoun, i.e. *hem*. Moreover, the nature of the predicate in the complement differs in two languages: while the Latin predicate in the complement is non-finite, the Sranan predicate in complements to *taki* 'say' and *membre* 'think, believe' is finite unless the complement is introduced by (variants of) *fu* (see also section 6.2).

Based on these findings I conclude that logophorically used *hem* was a characteristic of *ningretongo*, the Early Sranan variety represented in Schumann's work, although it may not have been as compulsory in this variety as stated by Schumann, see section 2.1.2.1.1. It was presumably not a feature of the *fototongo* variety of Early Sranan, since no instances of logophoric *hem* are found in Weygandt's (1798) manual and *a* marks coreference as well as switch reference in this source. As logophoricity is a West-African areal feature, concentrated in a belt across central Africa extending from Ghana in the west to southern Sudan in the east (Güldemann 2003), the presence of this feature in the *ningretongo* variety of Early Sranan is most likely a case of substrate retention. This hypothesis is furthermore supported by the fact that the logophorically used pronoun *hem* has a formal resemblance to the logophoric pronoun *émì* in Fon, one of the major substrate languages of Sranan (see Van den Berg & Arends 2004).

The non-singular pronouns are usually inclusive: the first person non-singular pronoun *wi* includes the speaker, the adressee and possibly others as well depending on the context, the second person non-singular *unu* is inclusive by default ('you and your associatives'). If the speaker intends to exclude the adressee(s) while he wants to include himself, *wi* can followed by a noun specifying the group of which the speaker considers himself to be a part of, as in (17a). Similarly, *unu* can be followed by a noun identifying the group to which the adressees belong while excluding the speaker, as in (17b). Note that these constructions are structurally ambiguous, as pronominal possessors occur in exactly the same position.

(17) a. *"adjabre", da Djutongo; wi Ningre takki: lei, meki lei tori lei* (Sch1783: 104)
deceiving FOC Djutongo 1P black say lie make lie tell lie
' 'adjabre', that is Djutongo, we Blacks say: *lei, meki lei tori lei.*'

b. *dan onnoe saramaca vrie man sa moesoe kom foe helpie bacara* (SPT 1762: art.8)
then 2P Saramaka free man FUT must come to help white
['Sij sullen (...) alle assistentie te doen.']
'Then you Saramaka freemen have to come to assist the Europeans.'

Furthermore, non-singular pronouns can be followed by numerals and quantifiers (18) or they can be preceded by a quantifier (19). Example (20) shows that the quantifier does not obligatorily immediately precede or follow the pronoun it modifies, see section 2.1.3.

(18) a. *mi nanga ju, wi alla tu de poti* (Sch 1783: 120)
1S and 2S 1P all two ASP/COP poor
['ich und du sind beyde arm']
'Me and you, both of us are poor.'

b. *oenno zikkesi zomma ope da homen* (VD c1765: 111)
2P six person lift.up the woman
['neemt met jou zeszen de Kist op']
'You six lift up the woman.'

c. *pikien morre mi hiete den alle na hede langa da biki pletti* (VD c1765: 61)
little more 1S hit 3P all LOC head with that big plate
['Een beetje meer gooi ik jouluy allemaal na je Kop met die groote Schootel']
'One more thing and I'll hit them all on the head with that big plate.'

(19) *alle oenno wakke na hippi* (VD c1765: 111)
all 2P walk LOC heap
['loop jylui by hoopen agter het Lyk']
'All of you walk closely together.'

(20) *den dedee alla* (Wey 1798: 88)
3P dead all
'All of them are dead.'

The third person non-singular pronoun *dem* or *den* has a plural and an associative meaning, but it can also be used as a dummy subject as in (21). Schumann suggests that this use of *dem* is an alternative strategy to form passives: "bey vielen Worten kann man das "passivum" nicht anders geben, als mit *dem*." (Schumann 1783: 29), see also section 2.1.4 and 4.2.2.

(21) *dem ben meki mi na Bakkrakondre* (Sch1783: 29)
3P PST make 1S LOC Europe
['ich bin in Europa geboren.']
'I have been born in Europe.'

In most Early Sranan sources in which both *den* and *dem* express the third person non-singular, they are used interchangeably, except for Van Dyk's (c1765) language manual. In this source, *den* is the non-singular subject pronoun and *dem* is the third person non-singular object pronoun, as in (22).[22]

(22) *Myki mi zi dem den bon alle kwetti* (VD c1765: 91)
let 1S see 3P 3P good all extremely
['Laat ik ze reis zien: zy zyn alle goed']
'Let me see them. They're all extremely good.'

[22] The form *dem* is encountered 19 times in Van Dyk's text; all personal pronouns in object positions or in prepositional phrases (including four postposed pronominal possessor constructions). The form *den* occurs 134 times: besides 48 plural determiners and one aspect marker, 80 subject pronouns and only 5 object pronouns are encountered.

The Sranan pronominal system makes no distinction between positive and negative personal subject pronouns. However, the third person singular subject pronoun *a* forms a close bond with the negation. In general, the intensifier *srefi* can be inserted in between a personal pronoun and the negative particle *no* to emphasize the pronoun, but the third person pronoun *a* and the negation cannot be separated by *srefi*. Only *hem* can be emphasized by juxtaposing *srefi* to it, as Schumann (1783: 64) writes: "bey *srefi* muss allemal *hem,* u. nicht *a*, stehen" ['with *srefi* only *hem,* not *a* can occur']. Examples of the latter are found in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual.

The close bond between the subject pronoun *a* and negation may furthermore be reflected in the orthography of Van Dyk's (c1765) guide: personal pronouns such *mi* and the negation are irregularly written as a single word, but *a* and *no* always form one word, compare (23) and (24). On the other hand, doubling of the consonant often signals that the preceding vowel is short in Dutch, the mother tongue of the author and the intended reader, so *anno* may simply indicate that *a* is short instead of expressing a close bond.

(23) a. *Ti de mi no kan go na pranasie* (VD c1765: 90)
today 1S NEG can go LOC plantation
['Van Daag kan ik niet na de Plantagie gaan']
'Today I cannot go to the plantation.'

b. *mino kan blibi alle da takki den negere ben doe na mi.* (VD c1765: 94)
1S-NEG can believe all the talk the.PL black PST do LOC 1S
['ik kan dat allemaal niet gelooven dat de Neegers myn verteld hebben.']
'I can't believe all the things the blacks told me.'

(24) *Go locke offe anno kom bakke* (VD c1765: 21)
Go see if 3S-NEG come back
['Gaâ kykt of hy niet weerom en komt.']
'Go see if he isn't coming back.'

The Sranan pronominal system has no special honorific forms. The polite manner to adress someone is to use generic nouns such as *masra* 'sir' or *misi* 'madam' and *brara/brada* 'sir' (literally 'brother') or *sisa* 'madam' (literally 'sister'). One of Nepveu's explicit improvements on Herlein's text concerns the insertion of *missie* (25b), replacing the personal pronoun addressing the addressee *joe* (25a); see also Arends (2002).

(25) a. *Akesi of joe tan an house?* (HL 1718: 121)
3S-ask if 2S stay LOC house
['En vraagt of je t'Huis zult blijven?']
'She asks if you will be staying at home?'

b. 2e Reegel men zegt *ahakisi effi missie sa tan na Hosso* (N 1770: 274)
second line one say 3S-ask if lady FUT stay LOC house
'Second line, one says: 'She ask if the lady will be at home.'

Table 2.2 lists all variants of the Early Sranan pronouns encountered in the sources and their equivalents in contemporary Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole.

Table 2.2 *Personal pronouns in Modern Sranan, Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

	MOD. SR	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
		1707-67 CR	1718 HL	1762 SPT	C1765 VD	1770 N	1783 SCH	1798 WEY	
1S	*mi*	*mi; mie*	*my; mie*	*mi*	*mi*	*mi*	*mi; min*	*mie; mi*	*mi*
2S	*yu; u; i*	*joù; jou; joe*	*jou; jo; joe; j(i)e*	-	*joe; jo; ja; je*	*jou;joe*	*ju*	*joe; jo*	*yu; i*
3S.SUBJ (default)	*a*	*a*	*a; à*	*a; à*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*
3S.SUBJ (emp.)	*en*	-	*hem*	-	*hem*	-	*hem*	*em; hem*	*en; e; i*
3S.SUBJ (log.)	-	-	-	-	*hem*	-	*hem*	*em; hem*	*?*
3S.OBJ	*en*	*hem; him*	-	*hem*	*hem*	*hem; him*	*hem*	*em; hem*	*en; e; i*
1P	*wi; un(u)*	*wi; wie*	*wie*	-	*wi; wie*	-	*wi; we*	*wie*	*wi; u*
2P	*un(u)*		-	*onnoe onoe*	*anno; oenno oenne one*	-	*une*	*oen*	*u*
3P	*den*	*dem*	-	*dem; den*	*din; dem; den; de*	-	*dem*	*den; dem*	*den; de*

2.2.1.1 Personal pronouns in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole (and Early Saramaccan)

Eastern Maroon Creole personal pronouns distinguish first, second and third person singular and non-singular, but *u* is used to denote first and second person plural in almost all environments (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 460, Goury 2003). Emphasized pronouns receive greater stress (higher pitch) than their non-emphasized equivalents, except for the third person singular *a*. The emphastic third person singular subject pronoun is *en*, *a* is the non-emphastic form. Stress and pronoun choice usually occur in combination with clefting of the pronoun (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 459). Non-singular pronouns can be followed or preceded by the quantifier *ala* or followed by a numeral. Similar to Early Sranan, various generic noun phrases referring to people can be used to indicate politeness in Early Maroon Creole, but the use of the second

person non-singular with a singular adressee is much more common (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 463).

Huttar & Huttar (1994) do not report on a logophorically used pronoun in Eastern Maroon Creole, nor does Goury (2003). However, Huttar & Huttar's (1994) grammar has several examples of *en* in complement clauses to complement-taking utterance predicates and propositional attitude predicates expressing coreference with the subject of the main clause, as in (26a). On the other hand, examples such as (26b) show that *en* is not obligatory in such contexts.

(26) a. *Neen a taagi en dda taki, da en o go bika en wan a uman*
then 3S say-give 3S father that that 3S FUT go because 3S want the woman
'Then he$_i$ told his father that he$_i$ would go because he$_i$ wanted the woman.'
(Huttar & Huttar 1994: 76)

b. *Koo táki, a ná e abaa wataa a dee ten* (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 4)
turtle say 3S NEG ASP cross water LOC dry time
'Turtle$_i$ says he$_i$ doesn't cross the river in the dry season.'

Thus, the marking of coreference in Eastern Maroon Creole resembles the marking of coreference in the variety represented in Van Dyk's (c1765) manual, where equivalents of both (26a) and (26b) are found. Furthermore, it is in line with findings on the marking of coreference and switch reference in Early Saramaccan: a logophorically used third person singular pronoun is found in several but not in all cases where it could possibly occur (Van den Berg & Arends 2004). Therefore, I conclude that logophorically used *hem* was a characteristic of the basilectal varieties of Early Sranan, but that it was not as compulsory as stated by Schumann (1783).

2.2.2 Reflexive pronouns and other reflexive expressions

Several reflexive expressions can be used to indicate that a semantic or a syntactic argument of a predicate is co-referent with another argument of that predicate, typically the subject (König & Gast 2002). Muysken & Smith (1994) present a preliminary overview of the types of reflexives found in several sources of Early Sranan. Personal pronouns can function as reflexives in Early Sranan, as in (27). Note that the third person pronoun *hem* can have a reflexive as well as a non-reflexive interpretation.

(27) a. *Mi wassi mi* (VD c1765: 24)
1S wash 1S
['Ik was myn.']
'I wash myself.'

b. *abron hem* (N 1770: 280)
3S-burn 3S.OBJ
['hij of zij heeft zig gebrandt']
'He burned himself.'

Furthermore, personal pronouns can occur in conjunction with the identifier/intensifier *srefi* 'same; self; even' expressing coreference with the subject, see (28).

(28) a. *dem samoessoe hollie dem serefie allekie dem frieman diesie wie mekie nawie miendrie.*
3P FUT-must hold 3P self like the.PL freeman REL 1P make LOC-1P middle
['Sij sullen gehouden weesen de blanken alle respect te bewijsen, evenals andre vrij gemaakte alhier'] (SPT 1762:art. 11)
'They will have to behave themselves like the freemen in our midst whom we set free.'

b. *wi no lobbi va tori wi srefi* (Sch 1783: 202)
1P NEG like to talk 1P self
['wir klagen uns nicht gern selbst an']
'We don't like to lament ourselves.'

The noun *schien/skin* 'body' (< English *skin*) and other body-part nouns can be used to convey a reflexive meaning.[23] They are found only with verbs denoting 'self-directed' situations with an animate agent, i.e. actions that are performed usually on the agent/experiencer him/herself, see (29) and (30).

(29) a. *disi mi de na gron mino kan kiepere mi poeli da klossi na mi schien*
when 1S COP LOC ground 1S-NEG can hide 1S remove the suit LOC 1S body
['ik kon nergens schuilen, zoo dat ik myn heb moeten Verschoonen']
'When I was at the grounds, I could not hide (from the rain), so I had to change my (wet) clothes.' (VD c1765: 71)

b. *wassi ju skin na bilò tu* (Sch 1783: 17)
wash 2S body LOC down too
['wasch dich auch unten am Leib.']
'Wash yourself at the lower part too.'

[23] Although the Sranan word *skin* is derived from English *skin*, they denote different concepts: while the former clearly refers to the body (see for example Schumann's (1783: 156) translation of *skin* 'der Leib, Korpen; der Stamm' lit. the body, torso; the trunk'), the latter refers to the outer covering of man, animal, or object. The earliest attestation of the Sranan word for *skin* is *boeba van schien*, lit. peel of body 'skin' (Van Dyk c1765: 12), but in his playlet *schien* is translated with Dutch *huid* 'hide, skin' (Van Dyk c1765: 48). In Schumann (1783: 24) it is recorded as *buba,* Schale, Rinde; Haut; Fell; Leder; Schuppen; Spint' lit. 'shell, rind, hide, skin, leather, scale'. Note that this overview of body-part nouns functioning as reflexive markers presents a problem for recent studies suggesting that the recruitment of body-part nouns for use as reflexives proceeds either directly from body-part nouns to reflexives, or via intensifiers/identifiers which are in turn derived from body-part nouns (König & Siemund 2000: 56, König 2001). Although the productive pronoun + *srefi* reflexive is indeed derived from the intensifier/identifier *srefi*, *srefi* is not derived from a Sranan body part noun *srefi*. No records of nominal *srefi* are encountered in 18th century sources nor in contemporary Sranan or Ndyuka. Schumann (1783: 165) lists the following meanings of *srefi*: *selbst, selber, eigen, gar, sogar, ja*, lit. 'even, self, own, very, even, very', clearly indicating that *srefi* is a function word.

c. *a no kann sheki hem skin* (Sch 1783: 153)
3S NEG can shake 3S skin
['er kan sich nicht ruhren.']
'He can't move.'

(30) a. *Hoe zanti ono memere na hede* (VD c1765: 62)
Q thing 3S-NEG think LOC head
['Wat denkt zy wel']
'What is she thinking of?'

b. *mi membre na mi belle, mi membre na mi hatti* (Sch 1783: 110)
1S think LOC 1S belly 1S think LOC 1S heart
['ich denke bey mir.']
'I am considering; I am thinking by myself.'

Note that reflexives and body-part nouns are not compulsary with verbs denoting self-directed situations: in addition to the examples given in (27), (29) and (30), examples of such verbs without reflexives with the same meaning are found in the sources (31). Thus, Early Sranan reflexives appear to be used primarily to make explicit the coreference of several arguments of a predicate and rule out the possibility of different referents.

(31) a. *mi go wassi Ø haffo* (Sch 1798: 198)
1S go wash half
['ich will mich ein wenig baden.']
'I am going to wash myself a little.'

b. *tee mie n'jam kaba, mie de poeloe mie klosie Ø en mie dé werie mie japon*
when 1S eat already 1S ASP remove 1S clothes and 1S ASP wear 1S dress

nanga maskieta broekoe foe tapoe mie foe maskieta (Wey 1798: 142)
with mosquito pants to cover 1S from mosquito
['dan verkleede ik my in myne nachtjapon en maschiete broek om voor het ongedierte daar in te schuilen']
'After I finish eating, I change my clothes and I wear my nightgown with mosquito pants to protect me from the mosquitos.'

c. *a Ziddom fo drinki koffi fo memere Ø hoe ogeri a zel doe na zomma tide.*
3S sit.down to drink coffee to think Q evil 3S FUT doe LOC person today
['Hy zit Koffi te Drinken en bedenkt wat kwaad hy ons zal doen van Daag.']
'He's sitting down to drink coffee and to think (by himself) what evil he can do to someone today.' (VD c1765: 49)

Creole reflexives derived from the noun for 'body' or other nouns denoting bodyparts are often associated with substrate influence in the literature, even though the claim

for substrate influence as the source for the creole body-part reflexives is not particularly strong. There is a semantic correspondence between certain creole body-part nouns with a reflexive meaning and their equivalents in various substrate languages, but they are not equivalent phonologically or morphologically (Muysken & Smith 1994: 60).[24] However, Brousseau (1995), Kinyalolo (1994) and Lefebvre & Brousseau (2002) demonstrate that the West-African Gbe language Fon has no body-part reflexives at all, instead the reflexive anaphor -*èé* following a personal pronoun conveys a reflexive meaning similar to English *self*. The Fon word *wú* 'body' can be combined with certain verbs to form a complex predicate; some of those complex predicates have a reflexive meaning. For example, the verb /` 'to bathe' can be combined with wú 'body' to form the complex predicate meaning 'to wash oneself' (Lefebvre & Brousseau 2002: 77). Therefore, I assume that complex predicates with body-part nouns expressing a reflexive meaning were present in the more basilectal varieties of Early Sranan such as the ningretongo variety documented in Schumann's (1783) dictionary, whereas they would have been rare in the acrolectal varieties of Early Sranan, such as the fototongo variety represented in Weygandt's (1798) manual. I assume that the personal pronoun – srefi combination was the primary reflexive in those acrolectal varieties, as it is reminiscent of the English/Dutch system of reflexives, even though it is not directly inherited from English or Dutch (Muysken & Smith 1994). These assumptions are in line with the distribution of types of reflexives found in the Early Sranan sources: examples of complex predicates with body-part nouns conveying a reflexive meaning are frequently encountered in Schumann's (1783) dictionary; some occur in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide. They are not encountered in the court records, Herlein's (1718) text, Nepveu's (1770) edition, the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762) or Weygandt's (1798) manual. In Weygandt's (1798) manual, the personal pronoun – srefi combination is clearly preferred over body-part reflexives, compare (32) with (31) above.

(32) *Datie joe kan memree na joe srevie* (Wey 1798: 139)
that 2S can think LOC 2S self
['Dat kunt gy wel begrypen.']
'You can think of that by yourself.'

2.2.2.1 Reflexives in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

In general reflexive expressions in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole are very similar, as shown in table 2.3 below. Eastern Maroon Creole has no special reflexive pronouns: personal pronouns followed by *seefi* 'same; self' function as reflexive expressions (Huttar & Huttar 1994, Goury 2003). Note that in Eastern Maroon Creole, *seefi* following a pronoun (or a noun or noun phrase) can indicate emphasis rather than coreference of arguments (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 468). Similar constructions are found in the Early Sranan sources, in particular in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Weygandt's (1798) manual (section 2.5.4). Furthermore, the Saramaccan forms *seéi* (Básuse dialect) and *seépi* (Líbase dialect) have multiple meanings: they can be used as reflexives, as focussing devices marking emphasis and

[24] See also Lefebvre (1998), Heine (2001) and Parkvall (2000) on reflexives in creole languages.

coveying the sense of 'same' (Veenstra 1996). The fact that Saramaccan Creole and Eastern Maroon Creole share these features suggests that they have a common origin: in the varieties of Sranan spoken in the late 17th century they may have appeared already. On the other hand, intensifiers can change into reflexives (Köning & Siemund 2000). Further research is needed to reconstruct in detail the development of the Early Sranan reflexive system (see also Van den Berg 2006).

Table 2.3 *Reflexive expressions in Modern Sranan, Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

	MOD. SR	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
		1707-67 CR	1718 HL	1762 SPT	c1765 VD	1770 N	1783 SCH	1798 WEY	
no marker	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
bare pers. pron.	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
pers. pron. + *srefi*	+	-	-	+	+	+*	+	+	+
body-part noun	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	?

* Nepveu (1770: 282) lists *him zelfi* 'him self' with a translation 'hem zelfs' meaning 'himself', suggesting that it can be used reflexively, but it is not encountered in a clause or phrase.

2.2.3 Reciprocal pronouns and reciprocity

Reciprocity is expressed by *makanderen/makandra* 'together; each other;' (< Dutch *malkander* 'together; each other') in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) dictionary, see (33).

(33) a. *Mikki wi takki <u>makanderen</u>* (VD c1765: 22)
let 1P talk together
['Laat ons met elkanderen spreeken.']
'Let's talk with each other.'

b. *brara nanga brara fütti va lobbi <u>makandra</u>* (Sch 1783: 21)
brother and brother be.fitting to love together
'Brothers should love each other.'

Makanderen/makandra 'each other; together' is not preceded by any preposition in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, whereas it can preceded by the preposition *nanga* 'and; with' in Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) dictionary, compare (34a) with (35b).

(34) a. *Wi za jam <u>makanderen</u>.* (VD c1765: 29)
1P FUT eat together
['Wy zullen met malkander Eeten.']
'We'll eat together.'

b. *wi de jam nanga makandra vo kroboi* (Sch 1783: 92)
1P ASP eat with each other to farewell
['wir halten die Abschiedsmahlzeit.']
'We are enjoying a farewell-diner together.'

c. *Compee no moe mekie flousoe nanga makandra* (Wey 1798: 121)
friend NEG must make compliment with each other
['Men moet geen complimenten maken onder goede bekende.']
'Friends shouldn't sweet talk each other.'

Furthermore, non-singular personal pronouns followed by (variants of) *srefi* 'self; even; same' can express reciprocality in Weygandt's (1798) manual, see (35). No equivalents of this type of construction are found in the other sources; see table 2.4.

(35) *liebie boen, tee wie sie wie srefie baka* (Wey 1798: 144)
live good until 1P see 1P self again
['leef wel tot wederziens.']
'Stay well, until we see each other again.'

Table 2.4 *Reciprocity in Modern Sranan, Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

	MOD. SR	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
		1707-67 CR	1718 HL	1762 SPT	C1765 VD	1770 N	1783 SCH	1798 WEY	
pers. pron + self	*srefie*	-	-	-	-	-	-	*srefie*	*seefi*
each other/ together	*(nanga) makandra*	-	-	-	*makandere makanderen*	-	*(nanga) makandra*	*(nanga) makandra*	*(anga) makandii/ makandaa*

2.2.3.1 Reciprocal pronouns and reciprocity in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

Reciprocity can be expressed by *makandii/makandaa* 'together', "either preceded by the preposition *anga* 'with' or not" (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 469). Furthermore, personal pronouns followed by *seefi* 'same; self' can express reciprocity in Eastern Maroon Creole.

2.2.4 Demonstrative pronouns

The items *disi* 'this' and *dati* 'that' are the main demonstrative pronouns in Early Sranan.[25] Neither *disi* nor *dati* are marked for gender, case or number in the sources.

[25] Note that *disi* and *dati* can also function as attributive demonstratives (discussed in section 2.2.4) and complementizers (discussed in section 6.2.1). Furthermore, *disi* can act as a relative pronoun, as well as as a conjunction introducing causal, concessive and temporal adverb clauses (section 6.4).

The demonstrative pronoun *disi* (< English *this*) has a proximate meaning; it can refer to singular or multiple animate or inanimate referents that are spatially near to the speaker or associated with the speaker, see (36).

(36) *Da stoele na hey. Disi morre hey* (VD c1765: 27)
the chair NEG high this more high
['De Stoel is te laag. Deeze is hooger.']
'That chair is not high (enough). This one is higher'

In the variety represented in Weygandt's (1798) language manual *diesie* 'this; these' is joined with *ja* 'here' to distinguish one specific referent in proximity of the speaker from another, as in (37). This combination is not encountered in the other Early Sranan sources; compare for example (36) with (37).

(37) *Da stoeloe sa hey toemoesie sontem foe joe, Diesja sa moro betree* (Wey 1798: 122)
that chair FUT high excessive perhaps for 2S this-here FUT more better
['Die stoel zal u misschien te hoog zyn. Deeze zal beter zyn.']
'The chair is perhaps too high for you. This one right here will be better.'

Specific indefinite reference is expressed by the phrase *diesie nanga diesie* 'this and that', see (38).

(38) *té mie gie den sanie en mie ordonneerie den diesie nanga diesie kaba, dan mie dee go*
when 1S give 3P thing and 1S ordain 3P this and this already then 1S ASP go

loekoe da wroko foe den leesie Koepa nanga Temree-nengree. (Wey 1798: 136)
look the work of the.PL lazy cooper and carpenter-black
['na de Zieke Slaaven iets verordineerd en gegeeven te hebben ging ik de werken der luie Kuiper en Timmerlieden nazien.']
'When I have given them something and I ordered them to do this and that, then I am going to look at the work of the lazy cooper and the carpenters.'

The demonstrative pronoun *dati* (< English pronoun *that*) refers to singular or multiple objects or situations that are spatially or conceptually farther away from the speaker (39a). It can also refer to persons as in (39b).

(39) a. *dem ben tai datti na bussu bussu* (Sch 1783: 26)
3P PST bind that LOC bundle-REDUP
['sie binden das in Bündel, bündelweise zusammen.']
'They have tied that in bundles.'

b. *datti da somma, dissi ju de suku* (Sch 1783: 27)
that COP person REL 2S ASP search
['dieser ist es, den du suchst.']
'That is the person, whom you are looking for.'

Note that in addition to *dati* 'that', *(da) somma* '(that) person' or *da san(t)i* 'the/that object; that situation' are frequently used to refer to persons or objects or situations in the extralinguistic environment; compare (40a) and (40b).

(40) a. *datti no hatti ju* (Sch 1783: 59)
that NEG hurt 2S
['das geht dich nichts an.']
'That is of no concern to you.'

b. *dasanni sa hati ju bakka* (Sch 1783: 59)
the-thing FUT hurt 2S again
['das wird dich wieder reuen.']
'That will come back at you.'

Furthermore, *dati* can refer to something that has just been said. Thus, it is frequent in explanations such as (41a). *Disi* can be used to refer to persons or objects or situations just mentioned but only when several of them must be distinguished. For example, the Saramaka use *disi* to refer specifically to article 11 of the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762), see (41b).

(41) a. *a de go kroboi, datti takki, a no sa komm bakka* (Sch 1783: 91)
2S ASP go goodbye that say 3S NEG FUT come back
'He has gone for good, that means, he will not return.'

b. *Dissi boen; dem sa doe dati toe* (SPT 1762:art. 11)
this good 3P FUT do that too
['Sijn gewillig naa te koomen.']
'It's good; they will do that too.'

Table 2.5 *Demonstrative pronouns in Modern Sranan, Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

	MOD. SR	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
		1707-67 CR	1718 HL	1762 SPT	C1765 VD	1770 N	1783 SCH	1798 WEY	
this/these	*disi*	-	-	*di(e)s(s)i(e)*	*di(e)s(s)i*	-	*dissi* *di*	*diesie* *diesja*	*disi*
that/those	*dati*	-	-	*dati(e)*	*dati*	-	*datti*	*datie*	*dati*

2.2.4.1 Demonstrative pronouns in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

Eastern Maroon Creole demonstrative pronouns are *disi* 'this' and *dati* 'that'; they cannot be marked for class, gender or case, although they can be marked for non-singular number by preceding *den* 'the.PL'.

The former is used to refer to people and objects that are spatially or conceptually near the speaker, similar to Early Sranan *disi*. *Dati*, on the other hand, cannot be used to refer to objects or people in the extralinguistic environment. Instead, the

construction *a (den) sani* 'the thing(s)' or *(a)den sama* 'the person(s)' followed by *de* 'there' is used (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 472). In all Early Sranan sources except Herlein's (1718) text, Nepveu's (1770) edition and the court records, examples of the demonstrative *dati* expressing deictic reference to objects or people in the extralinguistic environment are encountered, in addition to examples with *da sani* 'the thing' expressing deictic reference to objects or situations. Eastern Maroon Creole *dati* is used to refer to objects or situations just mentioned; it features frequently in explanations of preceding discourse (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 472). *Disi* can be used to refer to objects or situations just mentioned, but only when they must be distinguished from each other (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 473), as in Early Sranan. A construction in which *disi* is followed by *dati* is generally used to express specific indefinite reference, but the construction *disi ... disi* is also encountered in Eastern Maroon Creole, albeit less frequently. Note that an equivalent of the latter is found in Weygandt's (1798) manual.

2.2.5 Relative pronouns

Relative clause formation in Sranan is investigated from the perspective of grammaticalization on the basis of a large number of Sranan texts by Bruyn (1995, 1998). The relative pronoun *disi* occurs with headed (42a) and with free relatives (42b) in Early Sranan.

(42) a. *Joe ben zi hem na da man disi zire boeki* (VD c1765: 31)
2S PST see 3S.OBJ LOC the man REL sell book
['Gy hebt hem by myn Boekverkooper gezien']
'You have seen him at the man that sells books.'

b. *mi wan trom bakke fo tikki disi libi abere* (VD c1765: 89)
IS want turn back to take REL leave over
'I wanted to go back to get the ones that were left over.'

Besides the relative pronoun *disi*, a relative phrase or clause can be marked by *da-pe* (lit. that-place, 'where') in the case of a locative relative, or by *da-tem* (lit. that-time, 'when') in the case of a temporal relative (Bruyn 1998). However, *dape* and *datem* are more frequently non-relative adverbs meaning 'there' and 'then', or adverbials that may be analysed as a zero-marked relative, 'the place (where)' and 'the time (when)', or a headless relativizer similar to an adverbial conjunction '(the place) where' and '(the time) when' in the sources (Bruyn 1998: 308). In article 3 of the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762), examples of an adverbial that can be interpreted as a zero-marked relative and a headless relativizer resembling the adverbial conjunction '(the time) when' are found (in that order):

(43) *Dem sa moessoe tan libie de na da plessie dem habie dem condre dissi tem, ma*
3P FUT must stay live there LOC the place 3P have 3P village this time but

datem dem wandie goo liebie na wan tara plesie, *dem sa moessoe sendie takie na granman*
when 3P want go live LOC a other place 3P FUT must send word LOC chief
['Sij sullen blijven woonen daar sij nu sijn en soo sij souden willen van woonplaats veranderen, sullen sij daarvan alvoorens kennisse moeten geeven']
'They should continue to live right there where they have their villages now, but when they want to go live at some other place, they should inform the Governor.' (SPT 1762: art. 3)

2.2.5.1 Relative pronouns in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

The main Eastern Maroon Creole relative pronoun is *di*. In addition, *san* 'that', *pe* 'where' and *te* 'when' can introduce a relative clause: *san* can replace *di* when its antecedent does not refer to persons; *pe* introduces relative clauses specifing the location of the head noun; *te* is used with an antecedent referring to future time (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 473-4). The latter markers of relative clauses are recent innovations (cf. again Bruyn (1995, 1998).

2.2.6 Indefinite pronouns and other expressions indicating indefinite reference

Few indefinite pronouns are found in the sources. Negative indefinite non-specific pronouns are *noti* 'nothing' (< English *nothing*) and *nembre* 'never', see (44) and (45). They are found in negative clauses in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762), Nepveu's (1770) text, Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1783) manual.

(44) a. *notti de* (Sch 1783: 91)
nothing COP/ there
['es ist nichts da.']
'Nothing is there.'

b. *Mie no dé takie notie* (Wey 1798: 82)
1S NEG ASP say nothing
['Ik zeg niets.']
'I'm saying nothing.'

(45) a. *Nembre wan sa habbi hatti kibri wan nengre foe bakra.* (SPT 1762: art. 6)
never one FUT have heart hide a black for whiteman
'Never shall anyone dare to hide a black from the whites.'

b. *En dem no sa moessoe kom nembre na wan plandassie offoe na fotto* (SPT 1762: art. 15)
and 3P NEG FUT must come never LOC a plantation or LOC fort
'And they should never come to any plantation nor to Paramaribo.'

Furthermore, the items *somma* and *sanni* can function as indefinite pronouns, similar to their English source forms *someone* and *something* (Smith 1987; Bruyn 1995), see (46). The history of *somma* and *sanni* and the various functions they perform are discussed in Bruyn (1995: 153).

(46) a. *somma gi ju wansanni, ju musse takki tangi* (Sch 1783: 160)
someone give 1S a-thing 2S must say thanks
['wenn dir jemand was gibt, so must du danken.']
'When someone gives you something, you must say 'thank you'.'

b. *Da no sanie foe takie tangie* (Wey 1798: 102)
FOC NEG thing to say thanks
['Het is geen dankens waard.']
'It isn't something to say thanks for.'

Moreover, non-specific indefinite reference can be expressed by an indefinite noun phrase in which the indefinite singular article *wan* is followed by a generic lexical noun such as *somma* 'person', *santi* 'thing', *plessi* 'place' or *trom/tem* 'time', see (47). In Schumann's (1783) dictionary, the article and the noun are often written as one word, as in (47e).

(47) a. *Wan zomma zi mi* (VD c1765: 17)
a person see 1S
['Iemand ziet myn.']
'Someone sees me.'

b. *Mi jerri wan zanti* (VD c1765: 32)
1S hear a thing
['Ik heb wat gehoord.']
'I've heard something.'

c. *Mi zi hem wan plessi* (VD c1765: 31)
1S see 3S.OBJ a place
['Ik heb hem ergens gezien.']
'I have seen him somewhere.'

d. *Takki wan Trom na duysi myki mi jerri* (VD c1765: 31)
say a time LOC dutch make 1S hear
['Spreek eens in het Hollands, laat ik reis hooren.']
'Say something in Dutch sometime; let me hear it.'

e. *alla kondresanni kann kaba na wantem* (Sch 1783: 91)
all world-thing can finish LOC a-time
['alles irdische kann auf einmal aufhören, ein Ende haben']
'All wordly things can come to an end sometime.'

In the case of negative indefinite reference, the same construction is used but then in a negative clause. Except for those clauses in which the negative indefinite noun phrase is the subject (48a) or in sentence-initial position due to fronting (48b), the negative particle *no* rarely precedes the indefinite noun phrase in any of the sources (48b,c), see also (44b) and (45b). Note that *noti* 'nothing' is not encountered in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide. Instead *wan zanti* is used in a negative clause, similarly for (48e) and (45).[26] The pronoun in example (48c) conveys the same meaning as (44b) above.

(48) a. *No wan zomma za kom* (VD c1765: 40)
NEG a person FUT come
['Daar zal niemand koomen.']
'No one will come.'

b. *mi no de go wanpeh*, oder: *no wan peh mi de go* (Sch 1783: 134
1S NEG ASP go a-place / NEG a place 1S ASP go
['iche gehe nirgends hin, nach keinen eigentlichen, gewissen Ort.']
'I am not going anywhere' (meaning: nowhere in particular.')

c. *dem no sa doe joe wan santie* (CR 1760)
3P NEG FUT doe 2S a thing
'They will do nothing to you.'

d. *Zomtem mi no za zi joe wan trom more* (VD c1765: 33)
sometime 1S NEG FUT see 2S a time more
['Ik zal u zomtyds nooit weêr zien.']
'For some time I will not see you.'

e. *joe no ben go wantem na planasie* (Wey 1798: 133)
2S NEG PST go a-time LOC plantation
['zyt gy nooit op Plantagie geweest']
'Have you never been on a plantation?'

Note that a quantifier such as *som* 'some' (< English *some*), *ini* 'any' (< English *any*) or *ibri* 'every' (< English *every*) can express that a noun phrase has indefinite reference.

2.2.6.1 Indefinite pronouns and other markers of indefinite reference in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

The Eastern Maroon Creole nouns *sama* 'person' and *sani* 'thing' can function as indefinite pronouns, referring to a specific but indefinite persons or things, respectively; "[w]ithout an article, their reference can be either singular or plural" (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 465). Furthermore, Huttar & Huttar (1994: 463 – 466) discuss the negative non-specific indefinite pronoun *noti* 'nothing', noting that noun phrases

[26] *Notti* is found only in the expression *da(s)notti* literally that nothing, meaning 'it's okay' or 'it's not important' in Van Dyk's (c1765) manual. In Schumann's (c1783: 27) dictionary *dasnotti* is listed as a separate entry.

with negative non-specific indefinite reference such as *ná wán sani* 'not one thing' and *ná wán sama* 'not one person' are much more common. In the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762), Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and the court records *notti* 'nothing' is not encountered, instead *no ... wan zanti* meaning 'nothing' is used similar to Eastern Maroon Creole. These facts suggest that *notti* 'nothing' most likely was not common in the early 18th century varieties of Early Sranan, and that negative indefinite reference was primarily expressed by a negative clause with an indefinite noun phrase as described above. The findings are summarized in table 2.6.

Table 2.6 *Indefinite pronouns and other expressions of indefinite reference in Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

	MOD.SR	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
		1707-1767	1718	1762	c1765	1770	1783	1798	
		CR	HL	SPT	VD	N	SCH	WEY	
'nothing'	*noti*	-	-	-	- *no (...) wan zanti*	*notti*	*notti no(...) wansanni*	*notie*	*noti ná wán sani*
'never'	*noiti*	-	-	*nembre; nembre wantem*	*nimmere(n) no (...) wan tem*	*nembre; nembre wantem*	*nebretem; nebrewan-tem; no wan()tem*	*nemre(e) nemree wantrom wan tem*	*noiti*
'someone'	*soma*	-	-	*samma*	*zomma wan somma wan zomma*	-	*somma; wan somma*	*sama wan sama*	*sama wan sama*
'something'	*sani*	-	-	*wan sandi*	*wan zanti wan zatte wan santi*	-	*sanni wan sanni*	*sanie wan sanie*	*sani wan sani*
'somewhere'		-	-	*wan plessie*	*wan plessi*	-	*wan()peh*	*wan plee wan plesie*	*wan peesi*
'sometime'		-	-	-	*wan trom wan tem*	-	*wantron wantem*	*wan trom*	*wan tem*

2.3 Verbs

Prototypical Early Sranan verbs denote the least-time stable concepts from a notional or semantic point of view. Thus, they typically denote events and serve as heads of verb phrases or predicates of clauses. The most salient structural difference between Sranan nouns and verbs, is that verbs can be marked for tense, mood and aspect, while nouns cannot. Note that Sranan verbs are always uninflected: number and person agreement nor Tense, Mood, and Aspect are expressed on the verb. The latter are expressed by preverbal markers and auxiliaries, they are discussed in section 4.1.

In this section several types of verb constructions are discussed. Furthermore, a brief overview of the types of argument structures is presented (2.3.2). In section 4.2

the types of argument structures are discussed in more detail, as well as argument alternation and other operations that can be performed on the verb or verb phrase.

Serial verb constructions are investigated in section 6.3. Verbs taking sentential complements are discussed in section 6.2.1.2.

2.3.1 Types of verb constructions

Several types of verb constructions can be distinguished on the basis of the semantic and syntactic properties of the verbs involved. They include weather verb constructions (2.3.1.1), verbs selecting expletive subjects (2.3.1.2), verbs expressing body states and other expressions denoting bodily functions or states (2.3.1.3), light verb constructions (2.3.1.4), and obligatory complement verbs (2.3.1.5).

2.3.1.1 Weather verb constructions

In Early Sranan, there are no verbs that are typical weather verbs as the verbs occuring in weather expressions can alternatively be used in other contexts. In general, weather expressions stand out as the verb selects a subject that refers to a natural element. They are found in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual. Van Dyk (c1765) was more or less aware of the existence of this type of construction, as he lists several weather expressions under the heading *in perzoneelen werk-woorden*, 'impersonal verbs'; they are given in (49). The example in (49b) is also part of Van Dyk's list of impersonal verbs, but as it is a different type of construction I exclude it from the following discussion.

(49) a.

Winte Trangen	wind strong	['Het Waaid sterk.']	'It is very windy.'
Kouwere	cold	['Het is Kouwd.']	'Be cold.'
a Rey	rain	['Het Regend.']	'Rain.'

b. *Gado bali na Tappi.* (VD c1765: 7)
god rumble LOC top
['Het Donderd.']
'It is thundering.'

Note that not all Sranan expressions are complete nor do they correspond to the Dutch translations: *a Rey* 'rain' (< English *rain*) lacks a verb, and *kouwere* 'be cold' (< Dutch *koud/kouwelijk*) a subject. Based on the Dutch translation, *a* and *Rey* could be regarded as two words: the former can be the third person singular pronoun functioning as the expletive subject 'it', the latter could be a verb meaning 'to rain'. The word-like status of *Rey* could be marked by the initial capital and the spacing in between *a* and *Rey*. However, capitals and spacing are not consistent markers of word boundaries in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide. Moreover, elsewhere in his guide Van Dyk (c1765) uses the appropriate expression (50), but the word for rain still consists of *a* and a capitalized *Rey*, so it may be the case that the Sranan expression in (49) is simply not complete.

(50) *a Rey fadom* (VD c1765: 22)
rain fall.down
['Het Reegend.']
'It rains.'

The expression with *kouwere* 'cold; be cold' in (49) is somewhat more complicated, as it is not entirely clear what type of subject is missing. Most likely it is an expletive subject as weather expressions with expletive subjects and variants of *kouwere* 'cold; be cold' are found in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Schumann's (1783) dictionary, see (51). Although the example in (51a) could refer to someone ('he/she is cold') or something ('it is cold') instead of a natural element, the example from Schumann's (1783) dictionary cleary refers to the weather. Since variants of *kouwere* 'cold; be cold' are not encountered with lexical subjects referring to natural phenomena in any of the sources, the missing subject in (49a) is most likely the expletive subject *a*.

(51) a. *a Warme, a Kowere.* (VD c1765: 22)
3S warm 3S cold
['Heet, Koud.']
'He/she/it is hot, he/she/it is cold.'

b. *na Bakkrakondre a komm so koure, va watra komm tranga,*
LOC Netherlands 3S come so cold to water come strong

a sori leki glasi (Sch 1783: 147)
3S show like glass
'In the Netherlands it can be so cold, so that water will freeze, it (then) looks like glass.'

Expletive subjects are not restricted to weather expressions with property items that bear a close resemble to their English or Dutch sources, such those with *kouwere* 'cold; be cold' (see above) or *warm* 'warm; hot' (52).

(52) a. a *Warm foe troe zon trange.* (VD c1765: 33)
3S warm for true sun strong
['Het is heel Warm, de Zon steekt.']
'It is really warm, the sun is strong.'

b. *A toemoesie waran* (Wey 1798: 90)
3S excessive warm
['Het is te heeten wêer.']
'It is too warm.'

The following example from Schumann's (1783) dictionary shows that certain weather expressions with subjects referring to natural elements and weather expressions with expletive subjects can be regarded as variants, even in the basilectal *ningretongo* variety

of Early Sranan (53). Since weather verbs are not allowed to take expletive subjects in the Gbe languages (Koopman 1986; Lefebvre 1998; Lefebvre & Brousseau 2002), I did not expect to find this type of construction in the variety recorded by Schumann (1783).

(53) a. *tappo letti faija* od. *tappo kotti faija* (Sch 1783: 33)
top light fire / top cut fire
['es blizt.']
'Lightning strikes.'

b. *a de kotti faija* (Sch 1783: 33)
3S ASP cut fire
['es blizt.']
'Lightning strikes.'

2.3.1.1.1 Weather expressions in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

Weather verbs are not discussed by Huttar & Huttar (1994), or Goury (2003). The following weather expressions found in the online Aukaans – English SIL dictionary (2003) resemble the Early Sranan examples discussed in the previous section to some extent: *waan* 'warm' and *koo* 'cold' take an expletive subject (54a), whereas *kai* 'fall', *bali* 'roar' and *koti faya* literally cut fire, meaning 'strike fire' occur with subjects referring to natural elements. It is not clear whether the latter allow expletive subjects; this needs to be investigated.

(54) a. *A kambaa ini pe wi e wooko ya á waan, ma a koo* (SIL 2003)
the room in REL 1P ASP work here 3S warm but 3S cold
'Inside the room where we are working here is not warm, it is cool.'

b. *Te alen e kai, tapu e koti faya, da dondoo e bali* (SIL 2003)
when rain ASP fall heaven ASP cut fire then thunder ASP roar
'When it rains, there's lightening and it thunders.'

c. *Winta wai booko a busi towe den bon* (SIL 2003)
wind blow break the bush throw-away the.pl tree
'The wind blew and tore through the jungle uprooting trees.'

2.3.1.2 Other verbs with expletive subjects

In addition to *kouwere* 'be cold' and *warm* 'be warm' (see above), expletive subjects are found with (variants of) *pasa* 'pass' that can take a direct object denoting a certain period of time (55a-b) or is followed by a time adverb (55c) in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt (1798). Furthermore, expletive subjects are found with *latie* 'late; be late' (56).

(55) a. *a Passâ wan Moen* (VD c1765: 7)
3S pass a month
['Over een Maand.']
'It will be in a month.'

b. *a passa wan jari kaba* (Sch 1783: 72)
3S pass a year already
['es ist schon über ein Jahr.']
'It has been a year already.'

c. *a passa langatem* (Wey 1798: 75)
3S pass long-time
['het is langen tyd geleeden']
'It is long ago.'

(56) *a latie foe troe* (VD c1765: 31)
3S late for true
['Het is al laat']
'It is really late.'

Moreover, expletive subjects are frequently found in clauses such as *a bon* '(it's) good' and *a noeffe* '(it's) enough' and in expressions such as (57) and (58).

(57) a. *a morro betre ju go na deh, na neti a no bun* (Sch 1783: 28)
3S more better 2S go LOC day LOC night 3S NEG good
'It's better if you go during the day, in the night it's no good.'

b. *A bétree wie go kuirie* (Wey 1798: 69)
3S better 1P go stroll
['Laat ons liever gaan wandelen.']
'It's better if we go for a walk.'

(58) a. *a no fütti wi va kruttu tarra somma,* (Sch 1783: 93)
3S NEG be.fitting 1P to judge other person
['es ziemt uns nicht, andere zu beurtheilen, zu richten.']
'It is not appropriate to judge others.'

b. *A pliesierie foe dee na dreytem na planasie* (Wey 1798: 99)
3S pleasant to COP LOC dry-time LOC plantation
['Het is aangenaam in de droogetyd op Plantagie te zyn.']
'It is pleasant to be at the plantation in the dry season.'

c. *A tan na mie lekie mie no n'jan na drie dey* (Wey 1798: 80)
3S stay LOC 1S like 1S NEG eat LOC three day
['My dunkt dat ik in drie daagen niet gegeeten heb.']
'It feels like I haven't eaten in three days.'

In particular Weygandt's (1798) manual contains a wide variety of constructions with expletive subjects as opposed to the other sources of Early Sranan. In the *fototongo* variety verbs with expletive subjects may have been more common than in the other varieties of Early Sranan.

2.3.1.2.1 Verbs with expletive subjects in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

As far as I know, Eastern Maroon Creole verbs selecting expletive subjects are not investigated in detail, so not enough data are available to set up a comparison between Eastern Maroon Creole on the one hand and Early Sranan on the other.

2.3.1.3 Verbs expressing body states and other expressions denoting bodily functions or states

In general, body-state expressions consist of a subject denoting a body part, a verb and a direct object denoting the patient. Verbs commonly found in this type of construction are (variants of) *hati* 'hurt', *(n)jam* 'eat; enjoy', *abi* 'have', and *kisi* 'get, catch; have'.

Hati 'hurt' occurs in most of the sources of Early Sranan (Van Dyk c1765; Nepveu 1770; Schumann 1783; Weygandt 1798), see (59).[27]

(59) a. *hedde hatti hem* (VD c1765: 37)
head hurt 3S.OBJ
['Zy heeft Pyn in 't Hoofd.']
'She has a headache.'

b. *mi bakka hati mi* (Sch 1783: 9)
1S back hurt 1S
['der Rücken thut mir weh.']
'My back hurts.'

Schumann (1783) lists two forms, *hati* and *hatti,* stating that they belong to different grammatical categories: *hati* is categorized as a verb, it is translated as "wehe thun; leid thun; gereuen; Schmerz. *it. beissen, scharf seyn" ['hurt; harm; regret; pain. *also: sting; be sharp'] (Schumann 1783: 59).[28] *Hatti*, on the other hand, is a noun, meaning "das Herz; die Brust; der Muth; ein Hut. it. der Kern von Holz, das Herz eines

[27] Note that instead of a subject denoting a body part, *hati* can take an expletive subject forming the idiomatic apologetic expression *a hati mi* (...) 'it pains me (...)' found in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, Nepveu's (1770) text and Weygandt's (c1798) manual, see section 2.3.1.2.
[28] The star indicates that *beissen, scharf seyn* is inserted later.

Baums" ['the heart, the chest, the courage, the hat. also: the knot in a wood; the node of a tree'] (Schumann 1783: 59). Thus, I assume that *hati* is derived from the English verb *hurt,* whereas *hatti* is derived from the English noun *heart*. Schumann comments that the form *hatti* is now frequently used as a noun as well as a verb, and that *hati* can function as a noun (Schumann 1783: 59), so the distinction between *hatti* and *hati* appears to be fading in the varieties of Sranan spoken the late 18th century. In earlier varieties the difference between *hatti* and *hati* must have been more pronounced, but I find no evidence of it in, for example, Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, where the form *hatti* is used as a noun and a verb, see (60a) below.[29]

The verbs *hati* 'hurt' and *(n)jam* 'eat; enjoy' are used interchangeably in body state expressions in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Schumann's (1783) dictionary, as in (60), but not in Nepveu's (1770) text or Weygandt's (1798) manual. In those sources *(n)jam* only conveys the sense of eating, selecting an animate agent as its subject and optionally a direct object denoting something (in)edible; *hati* 'hurt' is used instead.

(60) a. [A] *Mastra mi hatti jami foe troe* (VD c1765: 51-52)
mater 1S heart eat-1S 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 2S come LOC1S 1S FUT make 2S heart NEG FUT hurt 2S more
['Als je van Nagt by myn komt, dan zel ik maaken dat je Hart niet meer Zeer zal doen']
'If you come to me in the night, I'll make your heart not hurt you anymore.'

b. *mi heddi de jam mi,* od. *mi heddi de hati mi* (Sch 1783: 9)
1S head ASP eat 1S / 1S head ASP hurt 1S
['ich habe Kopfweh.']
'I have a headache.'

As body state expressions that consist of a verb meaning 'eat' selecting a body part as its subject and a pronoun as its object are associated with West-African languages (Koopman 1986; Lefebvre 1998; Lefebvre & Brousseau 2002), the fact that it is found in Schumann's (1783) dictionary whereas it is not encountered in in Weygandt's (1798) manual supports our hypothesis that the *ningretongo* variety has more substratal features than the *fototongo* variety.

The verbs *abi* 'have; possess' and *kisi* 'get; catch; have' can be used to denote various bodily functions and mental or physical states (see also section 7.5 on the expression of possession). The verb *abi* 'have' takes a direct object denoting a bodily

[29] It may have simply escaped his attention, as it concerns a very subtle difference in pronounciation. On the other hand, Van Dyk's spelling shows much more variation and idiosyncrasies than Schumann's, so even if he was aware of the difference in grammatical category and meaning between *hatti* and *hati* it would probably not be reflected in the spelling.

function or a mental/physical state, whereas *kisi* 'get; catch; have' takes a subject or an object denoting a bodily function or a mental/physical state. Example (61) illustrates:

(61) a. *mi habi hekki; mi kissi hekki; hekki kissi mi* (Sch 1783: 64)
1S have hiccup 1S catch hiccup hiccup catch 1S
'I have got the hiccups.'

b. *a habi hem wintie* (...) ook *wintie kissie him* (N 1770: 233)
3S have 3S wind also (Dutch) wind catch 3S
['Hij heeft zijn windt (...) zijn windt heeft hem gekreegen of bevangen']
'He is at ease.'[30]

In Schumann's (1783) dictionary *kisi* is found with subjects as well as direct objects denoting bodily functions or mental/physical states. Note that equivalents of the construction in which *kisi* takes a subject denoting a bodily function or a mental/physical state are found in various West African languages (Alleyne 1980; Arends 1989; Lefebvre 1998; Lefebvre & Brousseau 2002). Thus, given our hypothesis that the *ningretongo* variety represented in Schumann's (1783) dictionary has more substratal features than for example *fototongo*, it is no surprise to find this type of construction in Schumann's (1783) dictionary. In Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Weygandt's (1798) manual *kisi* only occurs with direct objects denoting bodily functions and mental/physical states (62).

(62) a. *Joe kissi hangerie.* (VD c1765: 42)
2S get hunger
['Heb je Apteit.']
'Are you hungry?'

b. *Cato kiesie koorsoe na netie* (Wey 1798: 127)
Cato catch fever LOC night
['Cato heeft van nacht de koorts gekreegen']
'Cato came down with a fever last night.'

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' (63).

(63) *Koorze de na joe* (VD c1765: 41)
fever COP LOC 2S
['Gy hebt de Koorts.']
'You have fever.'

[30] The translation captures the general meaning of the Early Sranan expression.

In Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual mental and physical states are denoted by the complement of the copula (64). This type of construction is most likely derived from 17th century colloquial varieties of English (i.e. *I am with sorrow*).

(64) a. *mi de na sari* od. *nanga sari* (Sch 1783: 150)
1S COP LOC sadness / with sadness
['ich bin betrübt, ich gräme mich.']
'I'm sad.'

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

Table 2.7 *Verbal constructions expressing body states in Modern Sranan, Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole**

	MOD.SR	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
		1707-1767	1718	1762	c1765	1770	1783	1798	
		CR	HL	SPT	VD	N	SCH	WEY	
N 'hurt' PRON	*(h)ati*	-	-	-	*hate; ha(t)ti*	*hati*	*hati; hatti*	*hatie*	*ati; hati; yati*
N 'eat' PRON	*nyan*	-	-	-	*jam*	-	*jam*	-	*nyan*
PRON 'have' N	*abi*	-	-	*habie*	*habe; habi*	*habi*	*ha; habi*	*(h)abie*	*abi*
N 'get' PRON	?	-	-	-	-	*kissie*	*kissi*	-	*kisi*
PRON 'get' N	*kisi*	-	-	-	*kissi*	-	*kissi*	*kiesie*	?
N COP LOC PRON	?	-	-	-	*de na*	-	-	-	?
PRON COP LOC N	?	-	-	-	-	-	*de na*	-	?
PRON COP 'with' N	?	-	-	-	-	-	*de nanga*	*dee nanga*	*de anga*

* N = a noun or noun phrase denoting a body part, bodily function or mental/physical state; PRON = a personal pronoun; a name or noun denoting a patient

2.3.1.3.1 Verbs expressing body states in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

To the best of my knowledge, Eastern Maroon Creole verbs expressing body states, bodily functions or mental/physical states are not investigated in sufficient detail to enable a thorough comparison between Eastern Maroon Creole and Early Sranan. Huttar & Huttar (1994) and Goury (2003) do include examples that resemble certain constructions found in the Early Sranan sources, summarized in table 2.7 above. Further research is needed.

2.3.1.4 Light verb constructions

Light verbs are verbs that depend on the object it selects for its semantic interpretation. The verb itself contributes little, while the meaning of the light verb construction is determined by the object, usually a bare noun. Several light verb constructions with *habi* 'have; possess' are presented in (65). Although the examples derive from Van Dyk's (c1765) manual, similar ones are found in Schumann's (c1783) dictionary as well as in Weygandt's (1798) manual.

(65) a. *mino habi worki lange hem* (VD c1765: 40)
1S-NEG have work with 3S.OBJ
['ik heb het niet van doen.']
'I don't need it.'

b. *Pikien habi koni* (VD c1765: 18)
child have cunning
['t Kind is Slim.']
'The child is smart.'

c. *Da homan habi bile* (VD c1765: 10)
the woman have belly
['Een Zwangere Vrouw.']
'The woman is pregnant.'

d. *Bekassi mi habi kroete lange hem* (VD c1765: 98)
because 1S have fight with 3S.OBJ
['Om dat ik met hem in Twist ben']
'Because I am at odds with him.'

Note that the example given in (65a) is *ningretongo*, the *bakkratongo* equivalent is *habi fan doe* [lit. have of do] 'need' (Schumann 1783: 191); see further section 4.1.3 on the expression of necessity and need.

The following examples are light verb constructions with *habi* 'have; possess' that are source specific.

(66) *Pikien moe habi bobbi* (VD c1765: 19)
child must have breast
['t Kind moet een Borst hebben.']
'The child needs to be breast-fed.'

(67) a. *a habi wiriwiri* (N 1770: 280)
3S have weed
['hij heeft kruijderijen: daar meede beteekenense, een die na haar meening toverkruijden en vergiftige zaaken heeft.']
'He has herbs.' (meaning: 'He is a medicine man/magician.')

b. *a habi wissi* (N 1770: 281)
3S have poison/potion
['hij of zij heeft vergift']
'He has poison.' (meaning: 'He is a medicine man/magician.')

(68) a. *ju meki konkro tumussi,* od. *ju habi konkro tumussi,* od. *ju konkro tumussi*
2S make trick excessive / 2S have trick excessive / 2S trick excessive
'You mislead much.' (meaning: 'You are a real prankster.') (Sch 1783: 87)

b. *a no habi bro na wan retipeh* (Sch 1783: 72)
3S NEG have blow LOC a right-place
'He is nowhere at ease.'

In the variety represented in Schumann's (1783) dictionary the construction with *habi* followed by a direct object denoting a body part in a negative clause expresses a physical handicap, see (69). As for *habi* with objects denoting various bodily functions and mental or physical states, see section 3.3.1.3 above and section 7.5.

(69) a. *a no habi hai* (Sch 1783: 55)
3S NEG have eye
['er ist blind. ']
'He is blind.'

b. *da somma no habi futu* (Sch 1783: 72)
the person NEG have foot
['der Mensch kann nicht gut gehen, das gehen wird ihm schwer.']
'That person has trouble walking.'

c. *a no habi jessi* (Sch 1783: 73)
3S NEG have ear
['er ist taub.']
'He is deaf.'

Another verb that can participate in a light verb construction is *meki* 'make; let'. The type of example given in (70) is found in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual, whereas the ones presented in (71) are limited to one or several of the sources. Note that (71c) illustrates *djutongo* and *ningretongo*, respectively.

(70) *Da homan myki piekien kaba* (VD c1765: 10)
the woman make child already
['Een Kraam-Vrouw.']
'The woman has given birth already.' (translation Van Dyk: 'a lying-in woman')

(71) a. (...) *takie ningre ron weij effi mekie troblie na plandasie en* (...) (SPT 1762: art.7)
that black run-away or make trouble LOC plantation and
['(...) van eenige desertie van slaven (...).']
'(...) that Blacks ran away or caused trouble on the plantations and (...).'

b. *da boom meki blumetje* (Sch 1783: 19)
the tree make flower
['der Baum blühet.']
'The tree flowers.'

c. *hufa ju de meki adjabre? wi takki: hufa ju de meki lei?* (Sch 1783: 4)
Q-manner 2S ASP make lie 1P say Q-manner 2S ASP make lie
'Why are you lying?'

d. *Compee no moe mekie flousoe nanga makandra* (Wey 1798: 121)
friend NEG must make compliment with each other
['Men moet geen complimenten maken onder goede bekende.']
'Friends shouldn't flatter each other.'

Constructions with *meki* are found frequently in Schumann's (1783) dictionary, while in the remaining sources of Early Sranan other expressions are used. For example, the equivalent of *meki blumetje* 'to flower' (71b) is *gie blommikie* literally 'give flower' in Weygandt's (1798: 118) manual. In addition to *meki lei* 'lie' (71c), Schumann (1783) lists two other light verb constructions and a verb meaning 'lie; tell untruths' (72), but in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Weygandt's (1798) manual only variants of the verb *lei* (< English *lie*) are found; light verb constructions meaning 'lie; tell untruths' with *lei* functioning as an object are not encountered.

(72) *ju lei gi mi*, od. *ju meki lei gi mi,* od. *ju takki lei gi mi,* od. *ju bro lei gi mi*
2S lie to 1S / 2S make lie to 1S / 2S say lie to 1S / 2S blow lie to 1S
['du belügst mich.'] (Sch 1783: 100)
'You lie to me.'

In particular combinations of *meki* with an ideophone denoting a bodily function as its object are frequent in Schumann's (c1783) dictionary, see (73). They are not found in the other Early Sranan sources.

(73) a. *da dressie de meki pio* (Sch 1783: 48)
the cure ASP make vomit.IDEO
'The cure causes vomiting.'

b. *a de meki koffokoffo* (Sch 1783: 84)
3S ASP make cough.IDEO.REDUP
['er hustet.']
'He is coughing.'

c. *mi meki kohókkohò* (Sch 1783: 84)
1S make cough.IDEO.REDUP
['ich huste']
'I cough.'

d. *mi meki itsche* (Sch 1783: 75)
1S make sneeze.IDEO
['ich niesse']
'I sneeze.'

e. *ju meki kossòkkossò tumussi* (Sch 1783: 88)
2S make scrape.IDEO.REDUP excessive
'You clear your throat excessively.'

Insufficient data on Eastern Maroon Creole light verbs are availabe to set up a comparison here.

2.3.1.5 Obligatory complement verbs

Obligatory complement verbs resemble light verbs in that they cannot occur without an object. Unlike light verbs, however, their objects do not determine the meaning of the verb. Furthermore, the complements of obligatory complement verbs can be modified as opposed to the complements of light verbs. Essegbey (1999) proposes a cline of obligatory complement verbs in Ewe, ranging from verbs with specific meaning occuring with generic complements to verbs taking cognate complements to verb with underspecified meanings that are further specified by their complements. The latter are also known as inherent complement verbs and have in common with light verbs that they are semantically underspecified.

In this section several examples of Early Sranan obligatory complement verbs are discussed. Note that verbs obligatorily taking generic or cognate complements are not encountered in the Early Sranan sources. This not to say that verbs cannot take cognate complements, but that cognate complements are not obligatory (74).

(74) a. *mi ben sweri wan sweri* (Sch 1783: 169)
1S PST swear a swear
['ich habe einen Eid gethan.']
'I have sworn an oath.'

b. *dem wan sweri da fri* (SPT 1762)
3P want swear the treaty
'They want to swear on the treaty.'

c. *mi sweri Gado, mi sweri na Gado, mi sweri vo Gado* (Sch 1783: 169)
1S swear god 1S swear LOC god 1S swear for god
['ich schwöre bey Gott.']
'I swear on God.'

Obligatory complement verbs can take generic complements as well as specific complements, see (75).

(75) a. *dondrofaija killi somma, kaba a letti hosso tu* (Sch 1783: 33)
lightning kill person and 3S light house too
'Lightning can kill someone and it can set a house on fire too.'

b. *dem go killi mi* (Sch 1783: 50)
3P go kill 1S
['sie werden mich umbringen.']
'They are going to kill me.'

The verb *kili* (< English *kill*) is found in all Early Sranan sources, except Herlein's (1718) text and Weygandt's (1798) manual. It is used primarily to express that an (animate or inanimate) entity causes a living entity to no longer be alive, as in (74) above. In addition, *kili* can be used with *kandele* 'candle; light' or *faya* 'fire' meaning 'to extinguish the light produced by a candle or fire flame'; this phrase is found in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Schumann's (1783) dictionary, see (76).

(76) a. *Joe buy kili kandele* (VD c1765: 72)
2S boy kill candle
['Jongen Snuit de Kaars uit']
'You boy, kill the candle.'

b. *killi faija, kandera* (Sch 1783: 83)
['lösch das Feuer, das Licht aus.']
'Put out the fire, candle.'

Both meanings of *kili* are listed by Schumann (1783: 83), and he adds a third: "tödten, umbringen, todtschlagen, morden; auslöschen; plagen, quälen." ['kill, slay, slaughter, murder; extinguish; plague, torment']. The examples in (77) illustrate the third meaning of *kili*, that is 'plague, torment'.

(77) a. *soso ju killi mi* (Sch 1783: 83)
so.REDUP 2S kill 1S
['du quälst mich ohne Ursach.']
'You torment me for no reason at all.'

b. *ju killi mi nanga muffe* (Sch 1783: 83)
2S kill 1S with word
'You torment me with your words.'

c. *dem killi mi nanga worko* (Sch 1783: 83)
3P kill 1S with work
['es wird mir gar zuviel Arbeit auferlegt']
'They torment me with work.' (German translation: 'They make me work too hard.')

Another obligatory complement verb is *pulu* (< English *pull*), found in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1789) manual. Primarily it is used to express that one entity causes another entity to change position, see (78).

(78) a. *Da Homan poele Melki na Kauw* (VD c1765: 11)
the woman remove milk LOC cow
['Een Meid die Koeijen Melkt.']
'The woman milks the cow.'

b. *pulu hem na watra* (Sch 1783: 142)
pull 3S.OBJ LOC water
['zieh ihn aus dem Wasser.']
'Remove him from the water.'

c. (...) *mie de poeloe mie klosie en mie dé werie mie japon nanga maskieta broekoe* (...)
1S ASP remove 1S clothes and 1S ASP wear 1S gown with mosquito pants
['dan verkleede ik my in myne nachtjapon en maschiete broek']
'(...) I am undressing and I am wearing my night gown with mosquito pants (...).' (Wey 1783: 142)

d. *poele voete* (VD c1765: 77)
remove foot
['loop zoo hard als je kan']
'Run!'

Schumann (1783: 142) lists three meanings of *pulu*: "wegnehmen, wegthun, wegräumen. it. mit dem *pali* rudern, scheppen; it. (Kleider) ausziehen." ['take away, do away, remove; row with a paddle, paddle; take off (clothes)']. The first listed meaning is sufficiently illustrated by the examples given in (76) above. The second meaning cannot be illustrated by examples from Schumann's (1783) dictionary as it is not exemplified in this source. In Van Dyk's (c1765) manual it is found but without a complement (79), suggesting that *pulu* is only an obligary complement verb when used to express the primary meaning described above.

(79) *Mastra negere oenno moes poele trange* (VD c1765: 92)
master black 2P must row strong
['Jy luy moet gaauw Roeijen']
'You must row fast, master slaves.'

Schumann (1783: 142) illustrates the third meaning of *pulu* as follows:

(80) *wi pulu klossi, jakketi, hempi, bruku, kousse, sussu, kotto, panji, mussu, hatti*
1P remove clothes jacket shirt pants stocking shoe skirt shirt cap hat
['von allen diesen Kleidungsstücken heisst ausziehen *pulu* abnehmen.']
(Sch 1783: 143)
'We take off clothes, jackets, shirts, pants, stockings, shoes, dresses, gowns, caps and hats.' (Schumann comments: with regard to all of these garments, taking them off is called *pulu,* take off')

Furthermore, *pulu* can occur in specific contexts that lead to interpretations not listed explicitly by Schumann. No equivalents of Schumann's examples listed under (81) and (82) are found in the other sources.

(81) a. *na mi compe mi pulu mi hele belle gi hem* (Sch 1783: 86)
LOC 1S friend 1S remove 1S whole belly to 3S.OBJ
'To my close friends I pour my heart out.'

b. *a pulu hai gi mi* (Sch 1783: 56)
3S remove eye to 1S
['er warf mir einen Blick zu.']
'He threw a look at me.'

c. *Gado de sabi alla membre va wi, bevo wi pulu muffe na tongo* (Sch 1783: 116)
god ASP know all thought of 1P before 1P remove word LOC tongue
['Gott weiss alle unsre Gedanken, ehe wir sie aussprechen.']
'God knows all our thoughts, (even) before we have uttered (them).'

(82) a. *pulu frekoutu* (Sch 1783: 45)
remove mucus
['schnauz dich.']
'Blow your nose.'

b. *pulu nussu* (Sch 1783: 125)
remove noose
['schneuz dich.']
'Blow your nose.'

The construction *pulu tafra*, meaning 'clear the table' (not 'remove the table'), occurs in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual. Schumann's observations on this construction are given in (83a). The direct object is expressed only when the speaker intends a specific item to be removed from the table, as in (83b).

(83) a. *pulu tafra* (anstatt *pulu sanni na tafra*) (Sch 1783: 142)
remove table remove thing LOC table
'Clear the table (instead of 'remove things from the table').'

b. *pulu datti na tafra* (Sch 1783: 119)
remove that LOC table
['nimm dieses vom Tisch weg.']
'Clear that off the table.'

The verb *fom* is used in a context in which one entity makes contact with another; the complement refers to the affected entity. It is used in the sense of beating or hitting and, more generally, punishing in all of the sources, except for Herlein's (1718) text where it is not found at all. Both interpretations are illustrated in (84) and (85).

(84) *loese joe wipi fom da homan* (VD c1765: 59)
loosen 2S whip beat the woman
['doe je Zweep los en slaa der helder op.']
'Loosen your whip and hit the woman.'

(85) *Gado fumm mi* (Sch 1783: 47)
god punish 1S
['Gott züchtigt mich.']
'God punishes me.'

When *fom* is used in the context of telling the time, it occurs with only one argument (Van Dyk c1765, Schumann 1783, Weygandt 1798), as in (86).

(86) a. *Hoe menni jen jen fom* (VD c1765: 23)
Q many clock-REDUP strike
['Hoe laat slaat de Klok.']
'What's the time?'

b. *Tien joeroe fom kaba* (Wey 1798: 101)
ten hour strike already
['Tien uuren is al geslaagen']
'The clock has striken ten already.'

Examples that are not conform the pattern outlined above are found in Van Dyk (c1765) and Weygandt (1798): *fom* meaning 'beat, hit; punish' can occur without a complement in both sources (87), whereas *fom* denoting the striking of a clock occurs with a complement in Van Dyk's (c1765) text, see (88).[31]

[31] The total number of sentences with *fom* meaning 'beat, hit; punish' is 13 in Van Dyk's (c1765) text, of which four have no complement; there are ten sentences with *fom* denoting the striking of a clock, two have a complement. Weygandt's (1798) manual contains 79 sentences with *fom* 'beat, hit; punish', 18 of those occur without a complement.

(87) a. *Fom jurka miki schien pile kwetti* (VD c1765: 48)
beat ghost make skin split really
['Slaâ Duivel dat de heele Huid breekt.']
'Hit (her), devil, make the skin split completely.'

b. *No mastra a fom zoo zoo* (VD c1765: 85)
NEG master 3S beat so.REDUP
['Neen Meester, hy (...) Slaat voor niemendal.']
'No, master, he hits for no reason at all.'

c. *Mie no ben fom tranga* (Wey 1798: 68)
1S NEG PST beat strong
['Ik strafte niet gestreng']
'I didn't punish strongly.'

(88) a. *Jerri jen jen fom ayti ure* (VD c1765: 32)
hear clock.REDUP strike eight hour
['Hoor de Klok slaat agt Uuren.']
'Hear, the clock strikes eight.'

b. *a fom negi na haffe* (VD c1765: 23)
3S strike nine LOC half
['Het slaat half tien.']
'It strikes half past nine.'

The fact that *fom* meaning 'beat, hit; punish' optionally takes a complement may reflect the impact of the European languages on the varieties represented in Van Dyk (c1765) and Weygandt (1798). The original translations of the examples (83) and (87) show that the Dutch equivalents of *fom*, *slaan* 'beat; hit' and *straffen* 'punish', optionally take a complement denoting the affected entity. Dutch influence may also be visible in the following example from Weygandt's (1798) manual (89).

(89) *A boen; ma oe sama dé fom na doro so tranga?* (Wey 1798: 124)
3S good but Q person ASP beat LOC door so strong
['Gaarne; maar wie klopt daar zo hard aan de deur?']
'It's good. But who is knocking on the door so loudly?'

Here, *fom* is used in the sense of knocking; the entity knocked upon is a door (*doro*), introduced by the locative preposition *na*. In Dutch a similar construction is found, shown in the translation: *kloppen* 'knock' takes a prepositional phrase headed by the locative preposition *aan* 'on'. Note that in none of the other sources the direct object of *fom* is introduced by a preposition.

Schumann (1783) discusses the semantics of *fumm* in great detail, in particular the differences and similarities between *fumm* and *naki* are investigated. According to Schumann, *fumm* and *nakki* can be used interchangeably in certain contexts, but *fumm*

is more common, compare (90a) and (90b). Note the similarities in argument structure.

(90) a. *siksi juru <u>fumm</u> kaba* (...) *mi hatti <u>fumm</u> mi* (Sch 1783: 47)
six hour strike already 1S heart strike 1S
['es hat schon 6 geschlagen (...) das Gewissen schlug mich.']
'The clock struck six o'clock already (...) my conscience rebuked me.'

b. *siksi juru <u>nakki</u> kaba; mi hatti <u>nakki</u> mi* (Sch 1783: 47)
six hour strike already 1S heart strike 1S
'The clock struck six o'clock already (...) my conscience hit me.'

In other contexts, *fumm* and *nakki* are not interchangeable as they subcategorize for different instruments, according to Schumann (1783: 47). *Fumm* is appropriate with an instrument such as a whip, a twig, a belt or rope, whereas *nakki* subcategorizes for an instruments such as a stick, a bat, a piece of wood or iron, and the hand. Thus, when *nakki* is used with an instrument that is typically associated with *fumm,* such as *wippi* 'whip' as in (91), a different interpretation arises: the speaker has not been hit with a whip, but with the handle of the whip.

(91) *dem <u>nakki</u> mi nanga wippi* (Sch 1783: 47)
3P knock 1S with whip
['heisst nicht: ich bin gepeitscht worden; sondern: ich bin mit dem Peitschen-"Stock" geschlagen worden.']
'They have been hitting me with the handle of a whip.'

As *fumm* is more common than *naki* and it has a more generic meaning, *fumm* can be used in examples such as (91), but *naki* can certainly not replace *fumm* when used in the context of preparing food (92) or playing a musical instrument (93).

(92) *dem <u>fumm</u> areisi* (Sch 1783: 47)
3P beat rice
['sie stampfen Reis']
'They are beating the rice.'

(93) a. *a sabi va <u>fumm</u> Viole* (Sch 1783: 47)
3S know to beat violin
['er kann auf der Violin spielen.']
'He knows how to play the violin.'

b. *dem <u>fumm</u> drumm.* (Sch 1783: 37)
3P beat drum
['es trommelt.']
'They play the drumms.'

Similarly, *nakki* has several interpretations not shared by *fumm*; see (94).

(94) a. *dem nakki gingèh* (Sch 1783: 50)
3S knock clock
['es lautet (nicht "fumm").']
'They are ringing the bells.'

b. *mi nakki futu na stoon* (Sch 1783: 37)
1S knock foot LOC stone
['ich habe mich an einen Stein gestossen.']
'I hit my foot on a rock.'

c. *shippi nakki na stoon* (Sch 1783: 167)
ship knock LOC stone
['das Schiff stiess an eine Klippe.']
'The ship rammed into the cliffs.'

Besides Schumann's (1783) dictionary, *naki* is found in only one other source (Van Dyk c1765). However, it has somewhat different semantic and argument structure properties than *naki* in Schumann's dictionary. For example, *naki* is used in the context of playing a musical instrument without a direct object (95a). It can denote the hitting of a bullet (95b), again without a complement. Furthermore, in the list of common expressions we find *naki* followed by the prepositional phrase *na dore* (95c), whereas Weygandt lists *fom na doro*, see (89) above.

(95) a. *wi zy dansze gron zy ziki den moe naki bon dore* (VD c1765: 108)
1P FUT dance ground FUT shake 3P must beat good through
['wy zullen Danszen dat de Grond daar van beeven zal, als zy maar ter deeg deur Trommelen']
'We will dance, the ground will shake, but they must continue to play (the drums).'

b. *Jussena joe hay zal zie poe mi naki retti.* (VD c1765: 82)
quickly 2S eye FUT see pow 1S knock right
['Gy zult het aanstonds zien: Dat is noobel raak.']
'In a minute you will see. Pow! I hit (it) allright.'

c. *Nakki na dore* (VD c1765: 20)
knock LOC door
['Klop aan de Deur.']
'Knock on the door.'

The latter construction is clearly derived from English *knock on (the) door*, which is usually done by hand. This is also true for drumming. So the fact that *nakki* subcategorizes for hand as a possible instrument can be traced back to the period in

which English influenced the development of Sranan. What factors have influenced the rise of *fom* at the expense of *nakki* needs to be investigated in more detail.

2.3.1.5.1 Obligatory complement verbs in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

Few data on Eastern Maroon Creole obligatory complement verbs are availabe to set up a detailed comparison between Eastern Maroon Creole on the one hand and the Early Sranan findings on the other. Huttar & Huttar (1994: 482) state that no argument of a verb is obligatory, so that verbs commonly appear with varying numbers of explicit arguments. Note that the wide range of idiomatic expressions with *naki* 'knock; hit' listed in the online SIL Aukaans – English dictionary (2003) may be an indication that Early Sranan *nakki* was indeed more common and had a more generic meaning than *fom* in the varieties spoken on the Suriname plantations in the first half of the 18th century. Eastern Maroon Creole *fon* can be used to mean 'spank, corporal punishment; whip; slap' or in the context of food preparation, meaning 'crushing, pounding (of nuts, rice etc.)'.

2.3.2 Valency

Early Sranan verbs can occur with one, two or three arguments expressing various semantic roles. Verbs with only one argument, also known as monadic, one variable or intransitive verbs, are for example the verbs in the weather expressions discussed in section 3.3.1.1 above. Other examples of verbs with only one argument include activity verbs such as *go* 'go' and *wakka* 'walk; go' and property items (see section 2.4). They select one argument that occurs in subject position. Generally, the referent denoted by the argument in subject position is more or less agent-like, expressing the semantic role of agent, force, instrument or experiencer, but it can also express the role of patient in the case of certain change of state verbs such as *broko* 'to break; be broken', see (96). The latter phenomenon is discussed in more detail in chapter 5.

(96) *alla mi panji brokko* (Sch 1783: 128)
all 1S loincloth be.broken
['alle meine paantjes sind zerrissen.']
'All my loincloths are torn.'

Verbs that typically select two arguments, known as transitive verbs, include light verbs and obligatory complement verbs; they are discussed in section 2.3.1.4 and 2.3.1.5 above. Certain property items can appear with one or with two arguments; with two arguments a causative reading is invoked, compare (97a) and (97b).[32]

[32] Note that in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide *fulu* 'be full; fill' is not used as a main verb. However, the meaning 'fill' is expressed by the expression *potti* NP *vole* literally put NP full,which may be analyzed as a resultative serial verb construction, see 6.3.

(97) a. *a de fulu tumussi, a de go passa abra* (Sch 1783: 3)
3S ASP full excessive 3S ASP go pass over
['es ist zu voll, es wird überlaufen.']
'It is too full, it will spill.'

b. *ju fulu glasi tumussi, wini trueh abra* (Sch 1783: 3)
2S fill glass excessively wine spill.out over
['du machst das Glas so voll, dass der Wein überläuft.']
'You fill up the glass excessively, the wine overflows.'

Furthermore, verbs with three arguments are also encountered in Early Sranan: one argument appears in subject position, the remaining two follow the verb. Typical Early Sranan verbs requiring three arguments are verbs of transfer or communication such as *gi* 'give', *sori* 'show', *haksi* 'ask' or *taki* 'say, tell, talk'; they require a recipient and a theme or patient, that is the object being transferred or communicated. Bruyn, Muysken & Verrips (1999) have investigated verbs of transfer or communication in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Schumann's (1781) compilation of the four Gospel books of the New Testament, and discovered that verbs of transfer or communication can appear in double object constructions, prepositional dative constructions headed by the preposition *na* or *fu,* or serial verb constructions with *gi* 'give'. Double object constructions usually have a pronoun as indirect object and subsequently a full noun phrase as direct object (Bruyn, Muysken & Verrips 1999). The following examples from various other 18th century sources of Early Sranan illustrate and support their findings.

(98) a. *dem no sa doe joe wan santie* (CR 1760)
3P NEG FUT do 2S a thing
'They will not harm you.'

b. *Fiscalla sa paij dem f50: Sur: mon* (SPT 1762: art. 5)
treasurer FUT pay 3P 50 Suriname money
['es ist zu voll, es wird überlaufen.']
'The treasurer shall pay them fifty guilders in Surinamese money.'

c. *hufa ju mombi mi da wan nefi?* (Sch 1783: 112)
Q-manner 2S deprive 1S the one knife
'Why are you depriving me of that one knife!'

Note that not all the verbs in (98) are verbs of transfer or communication; double object constructions can also occur with other verbs, such as *doe* (98a) or *mombi* 'be miserly; deprive someone of something' (98c) or with verbs that select arguments expressing different semantic roles than direct and indirect object. This is also true for prepositional dative constructions and serial constructions. Examples of prepositional dative constructions headed by (variants of) the prepositions *fu* and *na* are given in (99) and (100); a serial verb construction is presented in (101). Serial verb

constructions are discussed in detail in section 6.3. Note that the verb in (100b) selects arguments expressing a theme or patient and a location.

(99) a. *Nembre wan sa habbi hatti kibri wan nengre foe bakra* (SPT 1762: art. 6)
never one FUT have heart catch a black for white
'Never shall anyone dare to hide a Black from the Whites.'

b. *Gado no ben mombi wi hem pikin, ma a ben gi hem vo wi* (Sch 1783: 113)
god NEG PST deprive 1P 3S child but 3S PST give 3S.OBJ for 1P
'God did not deprive us of his child, but he gave him to us.'

(100) a. *Dem sa moesoe sorie alle dem condre na bacara* (SPT 1762: art. 2)
3P FUT must show all the.PL village LOC white
['Alle haare dorpen sullen sij moeten aanwijsen']
'They will have to show all their villages to the Dutch.'

b. *mi pothie hem na wan sij caba* (CR 1745)
1S put 3S.OBJ LOC a side already
'I have put him on one side already.'

(101) *a pulu hai gi mi* (Sch 1783: 56)
3S remove eye to 1S
['er warf mir einen Blick zu.']
'He threw a look at me.'

Bruyn, Muysken & Verrips (1999) further discovered that double object construction with a pronominal indirect object and a full noun phrase as direct object are found more frequently in the sources than double object constructions with two full noun phrases, prepositional dative constructions or serial verb constructions: "The pragmatic tendency that the constituent with the higher topicality tends to precede the other one is not only relevant for the distribution of pronouns and NPs within the DOC but also for the use of the DOC versus the alternative constructions" (Bruyn, Muysken & Verrips 1999: 344).

2.3.2.1 Valency in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

Huttar & Huttar (1994: 482) state that, with the exception of subjects of finite clauses and plural subjects of some imperatives, no argument of a verb is obligatory. Thus, various Eastern Maroon Creole verbs can occur with one, two or three arguments. The Eastern Maroon Creole examples of verbs with three arguments include double object constructions, prepositional dative constructions and serial verb constructions. In the case of prepositional dative constructions, the indirect object is introduced by the preposition *na* (or its variants *a* or *ne*) or *fu* (or *fi*). Note that the online Aukaans – English SIL dictionary (2003) shows that *mombii* 'deprive; withhold; begrudge' can appear in a double object construction similar to the Early Sranan examples discussed in (98b) and (99b), whereas it appears to be obsolete in contemporary Sranan.

2.4 Property items

Property items refer to properties, qualities or characteristics of referents, such as Age (*nju* 'new'; *ouwroe/ollo* 'old'), Physical Property (*dotti* 'dirty'; *krien* 'clean'), Shape (*luntu* 'round'), Value (*bun* 'good', *takru* 'bad'), Color (*blakka* 'black; *redi* 'red'), Dimension (*bigi* 'big'; *bradi* 'broad') and Human Propensity (*lesi* 'lazy'; *lau* 'mad') (see Dixon 1977, Winford 1993; 1996; 1997; Migge 1998). Property items display flexible categoriality: they can function as modifiers and predicators. In the former function they can be regarded as adjectives, in the latter they can be seen as a subclass of verb. In the literature such items have been labeled predicate adjectives, but I prefer to use the label 'property items' as suggested by Thompson (1988), because it is meant to be neutral in terms of category.

Examples of property items functioning as attributive adjectives are given in (102), (103) and (104): property items can modify nouns (102); they can be combined in the noun phrase (103), and they can be modified by adverbs such as *so* 'so', *moro* 'more' and *tumusi* 'very; many', as shown in (104).

(102) a. *wan dottisanni* (Sch 1783: 35)
a dirty thing
[' etwas unreines, beschmiertes.']
'A dirty thing.'

b. *Gimi krien hempie* (VD c1765: 45)
give-1S clean shirt
['Geef een schoon Hembd.']
'Give me a clean shirt.'

c. *wan ollo Paaij* (N 1770: 281)
a old man
['een oud Man']
'An old man.'

(103) *no bendi da moi pendi tiki* (Sch 1783: 134)
NEG bend the pretty speckled stick
'Don't bend the pretty speckled stick.'

(104) a. *Mie jary no grandebon*? (Hl 1718: 122)
1S garden NEG very-good
['Is mijn Tuin niet goed?']
'Isn't my garden very nice?'

b. *Joe hakkesi zoo lauw zanti* (VD c1765: 53)
2S ask such mad thing
['Vraag je zoo een Gekken Zaak']
'You ask such a silly thing.'

c. *Joe no abie foe moro doengroe ferfie* (Wey 1798: 105)
2S NEG have of more dark paint
['Hebt gy van geen donkerder kleur.']
'You don't have (one) of a darker paint?'

d. *wan toemoesie Biegie Soema* (Wey 1798: 16)
a very big person
['een Reus']
'A very big person; a giant.'

Property items resemble verbs in their predicative function. The strongest argument for verbhood is the following: in general, they are immediately preceded by markers and/or auxiliary verbs expressing Tense, Mood and Aspect, or followed by the adverb *kaba* expressing completive aspect in the Early Sranan sources, see (105a-d).[33]

(105) a. *Mastra joe habi retti dirkture pranasie no zal dotti da maniri fo*
master 2S have right director plantation NEG FUT dirty COP manner of

worke a mosse wakke tra vassi (VD c1765: 86)
work 3S must walk other fashion
['Meester als je een regte Directeur hebt, die op een andere manier Werken laat, zal de Plantagie nooit vuil zyn.']
'Master, if you have the right director, the plantation will not get dirty; it is the manner of the work, it must go on in a different manner.'

b. *da kotto pánsuma, a no wanni dre; alla tarra klossi dre kaba, da kotto,*
the skirt stay.behind 3S NEG want dry all other clothes dry already the skirt

trobbi va dre (Sch 1783: 133)
have.difficulty to dry
'The shirt stays behind, it won't become dry; all other clothes are dry already, but the skirt has difficulty to dry.'

c. *Mie no ben kan klarie mo ro hesie Masra* (Wey 1798: 114)
1S NEG PST can ready more hastily master
['Ik kon niet eerder klaar komen Mynheer.']
'I could not have been ready any faster, master.'

[33] Note that this test cannot be used when a zero-copula or an underlying copula is postulated (Seuren 1981, 1983, 1986; Arends 1989). Since Sebba (1986) and Winford (1997) have shown that sentences such as *yu futu de so bigi* 'your foot is so big' and *yu futu bigi so* 'your foot is big like that' have different underlying structures, that is [NP COP AP(degree)] and [NP Vintransitive] respectively, I prefer to analyze predicative constructions involving property items without an underlying copula.

d. [A] *mi potti bekassi na ouwere wan den ben tan krien*
1S put because LOC old one 3P PST remain clean
['ik reguleer my na de ouwe Inventaris en daar staat op dat al de Stukken Schoon zyn.']
'I put (it there), because in the older one, (it says that) they were clean.'

[B] *Datti mi zabi ma nou a de dotti* (VD c1765: 101)
that 1S know but now 3S ASP dirty
['Dat weet ik, maar teegenwoordig zyn ze Vuil.']
'I know that, but now it is (being/getting) dirty.'

I have glossed *de* in (105d) as the imperfective aspect marker, expressing Continuous or Ingressive Aspect (see 6.2.2). Alternatively, *de* could have been categorized as the copula, as the copula and the imperfective aspect marker are homophonous in 18th century Sranan, see section 5.5 on copular constructions and 4.1.2 on the marking of Aspect. The item *dotti* would be adjectival if *de* is copular, acting as a complement. However, example (105a) above suggests that *dotti* in Van Dyk's (c1765) manual is verbal: *dotti* is immediately preceded by *zal*, a variant of the future tense marker *sa* (see section 4.1.1). Moreover, degree adverbs such as *noefe* 'enough' and *toemoesi* 'too much' always follow the property item in this source (106), as they do in the case of typical verbs. Property predication is generally verbal in this source.

(106) a. *a Lange noeffe* (VD c1765: 34)
3S long enough
['Dat is lang genoeg.']
'It is long enough.'

b. *Joe lau te moesi* (VD c1765: 22)
2S mad exessively
['Je bent al te gek.']
'You are really mad.'

It is not clear whether reduplicated property items are verbal in Van Dyk's (c1765) manual: (107a) is unmarked, wheras (107b) is preceded by *de*, which can be the copula or the marker of Imperfective Aspect.

(107) a. (...) *kaba jo go ronboute da pranasie joe loeke alle zanti krien krien*
and 2S go circumnavigate the plantation 2S look all thing clean.REDUP
['en booven dien gaat uwe de Plantagie rond Kuijeren om alles te bekyken in de Grond.'] (VD c1765: 96)
'(...) and when you explore the plantation, you will see that everything is very clean.'

b. [A] *Mi bon joe bon toe*
1S good 2S good too
['Ik ben Gezond: Uwe ook.']
'I'm good. Are you good too?'

[B] *Ai* myn heer *mi de haffe haffe* (VD c1765: 95)
yes my lord 1S ASP/COP half.REDUP
['Ja myn Heer dat is zoo wat, zoo wat.']
'Yes, sir, I'm fairly well.'

The only Early Sranan source in which copular *de* is found in intermediate position between markers of Tense, Mood and Aspect on the one hand and a property item on the other, is Weygandt's (1798) language manual. Therefore, two types of property predication are assumed to have existed in *fototongo*, the variety represented in this manual: one type of predication is verbal, the other copular. Property predicators can be immediately preceded by markers of Tense, Mood and Aspect and they can be followed by adverbial modifiers such as *toemoesie* 'too much' (108a). In addition, constructions such as (108b) clearly demonstrate the verbal status of property items in this source: the verb *biegien* (*foe*) 'begin to; start to' expressing ingressive or inchoative aspect takes a reduced complement that consists of *waran* 'be warm'.

(108) a. *Den naauw toemoesie* (Wey 1798: 115)
3P tight excessively
['Zy zyn te naauw.']
'They are too tight.'

b. *A biegien foe waran* (Wey 1798: 98)
3S begin to warm
['Het begint warm te worden']
'It is starting to get warm.'

One the other hand, *de* is encountered in intermediate position between the tense marker and the property item as in (109), suggesting that property predication can also be copular if it were not for examples such as (110). The item *de* clearly functions as a marker of Aspect in (110), leading again to the opposite analysis (see also section 4.1.2).

(109) a. *Mie ben sa dee leesie?* (Wey 1798: 59)
1S PST FUT COP lazy
['Zou ik lui zyn?']
'Would I be lazy?'

b. *Datie no sa dee takroe foe sie toe* (Wey 1798: 98)
that NEG FUT COP ugly to see too
['Dat zal ook niet onvermaaklyk zyn.']
'That will not be terrible to see as well.'

(110) *Diesie sa dé wroko da tem dan heelie tranga foe troe* (Wey 1798: 136)
REL FUT ASP work the time then very strong for true
['Die op dat oogenblik vlytig werken zullen.']
'Who will be working very hard then for certain.'

However, property items such as *ferkoutoe* 'having a cold', *flau* 'bland', *leesie* 'lazy', *pasma* 'standstill', *prefoeroe* 'kidding', *reti* 'right', *takroe* 'ugly; bad', *tranga* 'strong', *siekie* 'sick' and *swakkie* 'weak' are encountered only with *de* in Weygandt's (1798) manual. As they are never encountered without *de*, it is very likely that Weygandt (1798) assumed that constructions in which they participate were copular as their Dutch equivalents. Some property items, such as *naauw* 'tight' are clearly derived from Dutch (*naauw* 'tight'), but they are not preceded by *de*. Furthermore, there are items such as *klarie* 'ready, done' (< Dutch *klaar* 'ready; done'), occuring both with and without *de* in combination with markers of Tense and Mood. Although it is not clear whether items such as *naauw* 'tight' are verbal (the copula is not always expressed), items such as *klarie* 'ready; done' may be verbal.

Reduplicated property items are preceded by *de* in this source, see (111). Although *dé* is not preceded by tense markers or a modal auxiliary, the structure of the subordinate clause suggests that *dé* is most likely a copula. Summarizing, property items may function as complements to copulas as well as as verbs in the variety represented in Weygandt's (1798) manual.

(111) (...) *foe sie ofoe alla sanie dé boenboen, lekie fa a moesoe dee*
to see if all thing ASP/COP good.REDUP like how 3S must COP
['naziende of alles behoorlyk word behandeld en opgepast.']
(Wey 1798: 134)
'(...) to see if everything is well, like how it is supposed to be.'

Property items are unmarked for Tense, Mood and Aspect in Herlein's (1718) text, see (112a-b). In one example, the item *se* is encountered in front of the property item *hantsum* 'pretty; beautiful' (112c), which is most likely a misprint for the question word *oe* in an anacoluthic construction (Arends 1995).[34] In short, it is impossible to determine the status of property items in this source. Note that it cannot be excluded that they are verbal, because the degree modifier *toe()moussie* 'too much' follows the property item in (112d).

[34] For a more detailed discussion of this sentence, see section 6.3.

(112) a. *My belle wel* (Hl 1718: 121)
1S very good
['Ik vaar heel wel.']
'I'm very fine.'

b. *My bon* (Hl 1718: 121)
1S good
['Al wel.']
'I'm fine.'

c. *Loeke mie Druije se hansum?* (Hl 1718: 121)
look 1S grape ? beautiful
['Zie mijn Druiven hoe mooi zijn ze?']
'See my grapes, how beautiful they are' (Arends 1995b: 34)

d. *Jie monbie toe moussie* (Hl 1718: 122)
2S greedy too.much
['Jy bent te gierig']
'You are too greedy.'

One of Nepveu's (1770) introductory comments concerning Herlein's (1718) text targets the absence of *de* in the examples presented in (112a) and (112b) above. According to Nepveu, *bon* 'good' and *bellewel* 'very well' should be preceded by *de*, as shown in (113a). Example (113b) is a paraphrase of (113a), in which *de* is replaced with the verb *go* 'go', which may indicate that *de* in (113a) is the copula rather than the imperfective marker in the variety represented in this source. At the same time, the text contains property items which are not accompanied by *de* (114a) and followed by the degree adverb *toe*()*moussi* 'too much' (114b).

(113) a. *mi de bellewel* of *mi de boen* (N 1770: 274)
1S COP very.well / 1S COP fine
'I am very well.' or: 'I am fine.'

b. *a go boen* of *belwel* (N 1770: 275)
3S go good / very.well
['t gaat goed of zeer wel']
'It is going well/very well.'

(114) a. *a takoeroe* (N 1770: 276)
3S ugly
['hij of zij is leelik']
'He is ugly.'

b. *a pekien toe moussi* (N 1770: 276)
3S little too much
['t'is al te kleyn']
'It is too small.'

In conclusion, property predication may be copular in the case of *boen* 'good; fine' and *bellewel* 'very well' and verbal in the case of *takoeroe* 'ugly' and *piekien* 'small; little' in this source.

The Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762) and the data from the Court Records display few examples of property items. In general, they are unmarked, except for (115a). Degree modifiers are postposed (115b).

(115) a. (...) *so allequi dem sa membre à sa boen* (SPT 1762: art.6)
so like 3P FUT think 3S FUT good
'whatever they will think will be right.'

b. *Alle taki, da reiti so; dem wan sweri da fri* (SPT 1762)
all say right so 3P want swear the treaty
'They all said it was good this way; they wanted to take an oath on the treaty.'

In Schumann's (1783) dictionary, property items are immediately preceded by markers of Tense, Mood and Aspect. Degree adverbs follow the property item apparently, whether the property item is reduplicated (116) or not (117).[35] Schumann's translations suggest that unmarked property predicators can convey the sense of a past process in this source, this is exemplified in (117).

(116) *da pasi mottomotto tumussi* (Sch 1783: 155)
the road soiled.REDUP excessively
['der Weg ist sehr kothig.']
'The road has gotten extremely dirty.'

(117) *da sika biggi, a meki hosso kaba* (Sch 1783: 155)
the jigger big 3S make house already
['die Zicke ist schon gross werden, sie hat schon ein Nest gemacht.']
'The sand flea has gotten big, she already made a nest.'

The following examples demonstrate that this source also contains a couple of constructions in which property items of various semantic types are preceded by *de*, albeit not obligatorily, see (118) – (120).

[35] Note that *mottomotto* 'dirt; excretion; dirtiness; (be) soiled' may not be a true reduplication, as single *motto* is not an entry in Schumann's (1783) dictionary. See also section 3.3.

(118) a. *alla Ningre de* <u>*blakka*</u> (Sch 1783: 18)
all black ASP/COP black
['"ein" Neger hat dem andern nichts vorzuwerfen.']
'All blacks are black.' (meaning: 'the pot is calling the kettle black.')

b. *alla Ningre* <u>*blakka*</u> (Sch 1783: 122)
all black black
['es hat kein Neger dem andern etwas vorzuwerfen (wegen des Standes u. der Farbe.)']
'All blacks are black.' (meaning: 'the pot is calling the kettle black.')

(119) a. *mi* <u>*de*</u> *bun* (Sch 1783: 25)
1S ASP/COP good
['ich bin gesund, befinde mich wohl.']
'I am well.'

b. *a morro betre ju go na deh, na neti a no bun* (Sch 1783: 28)
3S more better 2S go LOC day LOC night 3S NEG good
'It is better for you to go during the day, at night it is no good.'

(120) a. *dasanni* <u>*passumà*</u>*, a no wanni komm reti* (Sch 1783: 132)
that-thing standstill 3S NEG want come right
['die Sache geräts ins Stecken, es will nicht fort damit.']
'That situation is at a standstill, it doesn't want to proceede.'

b. *da pikin* <u>*de*</u> <u>*passumà*</u>*, a no gro* (Sch 1783: 132)
that child ASP/COP stunted 3S NEG grow
'das Kind bleibt ganz zurück, es wächst nicht.']
'The child is at a standstill, it is not growing.'

The status of *de* in (118), (119) and (120) is ambiguous. Schumann's translations suggest that the constructions are more stative than processual except perhaps (120). Note that this observation does not exclude the possibility that *de* is an aspect marker, as it could be expressing continous aspect. Schumann (1783: 27) acknowledges that *de* can be a copula and that *de* can be used to indicate that something is occurring in a certain manner at speech time or another point of reference, this is discussed in more detail in sections 4.1.2 and 5.5.

According to Arends (1986; 1989), Early Sranan *de* is used to indicate a state with non-stativity. Thus, he regards *de* as a means to distinguish stative from non-stative meaning in verbs and property items. Several examples in Schumann's (1783) dictionary and other sources of Early Sranan can be accounted for in terms of time stability. In the case of (119) above, the meaning 'being mentally/physically well' of the utterance represented in (119a) denotes the state of speaker, which of course is subject to change, whereas (119b) is an instruction and a moral evaluation less likely to change. Example (120b) may also be more stative than (120a). However, the notion of

time stability cannot account for the cooccurrence of examples such as (118a-b) and a few others listed in Arends' (1989) dissertation. Perhaps *de* in (118a) has an emphatic function as has been noted by Donicie (1959) regarding the cooccurence of *a tru* 'it is true' and *a de tru* 'it is true' in mid-20th century Sranan (see also Arends 1989). The inverted commas in the translation of (118a) indicate that in the original manuscript the translation is marked for emphasis. Thus, the utterance represented in (118a) may indeed be more emphatic than the one in (118b).

The variation exemplified by (118) - (120) may also be related to the split about to take place in the copular system. Arends (1986; 1989) demonstrates that after 1800 attribution and idenfication are no longer marked by the copula *da*; attribution is marked by *de*, whereas *da* primarily expresses identification (see also section 5.5). The following examples, illustrating that *de*, a property item and a postposed degree adverb can co-occur in this source, may also foreshadow the future attributive function of copular *de*.

(121) a. *mi de so haffo*, od. *mi de so haffohaffo,* od. *mi de haffo so* (Sch 1783: 55)
1S COP so half / 1S COP so half.REDUP / 1S ASP/COP half so
['ich bin so ziemlich wohl.']
'I am fine' or: I'm doing fairly well.'

b. *lampo de fulu tumussi, a de go passa abra* (Sch 1783: 132)
lamp ASP/COP full excessive 3S ASP go pass over
['die Lampe ist zu voll (Oehl), sie wird uberlaufen.']
'The lamp is too full, it is overflowing.' or: 'The lamp is getting overfull, it is overflowing.'

In comparative constructions with *moro* 'more; exceed', *de* may appear when *moro* preceeds the property item, whereas *de* is not present when *moro* follows the property item, see (122). The only exception encountered in this source is presented in (123). Thus, comparative constructions generally follow the pattern shown for degree modifiers in the case of property predicators.

(122) *a de morro langa leki mi,* oder *a langa morro na mi* (Sch 1783: 100)
3S ASP/COP more long like 1S/ 3S long more/exceed LOC 1S
['er ist grösser als ich.']
'He is taller than me.'

(123) (...) *ma "buku" morro betre leki bassia* (Sch 1783: 12)
but bend more better like bend
'(...) but *buku* is better than *bassia*.'

While the examples presented above show that property predicators function mostly as intransitive verbs in the sources, some are encountered as transitive verbs taking direct objects, in addition to performing as intransitive verbs. The examples in (124) show several of the property items presented above taking a complement.

(124) a. *myki den krien da gottere bon poele loete kommotte* (VD c1765: 57)
make 3P clean the gutter good pull root come.out
['maak dat ze de Sloot ter deeg schoon maaken en haalen de Wortels wel uit de Grond']
'Make them clean the gutter thoroughly and remove the roots.'

b. *mi de dre meti na faija* (Sch 1783: 64)
1S ASP dry meat LOC fire
['ich berbekutte Fleisch.']
'I am roasting meat over the fire.'

c. *mi ben heh da grunn so menni kaba, ma a no heh nuffe jette,*
1S PST lift the ground so many already but 3S NEG high enough yet

mi sa heh hem morro (Sch 1783: 64)
1S FUT lift 3S more
'I have elevated the ground so much already, but it is still not high enough, I will lift it some more.'

d. *Dotie em*
dirty 3S
['Vuilmaken'] (Wey 1798: 34)
'To make it dirty.'

2.4.1 Property items in Early Sranan, Eastern Maroon Creole and contemporary Sranan

Property items (predicative adjectives) in the Suriname Creoles are discussed in a number of publications, among them Alleyne (1980), Arends (1986; 1989), Donicie (1959), Goury (2003), Huttar & Huttar (1994), Huttar & Koanting (1993), Migge (1998, 2003), Sebba (1986), Seuren (1981; 1983; 1986) and Winford (1997). The following is derived from those publications.

Property predicators in Eastern Maroon Creole and contemporary Sranan are immediately preceded by markers of Tense, Mood and Aspect; a copula cannot intervene. Note that in Eastern Maroon Creole and contemporary Sranan, the imperfective maker and the copula are not homophonous, whereas in Early Sranan they were: the marker of Imperfective Aspect has been reduced to *e*, the copula is *de*.

Property predicators in Eastern Maroon Creole and contemporary Sranan are followed by adverbial modifiers, as in Early Sranan. Furthermore, adverbial modifiers may precede property items in an adjectival phrase of degree in both languages. However, adjectival phrase of degree with a degree modifier preceding a property item cannot cooccur with a copula in Eastern Maroon Creole. This restriction is not encountered in Early Sranan: *de* is found preceding adjectival phrases of degree in Van Dyk's (c1765) manual, Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) textbook.

Property predication may be verbal or copular in Eastern Maroon Creole and Saramaccan (Winford 1997; Migge 1998; 2003; Sebba 1986). The type of predication depends on the property item in both languages: if the item derives from a small set of true adjectives such as *bun* 'well (EMC) and *bunu/bumbuu* 'good/well'[36] (Saramaccan), or it is a reduplicated property item or a verb expressing a change of physical state, then it functions as a complement to *de*. Furthermore, ideophones function as complements, such as *pii* 'quiet' and *gufuu* 'very angry and quiet' in Eastern Maroon Creole, and *pioo* 'black' in Saramaccan. The sources of Early Sranan display a somewhat different pattern: *bun* 'good/well', *tru* 'true' and reduplicated property items are found without and with *de*, which often expresses non-stativity (Arends 1986; 1989). Early Sranan equivalents of the Eastern Maroon Creole and Saramaccan ideophones are few, although *pii* 'very quiet' is listed in Schumann's (1783) dictionary. It is translated as follows: "ganz still, todt still" ['very quiet, dead still'] (Schumann 1783: 135). For the majority of the property items, Schumann lists several meanings related to its adjectival, verbal and nominal use. In the case of *pii* he presents only the meaning corresponding to its adjectival use, suggesting that is a true adjective.[37]

Most verbal property items of the contemporary Suriname Creoles are processual, except for items from the semantic subgroups of Human Propensity and Value (Huttar & Koating 1993; Huttar & Huttar 1994; Migge 1998; Winford 1997). Unmarked property items may have a completed process reading or a current state interpretation; it depends on the discourse context which is appropriate. Marked by *e* expressing Inchoative (Ingressive) Aspect *e* the processual meaning of the property item is brought out; *k(a)ba*, the marker of Completive Aspect also has this effect. The construction *e* + property item X is best translated as 'be getting property X' suggesting a current process; the construction property item X + *k(a)ba* meaning 'has got property X already' implies a past process. Early Sranan equivalents of the latter are presented in the preceding section, some can indeed be read as denoting past processes. Examples of a propery item with *de* marking Ingressive Aspect are rare in the sources; instead the auxiliary verb *kom(m)* 'come; become' is used, see (125).

(125) a. *be fo joe dore da pranasie romboute fossi wan kom dotti bakke* (...)
before 2S continue the plantation encircle first-one come dirty again
['eêr je de Grond rond bent, is het eerste al weêr eeven vuil']
(VD c1765: 87)
'Before you have gone round the plantation, the first one is getting untidy again (...).'

[36] The form *bunu* is used to describe inanimate subjects only, whereas *bumbuu* is used only with persons in Saramaccan (Winford 1997: 293).

[37] Schumann (1783) presents the following example to illustrate the meaning of *pi* 'very quiet'. Bare in mind that *tann* can be used as an auxiliary verb with aspectual meaning and as a main verb. As *pi* is adjectival, I assume that *tann* 'remain; stay' is the main verb.

(1) *a tann pi* (Sch 1783: 135)
3S stay quiet
['er schwieg ganz still.']
'He remained very quiet.'

b. *na faija sei da boom komm dre* (Sch 1783: 152)
LOC fire side the tree come dry
['auf der Seite wo das Feuer war, ist der Baum verdorrt.']
'On the side towards the fire, the tree became dried out.'

c. *A dé begien foe kon ounroe* (Wey 1798: 87)
3S ASP begin to come old
['Hy begint oud te worden.']
'He is beginning to get old.'

In the native variety of contemporary Sranan, most property items are verbal except for a small set of items including *bun* 'well' and *tru* 'true' and Dutch derived items such as *moi* 'pretty; beautiful' (< Dutch *mooi* 'pretty; beautiful') and *swanger* 'pregnant' (< Dutch *zwanger* 'pregnant') (Seuren 1981; Arends 1989; Winford 1997). These items are adjectival rather than verbal. In non-native varieties of contemporary Sranan, other property items than the ones listed above can occur as complements to copular *de*. Winford (1997: 292) views those types of predication in which the copula is attested as "innovations due perhaps to transfer in the acquisition of Sranan as a second language".

The only Early Sranan source in which *de* is found in intermediate position between markers of Tense, Mood and Aspect and a property item, is the Sranan - Dutch language manual written by Weygandt, for whom Sranan also must have been a second language. Moreover, the variety represented in this manual is late 18th century *fototongo*, which is more heavily influenced by Dutch that the other varieties represented in the sources. Some of the items preceded by *de* are indeed derived from Dutch, such as *ferkoutoe* '(having a) cold' (< Dutch *verkouden* '(having a) cold'), *flau* 'bland' (< Dutch *flauw* 'bland') and *swakkie* 'weak' (< Dutch *zwak* 'weak'), see (126a). Others, however, are not, for example *leesie* 'lazy' (< English *lazy*), *prefoeroe* 'kidding' (< English *play (the) fool*), *reti* 'right' (< English *right*), *tranga* 'strong' (< English *strong*) and *siekie* 'sick' (< English *sick*), see (126b). The different positions of *piekienso* 'a little; a bit' in (126a-b) suggest that Dutch derived items may indeed be adjectival rather than verbal in this source. On the other hand, the manual has examples of Dutch derived property items that are not preceded by *de*.

(126) a. *A ben dee siekie piekienso. Ma a dee boen noja kwetiekwetie*
3S PST COP sick little but 3S ASP/COP good now really-REDUP
['Hy is wat onpasselyk geweest. Maar hy is nu heel wel.'] (Wey 1798: 103)
'He was a bit sick. But now he is fine for sure.'

b. *Mie dee piekienso swakkie jetee* (Wey 1798: 97)
1S COP little weak yet
['Ik ben nog wat zwakjes.']
'I am still a bit weak.'

Thus, the source language from which the item is derived may have some influence on the type of property predication in *fototongo*, but it is certainly not the only factor involved. With respect to property predication, the variety represented in this manual resembles the non-native varieties of contemporary Sranan documented by Winford (1997) to a greater extent than it resembles Eastern Maroon Creole.

2.5 Modifiers

In this section several nominal and clausal modifiers are discussed, including color terms (2.5.1), numerals (2.5.2), quantifiers (2.5.3), intensifiers (2.5.4) and adverbs (2.5.5).

2.5.1 Color terms

In Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Weygandt's (1798) manual only color terms modifying nouns are found; they include *blaka* 'black' (< English *black*), *weti* 'white' (< English *white*) and *redi* 'red' (< English *red*), see (127).

(127) a. *den <u>blakke</u> jurka* (VD c1765: 47)
the.PL black devil
['die zwarte Duivels']
'(...) the black devils (...).'

b. *wan battra <u>witti</u> wini* (VD c1765: 68)
a bottle white wine
['een Fles Witte Wyn']
' (...) a bottle of white wine (...).'

c. *Misi <u>riddi</u> heden* (VD c1765: 32)
miss red head
['Jufvrouw Rood-Kop']
'Miss Red Head'

Additionally, *geelie* 'yellow' (< Dutch *geel*), *groen* 'green' (< Dutch *groen*) and *blau* 'blue' (< Dutch *blauw*) modify nouns in Weygandt's (1798) manual.
Schumann (1783) gives detailed information on color terms: based on the translations and the examples, I conclude that Early Sranan color terms can be used modifying nouns and predicatively. As verbs they can be stative (128a), as well as dynamic (128b).

(128) a. *alla Ningre de <u>blakka</u>* (Sch 1783: 18)
all black ASP/COP black
['"ein" Neger hat dem andern nichts vorzuwerfen.']
'All blacks are black.' (meaning: 'the pot is calling the kettle black.')

b. *dem no sa <u>weti</u> da hosso* (Sch 1783: 202)
3P NEG FUT whiten the house
['wird dat Haus nich geweisst werden?']
'Will the house not be whitewashed?'

Schumann (1783) is very specific with regard to the range of some of the terms and to what variety of Early Sranan they belong. *Blakka* or *brakka* can be used to denote the

colours that correspond to German *schwarz* 'black' and *blau* 'blue'. *Blakka* further conveys the sense of dark or murky (Schumann 1783: 18).

Ningretongo redi or *ledi* refers to those colours that are expressed by *roth* 'red', *gelb* 'yellow' and *hellbraun* 'light brown' in German (Schumann 1783: 144). In *bakratongo* and *djutongo*, the color yellow is not denoted by *redi*, but by different words, namely *geel* and *bae* respectively. Note that *repi* or *lepi* 'ripe; be ripe; ripen' is encountered twice denoting the color yellow, though it is not listed as a color term, see (129).

(129) a. *ledi tereh* (Sch 1783: 158)
yellow tail
['eine grosse Art Schlangen, mit ganz gelben Schwarz; diese gehen dem Federvieh sehr nach.']
'Yellow tail.' ('large snake with yellow tail, fond of poultry.')

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

Grûn or *grün* can be used as a color term meaning 'green' and to express that something is raw, unripe or young. *Grun* and *lala* convey more or less similar senses, but the former is associated with *bakratongo,* whereas the latter is *ningretongo* (Schumann 1783: 54). The *djutongo* word is *glua* or *grua* 'green; raw, unripe, young' (Schumann 1783: 50).

Table 2.8 *Color terms in Modern Sranan, Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole**

	MOD.SR	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
		1707-1767	1718	1762	c1765	1770	1783	1798	
		CR	HL	SPT	VD	N	SCH	WEY	
black	*blaka*	-	-	-	*blak(k)e*	-	*blakka, brakka*	*blaka*	*baaka*
white	*weti*	-	-	-	*witti*	-	*weti*	*weti*	*weti*
red	*redi*	-	-	-	*riddi*	-	*redi, ledi*	*redie*	*lebi*
yellow	*geri*	-	-	-	-	-	*lepi* *redi, ledi* (N) *geel* (B) *bae* (D)	*geelie*	*taya, donu*
green	*grun, yongu*	-	-	-	-	-	*grûn, grün* (B) *lála*, *lal(l)a* (N) *glua, grua* (D)	*groen (lala)*	*guun*
blue	*blaw*	-	-	-	-	-	*blakka, brakka*	*blau*	*baau*
brown	*redi, broin*	-	-	-	-	-	*redi, ledi*	-	*sukaati*
grey		-	-	-	-	-	*(ássesi)*	-	*asisi, tyuwi*

* N = *ningretongo;* B = *bakratongo;* D = *djutongo*

2.5.1.1 Color terms in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

Table 2.8 shows that Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole have at least two basic color terms in common ('black', 'white'). The most striking difference between the Early Sranan findings and Eastern Maroon Creole is that the latter has color terms that correspond to terms associated with acrolectal varieties of Early Sranan, namely *bakratongo* and *fototongo*. Furthermore, 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: *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, see (104) above. This extension of meaning is associated with the fact that certain Suriname fruits, such as the Suriname bananas, become red and/or yellow when they ripen. Most likely it derives from the Gbe languages, where this extension of meaning is also found. 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).

2.5.2 Numerals

Cardinal numbers. Van Dyk (c1765) and Weygandt (1798) include a chapter on number formation in their guides; Schumann (1783) lists numerals as separate entries in his dictionary. Nepveu (1770) includes a brief overview of numerals in his word list and they are occasionally found in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762). The Early Sranan numerical system is decimal-based; it includes ten basic forms for the numbers 'one' to 'ten', see (130). They can be used for counting as well as attributively (131).

(130) a. Numerals 1-10 in Van Dyk (c1765: 8):

Wan Toe Dri Fo.
one two three four
['Een Twee Drie Vier.']

Vyfi Zikkizi Zebi.
five six seven
['Vyf Zes Zeeven.']

Ayti Negi Tien.
eight nine ten
['Agt Neegen Tien.']

b. Weygandt (1798: 10):

Wan, toe, drie, foo
oen two three four
['Een, twee, drie, vier']

fyfie, sieksie, sebie
five six seven
['vyf zes, zeeven']

aitie, neegie, tien
eight nine ten
['agt, neegen, tien']

(131) *da vool ben siddom na tin eksi tappo, a brokko <u>neni</u>* (Sch 1783: 23)
the chicken PAST sit-down LOC ten egg top 3S break nine
['diese Henne hat 10 Eyer zum brüten gehabt, aber nur 9 heraus gebracht, aus gebrütet']
'The chicken has been brooding on ten eggs, nine hatched.'

Most forms are originally derived from English, except for the number 'nine'. In Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, Nepveu's (1770) text and Weygandt's (1798) manual the form *ne(e)gi(e)(n)* 'nine' (< Dutch *negen* 'nine') is used, whereas *neni* 'nine' (< English *nine*) is found in Schumann's (1783) dictionary (106); *ne(e)gi(e)* is not attested in this source.

Numerals ranging from ten to twenty are derived by combining the form *ti(e)n(n)a* ten LOC with one of the basic forms as follows:

(132) Numerals 11 – 19 in

Van Dyk (c1765: 8):	Nepveu (1770: 278)	Schumann (1783: 182)	Weygandt (1798: 10)		
Tien a wan.	*tien na wan*	*tînna wan*	*tiennawan*	ten LOC one	'eleven.'
Tien a toe.	*tien na toe*	*tîn na tu*	*tiennatoe*	ten LOC two	'twelve.'
Tien a drie.	en zo voorts	*tîn na dri*	*tiennadrie*	ten LOC three	'thirteen.'
Tien a fo.	tot *twinting*	*tînna fo*	*tiennafo*	ten LOC four	'fourteen.'
Tien a fyfi.	'and so on	*tînna feifi*	*tiennavyfie*	ten LOC five	'fifteen.'
Tien a zikkizi.	until twenty'	und so weiter bis 'and so on	*tiennasieksie*	ten LOC six	'sixteen.'
Tien a zebi.		until'	*tiennasebie*	ten LOC seven	'seventeen.'
Tien a ayti.			*tiennaaitie*	ten LOC eight	'eightteen.'
Tien a negi.		*tîn na neni*	*tiennanegie*	ten LOC nine	'nineteen.'

Numerals ranging from twenty to thirty are formed by a) combining a numeral base with the suffix *–tentin* (Van Dyk; Schumann), or b) by combining *twinting* 'twenty' (< Dutch *twintig*) or *twenti* (< English *twenty*) and a basic numerical form (Nepveu; Weygandt):

(133) Numerals 21 – 29 in

Van Dyk (c1765: 8):	Nepveu (1770: 278)	Schumann (1783)	Weygandt (1798: 10)		
Toe ten tien a wan	*twinting na wan*	-	*twentienawan*	twenty LOC one	'twenty-one.'
Toe ten tien a toe	*twinting na toe*	-	*twintienatoe*	twenty LOC two	'twenty-two.'

The suffix *–tentin* derives numerals ranging from thirty to ninety when it is attached to a numeral base denoting a numeral between three and nine in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual; in Nepveu's text it is the suffix *–tien* that derives these numerals. The suffixes

–tentin and *–tien* are discussed in detail in chapter 3. The forms for '31', '32', '33' etc. are formed by combining a numeral between three and nine with *–tentin/-tien*, the locative preposition *na* and another basic numeral, see (134).

(134) *fohondro nanga feifitentin na siksi* (Sch 1783: 66)
four hunderd and fifty LOC six
['456.']
'Four hunderd and fifty six.'

Numerals ranging from hunderd to one thousand are formed by adding *honderd/hondro* (< English *hunderd* or Dutch *honderd*) to a numeral base consisting of a basic form ranging from one to ten; the forms for '101', '102', '103' etc. are formed as follows: NUM + *hondro*, the coordinative conjunction *nanga*, and a basic form or a basic form in combination with *–tentin/-tien* followed by the locative preposition *na* and a basic form, as in (135). Examples of this construction are found in Van Dyk (c1765), Schumann (1783) and Weygandt (1798).

(135) *fohondro nanga feifitentin na siksi* (Sch 1783: 66)
four hunderd and fifty LOC six
['456.']
'Four hunderd and fifty six.'

From one thousand onwards, *duisent*, *dusent* and *doezoen* 'thousand' (< Dutch *duizend* 'thousand') are used in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual respectively; see also (136).

(136) *Wan-doezoen-zebiehondro-nanga-negietentien na sebie* (Wey 1798: 10)
a thousand sevenhunderd and ninety LOC seven
['Een duizend zevenhondert zeeven en negentig']
'One thousand seven hundred ninety seven.'

In addition, Van Dyk (c1765) presents the following construction meaning 'thousand' in the chapter on number formation, but it is not encountered elsewhere in his guide, or in the other sources:

(137) *Tien tromp Honderd* (VD c1765: 8)
ten time hunderd
['Duizend.']

Ordinal numerals. Except for *wan*, evidence from Schumann's (1783) dictionary suggests that all basic forms used to express cardinal numerals can be used as ordinal numerals, see (113). *Wan* cannot be used as an ordinal numeral, the notion 'first' is denoted by *fossi* 'first' (< English *first*), see (138b).

(138) a. *mi sa hoppo na dri kakka-kreh* (Sch 1783: 36)
1S FUT get-up LOC three rooster-cry
['ich will mit dem dritten Hahnengeschrey aufstehen.']
'I will get up at the third crow of the rooster.'

b. *na fossi kakka-kreh; na tu kakka-kreh; na dri kakka-kreh* (Sch 1783: 77)
LOC first rooster-cry LOC two rooster-cry LOC three rooster-cry
['beym ersten, zweiten, dritten Hanengeschrey.']
'At the first crow of the rooster, at the second crow of the rooster; at the third crow of the rooster.'

In Weygandt's (1798: 10) chapter on number formation ordinals are derived from cardinal numerals preceded by *diesie foe mekie*, as in (139).

(139) *Da fosiewan*, the first-one ['De eerste.'] 'The first.'
Diesiefoemekie toe, REL to make two ['De tweede'] 'The second.'
Diesie foe mekie drie, REL to make three ['De derde'] 'The third.'
Diesie foe mekie twentie, REL to make twenty ['De twintigste'] 'The twentiest.'
Diesie foe mekie wan hondro REL to make twenty ['De honderste.'] 'The hundredst.'

2.5.2.1 Numerals in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

Eastern Maroon Creole numerals are *wan* 'one', *tu* 'two', *dii* 'three', *fo* 'four', *feifi* 'five', *sigisi* 'six', *seibi(n)* 'seven', *aiti(n)* 'eight', *neigi(n)* nine' and *tin* 'ten'; they can be used for counting as well as attributively (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 532, SIL 2003). Thus, they resemble their Early Sranan equivalents. Note that Eastern Maroon Creole *neigi(n)* corresponds to the Dutch derived numeral *ne(e)gi(e)(n)* 'nine' and not the English one attested in Schumann's (1783) dictionary. Overall, Eastern Maroon Creole cardinal numerals are very similar to those of Early Sranan.

Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole display some variation with respect to the forms for 'eleven' and 'twelve'; the numerals 'thirteen' to 'nineteen' are formed in a similar manner (i.e. *tina* + '3' etc.): Early Sranan has *tinnawan* 'eleven' and *tinnatu* 'twelve', whereas Eastern Maroon Creole *elufu* 'eleven' and *twalufu* 'twelve' in addition to the forms *tinawan* 'eleven' and *tinatu* 'twelve'. I suspect that the former are recent borrowings from Dutch, while the latter represent an older variety of Eastern Maroon Creole because they are so similar to their Early Sranan equivalents.

Eastern Maroon Creole numerals ranging from twenty-one to twenty-nine are formed by preposing *twenti* (*n*)*a* to the numbers one to nine (Huttar & Huttar 1994). Alternatively, the form *tutenti* can be used instead of *twenti* (SIL 2003). Recall that both forms occur in the sources of Early Sranan: the Early Sranan variant of *tutenti* is found in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Schumann's (1783) dictionary, whereas *twinting/twenti* occurs in Nepveu's (1770) text and Weygandt's (1798) manual. This distribution suggests that the former may have been characteristic of more basilectal varieties of Early Sranan, and the latter of more acrolectal varieties. The fact that both forms occur in Eastern Maroon Creole further suggests that they are quite old: both forms

must have been used in the varieties spoken on the Suriname plantations before the founders of the Ndyuka left the plantations.

Ordinal numerals are expressed in Eastern Maroon Creole by cardinal numerals preceded by *di fu* or *du fu* (140a); *du fu meke* (140b) is found with *toon* 'time' or *leisi* 'time' in addition to *du/di fu*. Furthermore, *toon* 'time' can be part of the ordinal expression (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 533-4), (see 140c).

(140) a. *a du fu tu pikin fu mi* (EMC, Huttar & Huttar 1994: 534)
the that for two child for 1S
'My second child.'

b. *du fu meke tu leisi* (EMC, Huttar & Huttar 1994: 534)
that for make two time
'The second time.'

c. *dati a du fu feifi toon sitaafu* (EMC, Huttar & Huttar 1994: 534)
that COP that for five time punishment
'That is the fifth punishment.'

In contrast with Eastern Maroon Creole, cardinal numerals function as ordinals in the variety of Early Sranan represented in Schumann's (1783) dictionary. Furthermore, the Early Sranan equivalent of *toon* 'time' is not found in an ordinal expression in any of the sources. However, Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole have in common the ordinal expression in which a free relative is combined with (a variant of) *fu* and the verb *meke*, suggesting that this type of construction was used to form ordinal numerals in the early plantation variety of Early Sranan.[38]

2.5.3 Quantifiers

In this section non-numeral quantifiers are discussed, including universal quantifiers and mid-scalar quantifiers. Negative quantifiers, except for those derived by *no wan* 'not one', are not encountered in the sources. Examples of *no wan* in combination with *somma* (*no wan somma* 'nobody'), *sanni* (*no wan sanni* 'nothing'), *fassi* (*no wan fassie* 'no manner'), *tem* (*no wan tem* 'never') and *p(l)e(e)(h)* (*no wan peh/plee* 'nowhere') are found in several sources. Additionally, *no wan* can occur with other nouns, whether they are count nouns or mass nouns, see (141a) and (141b).

(141) a. *Den no kan sie no wan kroektoe fouw na ienie* (Wey 1798: 112)
3P NEG can see no wan crooked crinkle LOC in
['Men ziet er geen oneffen vouw in']
'It has not a single crinkle.'

[38] The fact that Eastern Maroon Creole *du fu meke* is limited to *toon* 'time' and *leisi* 'time' as opposed to *di/du fu* for which no limitations are reported suggests that the former has been lexicalized, whereas the latter has been grammaticalized.

b. *nembre no wan ogrie sa dé more fou dem langa bacra* (SPT 1762: art.1)
never NEG one evil FUT COP more of 3P with white
['Sijn te vreede en beloove na te komen stiptelijk.']
'Never again will there be any problem between them and the whites.'

Universal quantifiers. Early Sranan has two universal quantifiers, *alla* 'all, every' and *ibri* 'each, every'. *Alla* modifies nouns in pre-nominal position (142a). When it is used to modify a pronoun, it either follows the pronoun (142b) or it occurs in clause-final position, presumably to express greater emphasis on the pronoun (142c). The latter type of construction is limited to Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Weygandt's (1798) manual. Furthermore, *alla* can occur independently (142c).

(142) a. *mi no sabi hoe ple alle santi kom oppo* (CR 1745)
1S NEG know Q place all thing come out
'I don't know where all these things come from.'

b. *Dem alla sweri gado langa gron na dem reiti fassie* (...) (SPT 1762)
3P all swear god and land LOC 3P right manner
'They all took an oath to god and to the land, entirely according to their custom (...).'

c. *wi zarri fo joe alle da joe go lassi zo* (VD c1765: 111)
1P sad for 2S all that 2S go expire so
['(...) en zyn Inwendig Bedroefd, dat gy ons verlaat']
'All of us regret that you died this way.'

d. *Alle taki, da reiti so* (SPT 1762)
all say COP right so
'All said it was good this way.'

Ibri(wan) (< English *everyone*) conveys the sense of 'each' as well as 'every'; it is encountered in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762), Weygandt's (1798) manual and Schumann's (1783) dictionary. In the latter it is interchangeable with *ebri(wan)* (143b), and *ini(wan)* (< English *anyone*) (143c), although *ini(wan)* can also be used in the same sense as English *any* in this source and in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762), see (144).

(143) a. (...) *kaba ibriwan spelle habi tongo va hem srefi* (Sch 1783: 64)
yet every tribe have language of 3S.OBJ self
'(...) yet every/each tribe has its own language.'

b. *dem somma musse gi hánsre vo <u>ebriwan</u> ougri muffe, dissi dem ben takki*
the.PL person must give anwer for every evil word REL 3P PAST say
['die Menschen müssen Rechenschaft geben von jeden unnützen Wort.']
(Sch 1783: 59)
'The people must account for every evil word they have said.'

c. *<u>inideh</u> ju takki, tamarra ju sa pai mi* (...) (Sch 1783: 171)
every-day 2S say tomorrow 2S FUT pay 1S
['alle Tage sagst du, du willst mir morgen bezahlen (...).']
'Every day you say that you will pay me tomorrow (...).'

(144) a. *Effie fettie kom na condre foe tarra condre, bacara effoe tarra boesie*
if fight come LOC country from other country whiteman or other bush

nengre,<u>innie</u> <u>wan</u> effie <u>innie</u> plessie dem sa dé (...) (SPT 1762: art.8)
black every one or every place 3P FUT COP
['(...) in cas van muyterij van slaven off van buytenlandsche vijandt (...)']
'If the colony should be at war with another nation, whether they are Whites or other Maroons, whoever or wherever they may be (...).'

b. (...) *kaba dem membre, effi dem no lukku va treffe, treffe sa kissi dem, va killi dem*,
and 3P think if 3P NEG look for curse curse FUT catch 3P to kill 3P

effi va meki dem siki, effi va du dem <u>iniwan</u> tarra ougri (Sch 1783: 186)
or to make 3P sick or to do 3P any other evil
'(...) and they believe, that, if they don't look out for the curse, it will get them, (it will) kill them or make them sick, or bring upon them whatever other evil.'

Both *ibriwan/ebriwan/iniwan* and the abbreviated form *ibri/ebri/ini* can be used to modify a noun. The former, however, can also be used independently, see for example *innie wan* in (144a) above.

In Van Dyk's (c1765) manual *ibri(wan), ebri(wan)* nor *ini(wan)* are encountered; instead *ider (wan)* (< Dutch *ieder* 'each; every') is found:

(145) a. (...) *en potti merki fo <u>ider</u> man vyfi hondert voete* (VD c1765: 63)
and put mark for every man five hundred feet
['en maak voor ieder Man een Merk van vyf Hondert Voet']
'(...) and put the mark on five hundred feet for every man.'

b. (...) *maar loeke bon <u>ider</u> <u>wan</u> kisi pikien* (VD c1765: 107)
but look good every one get little
['(...) maar zie toe dat een ieder wat krygt.']
'(...) but see to it that every one get something.'

Mid-scalar quantifiers. Assuming that quantifiers can be arranged on a scale from minimal to maximal quantity, mid-scalar quantifiers are those quantifiers that cover the middle part of the scale (Haspelmath 1997, Horn 1972). They include *wa(n)wan* 'only; alone', *wan tu dri* 'few; several', *pikin(so)* 'a little; few', *som* 'some', *somenni* 'so many; several' and *fulu* 'many'.

The item *wa(n)wan* 'alone; solely', originally a reduplicated numeral, follows the nominal constituent it modifies (146a,b). It can occur with nouns and pronouns denoting singular or multiple referents (146c,d), or as a complement of the verb (see section 2.5.5.3). It contrastively emphasizes the referent of the noun and delimits its reference.[39]

(146) a. *da worke <u>wawan</u> no myki pranasie bon* (VD c1765: 86)
the work only NEG make plantation good
['het Werk alleenig maakt een Plantagie niet goed']
'It is not just the work that makes a good plantation.'

b. *Mekie mie doe mie <u>wawan</u> ofoe joe pliesie* (Wey 1798: 115)
make 1S do 1S only if 2S please
['Laat my alleen begaan als het u beliefd.']
'Let me do it on my own, if you don't mind.'

c. *heddi <u>wawan</u> de jam mi* (Sch 1783: 71)
head only ASP hurt 1S
['nur der Kopf thut mir weh.']
'Only my head hurts.'

d. *da Bakkra <u>wawan</u>* (Sch 1783: 163)
COP white only
['es sind lauter Blanke.']
'It's only whitemen.'

The expression *wan tu ((ofoe) dri(e))* literally one, two ((or) three), meaning 'few; several' expresses a low estimate (147). It is found in Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual; in the former it occurs as a list, whereas in the latter the coordinating conjunction *ofoe* is added, see (147a) and (147b).

(147) a. *a libi <u>wan tu dri</u>* (Sch 1783: 102)
3S leave one two three
['ohngefähr 2 bis 3 sind übrig.']
'About two or three are left over.'

[39] In certain discourse contexts *wawan* may be replaced by *soso*, see section 2.5.5.3.

b. *Wakka wan toe ofoe drie foetoe ofoe joe pliesie* (Wey 1798: 111)
walk one two drie foot if 2S please
['Gaat eens twee of drie schreeden als 't u beliefd.']
'Walk a couple of steps if you like.'

Pikin 'a little; little; small; child; young' is mainly used to express a small quantity of food or beverage or other entities denoted by mass nouns (148).

(148) a. *go poeli snyboni lange piekien slaâ toe* (VD c1765: 63)
go pull beans and little lettuce too
['neemt wat Sny-Boonen uit de Thuin en wat Slaâ']
'Go and get beans and a little lettuce too (from the garden).'

b. *gi mi pikin watra* (Sch 1783: 136)
give 1S little water
['gib wir ein wenig Wasser.']
'Give me a little water.'

c. *Mekie wie go tekie piekien wientie* (Wey 1798: 77)
make 1P go take little wind
['Laat ons een buitenluchtje scheppen.']
'Let us go out to get some air.'

Alternatively, *piekienso* can be used to denote a small quantity modifying mass nouns in prenominal position, but exclusively in Weygandt's (1798) manual (149).

(149) a. *piekienso Oly* (Wey 1798: 28)
a little oil
['een schootje Oly']
'A little oil.'

b. *piekienso Azien* (Wey 1798: 28)
a little vinegar
['een schootje Azyn.']
'A little vinegar.'

Note that *pikin so* is encountered in Schumann's (1783) dictionary; performing solely as an adverbial phrase expressing degree (see section 2.5.5.4).
The English derived form *som* 'few; some; certain' is found in pre-nominal position in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Schumann's (1783) dictionary, see (150).[40]

(150) a. *rossi den vogels lange zom rypi bannanne* (VD c1765: 86)
roast the.PL bird with some ripe banana
['de Vogels moet je met eenige Rype Bannannen Braaden.']
'Roast the birds with some ripe bananas.'

[40] The fact that the adverb *somtem* 'sometime' (< English *sometime*) has a wider distribution, occurring not only in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Schumann's (1783) dictionary, but also in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762), Nepveu's (1770) text and Weygandt's (1798) manual, suggests that *somtem* is not a morphologically complex word; most likely, it is derived from English *in toto*.

b. *som somma* (Sch 1783: 159)
some person
['gewisse Leute.']
'Some/certain people.'

The expression *so menni* 'many' is most often used to limit the quantity to a certain amount or size, as indicated by the linguistic or extralinguistic context (151a,b). Additionally, it can express emphasis (151c,d).

(151) a. *En dem no sa moesoe mankerie foe sendie soo menni man nanga gon*
and 3P NEG FUT must fail to send so many man and gun

allekie grandiman nanga couroetoe sa haksie foe goo na da plessie grandman
like governor and court FUT ask to go LOC the place governor

sa takie of sendie takie na dem (...) (SPT 1762: art.8)
FUT say or send word LOC 3P
['Sullende hun opperhoofd sorge dat in sulken gevalle de gevraagde manschappen geleeverd worden ter plaatse en onder de ordres van diegeene die door den heer Gouverneur off Gouverneur en Raaden sullen aangeweesen worden']
'And they should not fail to send as many armed men as the Governor and the Court will ask to go to the place the Governor will (have somebody) tell them (...).'

b. *Mino memmere joe habi zoo menni koni fo pranasie worke* (VD c1765: 88)
1S-NEG think 2S have so much cunning of plantation work
['Ik dogt niet dat je zoo veel kennis had van het Plantagie Werk']
'I didn't know you have that much knowledge of plantation work.'

c. *so menni langa mi ben tann lukku ju!* (Sch 1783: 98)
so many long 1S past stay look for 2S
['so sehr lange habe ich auf dich gewartet!']
'For such a long time I have waited for you!'

d. [A] *Zo meni maskieta dé dan daplesie?*
so many mosquito COP then there
['Zyn er dan daar zo veel ongedierte?']
'There are that many mosquitos there?'

[B] *Nobooy* (Wey 1798: 142)
NEG-INT
['Ontzachlyk']
'It's incredible.'

As *menni* never occurs as an independent free form in the sources, its status is not clear (see also Bruyn 1995: 150 - 151). In Schumann's (1783) dictionary it is always preceded by *so* or the question particle *hu*, or followed by the (semi-)affixes *-sanni* and *–tron* (see Chapter 3), as in (152a,b).

(152) a. *<u>menni</u>tron* (Sch 1783: 111)
many time
['oft, vielmals.']
'Many times.'

b. *<u>menni</u>sanni* (Sch 1783: 111)
many thing
['vielerley.']
'Several (things).'

So menni and *fulu* 'many, much; be much; full; be full; fill; be filled' (< English *full*) co-occur without an apparent change in meaning in Schumann's (1783) dictionary, see (153).

(153) *so menni*, od. *so menni fulu* (Sch 1783: 111)
so many / so many many
['so viel, so viele.']
'So many.'

In general, *fulu* indicates that the quantity or size is large, without specifying its precise nature. In most of the sources it is found with count and mass nouns in prenominal position (1549a,b), except for the Court Records, where it follows the noun it modifies (154c).

(154) a. *mi kiesi <u>foele</u> bakkera* (VD c1765: 72)
1S get many white
['ik kryg een groot Bezoek']
'I get many white visitors.'

b. *Wee, dan wan Drictoro moesoe abie <u>foeloe</u> konie* (Wey 1798: 136)
well then a director must have much cunning
['Wel, dan vereischt een Directeur kunde genoeg te bezitten.']
'Well, in that case a manager must have much cunning.'

c. *somma <u>voeloe</u> rommoto mi* (CR 1762)
person many surround 1S
'Many people surround me.'

Huttar & Huttar (1994: 534-535) do not discuss Eastern Maroon Creole quantifiers in detail; they merely present a list of quantifiers. They are included in table 2.9 below. Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole quantifiers appear to be very similar, except for the following: *fulu* 'many' is not found in Eastern Maroon Creole; instead *ipi* '(be) many; numerous; group; pile' (< English *heap*) and *tyaipi* 'many' (< *te a ipi* 'till it be

many'[41]) are used. The item *hipi* 'group' is found in Van Dyk's (c1765) manual and in Schumann's (1783) dictionary[42], but there it does not function as a quantifier (155).

(155) a. *alle oenno wakke na hipi* (VD c1765: 111)
all 2P walk LOC group
['loop jylui by hoopen agter het Lyk']
'You all walk in groups!'

b. *wan hipi somma* (Sch 1783: 136)
a group person
['ein Haufen Volks.']
'A group of people.'

In addition to *son* 'some', *afu* 'some' is listed as a quantifier in Eastern Maroon Creole. Its Early Sranan counterpart is *haffe/haffi/haffo/hafoe*; it conveys senses very similar to its English source form *half* and its Dutch equivalent (156). In comparison with its Eastern Maroon Creole equivalent *afu* it is less grammaticalized as a quantifier.

(156) a. *offe mi man jerri a za kieli mi haffe lange fom fom* (VD c1765: 65)
if 1S man hear 3S FUT kill 1S half with strike.REDUP
['als die dat hoorden zou hy jou half Dood slaan.']
'If my husband hears (that), he will almost kill me by beating me.'

b. *mi go wassi haffo* (Sch 1783: 198)
1S go wash half
['ich will mich ein wenig baden.']
'I'll go wash a little.'

c. *Da wan hafoe joeroe kaba datie mie dé soekoe oen* (Wey 1798: 136)
FOC a half hour already that 1S ASP search 2P
['Het is al een half uur geleeden dat ik ul. soekt.']
'It is a half hour already that I am looking for you.'

[41] See Huttar & Huttar (1994: 543).
[42] Weygandt (1798: 134) has *troepoe* 'group' instead of *hipi* 'group', most likely it is derived from Dutch *troep*, although an English origin cannot be excluded (*troop*).

Table 2.9 *Universal and mid-scalar quantifiers in Modern Sranan, Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

	MOD.SR	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
		1707-1767	1718	1762	c1765	1770	1783	1798	
		CR	HL	SPT	VD	N	SCH	WEY	
Negative									
not one	*no wan*	-	-	*no wan*	*no wan*	*no wan*	*no wan*	*no wan*	*ná wan*
Universal									
all/ every	*ala*	*alle*	-	*alla alle*	*al(l)e alli*	*alla*	*alla*	*al(l)a alle*	*ala*
each/ every	*ibri (wan) iniwan*	-	-	*ibriwan inni(e)*	*ider*	-	*ibriwan ebri(wan) ini(wan)*	*iebrie wan jebrie wan*	*ibii(wan) ini(i)wan*
Mid-scalar									
a little		-	-	*piki(e)n*	*pi(e)kien*	*pekin*	*pikin*	*pi(e)kien*	*wan*
	pikinso	-	-	-	-	*pikin*	-	*pi(e)kienso*	*pikin pikin so*
few	*wantu*	-	-	-		-	*wan tu*	*wan toe*	*wantu*
	wanwan	-	-	-	*wa(n)-*	-	*(-)dri;*	*ofoe drie;*	*wanwan*
		-	-	-	*wan*	-	*wawan*	*wawan*	*wan*
							-	-	*duupu*
some	*son*	-	-	-	*som*	-	*som*	-	*son*
		-	-	-	*haffe haffi*	-	*(haffo)*	*(hafoe)*	*afu*
so many; several	*someni*	-	-	*soo menni*	*zo men(n)i*	-	*so menni*	*so()menie zo()menie*	*somen*
many	*furu ipi*	*voeloe*	-	-	*foele*	*foeloe*	*fulu (menni)*	*foeloe*	*ipi tyaipi*

2.5.4 Intensifiers

The main Early Sranan intensifier expressing emphatic focus is *srefi*, it is the same form that is used to form the reflexive (see section 2.2.2). It can occur with nouns and pronouns in subject and (indirect) object position as well as with verbs. Note that it can only occur with the third person singular subject pronoun *hem*; *asrefi* is not possible (157).

(157) *hem <u>srefi</u> no wanni go* (Sch 1783:165)
3S self no want go
['er selbst will nicht gehen']
'He himself doesn't want to go.'

In the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762), Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Weygandt's (1798) language manual *srefi* can occur after the antecedent as in (157) above and (158) below, but it is further encountered in various other positions in

these sources. In (159a-b) *sleffi* appears in sentence-final position. In (159c) it separates the auxiliary verb *wandi* 'want' from the main predicate *tikki* 'take'. In (159d) it follows the predicate. In all cases *srefi* is oriented towards the agentive subject of the sentence.

(158) *Mi sleffi jerri* (VD c1765: 26)
1S self hear
['Ik heb het hooren slaan.']
'I've heard it myself.'

(159) a. *Mi za doe sleffi.* (VD c1765: 37)
1S will do INT
['Ik zal 't zelfs doen.']
'I will do it myself.'

b. *dem sa mossoe loekoe dem jamjam serefie sondro bacara sa hoefoe foe gie dem*
3P FUT must look.after 3P food INT without white FUT have.to to give 3P
['sonder dat men gehouden sal sijn hun kost off onderhoud te geven']
(SPT 1762: art.9)
'They will have to take care of their food themselves without the whites having to give them any.'

c. *Offe joe wandi sleffi tikki da pranasie abere* (VD c1765: 97)
if 2S want INT take the plantation over
['Ik wou dat U E. de Plantagie zelf overnam']
'If you want to take over the plantation yourself.'

d. *Da basie sa kom srefie d'josno nanga da klosie* (Wey 1798: 109)
the boss FUT come INT just.now with the cloth
['De meester zelfs zal met het goed aanstonds hier weezen']
'The boss himself will come immediately with the clothes.'

Equivalents of (160) are not found in Schumann's (1783) dictionary. Here, intensifying *srefi* always follows the antecedent, adding non-contrastive emphasis (160a). It can be reduplicated to add more emphasis (160b).

(160) a. *ju srefi no musse lukku* (Sch 1783: 166)
2S INT NEG must look
['du selber must nicht zusehen.']
'You yourself mustn't watch.'

b. *Gado srefisrefi ben komm somma* (Sch1783: 166)
God INT-REDUP PST become person
'God himself incarnated.'

In sentence-initial position, preceding a noun or pronoun, it expresses contrastive emphasis; it then conveys the same sense as English 'even' (161).[43]

(161) *sreft ju no musse lukku* (Sch 1783: 166)
INT 2S NEG must look
['ja auch du must nicht zusehen']
'Even you mustn't look.'

Furthermore, *srefi* can occur in sentence-final position. It is not clear if sentence-final *srefi* intensifies the meaning of the preceding predicate (narrow scope) or the entire statement (wide scope). Sentence-final *srefi* is found in negative sentences only, adding non-contradictory emphasis to the entire statement or non-contrastive emphasis to the predicate, see (162).

(162) *ju no musse lukku srefi* (Sch 1783: 166)
2S NEG must look INT
['du must nicht einmal zusehen.']
'You musn't look at all.'

The item *kwetti* (< English *quite*) adds non-contrastive emphasis to meaning of the predicate; it functions as a booster (Bolinger 1972) or a maximizer (Quirk et al. 1985). *Kwetti* always occurs in sententence-final position[44] (163a). It can be reduplicated to add more emphasis (163b).

(163) a. *bekassi wi jerri zo takkere nuws fo pranasie poli kwetti* (VD c1765: 94)
because 1P hear so bad news of plantation spoil INT
['dat zy zulke slegte Tyding van de Plantagie hoord, dat hy heel bedorven word']
'(...) because we heard such bad news that plantation has become really bad.'

b. *a ben tan morre lange na da pranasie a za poli hem kwetti kwetti*
3S PST stay more long LOC the plantation 3S FUT spoil 3S.OBJ INT-REDUP
['Als hy nog langer op de Plantagie had gebleven, had hy de Plantagie in de grond bedorven.'] (VD c1765: 105)
'If he would have stayed longer on the plantation, he would have spoiled it tremendously.'

The item *belle* (< English *very*) is found only in Herlein's (1718) text, it occurs in front of the property item it intensifies, adding non-contrastive emphasis.

[43] Preceding a noun *srefi* can additionally mean 'same', but then it is preceded by the article *a/dem* 'the'.
[44] I found only one instance of *kwetti* used modifying a noun: *wan kwette Granman* (VD c1765: 15), literally a real chief, meaning 'emperor'.

(164) *My <u>belle</u> wel* (HL 1718: 122)
1S very good
['Ik vaar heel wel.']
'I'm very fine.'

Belle is not found in any other source of Early Sranan, but in Weygandt's (1798) manual *heelie* 'very' (< Dutch *heel* 'very') is encountered, functioning in a similar manner. [45]

(165) *Da sanie joe takie dé <u>heelie</u> boen* (Wey 1798: 143)
the thing 2S say ASP/COP very good
['Die aanmerking van u is zeer wel gemaakt']
'What you say is very fine.'

The phrase *no boi* adds non-contradictory emphasis to the entire preceding statement (wide scope). It is encountered in Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) language manual. Schumann (1783: 19) states that "[d]as Wort *boi* wird auch ganz eigen gebraucht" ['the word *boi* is used in a very peculiar manner']. He gives the following examples:

(166) *da somma meki kruttu no <u>boi</u>*, oder: *no <u>boi</u> kruttu da somma meki*
the person make squabble NEG INT / NEG INT squabble the person
['der Mensch macht nicht geringe Händel.'] (Sch 1783: 19)
'That man really squabbles.'

(167) a. *da no <u>boi</u>-areen fadomm tideh* (Sch 1783: 20)
FOC NEG INT-rain fall.down today
['der heutige Regen war kein kleiner Regen.']
'That's not a small shower (that) fell down today.'

b. areen *fadomm no <u>boi</u>* (Sch 1783: 20)
rain fall.down NEG INT
'It really rained.'

c. *da no <u>boi</u> fadomm a fadomm* (Sch 1783: 20)
FOC NEG INT fall.down 3S fall.down
'That's not a small shower that fell down.'

[45] Note that *heelie* or *hele* 'all; whole; entire' modifying nouns (e.g. *hele netti* ['heele Nagt'] 'all night' VD c1765: 41) has a wider distribution both in terms of occurrences as well as sources, as it occurs in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, Schumann's (1783) and Weygandt's (1798) manual. Schumann (1783: 6) comments that *hele* is *bakratongo*, and that speakers of *ningretongo* prefer *alla*. However, this is true only for modifying *heelie* or *hele*; *alla* cannot be used as an intensifier.

The item *boi* (< English *boy*) can additionally be used to modify a noun (166, 167a) or a nominalised verb (167b). It functions as a diminutive, most likely on analogy with *pikin* that can be used as an adjective 'little; small' as well as an adverb 'a little', a quantifier 'little', or a noun 'child; young' (see section 2.5.3). The diminutive reading is reversed by the negator *no*. Note that this type of construction is restricted to marked clause types including negative clauses with a fronted constituent and negative cleft constructions.

Variants of the phrase *fu tru* literally for true 'truly; really' intensify the meaning of the entire preceding statement similar to *no boi*. It is found in every source except for the Court Records. It can add emphasis to the predicate (168) or the entire statement (169).

(168) *a De zingi fo troe* (VD c1765: 44)
3S ASP sing for true
['Hy Zingd helder op.']
'He is singing perfectly.'

(169) a. *effi Ningre wanni begi Ningre tranga va tru, dem takki* (....) (Sch 1783: 13)
if black want beg black strong for true 3P say
'If blacks really want to implore other blacks, they say (...).'

b. *Joe sa doe mie pliesieri foetroe* (Wey 1798: 92)
2S FUT do 1S pleasure for.true
['Gy zult my veel verplichten']
'You will make me very happy.'

In most examples *fu tru* indicates non-contradictory emphasis, but occasionally it is found expressing contradictory emphasis (170).

(170) [A] *Tysi pikien fo da di ja metti schribi man joe no jam gi wini*
catch little of the deer meat write-AFF 2S NEG eat give wine
['Kan ik u Dienen met een stuk Harten Vlees? Schryver myn dunkt je Eet niet, geef Wyn.']
'Here's some venison. Writer, you are not eating. Hand over the wine.'

[B] *Mi jam fo troe* (VD c1765: 103)
1S eat for true
['Myn Heer dat heb je mis.']
'I AM eating.'

In most sources *fu tru* appears in sentence-final position, except for Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual. In the former it is found alternatively in clause-final position (see (168a) above); in the latter it can be followed

by adverbs such as *noja* 'now; nowadays' and *toe* 'too; also; as well as', and prepositional phrases (171), when it intensifies the predicate.

(171) a. *Diesie tam boen foetroe nanga da lake foe joe* (Wey 1798: 102)
this stay good INT with the cloth of 2S
['Dat komt heel wel by uw laken.']
'This will be really good with your cloth.'

b. *A tan boen foetroe na joe* (Wey 1798: 111)
3S stay good INT LOC 2S
['Het staat u heel wel.']
'It looks really good on you.'

In particular the findings from Weygandt's (1798) manual suggest that *fu tru* grammaticalized into a true intensifier of constituents in the variety represented in this source.

Alternatively, emphasis can be expressed by reduplication (section 3.3), intonation (section 5.7), fronting (5.8), dislocation (5.9), clefting (5.10) and certain exclamations (5.11). Even interrogative clauses can be used to express emphasis, see sections 5.3 and 5.11.

Table 2.10 *Intensifiers in Modern Sranan, Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

	MOD.SR	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
		1707-1767	1718	1762	c1765	1770	1783	1798	
		CR	HL	SPT	VD	N	SCH	WEY	
srefi 'very'	*srefi*	-	-	*serefie* *serrefie* *selfi(e)*	*sleffi* *zlifi*	*zelfi*	*srefi*	*sre(e)vie* *sre(e)fie*	*seefi*
heelie/belle 'very'	*heri*	-	*belle*	-	-	-	-	*heelie*	-
kweti 'at all; very'	*kweti*	-	-	*quetti*	*kwetti* *kwitti*	*queti*	*kweti*	*kwetie*	*kweti*
no boi	?	-	-	-	-	-	*no boi*	*nobooy*	?
fu tru 'truly'	*fu tru*	-	*fo trou*	-	*fo(e) troe* *voe troe*	*for()troe*	*va tru*	*foetroe* *foe troe*	-

2.5.4.1 Intensifiers in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

The primary Eastern Maroon Creole intensifiers are *seefi* 'self; same' and *tuu* 'true' (Huttar & Huttar 1974: 299 – 335, Goury 2003). They emphasize the truth of a proposition ('certainly') or they can intensify the meaning of the entire statement or

specific items. Both *seefi* and *tuu* can be reduplicated. I will discuss only *seefi* in more detail; *tuu* has no equivalent in Early Sranan: *tuu* and *fu tru* are not related.[46]
Seefi in sentence-final position adds non-contradictory emphasis to entire statements; following a noun, pronoun or predicate, it gives the constituent non-contrastive emphasis (172).

(172) *Lon daai baka, lon seefi daai baka gwe* (Ndyuka, Huttar & Huttar 1994: 329)
run turn back run INT turn back leave
'Run back the way you came, just run back away from here!'

Note that *seefi* always follows the antecedent. Equivalents of Early Sranan constructions such as (158c) and (158d) above, in which Early Sranan variants of *seefi* is not juxtaposed to the ancedent, are not found in Eastern Maroon Creole. Recall that they are also not recorded in Schumann's (1783) dictionary; they occur in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762), Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Weygandt's (1798) language manual. As they occur in different types of texts and they are recorded by different authors, they cannot be regarded as mere quirks. Thus, I conclude that the constituent intensifier must have followed the antecedent in the (early) *ningretongo* variety of Early Sranan, whereas the intensifier and the antecedent could occur in different positions in the sentence in the *bakratongo* variety of Early Sranan. Most likely, the Dutch actor-oriented intensifier *zelf(s)* contributed to the divergence of *ningretongo* and *bakratongo* with regard to this particular feature: *ningretongo srefi* could be reanalyzed as an actor-oriented intensifier because of the formal resemblance between *srefi* and Dutch *zelf(s)*, and the fact that both items could occur in different positions in the sentence; *srefi* followed verbs as well as nouns and pronouns functioning as subjects, (indirect) object and adjuncts. Dutch *zelf(s)* needs to be investigated in more detail to determine the rules governing its distribution in a sentence, but similar to *srefi* it is found in several positions in the sentences in the Dutch translations of the Sranan texts. The main difference concerns the antecedent: Early Sranan *srefi* follows the antecedent (subject, object, predicate or adjunct), whereas Dutch *zelf(s)* need not be juxtaposed to its antecedent. The antecedent of *zelf(s)* usually functions as the subject of the sentence, expressing the semantic role of agent.

Eastern Maroon Creole *kweti* and *kwetikweti* emphasize negative statements, the former conveying the sense of 'not at all', the latter 'not at all; absolutely not'. Recall that in Early Sranan both items function as intensifiers that add emphasis to negative as well as positive statements. I assume that this was also the case in Early Eastern Maroon Creole but that in due course they specialized in marking negative statements.

[46] The former presumably originates in a reduced conjoined clause inviting some sharing of viewpoint by speaker and hearer with regard to the truth of the preceding proposition (similar to the English tag-question …, *right*?), whereas the latter originates the Early Modern English expression *for true* 'truly'. Note that *fu tuu* 'truly' is encountered in Eastern Maroon Creole; in several examples in Huttar & Huttar's (1994) grammar of Ndyuka it occurs in sentence-initial position.

Non-contradictory sentence emphasis is further expressed in Eastern Maroon Creole by a final *te*-clause, certain emphatic sentence particles including *yee, baa*, and *oo*, certain response forms such as *ai* 'yes' and *no* 'no', vocatives such as *baya* 'friend', ideophones and by rhetorical questions. Contradictory emphasis is expressed by the sentence final response form *ai*, the interjection *hoo*, and reduced conjoined clauses asserting error or falsehood (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 299 – 31).

In addition to *seefi* in postposition, noncontrastive emphasis of constituents can be expressed in Eastern Maroon Creole by reduplication and by use of the numeral *wán* 'one' or the indefinite article *wan* 'a' and the quantifier *inkii* 'single' (in negative sentences only). Contrastive emphasis can be exlusively marked by a combination of negative and positive clefting, by postposing the demonstrative *dati* to a noun or pronoun and by stress/pitch prominence. Fronting and clefting can express contrastive as well as non-contrastive emphasis (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 312 - 335).

In so far as I have found equivalents of these items and processes in the Early Sranan sources, they are discussed in sections 2.2.4 (demonstrative pronouns), 3.3 (reduplication), 5.3 (questions), 5.7 (intonation and stress), 5.8 (fronting), 5.9 (dislocation), 5.10 (clefting) and 5.11 (exclamations, emphatic particles and rethorical questions).

2.5.5 Adverbs and adverbials

In this section adverbials are discussed, including several adverbs and some adverbial phrases. Traditionally, adverbs are those items that can modify verbs, (verbal) property items, adjectives, other adverbs, whole clauses and/or sentences. Thus, they constitute a rather disparate class of words; they can differ with regard to syntactic distribution and cover a wide range of semantic concepts. The Early Sranan adverbials discussed in this section are those of time, place, manner and degree. In particular I will focus on their scope, i.e. whether they can have only the predicate in their scope or the entire sentence or both. Furthermore, some adverbs that can modify other adverbs and adverbials are presented. Note that several items that can function as modifiers of verbs and verbal property items as well as modifiers of nominal constituents have been discussed in preceding sections, including *seefi* (section 2.5.4) and a number of non-numeral quantifiers (2.5.3). Adverbial clauses are discussed in section 7.2.2.

2.5.5.1 Time adverbs and temporal adverbials

Temporal adverbials, deictic as well as non-deictic forms, can characterize the time reference of the proposition expressed by the sentence (wide scope), or they can modify the meaning of the predicate by naming the duration of the activity denoted by the predicate (narrow scope). The difference in scope can influence the position of the adverbial: wide scope adverbials typically occur in clause-final position in the Early Sranan sources (173), whereas narrow scope adverbials generally follow the predicate (174).

(173) *ju no sa komm lukku mi somtem?* (Sch 1783: 160)
2S NEG FUT come see 1S once
['Willst du mich nicht einmal besuchen?']
'Won't you visit me once in a while?'

(174) a. *gado gi joe libi lange* (VD c1765: 106)
god give 2S live long
['God geef u lang Gezondheid']
'God give (that) you live long.'

b. *joe lydom bele de fo slibi na da jari* (VD c1765: 69)
2S lie down all day to sleep LOC the garden
['jy doed de hielen Dag niet als Slaapen.']
'You lie down all day, sleeping in the garden.'

If a pronoun expresses the direct or indirect object, it occurs in between the predicate and the adverbial (175).

(175) *mi lukku ju so menni langa kaba* (Sch 1783: 105)
1S wait 2S so many long already
['ich habe schon so lange auf dich gewartet.']
'I have waited for you for such a long time already.'

Wide scope adverbials that cannot be interpreted as narrow scope adverbials can alternatively occur after the predicate. If a pronoun expresses direct or indirect object, the adverbial once again follows the pronoun instead of the predicate, compare (176a) and (176b).

(176) a. *Mie no ben fom esredee em Piekien* (Wey 1798: 68)
1S NEG PST punish yesterday 3S child
['Ik strafte gisteren zyn kind niet']
'I didn't punish his child yesterday.'

b. *Mie ben fom em da tem tròetroe*
1S PST punish 3S.OBJ that time true.REDUP
['Ik had hem toen inderdaad gestraft.']
'I most certainly punished him at that time.'

This pattern is attested in Weygandt's (1798) manual as well as in Herlein's (1718) text, Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Schumann's (1783) dictionary. The remaining sources lack one or both of these constructions.

Wide scope adverbials can occur in clause-initial position due to focussing. Examples of fronted adverbials are given in (177).

(177) a. *Tamare man mantem na tien uri mi za kom na joe* (VD c1765: 40)
tomorrow morning LOC ten hour 1S FUT come LOC 2S
['Morgen Ogtend te tien Uuren zal ik by u koomen.']
'Tomorrow morning at ten o'clock I will come to you.'

b. *"no" tideh mi si ju, (datti takki, langatem mi si ju kaba)* (Sch 1783: 124)
NEG today 1S see 2S that say long time 1S see 2S already
['ich habe dich nicht erst seit gestern u. heut gesehen.']
'Not today I saw you (meaning: I saw you a long time ago).'

c. *Alla dey mie no dee fenie den so sanie, ma ra mie kan takie datie alla wekie*
all day 1S NEG ASP find the.PL so thing but 1S can say that all week

tokoe toe ofoe drietrom mie kan abie na mie Tavla (Wey 1798: 139)
nevertheless two or three-times 1S can have LOC 1S table
['Men treft juist niet alle daagen wild aan, maar men heeft er toch een paar maal 's weeks op tafel.']
'Not every day I get such things, but I can say that every week I can have (them) at my table two or three times nonetheless.'

Fronted temporal adverbials are frequent in all of the sources of Early Sranan. However, I maintain that the default position in Early Sranan for a temporal adverbial to occur is clause-final. When a clause contains two items that can function as temporal adverbials, the one in clause-final position characterizes the time reference of the proposition of the clause in every source where this feature can be tested, that is Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual. Compare (178a) with (178b). In (178a) s*omtem* 'sometimes; once in a while; perhaps' (< English *sometimes*) expresses time reference in clause-final position ('once in a while'), whereas it expresses epistemic possibility ('perhaps') in clause-initial position in (178b). Clause-final *jussena* 'now; immediately; soon' characterizes the time reference of the proposition in (178b).

(178) a. *ju no sa komm lukku mi somtem?* (Sch 1783: 160)
2S NEG FUT come see 1S once
['Willst du mich nicht einmal besuchen?']
'Won't you visit me once in a while?'

b. *Zomtem a za kom jusse na* (VD c1765: 35)
once 3S FUT come immediately
['Hy zal misschien haast weêr koomen.']
'Perhaps he will come immediately.' (* 'Once in while he will come immediately.')

Fronted adverbials can be preceded by *arede* 'already', *kaba* 'finished; already' (see section 4.2.2) and *jette* 'yet; already' can follow wide scope temporal adverbials in their default position. Examples are given in (179).

(179) a. *aréde na oure tem dem ben du so* (Sch 1783: 7)
already LOC old time 3P PST do so
['schon von Alters haben sie es so gemacht.']
'Already in the old days they have done so.'

b. *effi ju ben du datti grandeweh kaba, a ben bun* (Sch 1783: 15)
if 2S PST do that extensive already 3S PST good
['wenn du das schon vor langer Zeit gethan hättest, so wäre es gut']
'If you already did that a long time ago, then it is good.'

c. *mi no ben si datti "wan" tem jette* (Sch 1798: 179)
1S NEG PST see that one time yet
['ich habe das noch niemals gesehen.']
'Not once I have seen that before.'

The findings presented in this section display little variation across the sources of Early Sranan. I observed a few minor differences, including the following: Van Dyk (c1765) contains a number of complex adverbial phrases with *tem* 'time' that are not encountered elsewhere (180). *Tem* seems to emphasize the durational interpretation of the clause.

(180) a. *oenno zabi takki no wan zomma ben pree lange da drom na negi moen tem*
2P know that NEG one person PST play with the drum LOC nine month time
['daar is in de Tyd van neegen Maanden niet op Gespeeld, dat weet je wel.'] (VD c1765: 108)
'You know that no-one has played the drums for nine months.'

b. *Ai mi slibi morre likki drie uri tem* (VD c1765: 42)
yes 1S sleep more like three hour time
['Ik heb meer als drie Uuren Geslaapen.']
'I slept for more than three hours.'

While the main proximal temporal deictic form is a variant of *jusnu* or *jusse()na* 'now; at present; immediately; soon' (< English *just now*) that is encountered in most of the sources[47], *dissitem* or *ditem* 'now; at present' and *sotem* 'now; at present' are also listed in Schumann's (1783) dictionary. *Dissitem* and *ditem* are encountered in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762) and Weygandt's (1798) manual, but *sotem* is not found in any other source (181).

[47] Variants of *jusnu* are found in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty of 1762, Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, Nepveu's (1770) text, Schumman's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual, see the table at the end of this section.

(181) *watra dre sotem* (Sch 1783: 36)
water dry now
['die Flüsse sind jezt sehr ausgetrocknet']
'The stream is dried out now.'

In Weygandt's (1798) manual the deictic time adverb *tidee* (literally today) is found alongside *tideeja* (today-here). The former is translated repeatedly as Dutch *heden* 'present', whereas the latter is glossed as *vandaag* 'today', as in (182a) and (182b). This distinction in form and meaning is not found in any of the other sources.

(182) a. *Mie ben fom em tidee nanga siebie siebie* (Wey 1798: 69)
1S PST punish 3S.OBJ today with sweep.REDUP
['Heb ik hem heeden met de roeden gestraft']
'Did I punish him at present with a broom?'

b. *O san joe doe tideeja?* (Wey 1798: 89)
Q thing 2S do today
['Wat hebt gy van daag gedaan?']
'What did you do today?'

2.5.5.2 Place adverbs and locative adverbials

Place adverbs and locative adverbials describe the location of the event denoted by the predicate (wide scope) or they modify the meaning of the verb (narrow scope). Kouwenberg (1994) found that place adverbials differ from time adverbials in Berbice Dutch Creole in that the difference in scope is not reflected in different syntactic positions (as it is with time adverbials); "[I]nstead, it correlates with the optionality of their presence: an optional place verb has wide scope (...); a subcategorized complement has narrow scope" (Kouwenberg 1994: 102). Early Sranan resembles Berbice Dutch Creole in this respect. Compare (183) and (184).

(183) a. *dem no habi so-hudu dea* (Sch 1783: 55)
3P NEG have so-wood here
['es gibt hier kein solches Holz.']
'They don't have that sort of wood here.'

b. *fruta,* Frucht. *da muffe wi no habi kwetikweti, da Djutongo;*
fruit fruit (German) the word 1P NEG have INT.REDUP FOC Jew-language

wi takki: janjam (Sch 1783: 45)
1P say food
'*Fruta*, fruit. That word we don't really have; it's *Djutongo*; we say: *janjam*.'

(184) a. *kommotto dea* (Sch 1783: 28)
come.out here
['gehe hier weg.']
'Get out of here.'

b. *mi kommoto janda* (Sch 1783: 72)
1S come.out yonder
['ich komme von dorther.']
'I come from yonder.'

In (183a), the deictic place adverb *dea* 'here' refers to the location where a certain type of wood will not found, that is the location of the speaker. The construction in (183b) is similar to the one in (183a) except for the place adverb, showing that location is an optional complement of *habi* 'have'. On the other hand, *kommot(t)o* 'to go out (from somewhere), to come out (from somewhere)' cannot occur without a complement expressing the source of the motion expressed by *kommot(t)o*. Thus, *dea* 'here' and *janda* 'there; yonder' in (184) obligatorily modify the meaning of the verb.[48]

Early Sranan has three main deictic forms that denote different locations relative to the location of the speaker[49]: *dea* 'here' (see (183a) and (184a) above), *dapeh* and *daplessie* 'there' (< English *that place*) and *janda* 'there' (< English *yonder*). *Dea* denotes the location of animate and inanimate referents near the speaker; *daplessie* and its abbreviated form *dapeh* refer to referents that are more distant; *janda* refers to even more distant referents. They can modify verbs as well as nominals and they can appear on their own in subject and object position (see Bruyn 1995).

Janda is found in Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual, but not in any of the other sources of Early Sranan.

(185) *dem ben meki mi na Bakkrakondre, dem ben kweki mi janda tu* (Sch 1783: 29)
3P PST make 1S LOC Europe 3P PST raise 1S yonder too
'ich bin in Europa geboren, ich bin auch dort erzogen worden']
'I was born in Europe. They raised me there too.'

In addition to variants of *dea* 'here', variants of *hia* 'here' and *ja* 'here' express proximate deixis in the mid-18th century sources. The last two forms derive from English *here* (Smith 1989: 295, 332). They are found in the Sranan version of the Saramake Peace Treaty of 1762, Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Nepveu's (1770) text, see (186).

(186) a. *Foe mekie dissi frie tranga, onnoe sa kissie dem sandie dissie pottie na briffie*
to make this peace strong 2P FUT catch the.PL thing REL put LOC letter

[48] The verb *kommot(t)o* is discussed in detail in section 7.2.2.1.
[49] These deictic forms can only be used with the speaker as reference point, other participants in the speech event cannot function as points of reference.

disie mi habie hija na mie (SPT 1762: art.13)
REL 1S have here LOC 1S
['Tot bevestiging van deese vreede word haar toegestaan hetgeen sij gevraagt hebben (...) volgens de lijst hierbij gevoegt.']
'In order to make this treaty strong, you will receive the things that were put in the letter I have here with me.'

b. *Mi zid dom bon ja* (VD c1765: 27)
1S sit.down good here
['Ik zit hier wel.']
'I am sitting here nicely.'

Arends (1989: 37-38) explains the origin of the locative adverb *dea* as a case of fusion that was completed in the late 18th century: *dea* is a merger of the copula *de* and the locative adverb *(h)ia/ja* 'here'. In Schumann's dictionary *dea* functions as the main place adverb expressing proximate deixis, variants of *hia* or *ja* are not encountered in this source nor are they found in Weygandt's (1798) manual.[50]

In addition to *daplessie* and its abbreviated form *dapeh*, variants of the form *de* (< English *there*) and *daa* (< Dutch *daar* 'there') can sometimes express distant deixis, see (187a) and (187b). The speaker of the utterance represented in (187a) and (187b) is in Paramaribo at speech time; the examples differ slightly even though they represent the same utterance as they are found in different witness reports. In (187c) *de* and *da plesie* are combined.

(187) a. *mie wie sie mie de Tampati dan mie zoe leere bakra voe fom ningre* (CR 1757)
1S wish 1S COP/there T. then 1S FUT learn white.man to hit black
'I wish me there in Tempati, then I would have shown the whites to beat up blacks.'

b. *mie wisie mie daa na Tampatie, dan mis sa lerre Backaraman voeroe fom negre*
1S wish 1S COP/there LOC T. then 1S FUT learn white-man to hit black
['ik wensschte dat ik in Tampatie was, dan soude ik Blanke leeren om neegers te kloppen en slaan'] (CR 1757)
'I wish me there in Tempati, then I would have shown the whites to beat up blacks.'

c. *té mie kmopo déda plesie dan mie dé go baka na hoso* (Wey 1798: 135)
when 1S come.out there-that place then 1S ASP go back LOC house
['van daar, ging ik dan weer naar 't woonhuis']
'When I leave from there, that place, I then go back to the house.'

[50] Note that *ja* survives in *noja* 'now', *diesja* 'this (one) here' and *tideeja* 'today' in Weygandt's (1798) manual, de. The latter occur alongside *diesie* 'this (one)' and *tidee* 'present', they are discussed in section 2.2.4 and 2.5.5.2 respectively.

Note that *de* in (186c) above is clearly a place adverb, whereas *de* and *daa* in (186a) and (186b) alternatively can be interpreted as locative copulas, see section 6.5.

2.5.5.3 Manner adverbs

Manner can be expressed in different ways. The item *so* can function as a manner adverb with deictic force, conveying the sense of 'so' or 'like this'. It has narrow scope as it modifies the meaning of the verb. The default position is subsequent to the verb (188a), unless the (direct or indirect) object is expressed by a pronoun (188b). *So* can be fronted (188c) or clefted (188d).

(188) a. *takki mi hoe fa den zomma tan zo na bakke* (VD c1765: 57)
say 1S Q manner the.PL person remain so LOC back
['zeg myn reis hoe komt dat die Meiden zo agter uit blyven']
'Tell me, how come that they stay behind the way they do?'

b. *Hoe fa joe hessi jo zo* (VD c1765: 21)
Q manner 2S hurry 2S so
['Heb je zoo'n haast.']
'How come you are rushing like you are?'

c. *"so", no morro, mi takki* (Sch 1783: 115)
so NEG more 1S say
['"so", hab ich gesagt, und nicht anders.']
'This is what I said, and nothing more.'

d. *da so ju takki?* (Sch 1783: 115)
FOC so 2S say
['hast du wircklich so gesagt?']
'Is this what you said?'

Furthermore, *soso* functions as a manner adverb. Its meaning is dependent on the verb it modifies and the discourse context. It can have narrow scope as well as wide scope, and it can occur in several positions in the clause. *Soso* can act as a modifier of verbs as well as nouns; it is then preposed to the noun or noun phrase. Furthermore, it can be part of prepositional phrases headed by (variants of) *fu*, meaning 'for nothing; for free'.

Schumann (1783: 161 - 164) discusses the various uses and connotations of *soso* in great detail. He translates it as follows: "umsonst, unentgeltich; (aber in diesem Sin nur von sehr gemeinen Dingen!) umsonst, vergeblich, vor die lange Weile; leer. pur, lauter, nur; allein; (wenn es was geringschatiges betrifft - In diesen Bedeutungen hat "soso" allemal etwas verachtliches in sich) nackend; unnutz, nichts wurdig, nichts bedeutend, unerheslich" ['free, free of charge (but in this sense only with very common things!), in vain, fruitlessly, for a long time; empty, pure, exclusively, only, alone (when it concerns something that is disparaging – In these senses *soso* has a

contemptuous connotation) naked; useless, worthelss, meaningless, dishonest"] (Schumann 1783: 161).

The following examples give an overview of the various adverbial uses of *soso*. In (189) it has narrow scope, modifying the verb, whereas in (190) it has wide scope, modifying the meaning of the entire proposition.

(189) a. *da hoso tann soso* (Sch 1783: 163)
the house remain empty
['das Haus steht leer.']
'The house is empty.'

b. *mi wakka soso, sussu kommoppo na mi futu* (Sch 1783: 163)
1S walk thus shoe come.out LOC 1S foot
['ich bin nur gegangen (nemlich: ganz ordentlich, ohne Sprunge zu machen) u. doch ist mir der Schuh vom Fuss gefallen.']
'I walked normally, and (still) the shoe came loose from my foot.'

c. *a de wakka soso* (Sch 1783: 163)
3S ASP walk naked
['er gehet nackend.']
'He is walking exposed.' (meaning 'barefoot'?)

(190) a. *mi de dringi watra soso* (Sch 1783: 163)
1S ASP drink water only
['ich trinke nichts als pures Wasser']
'I am drinking water (and nothing else).'

b. *ju brokko ju muffe soso* (Sch 1783: 23)
2S break 2S word nothing
['alle Worte, die du redest, sind vergeblich.']
'You are speaking to no avail.'

Schumann (1783) replaces *soso* in (190a) with *wawan* 'alone; solely' to clarify its meaning; compare (190) above with (191).

(191) *mi de dringi wini wawan* (Sch 1783: 163)
1S ASP drink water solely
['ich trinke puren Wein. (Hier passt nicht *soso*.)']
'I am drinking wine that is not watered-down.'

The difference in meaning between *soso* and *wawan* is further illustrated by the following examples:

(192) a. *hu hipi somma datti? da Ningre soso* (Sch 1783: 163)
Q heap person that FOC black just
['was vor ein Haufen Menschen ist das? er [es?] sind lauter Neger. Hingegen:]
'What group of people is that? Just blacks. (On the other hand:)'

b. *da Bakkra wawan* (Sch 1783: 163)
FOC white solely
['es sind lauter Blanke']
'Only whites.'

According to Schumann, *wawan* lacks the disparaging connotation that *soso* has when it modifies a noun or noun phrase in certain contexts. Therefore, *wawan*, and not *soso*, should be used in the following example:

(193) *tideh Kerki de vo doopi somma wawan*
today church COP for baptized person only
['heute haben die Getauften allein Versammlung']
'Today the church is for the christians only.'

(NICHTS: *vo doopisomma sosso* welches eine Verachtung anzeigt)
not (German) for baptized-person just which a contempt expresses (German)
(Sch 1783: 163)
'(Not: *vo doopisomma sosso*, which expresses contempt).'

Soso with wide scope conveying the sense of 'without reason; for no reason' appears in clause-initial position in Schumann's (1783) dictionary (194a), but in Van Dyk's (c1765) it occurs in clause-final position, conveying the same sense (194b,c). I assume that both positions are allowed, and no change in meaning is brought about by this change in position (but there is, of course, a change in emphasis, see section 5.8 on fronting).

(194) a. *soso dem fumm mi* (Sch 1783: 162)
nothing 3P punish 1S
['ich werde ohne Ursach umsonst, umschuldig geschlagen.']
'Without reason they punished me.'

b. *No mastra a fom zoo zoo* (VD c1765: 85)
NEG master 3S punish nothing
['Neen Meester, hy (...) Slaat voor niemendal.']
'No, master, he punishes without reason.'

c. *mastra zoeti da hondi man didde lange waa kauw a kili zomma zoo zoo*
master shoot the hunt-AFF dead with water-cow 3S kill person nothing
['onze Meester heeft de Jaager Dood Geschooten en een Koe-Beest, zonder reeden'] (VD c1765: 83)
'The master shot the hunter dead and a capybara, he kills people for no reason.'

Soso can be reduplicated, according to Schumann: "Wenn das SOSO reicht nachdrucklich sege soll, so wird es doppelt gesezt, u. sehr geschwind zusammen ausgesprochen; da dann der Accent auf der ersten u. lezten Silbe liegt: *sósososò*, OD. *sósosò*." ["When *soso* needs to be heavily emphasized, then it will be reduplicated and pronounced very quickly, while the stress will placed on the first and the last syllable: *sósososò*, or *sósosò*."] (Schumann 1783: 164). Examples of reduplicated *soso* are not found in his dictionary, nor are they encountered in any other source of Early Sranan.

In this section the manner adverbs *so* and *soso* were discussed. Note that manner can also be expressed by property items such as *hessi* 'quickly' and certain prepositional phrases and manner clauses (see section 7.2.2.3). Items expressing manner can be formed by combining *–fasi* with a noun, a verb, a property item or an adjective. This morphological process is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

2.5.5.4 Degree adverbs

Early Sranan has several adverbs that denote the extent to which the event described by the verb holds; including *pikin* 'a little' or *pikinso* 'a bit', *moro* 'more', *nuffe* 'ample; enough' and *tumusi* 'too much; excessively'. They have narrow scope and usually follow the verb or the (in)direct object. Alternatively, all of these items can be used as quantifiers, while *more* and *nuffe* can also act as verbs and as a serial item in a serial verb construction (*moro*). They can also be used to modify adjectives.

The degree adverb *moro* 'more' (< English *more*) extends the event described by the verb (195). It is found in every source of Early Sranan except for the Court Records.

(195) a. *Mi fom zomma morre den za ziki kwetti* (VD c1765: 75)
1S beat person more 3P FUT sick INT
['Als ik meer slaagen geef dan zellen helemaal Ziek worden']
'If I beat them more, they will be really sick.'

b. *Ningre njusu morro vo takki "bakka"* (Sch 1783: 4)
black tend more to say again
'Blacks tend to say 'bakka' more.'

Moro can be reduplicated, it then expresses an steadily increase of the extent to which the event described by the verb holds. It is encountered only in Schumann's (1783) dictionary.

(196) *mi ben njusu datti morromorro* (Sch 1783: 115)
1S PST tend that more.REDUP
'I became more and more accustomed to that.'

Pikinso 'a little; a bit' limits the event described by the verb, it diminishes the extent to which the event described by the verb holds. It is found only in Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual.

(197) a. *mi pinji da tori pikin so gi ju* (Sch 1783: 137)
1S review the story little so for 2S
'I reviewed the story a little bit for you.'

b. *A ben dee siekie piekienso* (Wey 1798: 103)
3S PST COP sick little-so
['Hy is wat onpasselyk geweest.']
'He was a bit sick.'

Variants of *pikin* are found more frequently in the sources of Early Sranan, including Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1783) manual. The earliest attestation is Herlein's (1718) text:

(198) *Jou wantje sie don pinkinine*? (Hl 1718:121)
2S want sit down little
['Wil je een beetje zitten gaan?']
'Do you want to sitdown a little?'

Similar to *pikin* and *pikinso*, *nuffe* 'plentiful; enough' (< English *enough*) limits the event described by the verb, but contrary to *pikin* and *pikinso*, *nuffe* establishes a maximum or end point of the extent of the event described by the verb. It is found in most sources of Early Sranan, except Herlein's (1718) text, the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty of 1762 and the Court Records.

(199) a. *joe lassi noefe alredi* (VD c1765: 105)
2S lose enough already
['Gy hebt schaaden genoeg']
'You lost enough already.'

b. *"krijà" da Djutongo; ma tog wi habi hem nuffe* (Sch 1783: 91)
nurture COP Jew-language but still 1P have 3S.OBJ plenty
'*krijà*, that's Djutongo; however, we use it often enough.'

c. *Wie kuyrie nofo kaba* (Wey 1798: 99)
1P stroll enough already
['Wy hebben genoeg gewandelt']
'We have strolled enough.'

Tumusi 'too much; enough; excessively' (< English *too much*) expresses excess. It is found in every source of Sranan, except for the Court Records.

(200) a. *Jie monbie toe moussie* (Hl 1718: 122)
2S greedy excessively
['Jy bent te gierig']
'You are too greedy.'

b. *A boen toe, mara dem no sa waka toemoessi na Saramaka sei* (SPT 1762: art. 10)
3S good too but 3P NEG FUT walk too.much LOC Saramake side

['Sijn hiermeede vergenoeg(d), maer seggen sij de rievier van Serameca selde bevaare sullen']
'This is allright too, but they will not travel on the Saramaka River excessively.

2.5.5.5 Adverbs that can modify adverbials

Degree adverbs differ from other adverbs in that they can modify adverbs, including each other. Examples of degree adverbs modifying other types of adverbs are given in (201).

(201) a. *Mino kan tan more lange* (VD c1765: 26)
1S-NEG can stay more long
['Ik kan niet langer wagten.']
'I can't stay longer.'

b. *Joe mykie mi wati lange te moesie* (VD c1765: 45)
2S make 1S wait long too.much
['Je maakt dat ik te lang moet wagten.']
'You make me wait too long.'

c. *Mie de jerri en boen nofo* (Wey 1798: 84)
1S ASP hear 3S.OBJ good enough
['Ik verstaa 't redelyk wel.']
'I understand it fairly well.'

d. *gi mi pikin so, no morro* (Sch 1783: 136)
give 1S little so NEG more
['gib mir nur ganz wenig.']
'Give me a little bit (like this), not more.'

Examples of degree adverbs modifying degree adverbs are given in (202). The inverted commas in (202a) signal stress; *nuffe* is stressed to resolve the structural ambiguity of the construction. *Nuffe* is modified by *pikin*, and not the other way

around.

(202) a. *Massra musse gi mi datti pikin "nuffe"* (Sch 1783: 125)
master must give 1S that little enough
['du musst mir davon ein bisgen reichlich geben.']
'Sir, please give me a bit more generously of that.'

b. *Arrén no sa fadomm toe moesie moro* (Wey 1798: 119
rain NEG FUT fall.down too.much more
['Het zal zo zwaar niet meer regenen.']
'It will not rain excessively anymore.'

In the following table adverbs in Modern Sranan, Early Sranan and their Eastern Maroon Creole equivalents are presented.

Table 2.11 *Adverbs in Modern Sranan, Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

	MOD. SR	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
		1707-1767	1718	1762	c1765	1770	1783	1798	
		CR	HL	SPT	VD	N	SCH	WEY	
TIME									
now	*now* *noya(so)* *distem*	-	-	*dissi tem*	*nou*	-	*nou, nau* *no jaso* *ditem* *sotem*	*noja(so)*	*now* *noja(so)*
immediately	*dyonsro* *dyonso* *dyonsno*	-	-	*josno*	*jusse()na* *jussi na*	*just no*	*djusnu* *jusnu*	*d'josno(o)* *josno*	*dyonson*
PLACE									
here	*dia*	-	-	*hija*	*ja*	*hia(so)*	*dea*	*ia so* *deeja;* *deja* *dèja;* *déja*	*ya* *dise*
there	*dape*	*daa* *de*	-	*(na) da* *plessi*	*de* *da ply* *da plessie*	-	*dapeh*	*dee* *da pré;* *da()pree* *da plee* *da(-)plesie*	*ape*
yonder	*yan(d)a* *yan-(d)asei*	-	-	-	-	-	*janda*	*jana* *janna*	*anda*
MANNER									
so	*so* *soso*	-	-	*so*	*so, zo* *zoo zoo*	*so* *soso*	*so* *sos(s)o* *sósososò* *sósosò*	*so(o), zo* *soso*	*so* *soso*
DEGREE									
more	*moro*	-	*more*	*more* *morie* *morre*	*morre*	*moro*	*morro*	*moro*	*moo*
a little	*pikin* *pikinso*	-	*pikini ne*	*piki(e)n* -	*pi(e)kien* -	*pekin* *pikin*	*pikin* *pikinso*	*pi(e)kien* *pi(e)kien so*	*pikin*
enough	*nofo*	-	-	-	*noef(f)e* *noef(f)i*	*noffo*	*nuffe*	*nofo(e)*	*nofu*
excessively	*tumusi*	-	*toemousi*	*toe moessie*	*te moesi*	*toemoussi* *toe moussi*	*tumussi*	*toemoesie*	*tumisi*

2.5.5 Adverbs in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

Eastern Maroon Creole adverbs and adverbials are discussed in several sections in Huttar & Huttar's (1994) grammar and by Goury (2003). In general, Eastern Maroon Creole adverbs resemble their Early Sranan equivalents in form and function to a large

extent, see also the table presented above. Some remarkable differences are outlined below. Note that the scope properties of Eastern Maroon Creole adverbs are not discussed in great detail by Huttar & Huttar (1994) or Goury (2003), which makes it difficult to compare them with those of Early Sranan adverbs. Further research is clearly needed.

Eastern Maroon Creole has two forms that express proximate place deixis: *ya* 'here' and *dise* literally this-side, meaning 'here'. The latter has no equivalent meaning 'here' in Early Sranan, the former corresponds to the Early Sranan locative adverb *(h)ia/ja* 'here'. Recall that besides variants of *(h)ia/ja,* variants of *dea* 'here' (a derivative of (*h*)*ia*) are found. The fact that Eastern Maroon Creole has *ya* instead of a variant of *dea,* supports Arends' claim that the origin of the locative adverb *dea* is a case of fusion of the locative copula *de* and the locative adverb *(h)ia/ja* that was completed in the late 18th century.

Certain combinations of Early Sranan adverbs have acquired new meanings and functions in the course of time. In Schumann's (1783) dictionary *pikin* 'little' modifies deictic *so* 'so; thus; like this', thus forming an adverbial phrase that exclusively expresses degree in this source, see for example (201d) above. In Weygandt's (1798) manual *piekienso* can express not only degree, but also time (204). Note that *so* no longer explicitly denotes a referent in the extralinguistic context.

(203) a. *Mie ben sa aksie ofoe wie kan tapoetem <u>piekienso</u> deja* (Wey 1798: 65)
1S PST FUT ask if 1P can stop-time little here
['Ik zou vraagen of wy hier een weinig kunnen pleisteren']
'I would ask if we can kill time here for a while.'

b. *Mekie wie goo sidon na da tamaryn hoso <u>piekienso</u>* (Wey 1798: 119
let 1P go sit.down LOC the tamarind house little
['Laat ons wat gaan rusten in de tamaryn Prieel.']
'Let's sit down at the tamarind summer house for a little while.'

Furthermore, *piekienso* can be used as quantifier modifying mass nouns in prenominal position in this source, see section 2.5.3. Thus, I assume that by the end of the 18th century *pi(e)ki(e)nso* grammaticalized from an adverbial phrase expressing degree to an adverb expressing degree ('a little bit') and time ('a little while'), that can alternatively be used as a quantifier. I have found no evidence of a similar process in Eastern Maroon Creole: Eastern Maroon Creole has an adverb *pikinso* 'a little', but it seems to be used primarily expressing degree; I did not find examples of *pikinso* expressing time in Huttar & Huttar (1994) or Goury (2003). Moreover, this item is not mentioned on the list of Eastern Maroon Creole quantifiers (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 534). These findings suggest that the grammaticalisation of *pikinso* is limited to Early Sranan. Therefore I assume that this process took place in the second half of the 18th century, i.e. after Eastern Maroon Creole and Early Sranan diverged. The differences between Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual suggest that the process occurred in the late 18th century and that it may have started in the *fototongo* variety.

In contrast, the grammaticalization of the adverbial phrase *pikin moro* 'a little more' into the adverb *pikinmoro* 'a little more; soon; almost' can be assumed to have taken place in the first half of the 18th century. It is encountered for the first time in the mid-18th century sources: In the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty of 1762 it expresses degree (204a), whereas it expresses time in Van Dyk's (c1765) manual (204b). As a time adverb it often occurs in clause-initial position (204b), but not categorically (204c). It can be combined with other adverbs as in (204d).

(204) a. (…) *fou mekki a go pikien moro na oppo* (…) (SPT 1762: art.14)
to make 3S go little more LOC upstream
'(…) to make it go a little more upstream (…).'

b. *mi blibi pikien morre a kaba* (VD c1765: 85)
1S believe little more 3S finish
['(...) is haast al op.']
'I think that it is almost finished.'

c. *Wie sa jam piekiemoro?* (Wey 1798: 93)
1P FUT eat soon
['Zullen wy haast eeten?']
'Shall we eat soon?' (* 'Shall we eat a bit more?')

d. *Mekie wie waka piekien moro safrie* (Wey 1798: 98)
make 1P walk little more slow
['Laat ons wat zagter aantreeden.']
'Let's walk a little slower.'

The Eastern Maroon Creole equivalent of *pikinmoro*, *pikinmoo*, conveys the same senses as *pikinmoro* and seems to share its preference for clause-initial position when performing as a time adverb. Therefore, I assume that this item was found already in the varieties of Early Sranan spoken before Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole diverged, and that the process of grammaticalization described above must have been completed by that time.

2.6 Adpositions and prepositional phrases

In the following sections several Early Sranan adpositions with adpositional phrases are discussed. The term adposition is used here in a purely descriptive manner to refer to those items that express a grammatical and semantic relation between units within the same clause, or a preceding/following clause. An adposition can be combined with a noun, pronoun, noun phrase and clause that functions as a noun phrase, thus forming an adpositional structure or unit. Early Sranan adpositions include prepositions such as the locative preposition *na*, the variants *langa* and *nanga* 'with' and *fu* 'of', as well as elements such as *baka* 'back region', *ini* 'inner region', *tapu* ' upper surface' etc. The former can be used exclusively as prepositions introducing prepositional phrases. They can be pied-piped, meaning that if the complement of the

preposition is questioned, both the preposition and the following noun phrase are moved. They cannot be stranded; the preposition cannot remain in its original position in the clause while its complement is moved. *Baka*, *ini* and *tapu* have in common that they can be used both as independent nouns as well as dependent elements, occuring postpositionally and, occasionally, prepositionally. In their adpositional use, they combine with a noun, pronoun or noun phrase and the locative preposition *na*, thus forming a complex prepositional phrase of the type *na* NP X (205a,b), *na* X NP (205a)or *na* X *fu* (*va*/*vo*/*foe*) NP, as in (205b).

(205) a. *putti na tafra tappo, putti na tappo tafra* (Sch 1783: 174)
put LOC table top put LOC top table
['legs oben auf den Tisch.']
'Put (it) on top of the table.'

b. *na abrasei va mi hosso,* od. *na mi hosso abra* (Sch 1783: 3)
LOC over-side of 1S house / LOC 1S house over
['gegen meinem Hause über.']
'Across from my house.'

Note that when these items combine with a pronoun, the pronoun generally precedes them (*na* PRON X), resulting in a structurally ambiguous construction as this element can be both a personal pronoun and a possessor pronoun, see (206).

(206) a. *komm go na mi bakka* (Sch 1783: 10)
come go LOC 1S back
['komm, gehe hinter mir her, folge mir nach.']
'Come follow me.'

The status of elements such as *tappo* 'upper surface' in postnominal position (*na tafra tappo)* is heavily debated, ranging from lexical to functional, and from nominal to adpositional, as these elements have properties that are associated with typical nouns and typical prepositions.[51] Bruyn (1995: 241-253) presents a detailed discussion of complex locative prepositions including *na* (...) *baka* 'backwards', *na* (...) *tapu* 'upwards', *na* (...) *ini* 'inside', *na* (...) *abra* 'over; opposite' and *na* (...) *ondro* 'under' in Sranan. She concludes that "there have been no substantial developments between the 18th and the 20th century with respect to the complex PPs in Sranan, and the state of the present-day language cannot be regarded as reflecting a diachronic, language-internal grammaticalization process" (Bruyn 1995: 252). The complex prepositional phrase in which the locative element follows the noun, can be accounted for in terms of substrate influence: speakers of Ewe, Fon and other Gbe languages with similar patterns modeled English-derived forms on those patterns. The origin of the complex prepositional phrase in which the locative element precedes the noun is less clear: the emergence of this type of phrase may be the result of the combination of a language-

[51] See Adamson & Smith (1995), Boretzky (1983), Bruyn (1995, 1996, 2003); Muysken (1987) and Plag (1994, 1998) and others for different views.

internal development involving adverbials such as *na baka* 'backwards; afterwards', together with interference from Kikongo. Furthermore, this process may have been influenced by Dutch as this language has plain locative prepositions, such as *achter* 'behind', *boven* 'above' or *in* 'in' (Bruyn 1995: 252).

In the following sections, several Early Sranan items that function as adpositions are discussed. Plain prepositions are followed by items that can function as plain prepositions as well as in complex prepositional phrases. Items that occur solely in complex prepositional phrases conclude this section. In particular locative adpositions are adressed. However, spatial information is not expressed exclusively by an adposition (as opposed to English); locative verbs may also convey spatial information (Essegbey & Bruyn 2002, to appear). Where possible, locative verbs are taken into account.

Serial items in serial verb constructions such as *gi* 'for' marking a recipient (< *gi* 'give'), can be regarded as adpositions rather than verbs if they lose certain typical verbal characteristics. They are not discussed here, the reader is referred to section 6.3.

2.6.1 Plain prepositions

In the following section several plain prepositions of Early Sranan are presented, including the locative preposition *na, agter* and its variants *aitre* and *áttara* 'after; behind', *langa* and *nanga* 'with', *sondro* 'without', *te(h)* 'until', *fu* 'for; of', *leki* 'like' and *befo and fossi* 'before'.

2.6.1.1 The locative preposition *na*

The preposition *na* heads locative and temporal prepositional phrases.[52] It is semantically empty as it conveys no particular sense; its meaning is dependent on the verb with which it links the prepositional phrase, as well as the discourse context. It is always followed by a nominal complement. The earliest attestation of *na* is the Herlein (1718) fragment, where it is found with both types of prepositional phrases, see (207a) and (207b). Note that the locative prepositional phrase in (207a) has a goal interpretation, whereas the prepositional phrase in (207b) has a locational interpretation. I assume that the form *an* in (207b) is a misprint; the characters are most likely reversed. However, it cannot be excluded altogether that it is a Dutch replacement: the Dutch preposition *an,* a variant of *aan,* could have been used in this context (*an/aan huis* 'at home').

(207) a. *Mie wil gaeu na Watre-zy* (Hl 1718: 121)
1S want go LOC water-side
['Ik wil na de Water-kant gaan.']
'I want to go to the Waterkant.'

[52] The origin of the form *na* is unclear; it may be European or West-African. See Parkvall (2000) for an overview and discussion of possible etymons.

b. *Akesi of joe tan an house?* (Hl 1718: 122)
3S-ask if 2S stay LOC house
['En vraagt of je t'Huis zult blijven?']
'She asks if you stay at home?'

The preposition *na* can be further combined with several adpositions forming complex locative phrases that are modeled on the Gbe languages (Essegbey & Bruyn 2002, to appear; Bruyn 1995, 1996, 2003).

An early example of a complex temporal phrase is (208) below, in which the preposition *agter* 'after; behind', a Dutch replacement, follows *na*. *Agter* and its variants are discussed in the next section.

(208) *à Wilkom loeke joe na agter dina tem* (Hl 1718: 122)
3S want-come see 2S LOC after midday time
['Ze wilje t'agtermiddag komen bezoeken']
'She want to come see you in the afternoon.'

2.6.1.2 *Agter, aitre, áttara*

The preposition *agter* 'after; behind', a Dutch retention, combines with the preposition *na* to form a complex temporal phrase. The earliest attestion is the example given under (208) above. Equivalents of this construction are further found in van Dyk's (c1765) manual and Schumann's (1783) dictionary, see (209). In Schumann's (1783) dictionary *áttara* is attested once, as a simple preposition; it is not preceded by *na* (209b).

(209) a. *Hatti lobi na aitre dinatim mi wan go bay zikkesi nuwe negere* (VD c1765: 90)
heart love LOC after dinner-time 1S want go buy six new black
['Kind Lief ik wil van de Agter-Middag zes nieuwe Neegers Koopen.']
'My sweet, in the afternoon I want to go buy six new blacks.'

b. *áttara dina mi sa komm* (Sch 1783: 31)
after dinner 2S FUT come
['ich werde gleich nach Mittag kommen']
'I will come in the afternoon.'

Smith (1985: 184) claims that *áttara* derives from a by-form of English *after* ("arter") and that *agter* is a "Dutchification" of an English-derived expression, that does not "seem to have belonged to Sranan". However, it cannot be excluded that in the mesolectal and acrolectal varieties of Sranan and the interlanguages of Dutch speakers that were spoken during the onset of the 18th century (see chapter 1), *agter* could have been used as a Sranan adposition. Its basilectal equivalent is *baka*, discussed in section 2.6.2.1.

2.6.1.3 *Langa/nanga*

The form *langa* (< English *along*) alternates with *nanga* in the sources of Early Sranan. *Langa/nanga* can conjoin nouns and nominals, pronouns and/or noun phrases ('and'), it can function as an instrumental preposition ('with') and as a comitative preposition ('with'). Examples are given in (210), (211) and (212) respectively.

(210) Conjunction:

a. *dem sa moessoe gie dem na granman nanga couroutoe abara* (SPT 1762: art.15)
3P FUT must give 3P LOC chief and court over
'They should hand them over to the Governor and the Court.'

b. *mi nanga ju, wi alla tu de poti* (Sch 1783: 120)
1S and 2S 1P all two COP poor
['ich und du sind beyde arm']
'Me and you, both of us are poor.'

c. *go poeli snyboni lange piekien slaâ toe* (VD c1765: 63)
go pull beans and little lettuce too
['neemt wat Sny-Boonen uit de Thuin en wat Slaâ']
'Go and get beans and a little lettuce too (from the garden).'

d. *Pramiesie nanga foe doe da no wan* (Wey 1798: 110)
promise and to do COP NEG one
['Belooven en houden is niet eens']
'To promise and to do are not the same.'

(211) Instrumental:

a. *a kili wan negere lange gon bekassi anno hondi wan zanti da de* (VD c1765: 85)
3S kill a black with gun because 3S-NEG hunt a thing that day
['daarom heeft hy een Neeger Dood Geschooten om dat hy die Dag niets Gejaagd had']
'Because he didn't shoot anything that day, he killed a black.'

b. *dem nakki mi nanga wippi* (Sch 1783: 47)
3P knock 1S with whip
['ich bin mit dem Peitschen-"Stock" geschlagen worden.']
'They have been hitting me with (the handle of) a whip.'

(212) Comitative:

a. *Jo wantje gaeu wakke lange mie?* (Hl 1718: 121)
2S want go walk with 1S
['Wilje met my uitgaan?']
'Would you like to go out with me?'

b. *kon <u>nanga</u> mie* (Wey 1798: 75)
come with 1S
['komt met my.']
'Come with me.'

The above examples illustrate further that *nanga* eventually replaced *langa* after a period of co-existence: *nanga* is found exclusively in both Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual, whereas in Herlein's (1718) fragment, Van Dyk's (c1765) manual and Nepveu's (1770) text only the form *langa* is encountered. In the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty of 1762 both forms occur.

Note that no examples of stranded *langa/nanga* are encountered in the sources; they must be pied-piped, as in (213).

(213) a. *<u>Lange</u> hoe somma joe de go* (VD c1765: 33)
with Q person 2S ASP go
['En met wie gaat gy.']
'With whom are you going?'

b. *<u>Nanga</u> oe soema joe de takie* (Wey 1798: 81)
with Q person 2S ASP talk
['Tegen wie spreekt gy?']
'With whom are you speaking?'

When *langa/nanga* conjoins nominals, it follows and precedes, a nominal as in (210) above, except in Van Dyk's (c1765) manual, where the prepositional phrase can be extraposed:

(214) [A] *hoe fa joe tan <u>lange</u> wyfi fo joe*
Q manner 2S stay with wife of 2S
['hoe staat het met u en u Bemindens Gezondheid al?]
'How are you and your wife?'

[B] *Mie de bon <u>lange</u> mi wyfi* (VD c1765: 103)
1S COP good with 1S wife
['Ik en myn Vrouw zyn God dank Gezond']
'Me and my wife are good.'

Thus, it seems that *langa* is not a true conjunction in Early Sranan. Note that in Fongbe, one of the major substrate languages of Sranan, true 'and-conjunction' is also not encountered (Lefebvre & Brousseau 2002: 56).

2.6.1.4 *Sondro*

The item *son(d)ro* 'without' (< Dutch *zonder*) can be used as a preposition as well as a conjunction introducing negative circumstance clauses (see section 6.2.2.8). It is found

in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762), Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual.

(215) a. *fissi sondro buba* (Sch 1783: 127)
fish without skin
['der keine Schuppen hat.']
'Fish without scales.'

b. *dem sa mossoe loekoe dem jamjam serefie sondro bacara sa hoefoe foe gie dem*
3P FUT must look.after 3P food INTS without white FUT have.to to give 3P
['sonder dat men gehouden sal sijn hun kost off onderhoud te geven']
(SPT 1762: art.9)
'They will have to take care of their food themselves without the whites having to give them any.'

2.6.1.5 *Te*

Variants of the preposition *te* 'until' (< Portuguese *até* 'until' or Kikongo *(na)te* 'until', Bruyn 1995) introduce a temporal or locational endpoint. With motion verbs they mark a goal (216). The nouns in the prepositional phrase are preceded by *na,* while adverbs are not; see (216) and (217).

(216) a. *fulu da tobbo nanga watra teh na muffe* (Sch 1783: 46)
fill the tub with water until LOC mouth
['fülle das Fass mit Wasser bis oben an, gestrichen voll.']
Fill the tub with water until the rim.'

b. *Mie sa goo tee na doro* (Wey 1798: 93)
1S FUT go until LOC door
['Ik zal u zo niet uitlaaten.'] [53]
'I will go until the door.'

(217) a. *Mastra koorsze de hele netti na mi ti nou* (VD c1765: 74)
master fever COP all night LOC 1S until now
['Meester ik heb de heelen Nagt de Koorts gehad tot nou toe.']
'Master, all night I have had a fever until now.'

b. *go beri da lutu na grunn, va a tann bun teh tamarra* (Sch 1783: 17)
go bury the root LOC ground for 3S stay good until tomorrow
['schlage die Wurzel in Erde ein, damit sie sich bis morgen frisch erhält.']
'Go bury the root in the ground, so it will stay good until the morning.'

[53] Note that the original translation *Ik zal u zo niet uitlaaten* doesn't match the Sranan example, as it reads (literally) 'I will not let you out like this'.

The item *te* is further encountered in combination with the multifunctional items *dorro* and *go*. These constructions appear to have been grammaticalized as they function as adverbs conveying the sense of 'through and through; thoroughly' and 'continuously; forever' in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762), Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Schumann's (1783) dictionary:

(218) a. (...) *en so <u>té dorro</u> <u>té goo</u> nembre wantem dem sa holie wan* (SPT 1762: art.5)
and so thoroughly continously never once 3P FUT hold one
(...) and so they will never once hold one for now and ever.'

b. *mi wakke na bossi hele de tee <u>tee goe</u> na zuzitey bossi* (...) (VD c1765: 71)
1S walk LOC bush all day until forever LOC Society bush
['ik heb de heelen Dag in het Bos geweest, zoo var tot aan het Zuisteis Bos']
'I walked in the forest continuously all day until the forest of the Society.'

Note that (218b) is somewhat problematic as the position of *tee goe* 'continuously; forever', i.e. following the preposition *tee* 'until' and preceding the locative preposition *na*, is peculiar: its position suggests that it is part of the prepositional phrase, while it is not. It modifies the predicate independently, and should, therefore, precede the prepositional phrase or, perhaps, follow it, but it certainly should not occur in between the prepositions *te* and *na*. Van Dyk's (c1765) guide contains several examples of similar irregularities.

The sentence conjunction *te* introduces time clauses, circumstantials and extent clauses, see 6.4.

2.6.1.6 *Fu*

Variants of what later evolved into *fu* (< English *for*), including *ver, vo(o)r, foú, foe* and *voe,* introduce prepositional phrases that have various semantic roles that are sometimes difficult to distinguish, including possessor (219), source (220), beneficiary (221), experiencer (222) and purpose (223). I have found no examples that show that stranding of *fu* is possible; *fu* can be pied-piped (223).

(219) Possessor:
a. *you no meester <u>voor</u> mi* (CR 1707)
2S NEG master of 1S
'You are not the master of me.'

b. *dem sa moessoe callie neem <u>foe</u> alla den hedie man <u>foe</u> dem condre* (SPT 1762: art.4)
3P FUT must call name of all the.PL head-man of 3P country
['zij zullen opgeven wie haar opperhoofden zijn sijn']
'They will have to report the names of all the chiefs of their countries.'

(220) Source:

a. *nembre no wan ogrie sa dé more fou dem langa bacra* (...) (SPT 1762: art.1)
never NEG a evil FUT COP more from 3P with whitemen
['Sijn te vreede en beloove na te komen stiptelijk.']
'Never (again) will there be any problem from them and the whites (...).'

b. *Effie fettie kom na condre foe tarra condre* (...) (SPT 1762: art.8)
if fight come LOC country from other country
['(...) in cas van (...) buytenlandsche vijandt (...)']
'If the colony should be at war with another nation (...).'

(221) Beneficiary:

une teki datti vo une srefi (Sch 1783: 165)
2P take that for 2P self
['nehmt das für euch selbst.']
'Take that for yourselves.'

(222) Experiencer:

a. *Ke zanti trom fo oenno* (VD c1765: 107)
EXCL thing turn for 2P
['Het Lot is voor joului verkeerd']
'Well, things have turned about for you.'

b. *A sa moro betree foe mie, foe.....* (Wey 1798: 79)
3S fut more better for 1S to
['Het zal beter voor my zyn, om....']
'It will be better for me, to .....'

(223) Purpose:

[A] *Mie no kan gie em foe da monie troetroe,*
1S NEG can give 3S.OBJ for the money true-REDUP
['Ik kan het waarlyk voor die prys niet geeven']
'I really cannot give it for that money.'

[B] *Foe oe menie dan?* (Wey 1798: 108)
For Q many then
['Voor hoe veel dan']
'Then for how much?'

Variants of *fu* further occur in the phrase *fu tru* literally for true 'truly; really', that intensify the meaning of the entire preceding statement; see section 2.5.4. In addition, they precede variants of the bimorphemic question word *hu heddi* Q reason 'why', see further section 7.3. They can additionally function as complementizers introducing reduced complement clauses (section 6.2.1), and both reduced and sentence-like adverbial purpose clauses (section 6.4.5).

2.6.1.7 *Leki*

The comparative preposition *leki* 'like' (< English *like*) is discussed in detail in section 7.6. Its use as a conjuction marking manner clauses and equative adverb clauses will be treated in sections 6.4.3 and 6.4.8 respectively.

2.6.1.8 *Befo* and *fossi*

The item *befo* 'before' (< English *before)* is found regularly heading a temporal adverbial clause in the Early Sranan sources, see section 6.4.1. Occasionally it occurs with a prepositional phrase, see (224).

(224) a. *hoe fa da mastra fom wan zomma diesi doore hem merki befon donkere*
Q manner the master punish a person REL finish 3S mark before dark
['Hoe kan ik dat gelooven dat iemand zyn Hoop-Werk afmaakt, eêr het Donker is'] (VD c1765: 89)
'Why does the master punish someone who finished his work before dark?'

b. *Mie ben sabie datie bievo joe* (Wey 1798: 86)
1S PST know that before 2S
['Ik wist het voor u']
'I knew that before you.'

The item *fossi* (< English *first*) generally functions as an time adverb meaning 'first' and as an ordinal numeral 'first', but the following example from Schumann's (1783) dictionary suggests that it could alternatively be used as an adposition:

(225) *a komm fossi mi* (Sch 1783: 44)
3S come before 1S
['er kam vor mir']
'He came before me.'

2.6.2 Plain prepositions and complex prepositional phrases

In this section elements are discussed that can function as plain prepositions as well as in complex prepositional phrases. They include *baka* 'after', *abra* 'over' and *ini* 'inside'.

2.6.2.1 *Baka*

The item *baka* (< English *back*) is used in a number of ways in the sources of Early Sranan. It can function as a noun denoting the body part 'back' or the side of an object that can be regarded as its backside:

(226) a. (...) *na nekkie na hedi tappe en na bakkie lange na rassie* (CR 1759)
LOC neck LOC head top and LOC back and LOC arse
'(...) on the neck, on the head, on the back and on the buttocks.'

b. *Hoe zanti fa dom de na bakke buy.* (VD c1765: 61)
Q thing fall.down there LOC back boy
['Jongen wat vald daar agter.']
'What is happening there in the back (of the house), boy?'

It is further encountered as a verb, meaning 'to return' and 'to bake' (< Dutch *bakken* 'bake'[54]). *Baka* can alternatively be used an adverb meaning 'again', highlighting the repetitive nature of the event denoted by the predicate, or 'back', expressing that the motion of the event denoted by the predicate is inverted, moving from the goal or destination towards the speaker. Moreover, it is found in complex locative phrases, that denote locations rather than goals in the sources (227).

(227) a. *Selfie effie dem bossie nengre na baka ouwka of mapana nengre disie* (...)
even if the.PL bush black LOC back Auka or Mapana black REL
['ook in gevalle de bosneegers van agter Auka off bij haar soganaamde Mapana neegers (...)'] (SPT 1762:art.8)
'Even if the maroons from behind Auka or the Mapana blacks who (…).'

b. *Poudroe of krúiti betere fou dem bikassi kondre de na dem bakka jetti disi* (...)
powder or shot better for 3P because village COP LOC 3P back yet REL
'Gun powder or gun shot is better for them because there are still villages in the interior (...).' (SPT 1762:art.15)

c. *da buy moese wakke na joe bakke liki joe da gran zomma* (VD c1765: 70)
the boy must walk LOC 2S back like 2S COP/the grand person
['die Jongen moet u agter aan loopen of je een groot Heer bint.']
'The boy has to walk behind you like you are an important person.'

d. *komm go na mi bakka* (Sch 1783: 10)
come go LOC 1S back
['komm, gehe hinter mir her, folge mir nach.']
'Come follow me.'

A goal interpretation is rare: It is encountered once in Schumann's (1783) dictionary (226a), and once in Weygandt's (1798) manual, where it occurs in a dialogue on the direction of a leisurely walk the participants are planning (226b). Note that (228a) is ambiguous between a path/direction interpretation and a locational interpretation.

(228) a. *a ben go na bakkasei* (Sch 1783: 10)
3S PST go LOC back-side
['er ist nach hinten gegangen.']
'He went to the back.'

[54] Schumann's consultant classifies this use of *baka* as *bakratongo* (Schumann 1783: 10); it is further attested in Weygandt's (1798) manual.

b. *Mekie wie go* <u>*na*</u> <u>*baka*</u> *foto* (Wey 1798: 97)
let 1P go LOC back fort
['Wandelen wy langs de Vest']
'Let's go past the fort.'

Baka is further used in complex temporal phrases, where it conveys the sense of 'after'. Note that temporal *baka* always precedes the nominal as opposed to locative *baka,* that can precede as well as follow the nominal.

(229) a. <u>*Na*</u> <u>*bakke*</u> *dinatim joe gona dore* (VD c1765: 25)
LOC back midday-time 2S go-LOC out
['Gaat uwe van Agter-Middag uit.']
'Are you going out in the afternoon?'

b. <u>*na*</u> <u>*bakka*</u> *Sonndeh mi sa komm luku ju* (Sch 1783: 10)
LOC back sunday 1S fut come see 2S
['nach dem Sonntag will ich dich besuchen.']
'After Sunday I will come see you.'

In Weygandt's (1798) manual, temporal *bakka* need not be preceded by the preposition *na* (230).

(230) a. *Joe dee go* <u>*baka*</u> *dina na doro?* (Wey 1798: 92)
2S asp go after dinner LOC outside
['Gaat gy van namiddag uit?']
'Are you going out after dinner?'

b. [A] *Joe ben tan langa na dansie*
2S past stay long LOC dance
['Bleef gy lang by het bal?']
'Did you stay at the dance for a long time?'

[B] *Tee* <u>*baka*</u> *twalfoe joeroe* (Wey 1798: 101)
until after twelve hour
['Tot over twaalf uuren.']
'Until after twelve o' clock.'

These findings suggest that temporal *baka* may have been more functional than spatial *baka* (on a cline with a typical lexical item on the one end and a typical functional item on the other), and temporal *baka* acquired the status of a simple preposition in the *bakratongo* variety of Early Sranan, represented in Weygandt's (1798) manual. Thus, the grammaticalization of temporal *baka* preceded at a higher pace than that of locative *baka*. Bruyn (1995, 1996, 2003) and Essegbey & Bruyn 2002, to appear) show that locative *baka* occurs as a simple preposition from the mid-20th century onwards (Bruyn 1995; Essegbey & Bruyn 2002; to appear).

2.6.2.2 *Abra*

Variants of *abra* (< English over) can be used as simple prepositions, as in (231)[55], or with the preposition *na* forming a complex prepositional phrase, as in (232).

(231) a. *gimi klossi doe aber kissi* (VD c1765: 111)
give-1S cloth do over casket
['geef myn het Laaken en leg dat over de Kist']
'Give me the cloth and put that across the coffin.'

b. *ju fulu glasi tumussi, wini trueh abra* od. *wini fadomm abra glasi*
2S fill glass excessively wine spill.out over / wine fall.down over glass
['du machst das Glas so voll, dass der Wein überläuft.'] (Sch 1783: 3)
'You fill up the glass excessively, the wine overflows/ the wine goes over (the brim of) the glass.'

(232) a. *na abrasei va mi hosso,* od. *na mi hosso abra* (Sch 1783: 3)
LOC over-side of 1S house / LOC 1S house over
['gegen meinem Hause über.']
'Across from my house.'

b. *na bakka dina* oder *na abra dina mi sa komm* (Sch 1783: 31)
LOC after dinner / LOC after dinner 1S FUT come
['ich werde Nachmittags kommen.']
'After dinner I will come.'

c. *retie na abra Brokie* (Wey 1798: 3)
right LOC over bridge
['Recht over de brug']
'Directly on the other side of the bridge.'

The meaning of the adposition depends on the verb it combines with. With motion verbs, as in (231b) and (232b), the prepositional phrase headed by *abra* denotes the object or entity that is crossed. Thus, the object marks a boundary. With other verbs the prepositional phrase headed by *abra* denotes a location (232a, c).

Abra can further occur with several verbs forming a complex predicate. Note that adverbial *abra* differs from the adposition *abra* in that adverbial *abra* follows the predicate or, alternatively, it can occur in clause-final position (233a,b), whereas the adposition follows or precedes the noun phrase; compare (233) with (2231 and (232) above.

[55] Note that the verb *do* in this context is quite unexpected; it may be accounted for in terms of interference from Dutch, but this needs to be researched in more detail. In the other sources, the verb *putti* or *potti* 'put; position' is used in this context.

(233) a. (...) *effoe gie hem abra na bacara* (...) (SPT 1762:art.11)
or give 3S.OBJ over LOC white
['en dezelve desnoods aan de blanken overleeveren']
'(...) or hand him over to the whites (...)'

b. (...) *dem sa moessoe gie dem na granman nanga couroutoe abara* (SPT 1762:art.15)
3P fut must give 3P loc chief and court over
['aan ons ter discretie over te leeveren']
'(...) they will have to hand them over to the Governor and the board'.

2.6.2.3 *Ini*

Essegbey & Bruyn (2002; to appear) study the item *ini* in locative phrases in contemporary Sranan, showing that *ini*, like its Gbe equivalent *me,* refers to a location where an object is contained (interior location). The meaning of the prepositional phrase is further specified by the predicate. In Early Sranan, variants of *ini* are found exclusively in complex locative phrases, as in (234).

(234) *a de libi na inni va wi hatti, na inni wi hatti, na wi hatti inni*
3S ASP live LOC inside of 1P heart LOC inside 1P heart LOC 1P heart inside
['er wohnet in unserm Herzen.'] (Sch 1783: 75)
'He lives inside our hearts.'

Evidence that the meaning of the prepositional phrase is further specified by the predicate is also found in the Early Sranan sources, in particular in the variety of Early Sranan represented in Schumann's (1783) dictionary. The verbs *kommotto* and *pulu* contain spatial information: they denote a motion that is directed away from a source location. Thus, the construction in (235b) reads *I come out of the inside of the garden* instead of *I come into the garden*, and the construction in (235c) reads *remove the dirt from the inside of the house* instead of *(re)move the dirt into the house*.

(235) a. *mi kommotto na inni djari* (Sch 1783: 75)
1S come.out LOC inside garden
['ich komme aus dem Garten, (eigentlich: aus dem inwendigen des Gartens.)']
'I come out of (the inside of) the garden.'

b. *pulu da dotti na inni hoso* (Sch 1783: 142)
remove the dirt LOC inside house
['thu den Dreck aus dem Hause heraus.']
'Remove the dirt from (the inside of) the house.'

Note that *inni* is not obligatory in the examples (234) and (235): *libi, kommotto* and *pulu* can occur with locative phrases denoting a (source) location headed by *na,* while generally conveying the same sense (236).

(236) a. *bussi-meti*, wilde Thiere, *disi libi na busi* (Sch 1783: 26)
bush-animal wild animal REL live LOC bush
'*Bussi-meti,* wild animals, that live in the forest.'

b. *mi kommotto na djari,* od. *na hosso* (Sch 1783: 85)
1S come.out LOC garden / LOC house
['ich komme aus dem Garten, od. aus dem Hause.']
'I come out of the garden; out of the house.'

c. *Gado pulu mi na mi mamma belle* (Sch 1783: 120)
god remove 1S LOC 1S mother belly
['Gott hat mich aus meiner Mutter Leib gezogen.']
'God removed me from my mother's womb.'

The difference between (235) and (236) is that the item *inni* characterizes the location in a more precise manner, highlighting its container-like nature. This is acknowledged by Schumann: 'eigentlich: aus dem inwendigen des Gartens' (see 233a above). Note that this use of *ini* is not restricted to Schumann's (1783) dictionary, it is also found in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762), Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Weygandt's (1798) manual. However, these sources do not contain examples in which verbs that denote a motion out of a source location are combined with *ini*. Thus, it is difficult to test whether these authors fully grasped the meaning and use of *ini.*

Essegbey (2005: 241) shows that what constitutes a container is not the same in English as in contemporary Sranan: In English, a farm is construed as a support for whoever works on it (e.g. *the man is working on the farm*), which explains the use of the preposition *on*. However, in Sranan (and the Gbe languages), a farm is regarded as a container, and therefore *ini* is used in the Sranan equivalent. In Weygandt's (1798) manual, a similar construction is encountered, see (237).

(237) (...) *dan mie dé go loekoe na ienie den Coffi piesie piesie* (Wey 1798: 141)
then 1S ASP go look LOC inside the.PL coffie piece-REDUP
['van daar ging ik zo wat snuffelen in de Coffystukken']
'(...) I then go look on the coffee grounds.'

Note that the preposition in the Early Sranan example and the original Dutch translation shows a partial formal resemblance. I have not investigated the meaning and the use of the Dutch preposition *in* in the sources written by Dutch native speakers in detail, but based on the use of *in* in the Dutch translation in (232) we may infer that Dutch *in* may be more similar to Sranan *ini* and *me* in the Gbe languages as opposed to English *in*. If that is indeed the case, language contact may have influenced Sranan *ini* as follows: it originally derives from English, it was subsequently reanalyzed and reinterpreted on the model of the various West-African languages, in particular the Gbe-languages, and then further influenced by Dutch via the acrolectal and mesolectal varieties of Early Sranan.

Differences in what may be construed as a container across languages can also be taken to account for the following peculiarities. Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Weygandt's (1798) manual contain several instances of *ini* that stand out as they do not denote locations, see (238). They are discussed in more detail in section 2.6.14, where they are compared with Eastern Maroon Creole.

(238) a. *in na netti kom na mi* (VD c1765: 66)
inside-the night come LOC 1S
['kom van Nagt by myn']
'Come to me in (during) the night.'

b. *a de kry na ini da fom fom* (...) (VD c1765: 75)
3S ASP cry LOC inside the punish-REDUP
'onder het slaan begon hy te Schreijen']
'He starts to cry in (during) the beating.'

c. *Na ienie foe toe wiekie* (Wey 1798: 9)
LOC inside of two week
['Binnen veertien dagen.']
'Within two weeks.'

2.6.3 Complex prepositional phrases

In the following sections elements are discussed that cannot be used as plain prepositions, they occur in complex prepositional phrases exclusively. They include *fesi* 'front', *sei* 'side', *tapu* 'upper surface', *bilo* 'lower surface', *ondro* 'lower surface; among' and *middri* 'under; among'.

2.6.3.1 *Fesi*

The noun *fesi* (< English *face*) denotes the front part of the head ('face') as in (239a), or the general front side of an animate or inanimate object or entity ('front') as in (239b), it can also convey the sense of English 'sight' (239c). It can further be used to refer to a location, and in that case it cannot be modified; see (239d).

(239) a. *a habi ploi na hem fesi* (Sch 1783: 142)
3S have wrinkle LOC 3S face
['er hat Runzeln ihm Gesicht']
'He has wrinkles in his face.'

b. *hoppo da nefi, dissi liddom na ju fesi* (Sch 1783: 41)
lift the knife REL lie.down LOC 2S face
['hebe das Messer auf, das vor dir liegt']
'Lift up the knife, that lies in front of you.'

c. *Komopo na mie fesie* (Wey 1798: 81)
come.out LOC 1S face
['Gaat uit myn gezicht.']
'Get out of my sight.'

d. *kry man moe wakke na fessi* (VD c1765: 81)
cry-AFF must walk LOC front
['(...) en de Huilders voor uit']
'The wailers must walk in the front.'

Variants of *fesi* occur in several types of prepositional phrases in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual, but differently in each source. In Van Dyk's language guide, *fessi* features in the construction *na fessi fo* 'in face of', which may be modeled on the English phrase *in (the) face of* but alternatively can be regarded as an innovative use of the possessive construction with *fessi* as the possessee. Note that in Van Dyk's guide, the phrase *na fessi fo* is used quite literally:

(240) *Joe gimi zoo wan moffe na fessi fo alle den bakkera* (VD c1765: 81)
2S give-1S so a work LOC front of all the.PL white here
['Durf je myn zulk bescheid geeven in prezentie van al de Blanken']
'You reprimand me in front of all the whites!?'

In Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual, *fesi* is found in the construction *na fesi va/foe* 'in face (front) of' (241) and as a simple preposition with a locational interpretation (242). Note that prepositional *fesi* is encountered exclusively in prenominal position.

(241) a. *ju gi mi sjem na fesi va alla somma* (Sch 1783: 154)
2S give 1S shame LOC front of all person
['du machst mich vor allen Menschen zu Schanden, du beschaumst mich.']
'You shame me in front of everybody.'

b. *da somma, dissi wi kali Assuradeur, hem tann na fesi va da gudu va mi*
the person REL 1P call insurer 3S.INT stay LOC front of the goods of 1S
(Sch 1783: 41)
'The person, who we call *Assuradeur,* he accounts for my goods.'

c. *Mi sa takie na fesie foe datie* (Wey 1798: 81)
1S FUT talk LOC front of that
['Ik zal 't verantwoorden.']
'I will answer for that.'

(242) a. *mie de go fesi hem* (Sch 1783: 41)
1S ASP go face 3S.OBJ
['ich gehe ihm entgegen.']
'I am going in face/front of him.' (intended meaning: 'I am going towards him, in his direction.')

b. *Na fesie doro* (Wey 1798: 6)
LOC front door
['Voor de Deur']
'In front of the door.'

Schumann's consultant comments on the construction in (242a) above, that it is *bakratongo*, and that blacks use a different construction, preferring the verb *miti* 'meet' over the preposition *fesi*:

(243) *Bakkra takki so; Ningre takki: mi de go miti hem* (Sch 1783: 41)
white say so black say 1S ASP go meet 3S.OBJ
'Whites say this; blacks says: I am going to meet him' (meaning: 'towards him, in his direction.'

2.6.3.2 *Sei*

In addition to *baka* and *fesi*, variants of the noun *sei* 'side' (< English *side*) can be used to form a complex prepositional phrase with a locational interpretation. It denotes proximate location, see (244). *Sei* can occur both in prenominal and in postnominal position.

(244) a. *zotti den tikki so na zy gran gottere* (VD c1765: 63)
set the.PL stick so LOC side big gutter
['steek de Stokken reis aan de zy van de groote Sloot']
'Put the sticks like this beside the main ditch.'

b. *Go ziddom klossi by na fya zy* (VD c1765: 39)
go sit.down closeby LOC fire side
['Zet u digt by het Vuur.']
'Sit down closeby beside the fire side.'

Sei may be combined with other locative elements; it then conveys the sense of 'side' or 'surface', see (245).

(245) a. *na dorrosei ju sori moi, ma na innisei ju takkru* (Sch 1783: 75)
LOC out-side 2S show pretty but LOC in-side 2S ugly
['von aussen siehst du schön aus, aber inwendig bist du hässlich']
'On the outside you look pretty, but on the inside you are ugly.'

b. *Tapoesey foe Brédee* (Wey 1798: 6)
top-side of bread
[' 't Bovenkorstje.']
'top crust of bread'

2.6.3.3 *Tapu*

Similar to *ini*, the item *tapu* (< English *top*) specifies a location when used in a locative phrase. Whereas *ini* brings into focus the container-like nature of the location of an object, *tapu* specifies the domain of the location, that is the upper surface (Essegbey 2005).[56] Variants of *tapu* occur primarily in complex locative phrases in the Early Sranan sources, as in (246). Note that the meaning of the phrase is specified further by the predicate, compare (246a) and (246b). *Tapu* can precede and follow the noun; the different positions do not correspond to different meanings (246c). The noun is usually not modified, although it can preceded by a pronoun in Weygandt's (1798) manual (246d).

(246) a. *da vool de siddom na tappo boom* (Sch 1783: 174)
the bird ASP sit.down LOC top tree
['der Vogel sizt oben im Baum.']
'The bird is sitting in the top of the tree.'

b. *vool de frei na boom tappo* (Sch 1783: 174)
bird ASP fly LOC tree top
['die Vögel fliegen über den Bäumen, über die Bäume weg.']
'The birds are flying over the tree tops.'

c. *putti na tafra tappo, putti na tappo tafra* (Sch 1783: 174)
put LOC table top put LOC top table
['legs oben auf den Tisch.']
'Put it on top of the table.'

d. *Ma san mie dee sie dé na tapoe joe tafla?* (Wey 1798: 122)
but what 1S ASP see there LOC top 2S table
['Maar wat zie ik daar op uw tafel?']
'But what do I see on top of your table?'

Occasionally , variants of *tapu* are found in other types of complex prepositional phrases in Van Dyk's (c1765) manual and Schumann's (1783) dictionary, see (247) and

[56] The item *tapu* can further be used as noun meaning 'upper side' in general, and 'roof (of a house)', 'lid (of a jar)', 'sky' or 'heaven', 'upstairs' etc. in particular. It can further be used as a verb, conveying the sense of 'to cover (something)', 'to close (something)' and 'to (be) block(ed)' etc., depending on the discourse context. In Schumann's (1783) dictionary the verb and the noun have different forms: *tappa* is the verb, *tappo* is the noun. Although the final vowel takes on different forms in and across the various sources, this distinction in form corresponding to different functions is not encountered in the other sources of Early Sranan. It is further not attested in Eastern Maroon Creole and contemporary Sranan.

(248). I assume they are derived from locative phrases by metaphorical extension.

(247) a. [A] *Danki mastra mi gi da homan honder wipi alreddi*
please master 1S give the woman hundred whip already
['Meester ik heb haar al Honderd Zweep-Slaagen gegeeven.']
'Please, master, I gave the woman hundred lashes already.'

[B] *Gi vyfi ten tien na tappe* (VD c1765: 49)
give fifty LOC top
['Geef haar nog vyftig daar-en-booven']
'Give fifty more.'

b. *kaba a za slibi lange mi na tappe* (VD c1765: 66)
and 3S FUT sleep with 1S LOC top
['(...) zou hy (...) Slaapen booven dien by myn']
'(...) and he would sleep with me on top of that.'

c. (...) *lukku va putti wan tu shelling na tappo, va a komm fo shelling*
look to put one two shilling LOC top for 3S come four shilling
'(...) keep your eyes open to add one or two shillings, so it will become four shillings.' (Sch 1783: 192)

(248) *hele deh mi ben de na wakka tappo* (Sch 1783: 192)
all day 1S PST COP LOC walk top
['den ganzen Tag bin ich auf den Beinen gewesen, herum gelaufen']
'The whole day I have been walking (on foot).'

2.6.3.4 *Bilo* and *ondro*

The items *bilo* (< English *below*) and *ondro* (< English *under* or Dutch *onder*) specify the domain of the location of an object: they refer to the lower side of the domain. Variants of the items *bilo* and *ondro* co-occur in Nepveu's (1770) text, Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual. In Herlein's (1718) text and Van Dyk's (c1765) manual, variants of *bilo* are encountered, whereas *ondro* is solely attested in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762). Schumann's consultant comments that *ondro* is *bakratongo,* and that the blacks would use *bilò, na bilò* (Schumann 1783: 127). In certain discourse contexts, the expression *na bilò* (but not *bilò* or *bilo*) is used for denoting direction on the river, meaning 'down(stream)', compare (249c) and (249d).

(249) a. *Go na bilo* (VD c1765)
go LOC below
['Gaat na beneeden']
'Go downstairs.'

b. *ju skin dotti na bilò* (Sch 1783: 17)
2S body dirty LOC below
['du bist unten an Leib dreckicht.']
'Your body is dirty at the lower side.'

c. *mi sa go bilò* (Sch 1783: 17)
1S FUT go below
['ich will herunter kommen']
'I will come down.'

d. *mi de go na bilò* (Sch 1783: 17)
1S ASP go LOC below
['ich gehe den Fluss hinunter, nach der See zu.']
'I will go downstream.'

Both *bilo* and *ondro* occur as nominals in locative phrases headed by *na*; *ondro* can additionally occur in complex prepositional phrases; see (249) above and (250).

(250) a. *a de na ondro* (Sch 1783: 127)
3S COP LOC under
['er is unten.']
'He is below.'

b. *hoppo sanni na ondro tafra* (Sch 1783: 127)
lift object LOC under table
['nimm die Sachen unterm Tisch auf.']
'Lift the objects up from under the table.'

c. *a sakka na mi ondro* (Sch 1783: 127)
3S lower LOC 1S under
['er beugt sich unter mich, er unterwirft sich mir.']
'He submitted to me.'

The meaning of *ondro* in the variety presented in Schumann's (1783) dictionary differs from that of *ondro* in the other sources of Early Sranan, in particular the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty of 1762 and Weygandt's (1798) manual. Compare (251a) and (251b) below. In (251a) *ondro* refers to a specific location ('at the foot of the tree'), while in (251b) it denotes a general area ('under the trees'/'in the tree area').

(251) a. *trueh da dotti na ondro boom* (Sch 1783: 127)
throw the soil LOC under tree
['schütte es unter den Baum, neml. dicht an den Stam.']
'Throw the soil at the foot of the tree.'

b. (...) *dan mie dé go kuirie nanga mie piepa na mofo* <u>*na*</u> <u>*ondro*</u> *den aranjaboom*
then 1S ASP go stroll with 1S pipe LOC mouth LOC under the.PL orange.tree
['(...) onder het rooken van een pyp, al wandelende onder de by 't huis staande oranjeboomen'] (Wey 1798: 141)
'(...) then I am going strolling with my pipe in my mouth under the orange trees (...).'

The latter meaning is rejected by Schumann, he states that *middri* should be used instead (see the following section). According to Schumann (1783: 127), *ondro* cannot be used in contexts such as (251b), as it would imply that the strolling would take place at the foot of the trees as opposed to in the tree area. Therefore, I conclude that the Early Sranan varieties represented in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty and Weygandt's (1798) manual display interference from Dutch in the use of the preposition *ondro*.

2.6.3.5 *Middri*

Variants of the noun *mindri* 'middle; half; midst' (< English *middle*) can appear in a complex locative prepositional phrase headed by *na*; the phrase describes a location of an object in relation to other objects in the area (medial location). Examples are given under (252).

(252) a. *a ben de* <u>*na*</u> *dem* <u>*middri*</u> (Sch 1783: 127)
3S PST COP LOC 3P middle
['er ist unter ihnen gewesen.']
'He has been among them.'

b. *trueh da dotti* <u>*na*</u> <u>*middri*</u> *banna* (Sch 1783: 127)
throw the soil LOC middle banana
['schütte das Auskehrigt unter die Bananne, zwischen die Bananne, das heisst in den Bananne-Grund, wenn gleich vorne an.']
'Throw the soil under the banana trees.'

Note that in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty of 1762 *middri* alternates with *ondro* without an apparent change in meaning:

(253) a. (...) *en onnoe sa moessoe doe so sreffie* <u>*na*</u> *onnoe* <u>*ondro*</u> (...) (SPT 1762:art.11)
and 2P FUT must do so INT LOC 2P under
'(...) And you should do likewise among yourselves (...).'

b. *Datem wan sandie sa fadom* <u>*na*</u> *dem* <u>*mindrie*</u> *datie* (...) (SPT 1762:art.9)
the-time a thing FUT fall.down LOC 2P middle that
['In kas van noodsaakelijkheid (...)']
'When anything should occur among them that (...).'

In Weygandt's (1798) manual, *ondro* is used instead of *middri* in complex locative phrases (see previous section). *Miendrie*, a variant of *middri*, is found in compounds such as *miendrie-baka bonjoo* literally middle-back(side) bone 'spine' (Weygandt 1798: 17) and *retiemiendrie* right-middle 'half' (Weygandt 1798: 11), and further in the simple locative phrase *na miendrie* 'in the middle' (Weygandt 1798: 8).

2.6.4 Overview and discussion of adpositions in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

Table 2.12 below presents an overview of the forms of the adpositions in the sources of Early Sranan, and their Eastern Maroon equivalents, derived from Huttar & Huttar's (1994) grammar of Ndyuka.[57] In addition, the table lists the types of complements that are encountered with each adposition, that is noun phrase (NP), adverb (ADV) or sentential complement (SC).[58] The table is further divided into three sections: forms that are encountered exclusively functioning as simple prepositions in the Early Sranan sources are presented in the first section, forms that can occur both in simple prepositional phrases as well as complex prepositional phrases are listed in the second section and, finally, forms that are encountered exclusively in complex prepositional phrases are found in the last section. Note that Eastern Maroon Creole is not affected by this division.

[57] Ndyuka adpositions and prepositional phrases are discussed in sections 1.2.4, 2.1.5, 2.1.1.4 and 2.1.1.5.
[58] Sentential complements are discussed in chapter 6.

Table 2.12 *Adpositions and their complement types in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

		EARLY SRANAN							EMC
PLAIN PREPOSITIONS	COMPL. TYPE	1707-1767 CR	1718 HL	1762 SPT	c1765 VD	1770 N	1783 SCH	1798 WEY	
bifo 'before'	NP	-	-	-	*befou*	-	-	*bievo*	(*bifo;*
	SC							*biefo*	*befosi*)
bilo'below'	NP	-	*bileau*	-		*bilo*	*bilò*	*biloo*	(*bilo*)
fossi 'before'	NP	-	-	-	-	-	*fossi*	-	*fossi*
fu 'from; of; for;	NP	*voor*	*vor*	*foe*	*van, fe,*	*for*	*va*	*foe*	*fu*
about'	SC		*ver*	*fou*	*fo(e)*		*vo*		*fi*
				foú	*vo(e)*				
(*l/n*)*anga* 'with'	NP	*lange*	*langa*	*langa*	*lange*	*langa*	*nanga*	*nanga*	*anga*
				nanga					
leki 'like'	NP	-	-	*alleki*	*lik(k)i*	-	*leki*	*leki*	*moo*
	SC			*allekie*			*alleki*		*eeke*
sondro 'without'	NP	-	-	-	-	-	*sondro*	*sonro*	*sondee,*
	SC								*sondoo*
PLAIN AND COMPLEX									
(PREP) *na*	NP,	*na*	*na*	*na*	*na*	*na*	*na*	*na*	*na, a,*
'to; at; on'	ADV								*ne*
te (na) 'until'	NP, ADV	-	-	*té*	*ti*	-	*teh*	*te(e)*	*te*
	SC			*tee*	*tee*				
(*na*) *agter* NP	NP	-	*agter*	-	*aitre*	-	*áttara*	-	-
(*na*) *baka* NP	NP, ADV	-	-	-	*bake*	-	*baka*	*baka*	*baka*
'after' (temp.)	SC				*bakke*				
(*na*) (NP) *abra* (NP)	NP	-	-	*abra*	*aber*	-	*abra*	*abra*	*abaa*
'over; across'				*abara*	*abere*				
(*na*) (NP) *fesi* (NP)	NP	-	-	*fesi*	*vessi*	-	*fesi*	*fesie*	*fesi*
'over; across'					*fessi*				
COMPLEX PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES									
na (NP) *baka* (NP)	NP	-	-	*baca*	*bak(k)e*	-	*baka*	*baka*	*baka*
'behind' (spatial)	ADV			*bak(k)a*					
na (NP) *ini* (NP)	NP	-	-	*inn(e)*	*in(n)i*	-	*inni*	*ienie*	*ini*
'in(side)'									
na (NP) *tapu* (NP)	NP	-	*tappe*	-	*tap(p)e*	*tappoe*	*tappo*	*tapoe*	*tapu*
'upper side'					*tappi*				
na (NP) *midri* (NP)	NP	-	-	*mindrie*	-	-	*middri*	*miendrie*	*mindii*
'in the middle of'							*mindri*		
na (NP) *sey* (NP)	NP			*zy*	*zy*	-	*sei*	*zy*	*se*
'beside'									*bansa*
na ondro (NP)	NP	-	-	*ondro*	-	*ondro*	*ondro*	*ondro*	*ondoo*
'under(side)'									

In general, the Eastern Maroon Creole adpositions resemble their Early Sranan equivalents. The following discussion is limited to those forms attested in either Early

Sranan or in Eastern Maroon Creole, but not in both languages, and further to those adpositions that behave differently.

In section 2.6.12 the temporal preposition *te* was discussed, noting that it co-occurred with the preposition *na* in the case of nominals, whereas it was not followed by *na* when it introduced an adverbial. Huttar & Huttar (1994: 192) state that Eastern Maroon Creole *te* emphasizes the extent of state or action described by the verb when it is combined with *na*. This may be a later development.

The temporal preposition *fossi* 'before' is attested exclusively in Schumann's (1783) dictionary; in Van Dyk's guide (c1765) and Weygandt's manual (1798) variants of *befo* are used. In Eastern Maroon Creole *fossi* is used, similar to the *nengretongo* variety represented in Schumann's (1783) dictionary. Eastern Maroon Creole *bifo* and *bifosi* are temporal adverbs, that may additionally be used to introduce temporal adverbial clauses. Therefore, I assume that *fossi* was the basilectal preposition heading temporal prepositional phrases, whereas *befo* headed temporal prepositional phrases in the mesolectal and acrolectal varieties of Early Sranan.

In addition to the prepositions discussed so far, Eastern Maroon Creole has *boiti* 'besides; except' (< Dutch *buiten* 'outside; besides'). No equivalents of *boiti* are found in the sources of Early Sranan. It may be a case of (post-formative) borrowing.

Besides the location word *se* 'side', Eastern Maroon Creole has *bansa* (*se*) 'side' (< Portuguese *banda* 'side' or Kikongo *mbaansya* 'side', Daeleman 1972) to express lateral location, forming a complex prepositional phrase in combination with locative (*n*)*a* 'to; at; on'. Both *se* and *bansa* (*se*) can occur prenominally as well as postnominally; i.e. (*n*)*a* (NP) *se* (NP) or (*n*)*a* (NP) *bansa* (*se*) (NP). Equivalents of *bansa* are not found in Early Sranan.

Complex prepositional phrases with the location word *ini* can express interior location as well as location in time in Eastern Maroon Creole (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 423, 451). Section 2.6.7 concludes with several examples of constructions with *ini* that have a non-locative interpretation, including a temporal one. However, the structure of expression in the Eastern Maroon Creole differs from that in Early Sranan, compare (254) with (255).

(254) *A ini wan yuu feifi sama kái mi a telefon* (EMC, Huttar & Huttar 1994: 451)
LOC inside a hour five person call 1S LOC telephone
'Within an hour five people called me on the telephone.'

(255) a. *in na netti kom na mi* (VD c1765: 66)
inside-the night come LOC 1S
['kom van Nagt by myn']
'Come to me in (during) the night.'

b. *Na ienie wan joeroe* (Wey 1798: 75)
LOC inside a hour
['Binnen een uur.']
'Within an hour.'

c. *Na ienie foe toe wiekie* (Wey 1798: 9)
LOC inside of two week
['Binnen veertien dagen.']
'Within two weeks.'

Example (253a) is the only instance of temporal *in(i)* in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide. Furthermore, it is the only instance of *ini* without *na* in the sources of Early Sranan.[59] Moreover, Eastern Maroon Creole *ini* cannot occur without *na*. Therefore, (253a) is iffy, it may be an example of interference. In any case, it is not typical of any variety of Early Sranan. The only other source where temporal *ini* is attested is Weygandt's (1798) manual, where it occurs in constructions such as (252b) and (253c). Both types of constructions are encountered in Eastern Maroon Creole, but the latter only with a locative interpretation. Huttar & Huttar (1994: 187) inform us, that in the case of this type of construction, there seems to be more emphasis on the location or direction than in the case where the location word follows a nominal. Since the spatial meaning of an adposition appears often to be extended so that it can alternatively be used with a temporal meaning in the world's languages (Heine & Kuteva 2002), it cannot be determined with certainty that *ini* had both a spatial and a temporal meaning before Eastern Maroon Creole and Early Sranan diverged. Eastern Maroon Creole *ini* and Early Sranan *ini* may have undergone independent language-internal developments.

In addition to the items listed in table 2.12, Huttar & Huttar (1994: 185-186, 435) give *opu* or *opo* (*se*) 'up(stream)' and *bilo* (*se*) 'downstream' as items that can occur in a complex locational prepositional phrase expressing direction on a river. Early Sranan *bilo* can be used to denote direction on a river, in particular in a simple locative prepositional phrase, but it may also be used in other contexts, see section 2.6.9. Early Sranan (*h*)*oppo* has multiple uses and meanings, among them the expression of direction on the river when used as a modifier or in a simple locative prepositional phrase headed by *na*, see (256a) and (256b) respectively.

(256) a. *Alla dem boussie nengre foe oppo Sarameca nanga oppo Saranam* (...)
all the.PL bush black of up(stream) Saramaca and up(stream) Suriname
['De voorszegde bosneegers van Boven Sarameca en Suriname']
'All the Bush Negroes of the Upper Saramaka and the Upper Suriname (...).' (SPT 1762: art.1)

b. *mi de go na hoppo. mi de libi na hoppo* (Sch 1783: 67)
1S ASP go LOC up(stream) 1S ASP live LOC up(stream)
'I am going upstream. I am living upstream.'

Furthermore, the item *doo* (*se*) 'out(side) of' is listed by Huttar & Huttar (1994: 185, 423-424) as a Ndyuka location word that can occur in a simple locative prepositional

[59] Weygandt (1798) has three examples in which *ienie* 'inside' functions as a nominal, meaning 'inside': *ienie Bélee*, literally inside belly ['de Maag'] meaning 'stomach' (Wey 1798: 18); *ienie foe Bélee*, literally inside of belly ['de Ingewanden] meaning 'intestines; bowels' (Wey 1798: 18), and *Ienie foe Brédee* literally inside bread ['Kruim'] meaning 'crumb' (Wey 1798: 29).

phrase with the locative preposition (*n*)*a* to denote exterior location. The Early Sranan adverb *doro* 'out(side)' can be used in a similar manner.

Finally, Huttar & Huttar (1994) mention certain body parts including *mofu* 'mouth', *ede* 'head' and *sikin* 'outside; body' as possible location words that can be used to form complex locative prepositional phrases. Equivalents of these constructions are not found in the sources of Early Sranan.

3 Morphology

3.0 Introduction

Derivation, compounding and reduplication are the morphological proceses discussed in this chapter.[60] Derived words are distinguished from compounds based on theoretical work in the area of generative morphology, adapted by Lefebvre (1998, 2003) and DeGraff (2001, 2002) to investigate Haitian Creole morphology and by Lefebvre & Brousseau (2002) to describe Fongbe morphology. In short, compounds differ from derived words in the types of morphemes: compounds consist of at least two lexical or content morphemes, whereas derived words can be analyzed in terms of a lexical morpheme in combination with a (bound) grammatical or function morpheme. These grammatical morphemes may sometimes be homophonous with simplex lexical items, from which they are originally derived, but their phonological, syntactic and/or semantic features differ greatly. Compounds and derived words differ from phrases with regard to their syntactic atomicity: No item can be inserted in a compound or derived word, nor can an item inside a compound or derived word be moved. Derived words and compounds differ from each other with regard to productivity and regularity: the meaning of the affix generally predicts the meaning of the productively derived word, while the meaning of the compound cannot always be derived from its compositional meaning as several relations are possible between the two compounded morphemes. Moreover, it is difficult to predict which morphemes may be compounded, but it is possible to predict the type of base an affix will take (Lefebvre & Brousseau 2002).

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 are not all that different. In complex morphological structure, 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.

Since the 1990s creole morphology has received a fair amount of attention, demonstrating that it is far from simple.[61] Aspects of Early Sranan morphology have

[60] Parts of this chapter have been the subject of several presentations, including the International Workshop on the Phonology and Morphology of Creole Languages, 22-24 August 2001 in Siegen, Germany; the ACLC Junioren-Overleg, 10 December 2001 in Amsterdam, The Netherlands; the Morfologiedagen, 13-14 December 2001 in Utrecht, The Netherlands; and the Biennal Conference of the Society for Carribean Linguistics, 14-17 August 2002 in St. Augustine, Trinidad & Tobago. The participants are hereby thanked for their comments. In particular I like to thank Michel DeGraff for his valuable comments on earlier drafts of an article on Early Sranan derivation (Van den Berg 2003), on which section 3.1 of the current chapter is based. His work on morphology has been a great inspiration, and it meant a lot to me that he took the time and effort to review my work. I regret that I could not incorporate a discussion of the data on contemporary Sranan that I collected during my field research in Suriname in 2003 in this chapter (Van den Berg in prep.).

[61] See DeGraff (2001), Kouwenberg (2003), Plag (2003) among others.

been discussed by Adamson & Smith (2003), Arends (1995b), Braun (2001), Braun & Plag (2003), Bruyn (1989) and Van den Berg (2000, 2003). Huttar & Huttar (1994; 1997) and Migge (2001, 2003a, 2003b) discuss several aspects of Eastern Maroon Creole morphology.

3.1 Affixes and semi-affixes

This section provides an inventory of the most conspicuous affixes and semi-affixes in the Early Sranan sources, used to derive nouns, numerals and adverbs. All share some semantic content with their free lexical sources. The differences between the free forms and the bound affixes *–man*, *–wan* and *–tron* indicate a loss of lexical autonomy of these forms suggesting that they are true affixes, while this is less so in the case of the semi-affixes *–somma*, *–sanni* and *–fasi*. The latter are less selective with regard to the category of their base, and they differ minimally from their simplex sources *somma* 'person, people, someone, who?', *sanni* 'thing, something, what?' and *fasi* 'manner, mode, nature, stature' in terms of phonology. An overview of the affixes and semi-affixes is presented in table 3.1. They are discussed in more detail and compared with Eastern Maroon Creole in the remainder of this section.

Table 3.1 *Derivation in Early Sranan*

Affix	Category of BASE	Word Category	Function
–man	Verb	Noun	BASE-er
–man	Noun	Noun	doer/maker/possessor of BASE
–man	Adjective	Noun	animate referent has the quality of BASE
–wan	Adjective	Noun	the referent can be identified by the quality of BASE
–tentin	Numeral	Numeral	derives cardinal numerals 20–90 from numerals 2-9
–tron	Numeral	Adverb	derives multiplicative numerals from cardinal numerals
Semi-affix	**Category of BASE**	**Word Category**	**Function**
–somma	Noun	Noun	human referent is from a place denoted by BASE, or belongs to a group denoted by BASE
–somma	Adjective, Quantifier	Noun	specifying a human referent by the quality of BASE
–sanni	Noun	Noun	non-human referent having the quality of BASE
–sanni	Adjective	Noun	specifying a non-human referent by the quality of BASE
–fasi	Noun	Adverb	expresses manner
–fasi	Verb	Adverb	expresses manner
–fasi	Adjective	Adverb	expresses manner

The suffix –man. When attached to a verbal base the suffix *–man* functions as nominalizing gender-neutral agentive affix denoting an animate being. Attached to a nominal or adjectival base, it functions as an affix forming a gender-neutral attributive noun. The earliest attestations of a productive agentive suffix *–man* with a verbal and a nominal base date from 1745, they are represented in (1a) and (1b) respectively.

(1) a. *loeckeman* (CR 1745)
see-AFF
'seer, witch'

b. *wieri wieri man* (CR 1745)
weed.REDUP AFF
'witch'

Examples of *–man* are further found in every source of Early Sranan, except for Herlein's (1718) text. An in depth study of the various functions and the historical development of the suffix *–man* in Early Sranan is Van den Berg (2003). There, Early Sranan *–man* is compared with its Eastern Maroon Creole equivalent *–man* and Saramaccan *–ma.* Since the distinction between between the bound gender-neutral derivational morpheme and the free gender-specific lexical item is found in both Eastern Maroon Creole and Early Sranan, Van den Berg (2003) concludes that the development of *–man* was most likely a case of 'instanteneous' grammaticalization, taking place in the late 17th century within a short time span due to relexification.

The suffix –wan. Another nominalizing affix is the suffix *–wan*, which is etymologically related to the numeral *wan* 'one' (see section 2.5.2). The suffix *–wan* and the independent numeral *wan* are derived from the English numeral *one*; they are not directly related to the Sranan indefinite article *wan* (Bruyn 1995; Braun & Plag 2003). Sranan *–wan* differs from English *one* in that it may have plural reference; morphological plural marking is absent (Bruyn 1995). Primarily, the suffix *–wan* marks (human) animate referents. In this function, it is equivalent to the grammatical morpheme *–somma* 'person' as in (2a), and it is opposed to *–sanni* 'object' (2b), which marks inanimate referents.

(2) a. *wan libisomma, wan libiwan* (Sch 1783: 102)
a live-person, a live-one
['ein lebendiger Mensch']
'a lively person.'

b. *libisanni* (Sch 1783: 55)
live-object
['lebendiges']
'something lively'

Another function of *–wan* is to mark animate (3a) or inanimate (3b) referents that already have been introduced in the discourse. The pronominalizing proforms *–somma* and *–sanni* cannot be used in this context as they introduce new referents to the discourse. In (3a) the suffix *-wan* refers to the chickens introduced in the preceding question.

(3) a. *hu vool ju wanni? gi mi da pendiwan, bikasi mi lobbi pendisanni*
Q poultry 2S want give 1S the spotted-one because 1S love spotted-object
'Which bird do you want? Give me the spotted one, because I like spotted objects.' (Sch 1783: 134)

b. *krofaija, libiwan effi deddewan* (Sch 1783: 92)
coal live-one or dead-one
['Kohlen, lebendige oder glühende sowohl, als todte']
'Coal, live or dead coals.'

Schumann (1783: 194) describes *wan* as follows: "ein; einder, eine, eines, (es mag zehlen odern nicht); etwas; einzig, einig (adjective, nicht verbialiter) it. dictio enclitica, terminatio adjectivis definitis adhearens in statu absoluto" ['one (counting or not), something, alone (adjective, not adverb), ending for definite adjectives attached in absolute state']. Derivation by means of the affix *–wan* is a productive process in this source. Note that Schumann is probably wrong in glossing *allawan* 'all the same; united; as one' as one word. This word is only found in examples such as (4) below in his dictionary; it is not attested in other early sources nor in Ndyuka (Huttar & Huttar 1994; Goury 2003). More likely, the form *wan* is used here as an adjective/property item meaning 'united; as one' as in the Ndyuka example represented in (5), suggesting that *allawan* is not one word with a complex morphological structure, but two words presented as one.[62]

(4) *da allawan na mi, hufa ju meki datti* (Sch 1783: 102)
BE all one LOC 1S Q-manner 2S make that
['es ist mir einerley, wie du das machst']
'It's all the same to me, how you do it.'

(5) *Efi ala libisama be sa de wan, didibii á be o fende pasi fu kii*
if all live-person PAST FUT COP united devil NEG PAST FUT find way to kill

libisama so (EMC)[63]
live-person so
'If all people were united, the devil would not have had a way to kill people.'

Schumann might have regarded *allawan* a similar type of construction to *driwan* 'trinity', an entry he added to his dictionary in a later stage. He comments that *driwan* is 'borrowed', and that '*driwan* nie alleine stehen muss, denn als dann könnte es bedeuten: "dreyfache", "dreydoppelte", oder: der "dritte": sondern es muss immer *gado* ausdrücklich dabey stehen, da denn nicht so leicht kein Missverstand herauskomt' ['driwan should never stand alone, as it then can mean 'thrice', 'threefold' or 'threesome', so *gado* [God, MB] must always be explicitly mentioned, as there won't be

[62] The Sranan word *alawan* might be a reflex of the now obsolete English phrase *all one* 'all together; one and the same', which is attested, for example in the following sentence from 1691: *As for the vulgar and illiterate it is all one to them* (Oxford English Dictionary Online). In that case it should be regarded as an idiomatic expression. Since Sranan *wan* can be used as an adjective meaning 'united; as one', I don't consider *alla wan* to be a retention.
[63] SIL English – Aukan Interactive Dictionary (2003). http://www.silinternational.net/americas/suriname).

any misunderstanding'] (Schumann 1783: 36). In any case, the occurence of the word *allawan* meaning 'all the same; united; as one' is restricted to Schumann's dictionary.

The affix –tentin. 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.[64] The suffix *–tentin* has no homophonous free form in Early Sranan, nor in contemporary Sranan or Ndyuka; 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 '*thre tymes ten is thretty*' (c1440, Oxford English Dictionary); '*Four times fifty living men*' (1798, Oxford English Dictionary) or '*an animal of ten times my strength*' (1726, Oxford English Dictionary) respectively. Van Dyk (c. 1765) and Weygandt (1798) both have a chapter on number formation in their manuals, examples from these chapters are represented under (6) and (7) respectively. Schumann (1783) presents the numerals as separate entries in his dictionary; they are collected under (8).

(6) Numerals in Van Dyk (c1765: 8):

Toe ten tien	two – AFF	['Twintig']	'twenty'
Toe ten tien a wan	two – AFF LOC one	['Een-en-Twintig']	'twenty-one'
Toe ten tien a toe	two – AFF LOC two	['Twee-en-Twintig']	'twenty-two'
Toe ten tien a drie	two – AFF LOC three	['Drie-en-Twintig']	'twenty-three'
Drie ten tien	three – AFF	['Dertig']	'thirty'
Fo ten tien	four – AFF	['Veertig']	'forty'
Fyfi ten tien	five – AFF	['Vyftig']	'fifty'
Zikkizi ten tien	six – AFF	['Zestig']	'sixty'
Zebi ten tien	seven – AFF	['Zeeventig']	'seventy'
Ayti ten tien	eight – AFF	['Taggentig']	'eighty'
Negi ten tien	nine – AFF	['Neegentig']	'ninety'

(7) Numerals in Weygandt (1798: 10):

Twentie	twenty	['twintig']	'twenty'
Twentienawan	twenty – LOC – one	['eenentwintig']	'twenty-one'
Twintienatoe &c.	twenty – LOC – two etc.	['twee en twintig enz.']	'twenty-two'
Drietentien	three – AFF	['Dertig']	'thirty'
Footentien	four – AFF	['Veertig']	'forty'
Fyfietentien	five – AFF	['Vyftig']	'fifty'
Fyfietentiennanga fyfie	five – AFF – and – five	['Vyf en vyftig']	'fifty-five'
Sieksietentien	six – AFF	['Zestig']	'sixty'
Seebietentien	seven – AFF	['Zeeventig']	'seventy'
Aitietentien	eight – AFF	['Tagchentig']	'eighty'
Neegietentien	nine – AFF	['Neegentig']	'ninety'

[64] Donicie (1954) reports that tens are pronounced with (*dritentin* 'thirty) and without a nasal (*dritenti* 'thirty), while the numeral *tin* always ends in a nasal in contemporary Sranan.

(8) Numerals with *–tentin* in Schumann (1783)

tutentîn	two – AFF	['20']	(Sch 1783: 189)	'twenty'
dritentîn	three – AFF	['30']	(Sch1783: 36)	'thirty'
fotentîn	four – AFF	['40']	(Sch1783: 44)	'forty'
feifitentîn	five – AFF	['50']	(Sch1783: 40)	'fifty'
siksitentîn	six – AFF	['60']	(Sch1783: 155)	'sixty'
sebententìn	seven – AFF	['70']	(Sch1783: 151)	'seventy'
aititentîn	eight – AFF	['80']	(Sch1783: 5)	'eighty'
nenitentîn	nine – AFF	['90']	(Sch1783: 122)	'ninety'

Nepveu (1770: 278) also provides an overview of the formation of the numerals twenty to ninety in Sranan, represented in (8). Although his overview is not so elaborate as the ones presented by Van Dyk and Weygandt, it differs from theirs with respect to the Sranan word for twenty and the way the numerals above twenty are formed. Instead of a variant of *–tentin*, Nepveu derives numerals above twenty by means of *–tien*:

(9) Numerals in Nepveu (1770: 278):

twinting	twenty	['twintig'	'twenty'
twinting na wan	twenty LOC one	['een en twintig']	'twenty'
twinting na toe	twenty LOC two	['twee en twintig']	'twenty-two'
en zo voorts	and so on		'and so on'
tot	until		
dritien	three-ten	['dertig']	'thirty'
fotien	four-ten	['veertig']	'forty'
vijftien	five-ten	['vijftig']	'fifty'
enz.	etc.		'etc.'

Note that while the cardinal numerals are mainly derived from English (see also section 2.5.2), neither the morphological structure nor arithmetic structure of its counting system is modeled on the English or Dutch cardinal numeral system, as can be inferred from the translations. Although the etymological origin of the suffix *–tentin* can be traced back to English, the speakers of Early Sranan used it as their primary means to form numerals ranging from twenty to ninety. That the early speakers 'opted' for this arithmetical structure instead of incorporating the words *thirty, forty, fifty* etc. in their lexicon might be explained in terms of substrate influence. However, the arithmetical structure of the counting systems of the major substrate languages of the Suriname Creoles differs from the Early Sranan system presented above: counting in Fongbe, for example, proceeds by adding units smaller than five up to forty. After forty, units smaller than five and multiples of five to multiples of forty up to two hundred, and so on (DeGraff 2002). So the emergence of the suffix *–tentin* in Early Sranan is not modeled on Gbe or English, it is an innovative strategy.

The affix –tron. Variants of the suffix *-tron* (< English *turn*) derives multiplicative numerals from cardinal numerals as in (10).

(10) a. *mi jerri wan gon piki toe trom* (VD c1765: 83)
1S hear a gun speak two time
['ik heb wel twee Schooten gehoord met een Snaphaan']
'I heard a gun go off twice.'

b. *mi sa hoppo na mussudeh, na dri kákkakreh (teh kákka kreh dritron)*
1S FUT get.up LOC dawn LOC three rooster-cry after rooster cry three-times
['ich will mit dem ertsen Anbruch des Tages, mit dem dritten Hahnengeschrey, aufstehen (wenn die Hahne zum drittenmal krähen.)'] (Sch 1783: 118)
'I will get up at first daylight, after three cock crows (after the cock has crowed thrice).'

It is additionally encountered in combination with the ordinal numeral *fossi* 'first' (> *fossitron* 'first time') and quantifiers such as *menni* 'many, more' (>*mennitron* 'often'), *moro* 'more' (>*morrotron* 'repeatedly') and *ini(wan)* 'every' (> *ini(wan)tron* 'every time, whensoever') etc.

Schumann (1783: 187) lists *tron* an "dicto enclitica, eine blosse Endung, bedeutet: mal" [clitic, a suffix by rote, meaning '-times']. He differentiates between the suffix *–tron* and the verb *tronn* 'turn, return' by systematically representing the former ending in <n> and the latter with <nn> throughout the dictionary.[65] A similar distinction occurs in the case of the suffix *–man* (see above) and the nominal *mann* 'man, of male gender' (Bruyn 1989, Van den Berg 2003).

The semi-suffix –somma. When attached to a nominal base denoting a place or a group, the bound morpheme *–somma* functions as a provenance (semi-)suffix: it indicates that its human referent is from a place specified by the nominal base (11a), or that he/she belongs to a group named by the base (11b).

(11) a. *kondresomma nanga bribisomma no kann miti* (Sch 1783: 86)
world-person and believing-person NEG can meet
['die Weltmenschen, u. die Gläubigen passen nicht zusammen']
'Wordly people and believers do not go together.'

b. *wan sautoewatra Soema* (Wey 1798: 16)
a saltwater person
['een Buitenlander']
'A foreigner.'

[65] The only exception is the following:
(1) *humennitronn ju stulu tideh?* ['wie oft hat du heute Abgang gehabt?'] (Sch 1783: 167)
Q-many-times 2S stool today 'How many times did you evacuate your bowels?'

The morpheme *–somma* can also occur in combination with quantifiers and other closed class items (Bruyn 1995: 154), and with lexical morphemes (12).[66] It then functions as a nominalizing proform.

(12) a. *dem wandi fou hondi langa fou soutoú gi dedi sama foú dem* (SPT 1762, art. 15)
3P want to hunt and to shoot for dead person of 3P
'They want to hunt and fire in honor of their dead.'

b. *wan ouwere somma van disi konderi* (VD c1765: 11)
a old person of this country
['een oud burger']
'An old person of this country.'

c. *hebi sama* (N 1770: 277)
heavy person
['swaarwigtig Persoon']
'A person of substance.'

Bruyn (1995: 152-157) presents an excellent overview of the history of the forms *somma* (< English *someone*) and *sanni* (< English *something*) and the various functions they may perform in Early Sranan.

The semi-suffix –sanni. The morpheme *-sanni* in morphologically complex constructions marks inanimate referents, as opposed to *-somma*, which marks human referents. It can occur with nominal, verbal and adjectival bases, acting as a nominalizing proform. Thus, Schumann (1783: 149) glosses *sanni* as follows: "was, etwas; es; was? it. dictio enclitica, terminatio adjectivis indefinitis adhaerens in statu absoluto" ['what, something; it; what?; word final limiting indefinite adjective']. The earliest attestation of the form *sanni* is (13):

(13) *Santje* (Hl 1718: 123)
thing
['Een ding, en al wat voor haar niet te noemen of zeldzaam is']
'Entity.' ('A thing, and everything that they cannot name or that is unusual.')

In Van Dyk's (c1765) manual variants of *–sanni* can be used to from new words denoting abstract concepts such as 'truth', as in (14).

[66] In contemporary Sranan, *–somma* is reduced to *–sma*. As the homophonous free morpheme is also reduced to *sma* 'person, human being', this phonological reduction should not be regarded as an indicator of the grammaticalization of *–somma* from a semi-affix into a true affix (see Bruyn 1995). In contemporary Ndyuka both the free and the bound morpheme are *sama* 'person, people' (Huttar & Huttar 1994, Goury 2003, SIL English – Aukan Interactive Dictionary 2003).

(14) *den somma takki troe zanti anno kan kisi drinke hosse* (VD c1765: 99)
the.PL person talk true thing 3S-NEG can get drink house
['Die de Waarheid zeid kan geen Herberg krygen']
'He, who speaks the truth, cannot get a roof over his head.'

The semi-affix –fasi. The free lexical morpheme *fasi* 'way, manner, quality' (< English *fashion*) productively combines with nominal, verbal and adjectival bases, forming a noun that, headed by the all-purpose preposition *na*, forms an adverbial phrase. The phrase describes the manner in which the activity or event denoted by the main predicate proceeds (15).

(15) a. *dem alla sweri gado langa gron na dem reiti fassi taki da so dem sa holi da fri*
3P all swear god and land LOC 3P right manner say that so 3P FUT hold that peace
'They all took an oath to God and to the land, entirely according to their custom, saying that this is how they will stick to the peace.' (SPT 1762)

b. *a lukku mi na djalusu-fasi,* od. *nanga djalusu* (Sch 1783: 30)
3S look 1S LOC jealousy-way / with jealousy
['id.' (er ist eifersüchtig auf mich)]
'He looked at me in a jealous way / with jealousy.'

Alternatively, some combinations with *-fasi* are found without the preposition *na* in several sources, suggesting that *–fasi* was grammaticalized, as in (16).

(16) a. *mi zel zorri dem tra fassi* (VD c1765: 56)
1S FUT show 3P other way
'I'll show them differently.'

b. *dem tu uman holi meti retifasi* (Sch 1783: 111)
the.PL two woman hold co.wife right-manner
['die 2 Weiber des "einen" Mannes vertragen sich gut mit einander.']
'The two woman handle polygamy well.'

c. *wie ben fom em da tem kroektoefasie?* (Wey 1798: 70)
1S PST hit 3S.OBJ that time crooked-manner
['hadden wy hem toen onrechtvaardig gestraft']
'Did we punish him unjustifiably at that time?'

Schumann (1783) lists several complex words ending in *–fasi*, which he translates as abstract nouns, but I find no evidence in the other 18th century sources or in contemporary Ndyuka that derivation of *–fasi* to a verbal or adjectival base is a productive derivational process forming abstract nouns (*pace* Braun & Plag 2003). Examples from Schumann's dictionary are the following.

(17) a. *santafasi* (Sch 1783: 150)
holy-manner
['die Heiligkeit']
'Holiness.'

b. *da poro fasi va wi* (Sch 1783: 140)
the corrupt manner of 1P
['unsre Verdorbenheit']
'Our wicked ways.'

c. *kondrefasi* (Sch 1783: 87)
country-way
['Weltart']
'Worldliness.'

d. *laufasi* (Sch 1783: 99)
mad-manner
['Thorheit, Narrheit, närrisches Zeug']
'Foolishness.'

The attestation of affixes and semi-affixes across the Early Sranan sources and Eastern Maroon Creole is outlined in table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2 *An overview of affixes and semi-affixes in Early Sranan and contemporary EMC*

		EARLY SRANAN							EMC	
AFFIXES		1707-1767 CR	1718 HL	1762 SPT	c1765 VD	1770 N	1783 SCHUM	1798 WEY	(NDYUKA)	
Noun	*–man*]$_N$	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	*–man*]$_N$
Verb	*–man*]$_N$	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	*–man*]$_N$
Adjective/ Property item	*–man*]$_N$	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	*–man*]$_N$
Adjective/ Property item	*–wan*]$_N$	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	*–wan*]$_N$
Numeral	*–tentin*]$_{Num}$	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	*–tenti*]$_{Num}$
Numeral	*–tron*]$_{Adv}$	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	*–toon*]$_{Adv}$
SEMI-AFFIXES										
Noun	*–somma*]$_N$	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	*–sama*]$_N$
Verb	*–somma*]$_N$		-	+	+	-	+	+	+	*–sama*]$_N$
Adjective/ Property item; Quantifier	*–somma*]$_N$	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	*–sama*]$_N$
Noun	*–sanni*]$_N$	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	*–sani*]$_N$
Verb	*–sanni*]$_N$	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	*–sani*]$_N$
Adjective/ Property item Quantifier	*–sanni*]$_N$	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	*–sani*]$_N$
Noun	*–fasi*]$_{N/ADV}$	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	*–fasi*]$_{N/ADV}$
Verb	*–fasi*]$_{N/ADV}$	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	*–fasi*]$_{N/ADV}$
Adjective; Quantifier	*–fasi*]$_{N/ADV}$	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	*–fasi*]$_{N/ADV}$

I have momentarily excluded variants of the form *peh* 'place' from the above overview of Early Sranan affixes and semi-affixes, even though in contemporary Eastern Maroon Creole the suffix *–pe* productively derives location nouns from verbs (Migge 2003: 81) and Schumann (1783: 133) labels *peh* a "dictio enclitica", a clitic. Schumann

further states that *peh* cannot occur as an independent lexeme[67]. 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 in (18). However, the resulting construction may be split up by an infixed intensifier, see (18c) and (18d).

(18) a. *mi no sabi hoe ple alle santi kom oppo* (CR 1745)
1S NEG know Q place all thing come.out
'I don't know where all (these) things came from.'

b. *hoe ply joe de hele de* (VD c1765: 71)
Q place 2S BE all day
['waar heb je de heelen Dag geweest']
'Where have you been all day?'

c. *no wan peh mi de go*, oder: *no wan reti peh mi de go* (Sch 1783: 134)
no one place 1S ASP go / NEG one right place 1S ASP go
['iche gehe nirgends hin, nach keinen eigentlichen, gewissen Ort']
'I'm going nowhere in particular.'

d. *da srefi peh mi ben go tu* (Sch 1783: 134)
the same place 1S PST go too
['eben dahin bin ich auch gegangen']
'I have also been to that same place.'

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, nor in the other sources of Early Sranan. Instead, location nouns can be formed by combining a verbal base with a variant of *plesi* 'place' (< English *place*): *Zére Plessi* literally sell-place 'market' (VD c1765:9), *beriplesi* literally bury-place 'cemetery' (Sch 1783: 16), *lo-plesi* 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 *–peesi* can be combined with a verbal base to form a location noun (Huttar & Huttar 1994, Migge 2003), whereas only *–plesi* is combined with a verbal base in the sources of Early Sranan. Variants of Early Sranan *–peh* are used exclusively to derive function words (Court Records of 1745, Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, Schumann's (1783) dictionary, Weygandt's (1798) manual). Besides deriving location nouns from verbal bases, Eastern Maroon Creole *–pe* is also involved in the formation of function words: in combination with the question particle *o* it forms a

[67] "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", "Plaz", "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).

locative question word (o)*pe* 'where?', with the singular definite artile *a* 'the' it forms the deictic place adverb *ape* 'there', with quantifiers such as *ala* 'all' it forms place adverbs (*alape* 'everywhere') etc. Thus, Eastern Maroon Creole and Early Sranan are in fact very similar, except for the derivation of location nouns. Contemporary Sranan resembles Eastern Maroon Creole: *–pe* as well as *–plesi* 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, *–plesi* 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 3.3.

Table 3.3 *The bound morphemes* –pe and –plesi *in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
	1718	1707-1767	1762	C1765	1770	1783	1798	
	HL	CR	SPT	VD	N	SCHUM	WEY	(NDYUKA)
function word–*pe*]ADV/Q	*ple*	-	-	*ply*	-	*peh*	*plee, pree pré, prée*	+ –*pe*]ADV/Q
function word–*plesi*]ADV/Q	*plasje plesje plesse*	-	*plessie*	*plessi*	*pleisi*	-	*pleesie plesie*	+ –*plesi*]ADV/Q
Verb –*pe*]N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+ –*pe*]N
Verb –*plesi*]N	-	-	-	*plessi*	-	*plesi*	-	+ –*plesi*]N

3.1.1 Did Early Sranan have affixes that derived verbs from a verbal base?

Braun & Plag (2003) claim that the forms *–weh* and *–dom(m)*/*–dumm* are affixes unproductively deriving verbs from a verbal base based on their investigation of Kramp's version of Schumann's (1783) dictionary. According to them, both forms are deictic markers; the form *–weh* can be attached to verbal or adjectival bases indicating the direction of the action in the case of a verbal base, or spatial or temporal deixis in the case of an adjectival bases. The form *–dom*/*-dum* occurs with verbs or with 'bound roots' denoting spatial deixis. In this section I adress some of the problems with their analyses and propose an alternative view.

The item *–weh* occurs with a very limited set of verbal and adjectival bases; they are exemplified in (19).

(19) verbal base:

a. *mi sa giwèh* (Sch 1783: 50)
1S FUT give.away
['ich wills weggeben']
'I'll give (it) away.'

b. *a gowèh kaba* (Sch 1783: 51)
3S go.away already
['er ist schon weggegangen']
'He left already.'

c. *a ronneweh na mi* (Sch 1783: 145)d.
3S run.away LOC 1S
['er ist von mir weggelaufen']
'he ran away from me'

trowee (Wey 1798: 2)
throw.away
['storten']
'throw away, spill'

e. *hitiwèh* (Sch 1783: 66)
['wegwerfen, wegschmeissen']
'hit away'

adjectival base:

f. *grandeweh a platti nanga hem uman kaba* (Sch 1783: 140)
long.ago 3S seperate with 3S woman already
['schon vor langer Zeit hat er sich von seinem Weib geschieden']
'He and his wife separated already a long time ago.'

g. *langaweh* (Sch 1783: 98)
['weit entfernt']
'far away'

h. *a de libi varreweh vo mi* (Sch 1783: 191)
3S ASP live far.away for 1S
['er wohnt eits von mir']
'He lives far away from me.'

Table 3.4 below presents an overview of the forms with *–we(h)* in the sources and their Eastern Maroon Creole equivalents. Note that all these forms can be regarded as, and most likely are, English retentions. A counterexample that would undermine this conclusion would be BASE-*weh*, with the base being a Sranan verb or adverb derived from an English verb or adverb which usually does not occur with *away*. No such counterexamples have been encountered in the 18th century sources nor in contemporary Eastern Maroon Creole, as far as I have been able to determine.[68]

Even the words with an adjectival base are most likely English retentions: the form *way* occurs frequently in adverbial phrases that are used figuratively in the 17th century, such as *a great way foole* 'an enormous fool' (1601), *a furlong way* 'the time which it takes to go that distance' (1470-85); *a foul way out* meaning 'miserably far from success' (1601), etc. (Oxford English Dictionary 1989). Although the synchronic morphological

[68] The verb *hitiweh* is not an counterexample, as it does occur in contemporary varieties of English. Even though it is not listed in the Oxford English dictionary, the web search engine Google produced 10,200 results for the Boolean search string "hit away" in 0.31 seconds. Thus, I assume that it can occur and that it could have occurred, as word formation with *–way* can be shown to have been a productive process in the 17th century varieties of English, see the Oxford English Dictionary 1989. Moreover, the form *hitiweh* is somewhat unusual in the sources of Early Sranan: it is encountered exclusively in Schumann's dictionary where it occurs alongside *hiti* 'hit, throw away'. While *hitiweh* is presented merely as an entry in the dictionary, *hiti* is used in several example sentences. In Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Weygandt's (1798) manual, only the verb *hiti* 'hit, throw away' is encountered. Furthermore, Eastern Maroon Creole doesn't have *itiwe*; it has *iti* 'throw, fling, hit'.

processes in the minds of the creole speakers cannot be explained away by invoking etymological links (DeGraff 2001), the fact that no clearly innovative examples have been found in the 18th century sources or in Eastern Maroon Creole suggests that all Sranan words ending in *-weh* are most likely retentions.

Table 3.4 *Overview of* –we(h) *in the Early Sranan sources and in Eastern Maroon Creole*

	EARLY SRANAN							EMC	
	1707-1767	1718	1762	c1765	1770	1783	1798	EMC	
	CR	HL	SPT	VD	N	SCHUM	WEY		
'verbal base'									
giwèh 'give away'	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
gowèh'go away'	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	*gwe*
ronneweh 'run away'	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	*lowe*
trowee 'throw away, spill'	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	*t(r)owe*
bitiwèh 'hit away'	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
'adjectival base'									
grandeweh 'long ago, faraway'	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	*gaandiwe*
langaweh 'long ago, faraway'	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-[69]	
varreweh 'far away'	-	-	+	-[70]	-	+	-	+	*faawe*

Example (20) lists all the possible combinations of word complexes with *–dom/-dumm* in Schumann's (1783) dictionary.

(20) *–dom/-dumm* in Schumann (1783):

a. *hoppo da nefi, dissi liddom na ju fesi* (Sch 1783: 41)
lift the knife that lie.down LOC 2S face
['hebe das Messer auf, das vor dir liegt']
'Lift up the knife, that is in front of you.'

b. *mi fadomm na kni gi hem* (Sch 1783: 84)
1S fall.down LOC knee GIVE 3S.OBJ
['ich kniete vor ihm nieder']
'I fall down on my knees before him.'

[69] The item *langaweh* is not encountered in Ndyuka (Huttar & Huttar 1994, Goury 2003, SIL Online Aukan – English Dictionary, 2003). Instead, *langa* is used to denote length or that something is far away or at a distance; *langa* is synonymous with *faawe*.

[70] Instead of *varreweh*, Van Dyk (c1765) uses *fare* 'far away, long' as in *mi no kan wakke so fare* 'I cannot walk so far' (VD c1765: 30). Both forms are also encountered in Ndyuka: *fala* occurs alongside *faawe* (SIL Online Aukan – English Dictionary, 2003).

c. *a de siddom djonkò,* od. *a de siddom huku* (Sch 1783: 32)
3S ASP sit.down nod / 3S ASP sit.down nod
['er sitzt u. nickt']
'He is sitting and nodding.'

d. *bukudumm*, od. *bukkudumm* (Sch 1783: 25)
['sich auf die Erde bücken']
'bend down'

Table 3.5 presents an overview of the distribution of these forms and other attestations of *–dom* in the sources of Sranan. Here, too, it is more likely that these words are retentions of English rather than outcomes of an innovative derivational process.

Table 3.5 *Distribution of* –do(m)m/–dumm *in Early Sranan sources and Eastern Maroon Creole*

	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
	1707-1767	1718	1762	C1765	1770	1783	1798	
	CR	HL	SPT	VD	N	SCHUM	WEY	
didon 'lie down'	-	-	-	*dido*	-	-	*didon*	*didon*
liddom 'lie down'	-	-	-	*lydom*	-	*liddom*	-	-
fadom 'fall down'	-	-	*fadom*	*fa dom* *fo dom* *fadom*	-	*fadomm*	*fadon*	*fadon*[71]
siddom 'sit down'	-	*sie don*	-	*zid dom* *ziddom* *zitdom*	-	*siddom*	*sidon* *siedon*	*sidon*
go don 'go down'	-	*gaeud on*	-	-	*go don*	-	-	*dongo*[72]
bukudumm 'bend down'	-	-	-	-	-	*bukudumm*	-	*bukundu*[73] *bunduku*

Moreover, table 3.5 brings out the difference between the two forms *–dom* and *–dumm*, suggesting that they are not variants but different forms (*pace* Braun & Plag, 2003). The Ndyuka words that are Early Sranan retentions of English all end in *–don*, while the Sranan verb *bukudumm* corresponds to Ndyuka *bukundu* or *bunduku* 'bend down, stoop' and contemporary Sranan *bukundu* or *bukunu* 'bend down, stoop'. The form *–dumm* is only attested once in the 18th century sources. If *–dumm* and *–dom* were interchangeable, it would have occurred with other verbal bases as Schumann

[71] The verb *fadon* in contemporary Ndyuka is obsolete, it only occurs in the idiomatic expression *fadon a ini sonu* lit. fall down in sin, meaning 'fall into temptation'. Instead, the verb *kai* or *kaa* 'fall' is used (SIL Online Aukan – English Dictionary, 2003).
[72] Ndyuka does have a verb *dongo* (< Eng. down go) 'go downstream, go downriver', and *sundown* is translated with *san dongo*, *san gwe* or *san saka* (SIL Online Aukan – English Dictionary, 2003).
[73] Ndyuka has *bukundu* and *bunduku* 'bend down' alongside *buku*, *bendi* and *boigi* 'bend down' (SIL Online Aukan – English Dictionary, 2003).

meticulously lists the variants he is aware of. This is, for instance, demonstrated in (20b). However, terms such as **didumm*; **liddumm*; **fadumm*; **siddumm*; **godumm* are not attested in Schumann's dictionary nor in any of the other sources. All variants that are encountered are represented in table 3.5 above. Although there is some orthographic variation in and across the sources, they show consistency in the representation of the final syllable. Now that we have shown that *–dumm* is not a variant of *–dom*, there is no reason to assume that *–dom* is a Sranan affix: it is morphologically inactive as the words in which it is attested are retentions of English.

3.2 Compounding[74]

Early Sranan displays a wide variety of compounding patterns, because the concatenated lexical items can be nouns, verbs or adjectives and they relate to each other in various ways (Echteld 1961; Koefoed and Tarenskeen 1996; Van den Berg 2000, 2003; Braun 2001; Braun & Plag 2003). Moreover, compounding is recursive, so compounds may be used to form new compounds. Derived words and reduplications may also be part of a compounded word (but compounds are not reduplicated).

The most productive pattern is the concatenation of a noun, verb or adjective and a noun forming a nominal compound: $[N - N]_N$, $[A - N]_N$ and $[V - N]_N$ are encountered most frequently in the Early Sranan sources, examples of these patterns are underlined in (21).

(21) $[N - N]_N$

a. *Mie wil gaeu na <u>Watre-zy</u>* (HL 1718:121)
1S will go LOC water-side
['Ik wil na de Water-kant gaan.']
'I shall go to the riverside.'

$[A - N]_N$

b. *Moro lekie <u>retiemiendrie</u>* (Wey 1798: 7)
more like right-middle
['Meer als de helft.']
'More than half.'

$[V - N]_N$

c. *En alla dem <u>ronne wee nengre</u> disie dem tarri backa, garan man*
and all the.PL runaway black REL 3P carry back chief

effie coúroetoe sa can doe innie sandie dem wandie nanga dem (SPT 1762: art.5)
or court FUT can do every thing 3P want with 3P

[74] In this section a distinction is made between compounds and lexicalized expressions, also known as idiomatic constructions. Both compounds and lexicalized expressions are complex words, but the process underlying their formation is a different one: compounds are the results of a productive process of forming novel lexemes from the combination of two simpler lexemes. Lexicalized expressions are nominalizations (of phrasal verbs and the like). See Spencer (2003).

['En sullen die werom gebragten slaaven nae welgevallen der blanken met de dood off anders na exigentie gestraft werden']
'And all the run-away Blacks they return, the Governor or the Court shall be permitted to do anything they like with them.'

Endocentric compounds. Most compounds are endocentric and right-headed, i.e. the left member of the compound modifies the right member. Semantically speaking, these compounds can often be interpreted as a hyponym of the head. Since the word order of the compound follows the word order of the syntactic phrase, which, in turn, follows the word order in the lexifier, the lexifier and the creole share the position of the head in the compound (Lefebvre 1998). However, Bruyn (1989) points out a few exceptions in Schumann's (1783) dictionary; they are represented under (22) and (23a,a').[75]

(22) left-headed compounds:

a.	*watramuffe*	(Sch 1783: 200)	b.	*flamm faija*	(Sch 1783: 43)
	water mouth			flame fire	
	['der Speichel']			['die Flamme, Feuerflamme']	
	'saliva'			'fire flame'	

(23) exceptional compounds: 'mobile heads'

a.	*horrowatra*	(Sch 1783: 67)	a'.	*watra horro*	(Sch 1783: 67)
	hole water			water hole	
	['Quelle, Brunnen, Wasserloch; Quellwasser']				
	'fountain' (preferred)			'fountain'	
b.	*wan hai watra*	(Sch 1783: 198)	b'.	*watra ai*[76]	(Snijders 2000: 172)
	a eye/drop water			water eye/drop	
	['ein tropfen Wasser']			'tear'	
	'drop of water, tear'				

[75] In addition, the court records contain some half-translated compounds: *boombamba* lit. tree (Dutch)-bamba (CR 1738) and *hoùtbamba* lit. wood (Dutch)-bamba (CR 1732). The latter alternates with *bambahout* in the interrogation of the slaves Lalande and Mainby. Lalande is charged with poisoning, Mainby is a witness. The compound *hoùtbamba* occurs in the minutes of the questioning of Mainby, while *bambahout* is encountered in those of Lalande. The latter are difficult to transcribe due to the state of the paper. The former, however, are in a better state:

(2) *Segt van Lalande verstaen te hebben dat hetselve hoùtbamba genaamt werd, en op hooge gronden groeyt*
'He says that Lalande told him that it is called *hoùtbamba* and grows on high ground'(CR 1732)

[76] Both compounds, *aywatra* and *watra ai*, occur in 20th century Sranan. The first is reported by Michaël Ietswaart and Vinije Haabo (1999) in their language manual *Sranantongo. Surinaams voor reizigers en thuisblijvers* (Amsterdam: Jan Mets). The second is listed by Ronald Snijders (2000, 5th edition): *Surinaams van de straat/ Sranantongo fu strati* (Amsterdam: Prometheus). The authors list either one or the other, they do not list both.

c. *sakka janjam* (Sch 1783: 148)
bag food
['der Magen']
'stomach'

c'. *janjam-sakka* (Sch 1783: 148)
food bag
['id.']
'stomach'

As left-headed compounds and compounds with mobile heads have been attested in other Suriname creoles (Bruyn 2002), I conclude that there is some variation in the structure of compounds which, as far as I know, cannot be accounted for in terms of relexification[77], nor can these examples be explained in terms of substrate influence or convergence/divergence: both the lexifier's and the substrates' compounds are right-headed.

Exocentric compounds. Besides endocentric compounds, Early Sranan has compounds such as *wan Gingamaka* literally a ginger-thorn 'a porcupine' (Weygandt 1798: 39) or *wan Lekiean*, literally a lick-hand 'pygmy or dwarf anteater' (Weygandt 1798: 39). The form *ginga,* derived from the noun *gínja* or *djínja* (Schumann 1783: 31) meaning 'ginger' (< English *ginger*) modifies *maka* 'thorn', thus forming a nominal compound. The structure of the compound *lekian* resembles a predicator-argument structure: *lekie* is derived from the verb *lekie* or *lekki* 'lick; spill; leak' (Schumann 1783: 101), *an* or *anu* 'hand; paw' corresponds to the object of this verb. These compounds have in common that they lack a head semantically speaking. On the other hand, they can be regarded as *pars pro toto* forms denoting animate referents (*maka* 'thorn' refers to the quills of the porcupine; *an* or *anu* 'hand' denotes the anteater's paw). Therefore I assume that Early Sranan has no morphological category of exocentric compounds.[78]

According to Braun & Plag (2003), complex words such as *kakkawatra* literally shit-fluid 'diarrhea' can be regarded as exocentric compounds. However, complex words such as *kakkawatra* can alternatively be analyzed as a right-headed endocentric compounds of the type $[N - \underline{N}]_N$ or $[A - \underline{N}]_N$. *Watra* is clearly the head of the construction and *kakka* can be interpreted as it is modifier, *kakka* is a multifuntional item that can be used as a noun meaning 'dung, muck' ($[N - \underline{N}]_N$), an adjective meaning 'shitty' ($[A - \underline{N}]_N$) or a verb meaning 'to shit'.[79]

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[77] Under relexification as outlined by Lefebvre (1998), the word order in Haitian compounds is explained as the result of the word order in Haitian syntactic phrases, which, in turn, follows the order in French syntactic phrases (French is the lexifier of Haitian Creole). Thus, Haitian and French compounds have the position of the head in common, since it is determined by the position of the syntactic head in phrases (Lefebvre 1998: 342).

[78] See Booy (1992) for a similar argumentation with regard to the existence of exocentric compounds in Dutch.

[79] What is more, *kakkawatra* may not be a compound at all, but a nominalized phrasal verb instead, as *kakka watra* means 'to suffer from diarrhea', see (3):

(3) *a de kákka watra* (Sch1783: 77)
3P ASP shit fluid
['er hat den Durchfall']
'He has diarrhea.'

Dvanda or appositional compounds. Dvanda or appositional compounds are compounds that consist of two juxtaposed elements of the same kind in a coordination relation as a result of each element has an equal claim to be considered the head of the compound (Spencer 1991). Unambiguous examples of appositional compounds are not found in the sources (Van den Berg 2003), but note that if *kakkawatra* 'diarrhea' is interpreted as $[N - N]_N$ instead of $[A\text{-}N]_N$ or $[V\text{-}N]_N$, it can be regarded as an appositional compound.

Synthetic compounds. No instances of synthetic compounds are documented in the Early Sranan sources (Van den Berg 2003). Synthetic compounds do occur in contemporary Sranan (25), but they are not formed as productively and as frequently as in, for example, Saramaccan (Smith & Veenstra 1998).[80]

(24) a. *figi-strati-man*
sweep street-AFF
'street sweeper'

b. *meki-kuku-man* (Adamson, p.c.)
make cake-AFF
'baker of bread, cake and pastries'

Synthetic compounds are not discussed in any of the sources on Eastern Maroon that I consulted, so I assume that the formation of synthetic compounds is not a productive process in Eastern Maroon Creole either. The differences in this type of word formation in Saramaccan on the one hand, and Eastern Maroon Creole and Sranan on the other need to be investigated in more detail before any realistic claims can be made regarding the origins of synthetic compounds in the Suriname Creoles.

3.3 Reduplication

In this section only the outcomes of morphological reduplicative processes in the sources of Early Sranan are discussed. Thus, forms including *soso* 'thus; empty; naked; without cause' (discussed in section 2.5.5.3), *sosoe* 'shoes' (Van Dyk c1765: 13), *wieriwierri* (CR 1745), *tom tom* 'dumpling made from bananas' (CR 1753), certain names for animals (see table 3.6 below) and various other non-morphological phenomena are excluded.

[80] This preliminary conclusion is based on my research on word formation processes among elderly people in Paramaribo and Para, Suriname, in 2003 (Van den Berg in prep.).

Table 3.6 *Iteration: Animal names in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

	MOD. SR	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
		1707-1767	1718	1762	c1765	1770	1783	1798	
		CR	HL	SPT	VD	N	SCH	WEY	
agouti	*konkoni*	*coene coene*	-	-	*koni koni*	-	*koni-koni; kunni-kunni*	*konie-konie*	*konkoni*
cat	*puspusi*	-	-	-	*poesi poesi*	-	*busbus; busibusi*	*poesie-poesie*	*pusi; puspusi*
fish	*? kwikwi*	-	-	-	-	-	*kúmma-kúmma kwikwì*	*quiqui*	*? kwikwi*
shrimp	*sarasara*	-	-	-	-	-	*sirrisirra*	*sara-sarra*	*saasaa*
squirl	*bonboni*	-	-	-	-	-	-	*bonnie bonnie*	*?*
mouse	*moismoisi*	-	-	-	-	-	-	*muisie-muisie*	*moisimoisi*
ram	*bokoboko*	-	-	-	-	-	-	*boko-boko*	*bokoboko*
bedbug	*doisri*	-	-	-	-	-	*fiofio*	*fiofio*	*?*
coati	*kwaskwasi*	-	-	-	-	-	*kwassi-kwassi*	*kwassie-kwasie*	*kwasikwasi*
small monkey	*keskesi*	-	-	-	*kesi kesi*	-	*keeskees*	*keesie-keesie*	*kesikesi*
nightingale	*?*	-	-	-	-	-	-	*tjotjo*	*?*

Reduplication can be divided into iconic reduplication and non-iconic reduplication, differing in formal and semantic predictability and productivity (Kouwenberg & LaCharité 2003). Iconic reduplication can be characterized by the "more of the same" principle: "more of the same stands for more of the same content" (Kouwenberg & LaCharité 2003: 8). Non-iconic reduplication is less predictable and less productive. Examples of iconic and non-iconic reduplication in the sources of Early Sranan are discussed in the following sections.

Most cases of iconic and non-iconic reduplication appear in their full form in the earlier sources, suggesting that reduction is a later development (Smith 1990, Adamson & Smith 2003). There are a few exceptions. The following reduced instrument nouns occur alongside their unabbreviated equivalents in Early Sranan: *sisibi* < *sibisibi* sweep-REDUP 'broom' (Schumann's dictionary), *tetei* or *tetey* 'rope; cord' (Schumann's dictionary; Weygandt's manual) and *nanaay* 'needle' (Weygandt's manual). The full form of *tetey* is found in Van Dyk's (c1765) manual (*ty ty* < *t(e)y* 'tie'), the full form of *nanaay* is encountered in Schumann's (1783) dictionary (*nainai* < *nai* 'seam').

Schumann (1783) often adds diacritical markers to reduplicated forms, whereas the simplex forms are not marked. The markers indicate the accentual pattern of the reduplication, so he states explicitly in his discussion of the manner adverb *soso*:

"Wenn das SOSO reicht nachdrucklich sege soll, so wird es doppelt gesezt, u. sehr geschwind zusammen ausgesprochen; da dann der Accent auf der ersten u. lezten Silbe liegt: *sósososò*, OD. *sósosò*." ["When *soso* needs to be heavily emphasized, then it will be reduplicated and pronounced very quickly, while the stress will placed on the first and the last syllable: *sósososò*, or *sósosò*."] (Schumann 1783: 164). The phonology of reduplicated forms in the sources of Early Sranan is not investigated in this section, but in the light of the current debate on the role of stress and pitch in non-morphological word repetition and morphological reduplication it may be interesting to investigate the diacritical markers on reduplicated forms in Schumann's work in detail.

3.3.1 Iconic reduplication

Generally, iconic reduplication of nouns expresses plurality; iconic reduplication of verbs expresses repetition or continuation of the event or state described by the verb, and iconic reduplication of modifiers including adjectives and adverbs has an intensifying function. Note that iconic reduplication primarily changes the meaning; it is not a word category changing operation.

Iconic reduplication of nouns. Nouns can be reduplicated to express plurality in terms of quantity or in terms of distribution. The former refers to a single set of multiple occurrences; the plurals describe states. The latter refers to several individual occurrences; the plurals result from actions. Reduplicated nouns expressing quantity are rare. In fact, the examples in (25) are the only ones I have found in all sources of Early Sranan.

(25) a. *dasanni habi horro-horro* (Sch 1783: 67)
the-object has hole.REDUP
['das ist ganz durchlöchert.']
'That has MANY holes'.

b. *dan mie dé go loekoe na ienie den Coffi piesie piesie* (Wey 1798: 141)
then 1S ASP go look LOC inside the.PL coffie piece.REDUP
['van daar ging ik zo wat snuffelen in de Coffystukken']
'I then go look on the coffee grounds.'

c. *dan mie dé soetoe na seysei, Boesieduyvie, Leguana ofoe Kauwrie na boon*
then 1S ASP shoot LOC side.REDUP bushpidgeon iguana or bird LOC tree
['dan zo schoot ik aan de kanten wilde Duiven, Leguaanen of Kauwriers van de boomen'] (Wey 1798: 139)
'Then I shoot on the sides (of the forest) bushpidgeons, iguanas or jackdaw out of the tree.'

Note that plurality of the forms *horro* 'hole; opening', *piesie* 'piece; part; bit' and *sey* 'side' is usually expressed by means of, for example, the plural determiner *dem*; reduplication is certainly not the default for expressing plurality. Therefore, the

constructions in (25) can be considered marked, highlighting the fact that there are multiple occurrences. Schumann's translation of (25a) provides support for this analysis; it reads 'that is totally perforated'.

Instances of reduplicated nouns denoting several individual occurrences (i.e. distributive plural) occur more frequently, but they are attested exclusively in Schumann's (1783) dictionary.

(26) a. *dem ben tai datti na* <u>*bussu bussu*</u> (Sch 1783: 26)
3P PST bind that LOC bushel.REDUP
['sie binden das in Bündel, bündelweise zusammen.']
'They tied that together in bushels.'

b. *mi sa pai ju na* <u>*juru juru*</u> (Sch 1783: 76)
1S FUT pay 2S LOC hour.REDUP
['ich will dich "Stunden"weise (nicht "Tag"weise) bezahlen.']
'I will pay you by the hour.'

c. *mi go platti une na* <u>*lo lo*</u> (Sch 1783: 102)
1S go spead 2P LOC row.REDUP
['ich will euch in verschiedene Classen abtheilen.']
'I will divide you into several rows.'

d. *kotti da meti na* <u>*pisipisi*</u> (Sch 1783: 88)
cut the meat LOC piece-REDUP
['zerschneide das Fleisch in lauter kleine Stücke.']
'Cut the meat into pieces.'

e. *trueh da sandi na* <u>*hipihipi*</u> (Sch 1783: 66)
throw.away the thing LOC heap-REDUP
'Remove that pile after pile.'

Iconic reduplication of verbs. Outcomes of this type of process are found in Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) language manual. Iconic reduplication of verbs signals that the event described by the verb takes place repeatedly, as in (27a), or habitually, as in (27b) and (27c).

(27) a. *da boto de* <u>*shekisheki*</u> (Sch 1783: 153)
the boat ASP shake.REDUP
['das Boot schwanckt, wackelt sehr hin u. her.']
'The boat is shaking.'

b. *a de <u>wakkawakka</u>, no morro* (Sch 1783: 193)
3S ASP walk.REDUP NEG more
['er thut nichts als beständig herumlaufen']
'He is walking to and from, nothing else.'

c. *A no dee doe notie leeke <u>takietakie</u>* (Wey 1783: 82)
3S NEG ASP do nothing like talk.REDUP
['Zy doet niets dan snappen']
'She is doing nothing besides talking continuously.'

Iconic reduplication of property items and adjectives. Reduplicated property items and adjectives are encountered in Van Dyk's (c1765) manual, Nepveu's (1770) text, Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual. The reduplicated form expresses emphasis: the quality denoted by the property item or the adjective is intensified. Note that they are found mainly in the predicator position (28a,b,c), or in a modifier position to the verb (28d, and perhaps 28a-c, see section 2.4); in the attributive adjective position they are not encountered except for Schumann's (1783) dictionary (28e).

(28) a. *kaba jo go ronboute da pranasie joe loeke alle zanti <u>krien krien</u>* (VD c1765: 96)
and 2S go go.around the plantation 2S look all thing clean.REDUP
['en booven dien gaat uwe de Plantagie rond Kuijeren om alles te bekyken in de Grond.']
'(...) and when you explore the plantation, you will see that everything is very clean.'

b. *a de <u>nju-nju</u> jette* (Sch 1783: 123)
3S ASP/COP new.REDUP yet
'He is really tiny/young/new indeed.'

c. (...) *foe sie ofoe alla sanie dé <u>boenboen</u>, lekie fa a moesoe dee* (Wey 1798: 134)
to see if all thing ASP/COP good.REDUP like how 3S must COP
['naziende of alles behoorlyk word behandeld en opgepast.']
'(...) to see if everything is well, like how it is supposed to be.'

d. (...) *en dan mie dé kuyrie <u>safrie sa frie</u> go na d'jarrie* (Wey 1798: 134)
and then 1S ASP stroll softly.REDUP go LOC garden
['wandelde ik al zoetjes naar de thuin']
'(...) and then I stroll very quietly to the garden.'

e. *wan <u>hessihessi</u> lobbi no bun, a no holi langa* (Sch 1783: 66)
a quick.REDUP love NEG good 3S NEG hold long
['schnelle Liebe taugt nicht, u. hält nicht Stich.']
'Fast love is no good, it will not last.'

Iconic reduplication of intensifiers. The intensifiers *kwetti* and *srefi* (see section 2.5.4) can be reduplicated; the reduplicated forms signal emphasis. Variants of *kwettikwetti* underline the truth of the proposition, while *srefisrefi* adds emphasis to the antecedent.

(29) a. (...) *a za poli hem kwetti kwetti* (VD c1765: 105)
3S FUT spoil 3S.OBJ INT.REDUP
['(...) had hy de Plantagie in de grond bedorven.']
'(...) he would have spoiled it tremendously.'

b. (…) *da muffe wi no habi kwetikweti, da Djutongo* (Sch 1783: 45)
the word 1P NEG have INT.REDUP COP Jew-language
'(…) That word we really don't have; it's *Djutongo*.'

c. *Gado srefisrefi ben komm somma* (Sch1783: 166)
God INTS.REDUP PST become person
'God himself incarnated.'

Iconic reduplication of adverbs. The manner adverb *morro* 'more' (discussed in section 2.5.5) can be reduplicated. *Morromorro* expresses a steady increase of the extent to which the proposition described by the verb holds.

(30) *mi ben njusu datti morromorro* (Sch 1783: 115)
1S PST tend that more.REDUP
'I became more and more accustomed to that.'

3.3.2 Non-iconic reduplication

Instances of non-iconic reduplication cannot be explained in terms of Kouwenberg & LaCharite's "more of the same" principle presented above; they are less predictable than outcomes of iconic reduplication. Non-iconic reduplication forms result nouns, instrument nouns, abstract nouns and adjectives attributing resulting states or activities described by the verb or property item as characteristic properties (Kouwenberg & LaCharité 2003), plus verbs conveying diminutive, diminutive-pejorative, imperfective and augmentative senses (Adamson & Smith 2003). Non-iconic reduplication can bring about a semantic change as well as a change in word category of the item reduplicated, generally a verb or a property item in the sources of Early Sranan. The following examples illustrate nominal and adjectival instances of non-iconic reduplication of verbs and property items; examples of nominal non-iconic reduplication of nouns and verbal non-iconic reduplication of verbs conveying the senses listed by Adamson & Smith (2003) are not found in the sources of Early Sranan.

Non-iconic reduplication: result nouns, abstract nouns and instrument nouns from verbs. Nominal examples of non-iconic reduplication are attested in all the sources, except for Herlein's (1718) text. Most examples are abstract nouns and instrument nouns; result

nouns are found exclusively in Schumann's (1783) dictionary, see for example (31). Instrument nouns and abstract nouns are exemplified under (32) and (33) respectively.

(31) *pulu da hudu-<u>sakkasakka</u>* (Sch 1783: 148)
remove the wood-remain.REDUP
['räum die Holzspäne weg']
'Remove the wooden shavings.'

(32) Reduplicated instrument nouns

tgerre tgerre	< *tjari* 'carry'		'head-wear'	(CR 1761)[81]
Zibi Zibi	< *sibi* 'sweep'	['Beuzem']	'broom'	(VD c1765: 14)
sibisibi, sisibi	< *sibi* 'sweep'	['ein Besen']	'broom'	(Sch 1783: 155)
Siebiesiebie	< *sibi* 'sweep'	['een Bezem']	'broom'	(Wey 1798: 25)
krabbokrabbo	< *krabbo* 'scratch'	['das Rechen']	'rake'	(Sch 1783: 90)
ty ty	< *t(e)y* 'tie'	['Touw']	'rope, cord'	(VD c1765: 54)
tetei	< *tai* 'tie'	['Garn']	'rope, cord'	(Sch 1783: 50)
tetey	< *tey* 'tie'	['t Touwwerk']	'rope, cord'	(Wey 1798: 35)
kamkamm	< *kam* 'comb'	[' ein Kamm']	'comb'	(Sch 1783: 79)
Kankan	< *kam* 'comb'	['een Kam']	'comb'	(Wey 1798: 21)
nainai	< *nai* 'seam'	['Nehnadel']	'needle'	(Sch 1783: 120)
nanaay	< *naay* 'seam'	['naald']	'needle'	(Wey 1798: 47)
waiwai	< *wai* 'blow'	['ein Wedel']	'fan; bellows'	(Sch 1783: 193)
waway	< *waai* 'blow'	['Waayer']	'fan; bellows'	(Wey 1798: 22)

(33) Reduplicated abstract nouns

kraskras			'yaws'	(CR 1742)
krassikrassi	< *krassi* 'scratch'	['Ausschlag']	'yaws'	(Sch 1783: 90)
teij teij	< *tai* 'tie'		'power'	(SPT 1762: art. 6)[82]
fom fom	< *fom* 'strike'		'punishment'	(VD c1765: 65)
fomfom	< *fom* 'strike'	['slaagen']	'punishment'	(N 1770: 280)
fumfumm	< *fumm* strike'	[' Schläge']	'punishment'	(Sch 1783: 47)
fomfom	< *fom* 'strike'	['straf']	'punishment'	(Wey 1798: 137)
jam jam	< *jam* 'eat'	['Eeten']	'food'	(VD c1765: 66)
jamjam; janjam	< *jam* 'eat'	['Speise']	'food'	(Sch 1783: 77)
njam njam	< *n'jam, njam* 'eat'	['eeten']	'food'	(Wey 1798: 93)
balibali	< *bali* 'scream'	['geraas']	'tumult'	(VD c1765: 68)
baribari	< *bali, bali* 'scream'	['Geschrey, Lerm']	'tumult'	(Sch 1783: 12)
baliebalie	< *balie* 'scream	['geraas']	'tumult'	(Wey 1798: 84)

[81] *Tgerre tgerre* is translated as follows: 'is een in malkander gerold stof van blaade dat op t rond van 't hoofd sluijten kan om zwaarte op te draagen' ['is a rolled-up piece of fabric of leaves that fits the skull to carry objects on the head'] (CR1761).

[82] This example is found in the following construction:
(4) (…) *bicasie à habie bigie teij teij*(...) (SPT 1762: art.6)
because he have big tie.REDUP
'(...) because he has a powerful charm (...).' (meaning: 'he is very powerful.')

Note that the sources include some instrument nouns and abstract nouns that appear reduplicated (34), while in fact they are not, since no corresponding simplex form is found. They are most likely formed on analogy with existing forms or due to homonymy avoidance.

(34) a. *Zey Zey fo Kandelen* a'. *sesei* a". *sesey*
shears for candle shears shears
['Snuyter.'] ['ein Scheere.'] ['schaar']
(VD c1765: 14) (Sch 1783: 152) (Wey 1798: 47)
'a pair of snuffers.'

b. *Mati mati* (VD c1765: 14) .
mat
['Een Mat']
'a mat'

c. *osì-osìh* (Sch 1783: 128)
['eine sehr schmerzhafte Art Ausschlag mit Schwären über den ganzen Leib. Sonst auch *sakka krassikrassi* genannt.']
'Scabies.' ('a very painful sort of rash with sores all over the body. Also named *sakka krassikrassi*.')

Non-iconic reduplication: adjectives from verbs. Schumann's dictionary has a few examples in which the verb is reduplicated forming an adjective that attributes a stative result (35).

(35) a. *mi no sabi da tongo reti, mi de takki brokkobrokkosanni, no morro*
1S NEG know the language right 1S ASP talk break-REDUP-object NEG more
['ich kann die Sprache nicht recht, ich rede sie nur gebrochen.']
(Sch 1783: 22)
'I do not know the language well, I speak it in bits and pieces, nothing more.'

b. *da wan sakkasakkasanni* (Sch 1783: 148)
BE a remain.REDUP-object
['das ist was leichtes, nicht schwer zu tragen']
'That's a weightless object.'

Table 3.7 *Reduplicative processes in Modern Sranan, Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

	MOD. SR	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
		1707-1767	1718	1762	c1765	1770	1783	1798	
		CR	HL	SPT	VD	N	SCH	WEY	
ICONIC									
nouns	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
verbs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
property items adjectives	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
intensifiers	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
adverbs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
NON-ICONIC			-						
abstract nouns	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
result nouns	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
instrument nouns	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
verbs	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
adjectives	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+

3.3.3 Reduplication in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

Table 3.7 above shows that instances of both iconic and non-iconic reduplication are encountered in several sources of Early Sranan. The examples from Schumann's (1783) dictionary stand out in terms of number and variability: this source has more examples of both iconic and non-iconic reduplication, illustrating reduplicative processes that are not found in the other sources of Early Sranan, but that are encountered in Eastern Maroon Creole and contemporary Sranan, namely iconic reduplication of verbs and adverbs and non-iconic reduplication of verbs forming adjectives that attribute stative result. Since all reduplicative processes found in the sources of Early Sranan have equivalents in Eastern Maroon Creole (Huttar & Huttar 1994, 1997; Migge 2003), I assume that they must have been present in the varieties of Early Sranan spoken in the late 17th and early 18th century.

The differences between the reduplicative processes in Schumann's work versus Van Dyk's (c1765) language guide and Weygandt's (1798) manual in particular may be accounted for in terms of nativization: Miller (2003) found that reduplication is less grammaticalized among speakers for whom Juba Arabic is a second language than among native speakers of Juba Arabic. Reduplication is more productive and more systematic in the variety spoken by the latter; "[i]n particular among L2 speakers, it appears that it is best considered a discourse strategy" (Miller 2003: 298). Recall that Schumann did not speak Early Sranan natively, but his main informant, who is quoted thoughout the dictionary, most likely did, whereas Van Dyk, the brothers Nepveu and Weygandt are non-native speakers of Early Sranan (see chapter 1). Furthermore, most instances of instrument nouns and abstract nouns found in Van Dyk (c1765), Nepveu (1770) and Weygandt (1798) are common words such as *tetei* 'rope; cord', *fomfom* 'beating; punishment' and (*n*)*jam*(*n*)*jam* 'food'. Thus, it is difficult to determine whether these authors realized that they were dealing with outcomes of morphological

processes rather than non-morphological lexicalized expressions. On the other hand, the iconic reduplication of property items, adjectives, intensifiers and adverbs can be shown to be a productive word formation device in these sources.

More importantly, Migge (2003) reveals a number of close similarities in the processes of stative reduplication in the contemporary Suriname Creoles and the Gbe languages, suggesting that the origins of Suriname Creole stative reduplication can be regard as a case of retention from the Gbe languages. One of the reduplicative processes she investigates is the reduplication of verbs to function as attributive modifiers with a resultative state interpretation, which is a common process in the Gbe languages. It is therefore not surprising to find examples of reduplicated verbs functioning as attributive modifiers with a resultative state interpretation in Schumann's (1783) dictionary, as in (36) above. In particular the *ningretongo* variety represented in this source is assumed to exhibit substrate influence.

4 The predicate[83]

4.0 Introduction

This chapter is a follow-up on section 3.3 in which some characteristics of Early Sranan verbs were discussed, including types of verb constructions and types of argument structure. A brief (and by no means complete) overview of the expression of the categories of Tense, Mood and Aspect in the sources of Early Sranan is presented in section 4.1. In section 4.2 the Early Sranan argument structure is revisited, this time from the perspective of the grammatical or syntactic valency of the verb. Syntactic valency refers to the number of arguments present in a clause. The arguments can relate to the participants on stage playing out the scene or event expressed by the verb (semantic valency), but the number of arguments may not match the number of participants. The terminology is derived from Payne (1997).
Note that serial verb constructions and verbs selecting sentential complements are discussed in section 6.3 and section 6.2.1.2 respectively.

4.1 Tense, Mood and Aspect

The aim of this section is to give a brief (and by no means complete) overview of the expression of the categories of Tense, Mood and Aspect in the sources. These categories are expressed by pre-verbal markers, that usually occur in a fixed order Tense – Mood – Aspect (TMA). In addition, auxiliaries and adverbs convey various temporal, aspectual and modal meanings. The analysis of the TMA system in the Early Sranan sources is largely based on Winford's (2000a, 2000b) revised analysis of Tense, Mood and Aspect in contemporary Sranan, which is modeled upon Dahl (1985) and Bybee et al. (1994).

Early Sranan Tense consists of the core categories Relative Past and Relative Future, which are expressed by *ben* and *sa*, respectively. Early Sranan Aspect includes Imperfective (*dè*), Completive Perfect (*kaba*) and Perfective, which is not marked. The modal categoires of the Early Sranan modality system are expressed by auxiliary verbs such as *mu/musu* 'must', *kan* 'can; be able' and *wan/wanni* 'want'. Following Winford (2000) and Dahl (1985), the basic assumption is that TMA markers have several 'meanings' and display several uses. One (or more) of these meanings and uses is considered 'basic' with regard to other 'secondary' meanings and 'primary' or 'prototypical' in relation to other 'peripheral uses'.

In the following subsections the TMA markers in the early sources are discussed. However, not every verb is marked visibly for Tense, Mood and Aspect: by

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default, stative verbs such as *lobbi* 'like' have no overt marker to express present time reference, and non-statives such as *pulu* 'remove' are not preceded by a marker expressing past time reference, as long as the point of reference is the speech time, as in contemporary Sranan (Winford 2000). Examples are presented below:

(1) *a lobbi va trobbi somma* (Sch 1783: 160)
3S like to trouble person
['er plagt einen gar zu gern.']
'He likes to give someone a hard time.'

(2) *dem pulu hem na Gemeente* (Sch 1783: 142)
3P remove 3S LOC congregation
['er ist aus der Gemeine ausgethan, ausgeschlossen.']
'They removed him from the congregation.'

Winford (2000) and Huttar & Huttar (1994) point out that the meaning of the unmarked verb depends on the discourse context in contemporary Sranan and Ndyuka, respectively. For example, unmarked statives can have past time reference once the reference point established by the discourse context is not speech time, but past. Similar examples of unmarked statives denoting past time reference are also encountered in some of the Early Sranan sources, such as *habi* 'have' in (3).

(3) *zensi a de na pranasi a habi morre likki drie ten tien homan kaba zo*
since 3S BE LOC plantation 3S have more like thirty woman and so

menni nuw winti na tappe (VD c1765: 65)
many new girl LOC top
['Zoo lang hy op de Plantagie geweest is, heeft hy al meer als Dertig Vrouwen gehad, buiten de Jonge Meiden.']
'Since he is on the plantation, he has had more than thirty woman and so many girls.'

Furthermore, unmarked non-statives can also express present time reference. All sources have examples of unmarked non-statives with present tense reference, as in (4).

(4) *Joe wakke hessi te moesi. Mino kan wakke zo hoe zan joe memere*
2S walk hastily too.much 1S-NEG can walk so Q thing 2S think
['Uwe loopt hard. Ik kan zo niet loopen, wat denk je wel.'] (VD c1765: 44)
'You walk too hastily. I cannot walk like that, what are you thinking!'

Schumann (1783: 27) states that, although the default use of an unmarked (non-stative) verb such as *komm* 'come; become' is to express past reference, the unmarked verb can have present time reference, but then it is indetermined: "*mi komm* kann wol auch heissen: ich komme; aber es ist unbestimmt, denn es heisst auch, u. zwar am

gewöhnlichsten: ich kam" ['*mi komm* can also mean: I come; but it is indefinite, because it usually means: I came'].

Secondary uses of the unmarked verb include the expression of a sense of perfect such as denoted by unmarked *zi* 'see' in (5a). Note that unmarked *zi* in (5a) is replaced with a equivalent that is marked for tense by Weygandt (1798), see (5b). I assume that this change is stylistically motivated, see 7.1.2.

(5) a. [A] *Joe zaba da Mastra*
2S know the gentleman
['Kend uwe die Heer.']
'Do you know that gentleman?'

[B] *Mi zi hem wan plessi. Mino zabi hoe plessi*
1S see 3S a place 1S-NEG know Q place
['Ik heb hem ergens gezien. Ik weet niet waar ik hem heb gezien.']
'I have seen him somewhere. I don't know where.'

[A] *Joe ben zi hem na da man disi zire boeki.*
2S PST see 3S LOC the man REL sell book
['Gy hebt hem by myn Boekverkooper gezien.']
'You have seen him at the bookseller's.'

[B] *Joe habe retti da ply mi zi hem. Da wan bon zomma* (VD c1765: 31)
2S have right that place 1S see 3S BE a good person
['Gy hebt gelyk, daar heb ik hem gezien. Hy is een goed Man.']
'You are right, that is where I have seen him. He is a good person.'

b. *Mie ben sie em na wan plesie* (Wey 1798: 97)
1S PST see 3S.OBJ LOC a place
['Ik heb hem ergens gezien']
'I have seen him somewhere.'

Another secondary use of the unmarked verb is the expression of future possibility in the protasis of conditionals, which is conveyed by *kissi* 'catch; get' in (6).

(6) *effi koure kissi datti, a go pori* (Sch 1783: 142)
if cold catch that 3S go perish
['wenn dieses feucht (od. nass) wird, so wird es verderben.']
'If the cold gets to it, it will perish.'

Furthermore, the unmarked verb can be used in narratives to convey the main events of the narrative once the reference point is established. The sentence-inital adverbial *trade* 'day before yesterday; the other day' situates the events in the past, the unmarked verbs *gi* 'give', *fom* 'strike', *tjari* 'carry', *wan* 'want', *bron* 'burn', *potti* 'put', *kommotte* 'come

out', and *go* 'go' reinforce that all the narrated events took place at the time established.

(7) *tra de* *a* *gi* *mi merki fo kotti vyfi ten tien pallecade befo* *vyfi uri* *fom*
other day 3S give 1S mark to cut fifty stake before five hour strike

mitjari fo ten tien na *hosse mi wan* *trom bakke fo tikki disi libi abere hatti*
1S-carry forty LOC house 1S want turn back to take this leave over heart

bron fo hem a *potti mi na* *ty ty mi kommotte na* *ty ty mi go tikki*
burn of 3S 3S put 1S LOC rope1S come.out LOC rope 1S go take

den pallecade *befo* *zon dom* *da retti mastra* (VD c1765: 89)
the.PL stake before sundown FOC right master
['Eergisteren gaf hy myn een Merk om vyftig Pallessaden te kappen en om vyf Uuren had ik 'er al veertig t'Huis, waar over dat hy zoo kwaad wierd dat hy my aan een Touw liet binden en braaf af klopten, doe ging ik nog na hetBos en haalden de overige eêr de Zon nog onder was, is dat nou regt, Meester?']
'The day before yesterday he gave me a task to cut fifty stakes before the clock struck five. I carried forty to the house, I wanted to turn back to get the ones that were left. He went mad, he tied me up. When I was released from the rope, I went and took the stakes before sundown. Now is that right, master.'

4.1.1 Tense

Sranan has a relative tense system in which the tense locus may be either the moment of utterance or some other reference point. Future and past temporal meanings may also be conveyed by other means, such as the use of temporal adverbs or time adverb clauses. The marking of future and (relative) past tense in the sources of Early Sranan will be discussed below. Present time reference is not expressed by a present tense marker; instead a marker is used that is primarily aspectual in nature. This topic is therefore adressed in section 4.2.2.

Tense: future. Schumann (1783: 146) presents *sa* as the marker of 'later time reference' in his dictionary, noting that it cannot be used to describe the process of emergence: "sa, werden, (nota futuri, d.i. um etwas anzuzeigen, das zukünftig ist; nicht: werden oder entstehen.) it. sollen." ['*sa*, will (future tense, i.e. to point something out that is in the future, not: become, or develop.), also: shall'].[84] Indeed, in all sources 'later time reference' is expressed by (variants of) the pre-verbal marker *sa* (< English *shall* or Dutch *zal*) and/or by a temporal adverb or adverbial phrase or time adverb clause denoting later time reference, as in (8a-c). If a temporal adverb or a time adverb clause is used, then the future marker need not be present. Compare (8b-c) with (9a-b).

[84] The auxiliary *kom* 'to come; to become' is used to describe emergence processes, see section 4.1.4.

(8) a. *Mi da hietie joe* (CR 1745)
1S FUT hit 2S
'I will hit you.'

b. *teh ju sa oure, ju skin sa hebbi tu* (Sch 1783: 128)
when 2S FUT old 2S body FUT heavy too
['wenn du alt werden wirst, wirst du auch unbehülflich seyn.']
'When you are old, your body will also be burdensome.'

c. *Tamare manmantem na tien uri mi za kom na joe* (VD c1765: 40)
tomorrow morning LOC ten hour 1S FUT come LOC 2S
['Morgen Ogtend te tien Uuren zal ik by u koomen']
'Tomorrow morning at ten o' clock I will visit you.'

d. *da tem dem com na fotto dem sa moessoe go rettie na granman* (SPT 1762: art 9)
when 3P come LOC fort 3P FUT must go right LOC chief
['welk sij ten eersten en direct bij den Heer Gouverneur sullen addresseeren']
'When they come to Paramaribo, they will have to go straight to the governor.'

(9) a. *tamare zon kommote joe wikki mi* (VD c1765: 72)
tomorrow sun come.out 2S wake 1S
['als de Zon opkomt dan moet je myn roepen']
'Tomorrow at sunrise you will wake me up.'

b. *joe moe kom na mi kamere da tem mi go slibi* (VD c1765: 68)
2S must come LOC 1S room when 1S go sleep
['jy moet in myn Kaamer koomen als ik gaâ Slaapen.']
'You must come to my room when I am going to sleep.'

One of Nepveu's corrections of Herlein's text concerns the expression of future time reference. *Sa* is not found in Herlein's text whereas it occurs in the corresponding sentence in Nepveu's text, even though the temporal adverbial phrase *na agter dina tem* 'after dinner time' already indicates later time reference. Nepveu's correction could be taken as an indication that the expression of later time reference became less dependent on context in the later 18th century. Alternatively, it may be indicative of a more formal register. Example (10) presents the dialogue as encountered in Herlein's (1718) text, example (11) shows Nepveu's version of the dialogue.

(10) [A] *Mie Misisi take jou oudy. Akesi of joe tan an house? à Wilkom*
1S lady say 2S hello 3S-ask if 2S stay LOC house 3S want-come

loeke joe <u>na agter dina tem</u> (HL 1718: 122)
see 2S LOC after dinner time
['Mijn vrouw laat je goedendag zeggen. En vraagt of je t'Huis zult blijven? Ze wilje t'agtermiddag komen bezoeken']
'My lady greets you. She asks if you will be at home? She wants to come visit you after dinner time.'

[B] *No mie ben benakese ta entre ples a reddi wen. As hem ples hem kom te maare.*
NEG 1S PST send-ask SAY other please again ? if 3S please 3S come tomorrow
['Neen ik heb al by een ander late vragen of 't haar beliefde dat ik zou komen. Als 't haar belieft zo kan ze morgen komen.'] (HL 1718: 122)
'No, I have send already to ask someone else if it would please her. If she likes, she can come tomorrow.'

(11) [2e Reegel men zegt] *ahakisi effi missie <u>sa</u> tan na Hosso* (N 1770: 274)
second line one say 3S-ask if lady FUT stay LOC house
'second line, one says: "She asks if the lady will be at home".'

Even though a variant of *sa* is not encountered in Herlein's text, the item *wil* can be analyzed as a marker of later time reference in this text (Rens 1953; Voorhoeve & Lichtveld 1975; Arends 1995); see (12).

(12) a. *Oe tem wie wil gaeu na Riba?* (Hl 1718: 122)
Q time 1P want go LOC river
['Wanneer wille wy de Rivier op-varen?']
'When will we go up the river?' or: 'When do we want to go up the river?'

b. *à <u>Wil</u>kom loeke joe na agter dina tem* (HL 1718: 122)
3S want-come see 2S LOC after dinner time
['Ze wilje t'agtermiddag komen bezoeken']
'She will visit you after dinner time.' or: 'She wants to visit you after dinner.'

c. *Mie <u>wil</u> gaue na Watre-zy* (Hl 1718: 122)
1S want go loc water-side
['Ik wil na de Water-kant gaan.']
'I will go to the water-side.' or: 'I want to go to the waterside.'

However, a modal interpretation of *wil* in the examples in (12) above cannot be excluded, see 4.1.3. Thus, *wil* is either a marker of later time reference derived from the English future tense marker *will*, or it is a Dutch-derived modal auxiliary originating in the Dutch modal auxiliary *willen* 'to want'. The translation suggests the

latter, but Herlein may have been prompted by the formal resemblance between Sranan *wil* and Dutch *willen.*

Besides later time reference, *sa* is also used to describe hypothetical events as in (13a) and situations where the speaker has little commitment to the likelyhood of the future event such as in (13b).

(13) a. *No wan fassie dem sa kan teekie foe hollie wan nengre foe bakara diessie dem sa kissie*
NEG one way 3P FUT can take to hold a black of white REL 3P FUT catch

effie diesie sa ronnowe com na dem (SPT 1762: art. 5)
or REL FUT run.away COME LOC 3P
['sonder eenige agterhoudinge, en voorts in 't vervolg alle slaaven die bij haar koomen off die sij koomen te vangen (...) afsenden']
'In no way will they be permitted to keep any Black belonging to the Whites, whom they will capture or who will run away to them in the future.'

b. *mie wisie mie daa na Tampatie, dan mis sa lerre Backaraman voeroe fom negre*
1S wish 1S there LOC T. then 1S FUT learn white-man to hit black
['ik wensschte dat ik in Tampatie was, dan soude ik Blanke leeren om neegers te kloppen en slaan'] (CR 1757)
'I wish I was there in Tempati, then I would have shown the whites to beat up blacks.'

In addition to the future tense marker *sa*, the verb *go* 'to go' (< English *go*) can also be used as an auxiliary verb expressing future time reference in the late 18th century, according to Schumann: "Auch wird *go* sehr häufig als nota futuri anstatt *sa* gebraucht" ['Very frequently *go* is also used to indicate future tense instead of *sa*'] (Schumann 1783: 50). His examples that illustrate future tense marking *go* convey in fact two senses of futurity, namely predictive future (14a-b) and immediate or prospective future (15a-b).

(14) a. *dem go killi mi* (Sch 1783: 50)
3P go kill 1S
['sie werden mich umbringen.']
'They are going to kill me.'

b. *mi go selli dasanni bakka* (Sch 1783: 50)
1S go sell that-thing again
['ich will das wieder verkaufen.']
'I am going to sell that again.'

(15) a. *mi de go jam* (Sch 1783: 50)
1S ASP go eat
['ich will eben jetzt essen.']
'I am going to eat.'

b. *mi de go gi ju tetei, va nai mi klossi* (Sch 1783: 50)
1S ASP go give 2S thread to seam 1S clothing
['ich will dir "gleich" Garn geben.']
'I am going to give you thread to seam my clothing.'

In the case of immediate or prospective future, *go* is preceded by the aspectual marker *de*. Note that the German words *jetzt* 'now' and *gleich* 'in a moment; soon' in the original translations of (15) have no counterpart in the corresponding Sranan sentence; they emphasize the imminent nature of the event that is about to take place. The sense of prospective future can also be conveyed by *sa* in combination with an adverb such as *jusnu* 'soon; in a moment' as in (16).

(16) *jusnu areen sa kotti* (Sch 1783: 7)
soon rain FUT cut
['(der Regen) wird gleich (aufhören)']
'The rain will stop soon.'

Examples of (*de*) *go* expressing predictive future and immediate or prospective future are also encountered in Weygandt's manual, see (17) and (18) respectively. Examples (17a) and (17b) come from the part of the play in which a plantation director is asked to describe his daily routine on the plantation. In this source, both predictive future and prospective future are expressed by *de go*, although the occurence of the aspectual marker in cases such as (17a-b) may be induced by the habitual nature of the events described by the examples. Note that *go* in (17b) can alternatively be interpreted as expressing movement.

(17) a. *te mie driengie coffi kaba dan mie dé go lesie ofoe scriefie, tee negie joeroe,*
when 1S drink coffy PST then 1S ASP go read or write until nine hour

dan mie de go didon (Wey 1798: 143)
then 1S ASP go lie.down
['na het Coffydrinken, leesde of schryfde ik 't eene en 't andere tot negen r ik my ter ruste begaf']
'When I have finished drinking coffee, I'll then read or write, until nine o' clock, then I'll take a nap.'

b. *Joe no de go hoekoe (vissie) sontem?* (Wey 1798: 141)
2S NEG ASP go angle fish sometimes
['Gaat men nu en dan ook niet somtyds hengelen?']
'Don't you go fishing sometimes?'

(18) a. *Joe dé go kiesie fiesietie na joe tidee sabathem?* (Wey 1798: 121)
2S ASP go get company LOC 2S today evening
['Krygt gy heden avond bezoek by u?']
'Are you receiving company at your place this evening?'

b. [A:] *Joe sabie joe lesie kaba?*
2S know 2S lesson already
[Kent gy uw les al.']
'Have you learned your lesson already?'

[B:] *Mie dé go lerie em* (Wey 1798: 95)
1S ASP go learn 3S.OBJ
['Ik gaa ze leeren.']
'I am going to learn it.'

Example (18b) is taken from the second dialogue between a son, Antonie, and his parents. Note that *go* is ambiguous in its meaning: in addition to prospective future, it can also express intention. Antonie may not be learning his lesson in the near future, but he intends to learn it. The item *go* has this (modal) overtone of intention when the speaker is the agent and the event described in his or her utterance in under his or her control. This secondary meaning (or use) of *go* probably motivates the substitution of *go* with *sa* in the following dialogue about a garden: *sa* is associated with overtones of uncertainty whereas *go* is not.

(19) [A] *Oe sama mekie den bedie dejaso?*
Q person make the.PL bed here
['Wie heeft die bedden omgespit?']
'Who made these (flower-)beds here?'

[B] *Mie doe datie piekienmiesie*
1S do that little lady
['Dat heb ik gedaan jonge Juffrouw.']
'I did that, little Miss.'

[A] *San joe dé go doe nanga den?*
Q 2S ASP go do with 3P
['Wat zult gy 'er meê doen?']
'What will you do with them?'

[B] *Mie no sabie jetté san mie sa saai na den tapoe* (Wey 1798: 117-118)
1S NEG know yet what 1S FUT sow LOC 3P top
['Ik weet noch niet recht wat ik 'er op zal zaayen.']
'I don't know yet what I will sow in the beds.'

Similar examples are also found in Schumann's dictionary, see (20). As *go* and *sa* express different degrees of commitment to the certainty of the event denoted, it is more likely that the referent's top (19a) will be broken than the referent's head (20b).

(20) a. *mi go brokko hem heddi, bikasi dem ourewan de morro tschattu* (Sch 1783: 135)
1S FUT break 3S head because 3P old-one ASP more small
['ich will ihm die Spitz abbrechen, denn die alten Bäume sind kleiner']
'I will break its top off, because the old ones (trees) are smaller.'

b. *mi sa brokko ju tranga heddi* (Sch 1783: 22)
1S FUT break 2S strong head
['ich will deinen Kopf mürbe machen']
'I will break your strong head.'

In the early and mid-18th century sources all senses of futurity are expressed by (variants of) *sa*; *go* is mainly used in the sense of movement. Example (21a) is a case of prospective future, it is part of a dialogue from Van Dyk's manual. The speaker is informed of the arrival of a visitor, who is waiting in the hall. He goes to the hall to see who it is. Example (21b) derives from the court records.

(21) a. *Mi za zie hoe zomma dati. Ki da joe* myn heer (VD c1765: 25)
1S FUT see Q person that EMP FOC 2S my lord (Dutch)
['Ik zal zien wie het is. Heer is uwe dat myn Heer.']
'I'll see who it is. Say, is that you, sir.'

b. *joe saa libe mistre worke, goo selle joe voule, joe noe sa go* (CR 1763)
2S FUT leave lay.bricks-work go sell 2S poultry 2S NEG FUT go
'You will leave your masonry, go and sell your poultry, you will not go.'

The subsequent examples illustrate that *go* usually is associated with actual movement by an agent in the mid-18th century: the first example (22a) is part of a dialogue in Van Dyk's manual, the speakers are exchanging information about a certain person who is going abroad. Example (22b) is taken from the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty.

(22) a. *Hoe zan à go doe* (VD c1765: 24)
Q-thing 3S go do
['Wat gaat zy doen.']
'What is she going to do?'

b. (...) *effoe bacara kom foe doe dem ogrie dem sa moessoe goo takie gie granman*
if white come to do 3P evil 3P FUT must go talk GIVE chief(...)
['offdat hun eenig quaad off molest word aangedaan sullen sij gehouden weesen hunne klagten te brengen bij den Heer Gouverneur']
(SPT 1762: art. 11)
'(...) if white men come to do them harm they will have to go (and) tell the governor (...)'

Only in those cases where *go* is followed by the verbs (*go*) *slibi* 'sleep', (*go) trouw* 'marry' and (*go*) *didde* 'be.dead; die' in Van Dyk's (c1765) *go* can be regarded as intermediate between a main verb expressing movement and an auxiliary verb expressing predictive or prospective future, see (23a-c).

(23) a. *mi go slibi* (VD c1765: 72)
1S go sleep
['ik gaâ Slaapen']
'I am going to sleep.'

b. *Misi riddi heden a de go trouw* (VD c1765: 32)
miss red head 3S ASP go marry
['Jufvrouw Rood-Kop gaat Trouwen.']
'It is Lady Redhead, who is going to marry.'

c. *Mi go didde* (VD c1765: 19)
1S go die/be.dead
['Ik sterf.']
'I am dying.'

Although *go* in these examples has a sense of future to it, this cannot be taken as evidence of the grammaticalization of future marking *go*. Later time or past time reference is expressed by (variants of) *sa* or *ben* preceding the combination *go trouw/dide*, as in (24). Without *sa* the construction has present time reference; compare (24a) with (23c) above.

(24) a. *mi za go dide* (VD c1765: 74)
1S FUT go be.dead/die
['ik zal Sterven']
'I shall die.'

b. *Den ben takki van noeffe zomma disi ben go trouw* (VD c1765: 36)
3P PST say of many person REL PST go marry
['Men sprak van verscheiden Huwelyken.']
'They spoke of many people who were getting married.'

Concluding, the use of *go* as an auxiliary verb expressing predictive or prospective future is restricted to the late 18th century: it occurs frequently in Schumann's work and Weygandt's language manual, whereas it does not occur in the early and mid-18th century sources. In addition, *sa* expressing predictive and prospective future may have been more common in (late 18th century) *bakratongo*, whereas the construction *de go* conveying these notions may have been associated with (late 18th century) *ningretongo*. Example (25a) is a *bakratongo* example from Schumann's (1783) dictionary illustrating the use of the verb *kalfe* 'collaps'; (25b) presents its *ningretongo* equivalent. Here, not only the main verb is different (Dutch derived vs. English derived), but also the future marker: *sa* is replaced with *de go*. Unfortunately, Schumann provides no translation of these sentences.

(25) a. *da gotro sa kalfe* (*bakratongo,* Sch 1783: 78)
the trench FUT collapse
'the trench will/is going to collapse.'

b. *da gotro de go brokko* (*ningretongo,* Sch 1783: 78)
the trench ASP FUT break
'the trench is going to collapse.'

Tense: relative past. Relative past is expressed by (variants of) *ben*. It prototypically locates a certain situation as occuring prior to the time reference point established in the discourse, that is the moment of speech or some reference point in the past. In the dialogue represented in (26) the reference point is the period of departure from France. Thus, *ben* indicates that the talking took place prior to the leaving.

(26) [A] *Hoe zan den ben takki da tem joe kommote na fransi konderi.*
Q thing 3P PST say when 2S come.out LOC france country
['Wat zei men te Parys op uw vertrek.']
'What did they say when you were leaving France?'

[B] *Den ben takki van noeffe zomma disi ben go trouw* (VD c1765: 36)
3P PST say of many person REL PST go marry
['Men sprak van verscheiden Huwelyken.']
'They spoke of many people who were getting married.'

Schumann refers to *ben* as an auxiliary verb (*verbum auxiliare*); that never occurs on its own; its function is to indicate that something has passed some time ago, or, when used in a subordinate clause, to indicate that the situation is hypothetical: "steht nie allein, sondern wird vor andere Worte (verba) gesezt, um etwas längst vergangenes anzuzeigen, wie das deutsche "hat" u. "ist". it. nota conjunctivi, hätte, würde, wäre; etwas ungewisses anzuzeigen." (Schumann 1783: 14). He gives several examples to illustrate the uses of *ben*, some of which are represented below: (27a) is an example of *ben* with a stative verb, (27b) shows a non-stative verb.

(27) a. *a* <u>*ben*</u> *de* (Sch 1783: 15)
3S PST be
['er war da; er ist da gewesen.']
'He was there; he has been there.'

b. *a* <u>*ben*</u> *go* (Sch 1783: 15)
3S PST go
['er ist, od. war gegangen.']
'He has gone; he had gone.'

The examples in (28) below demonstrate that *ben* is not the only item invoking a non-real event reading, as it occurs in combination with the future marker *sa* 'will; shall' (28a) and/or the conjunction *effi* 'if' (28b). [85] See also section 4.1.4.

(28) a. *mi bribi, a sa ben komm* (Sch 1783: 15)
I believe 3S FUT PST come
['ich glaube, er wird mal gekommen seyn.']
'I think that he will have come.'

b. *effi mi no ben takki gi ju, ju no ben sa sabi* (Sch 1783: 15)
if 1S NEG PST talk GIVE 2S 2S NEG PST FUT know
['wenn ich dirs nicht gesagt hätte, so würdest du es nicht wissen, (od. gewusst haben).']
'If I had not told you, you would not have known.'

A secondary (modal) use of *ben* is to convey a sense of hypotheticality or suggestion, to 'soften' the effect of a request, an invitation or a piece of advice as in contemporary Sranan (Winford 2000; Wilner 1994). The lines in (29) are the opening lines of a dialogue between two ladies, one visiting the other.

(29) [A] *Misi da bon joe de kom*
lady FOC good 2S ASP come
['Jufvrouw dat is goed dat uwe komt.']
'Lady, it is good that you are coming.'

[B] *Mi kom na misi fo takki pikien toli lange joe*
1S come LOC lady to tell little story with 2S
['Ik kom Me-Vrouw om wat met uw te Discoureeren.']
'I come to you to tell you a little story.'

[85] See also section 6.4.6 on conditional clauses.

[A] *Offe joe wandi joe do mi bon Plyzier*
if 2S want 2S do 1S good pleasure
['Als je wilt je doed my groot Plyziere.']
'If you want to, then you do me a great pleasure.'

[B] *Mi <u>ben</u> wan kom na misi na disi zabatim.* (VD c1765: 32)
1S PST want come LOC lady LOC this evening
['Ik wou by Jufvrouw koomen van deeze Avond.']
'I would like to visit the lady this evening.'

The item *ben* already occurs in Herlein's (1718) text, see (30a) below and (10) above for the discourse context. Nepveu (1770) corrects this sentence, leaving out *ben* among other alternations (30b). Indeed, *sendi* 'send' is a non-stative verb; when unmarked it usually expresses 'past time reference', but only as long as the point of reference is the speech time. Example (30c) is a dialogue from Weygandt's manual, similar to the Herlein dialogue.

(30) a. *No mie <u>ben</u> benakese ta entre ples a reddi wen* (HL 1718: 122) [86]
NEG 1S PST send-ask SAY other please again ?
['Neen ik heb al by een ander late vragen of 't haar beliefde dat ik zou komen.']
'No, I have send already to ask someone else if it would please her.'

b. *no mi sendi hakisi, na tara plessi a reddi* (N 1770: 274)
NEG 1S send ask LOC other please/place already
'No, I already asked somewhere else' or:
'No, I already asked someone else if it would please her'

c. [A] *Joe dé go kiesie fiesietie na joe tidee sabathem?*
2S ASP go get company LOC 2S today evening
['Krygt gy heden avond bezoek by u?']
'Are you receiving company at your place this evening?'

[B] *Miesie Annaatje <u>ben</u> sen aksie mie ofoe mie sa dé na hoso, ofoe*
miss Anna PST send ask 1S if 1S FUT BE LOC house if

wan tra soema kom (Wey 1798: 121)
one other person come
['Juffrouw Annaatje heeft my belet laten vragen.']
'Miss Anna send (someone) to ask me if I'll be at home or if another person is coming.'

[86] For a more detailed discussion of this sentence, in particular the construction *benakese*, see section 6.3.3.

Although the point of reference is not made explicit in the examples in (30), based on the discourse context it can be argued that it is not the time of speaking, but some time in the past. Thus, Nepveu's correction is not necessarily an improvement, it may caused by the fact that in his native tongue the reference point is speech time.

Table 4.1 *Tense marking in the Early Sranan sources and Eastern Maroon Creole**

MOD. SRANAN		EARLY SRANAN 1707-1767 CR	1718 HL	1762 SPT	C1765 VD	1770 N	1783 SCH	1798 WEY	EMC
FUT	-	*sa, saa, za, sal, da, zoe*		*sa*	*sa*, *za* *zal*; *zel* *ze, zey*; *zy*	*sa* *sal*	*sa*	*sa*	-
	o		(*gaeu*)	(*go*)	(*go*)	-	*go*	(*de*) *go*	*o*
	e go	-	-	-	(*de go*)	-	*de go*	*de go*	?
PST	*ben*	*ben*	*ben*	*ben*	*ben* *bin, bon*	*ben* *bin*	*ben*	*ben*	*be*

*Note that *sa* in contemporary Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole expresses modality rather than tense.

4.1.1.1 Tense in Early Sranan, contemporary Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole and

The most striking difference between the Early Sranan findings on the one hand and the Eastern Maroon Creole and contemporary Sranan on the other concerns the future tense marker. In the Early Sranan sources the dominant marker of relative future tense is *sa*, whereas it is *o* (< *go*) in Eastern Maroon Creole (Huttar & Huttar 1994, Migge 1998, Goury 2003) and contemporary Sranan (Winford 2000, 1999, 1993, see also Seuren 1981, 1983, Nickel & Wilner 1984, Voorhoeve 1957, 1962, Donicie 1954 etc.). The item *sa* in Eastern Maroon Creole and contemporary Sranan is a modal auxiliary expressing Uncertain Future.

In the Early Sranan sources, *go* is encountered as a main verb expressing movement (early and mid-18th century) and as an auxiliary verb expressing predictive or prospective future (late 18th century). The late 18th century future markers *sa* and (*de*) *go* may have had *bakratongo* and *ningretongo* undertones respectively. Interestingly, the item *o* (< *go*) expresses later time reference in contemporary Eastern Maroon Creole, whereas *sa* has developed into a marker of modality. Further research is clearly needed.

4.1.2 Aspect

Imperfective Aspect is expressed by (variants of) the marker *de*. Schumann (1783: 27) translates *de* with (German) *seyn* 'be' (thus acknowledging its use as a copula) and further states that it can also be used to express present tense reference (*nota presentis*): "de, seyn; it. nota presentis, das heisst, "de" wird vor ein ander Wort gesezt, wenn

angezeigt werden soll, dass etwas eben jezt geschieht." ['*de*, be; also present tense, meaning *de* precedes other words to demonstrate that something is taking place at present.']. Furthermore, he indicates that the presence of *de* is not an obligatory marker of present time reference, but that it determines the meaning of the main verb in a more precise manner, as he illustrates with the non-stative verb *komm* 'come; become': "*mi komm*, kann wol auch heissen: ich komme; aber es ist unbestimmt, denn es heisst auch, u. zwar am gewöhnlichsten: ich kam." [*mi komm*, can also mean: 'I come', but (then) it is indetermined, as it can also mean 'I came', which is more common'] (Schumann 1783: 27). The following examples from his dictionary show that the range of meanings of *de* is actually wider than Schumann acknowledges, as it marks a habitual (HAB), continuous (CON), progressive (PROGR) or ingressive (INGR) occurrence of the state or event denoted by the main verb in this source, see (31a-d) respectively. Furthermore, examples such as (31a) show that *de* is, in fact, tense neutral.

(31) a. HAB: *Gado <u>de</u> sabi alla membre va wi, bevo wi pulu muffe na tongo*
god ASP know all thought of 1P before 1P remove word LOC tongue
['Gott weiss alle unsre Gedanken, ehe wir sie aussprechen.']
(Sch 1783: 116)
'God learns all our thoughts, before we utter them.'

b. CON: *da vool <u>de</u> slibi* (od. *siddom*) *na eksi tappo* (Sch 1783: 39)
the chicken ASP sleep / sit.down LOC egg top
['die Henne Brütet.']
'The chicken is sitting on the egg.'

c. PROGR: *hangri <u>de</u> killi mi* (Sch 1783: 58)
hunger ASP kill 1S
['ich bin sehr hungrig.']
'I am hungry.'

d. INGR: *da siri <u>de</u> gi heddi* (Sch 1783: 63)
the seed ASP give head
['der Same kaimt.']
'The seed is germinating.'

These types of Imperfect Aspect marked by (variants of) *de* are also encountered in the manuals by Weygandt and Van Dyk, except for ingressive aspect, not found in the latter. However, both sources also have instances of unmarked verbs, while the discourse context suggest that *de* could have been used as the occurence of the event or state denoted by the main verb is habitual, continuous, progressive or ingressive. See the discussion of the unmarked verb in section 4.1 above. Imperfective Aspect is not marked at all in Herlein's text. It is expressed by *de* in Nepveu's text, albeit not obligatorily, see (32). Aspect is marked in example (32a), while it is not marked in (32b). Example (32a) is a paraphrase of the sentence 'he/she has a relationship with

him/her', (32b) conveys the same meaning, but qualifies the relationship as an extramarital one.

(32) a. *a de wakka langa him* (N 1770: 277)
3S ASP walk with 3S.OBJ
['zij of hij gaat of loopt met hem of haar']
'He is having an affair with her.'

b. *a fourfouro langa him* (N 1770: 277)
3S steal with 3S.OBJ
['hij of zij steelt met hem of haar om te zeggen, dat zij of hij met een ander Vrouw of man concubineert']
'He is having an extramarital affair with her.'

In addition to *de*, the verb *lobbi (va)* 'like (to)' can be used as an auxiliary verb to express habitual aspect in the late 18th century sources. In example (33a) they are used interchangeably to emphasize that the subject is a boaster; (33b) shows that it can be used with non-human agents. This use of *lobbi* (*va*) is not encountered in the early and mid-18th century sources; in those sources it occurs mainly as a main verb expressing desire (34).

(33) a. *da somma de prodo, da wan prodoman, a lobbi prodo* (Sch 1783: 142)
that person ASP boast FOC a boaster 3S like boast
['das ist ein Windbeutel, Stutzer.']
'That person boasts, he is a real boaster, he likes to boast.'

b. *tombu lobbi va gro bakka* (Sch 1783: 281)
trunk like to grow back
'A treetrunk usually grows back.'

(34) *Mi za lobbi fo libi na wan pranasie* (VD c1765: 31)
1S FUT like to live LOC a plantation
['Ik wenschten wel op een Plantagie te Woonen.']
'I would like to live on a plantation.'

Furthermore, continuous aspect can also be expressed by the verb *tan(n)* 'remain; stay' preceding the main verb (35a-e) or by a combination of *de* and *tan(n)* (35d).[87] This use of *tan(n)* is not encountered in Herlein's (1718) text, the court records and Weygandt's (1789) manual.

[87] Note that *bun* in the example given under (35a) is treated here as a predicate, and *de* as an aspect marker. Alternatively, *bun* can be analyzed as the adjectival complement of the copula *de*; see section 2.4 on the categorical status of items such as *bun*.

(35) a. *mi de bun, mi tann bun, mi skin tann bun* (Sch 1783: 25)
1S ASP/COP good 1S remain good 1S body remain good
['ich bin gesund, befinde mich wohl.']
'I am healthy.'

b. *Offe joe kom mi za tan watti* (VD c1765: 26)
if 2S come 1S FUT remain wait
['Als uwe komt zal ik uw opwagten.']
'If you are coming, I'll be waiting.'

c. *Dem sa moessoe tan libie de na da plessie dem habie dem condre dissi tem*
3P FUT must remain live there LOC the place 3P have 3P village this time
(SPT 1762: art. 3)
'They should continue to live right there where they have their villages now.'

d. *dem rombotto mi,* od. *dem de tann rombotto mi* (Sch 1783: 145)
3P surround 1S / 3P ASP remain surround 1S
['sie sind um mich herum.']
'They are surrounding me.'

In addition to *de,* ingressive aspect can be expressed by the verb *kom(m)* or *kon* 'come' in combination with property items in the manuals by Van Dyk and Weygandt and Schumann's dictionary (36).

(36) a. *be fo joe dore da pranasie romboute fossi wan kom dotti bakke* (...)
before 2S continue the plantation go.around first-one come dirty again
['eêr je de Grond rond bent, is het eerste al weêr eeven vuil']
(VD c1765: 87)
'Before you have gone round the plantation, the first one becomes dirty again (...).'

b. *na faija sei da boom komm dre* (Sch 1783: 152)
LOC fire side the tree come dry
['auf der Seite wo das Feuer war, ist der Baum verdorrt.']
'On the side of the fire, the tree became dried out.'

c. *No so a sa kon latie toemoesie* (Wey 1798: 99)
NEG so 3S FUT become too-much
'Anders word het te laat.']
'Otherwise, it will become much too late.'

With non-stative verbs, the item *kom(m)/kon* 'to come, to arrive at, to become' usually indicates motion or change of location as in (37). However, no actual motion or change of location is involved in the following example from the Sranan version of

the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762), see (38). Here, *com foe* occurs in juxtaposition with *commoto*, a typical change of location-denoting verb meaning 'to come from, to come out of, to leave from'. The item *commoto* may have acquired a stative meaning in this context, conveying the sense of 'having stepped down'.

(37) *Dem sa kom teki dem santi na Monima* (SPT 1762: art. 14)
3P FUT come take 3P thing LOC Monima
['Zij zullen de goederen ophalen op post Victoria']
'They will come and collect the goods at Monima.'

(38) *Dem sa moessoe callie neem foe alla den hedieman foe dem condre en datem wan*
3P FUT must call name of all the.PL chief of 3P villages and when one

com foe dede effie foe commoto, dem sa moessoe sendie takie na granman foe
come to be.dead if to come.out 3P FUT must send word LOC governor for

à can sabie offoe à boen (SPT 1762: art. 4)
3S can know if 3S good
['Sij sullen opgeeven wie haar opperhoofden sijn en bij afsterven off veranderen eerst kennisse moeten geeven wie in de plaats komt, om van de regering geapprobeert en erkent te worden.']
'They should mention the names of all the captains of their villages, and when one comes to die or step down, they should inform the Governor so he knows it is alright.'

Other verbs expressing ingressive aspect are *bigin (fu)* 'begin' and *setti* 'get ready; set; begin'. The former is most likely derived from English *begin* on phonological grounds (Smith 1987). However, it is labeled *bakratongo* by Schumann's consultant in the dictionary: "*da bakkratongo; wi takki: "setti".*" ['it is *bakratongo*, we say 'setti'] (Schumann 1783: 13). Thus, *setti* is used frequently in this source, whereas *beginn* is only listed as an entry without instructive examples.

(39) *mi setti bari* (Sch 1783: 153)
1S set cry
['ich fing an zu schreyen.']
'I started to cry.'

Weygandt's (1798) manual differs diametrically with Schumann's (1783) dictionary: Weygandt has a preference for *b(i)egien foe* instead of *seeti*, which is used only in the context of setting up shop (*seetie wan Wenklie,* Weygandt 1798: 34) or lighting a fire (*seetie faia*, Weygandt 1798: 88). Example (40a) is an equivalent of (31d) above.

(40) a. (...) *en ofoe den Catoenknopoe dee biegien foe broko Catoen* (Wey 1798: 141)
and if the.PL cottom-boll ASP begin to break cotton
['en of de catoenknoppen niet haast breeken']
'(...) and if the cotton bolls are being to produce cotton.'

b. *A biegien foe waran* (Wey 1798: 98)
3S begin to warm
['Het begint warm te worden']
'It is starting to get warm.'

The category of Completive Perfect is expressed by the adverb *kaba* 'finished; already' (< Portuguese/Spanish *acabar* 'finish') in all sources except Herlein (1718)[88] and the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762). Whereas the Tense and Aspect markers presented above occur preceding the main verb, *kaba* follows the main verb (41a-b, 42a), or other types of phrases (41c-d, 42b). In combination with non-statives, it marks an event as having been completed (41). With statives, *kaba* indicates that the state denoted by the main verb is already in existence (42). An exception is found in Van Dyk's manual, see (43), which appears to be a calque, based on the Dutch translation.

(41) a. *Mi wensi da tem joe jam kaba joe no kisi ogeri* (VD c1765: 54)
1S wish the time 2S eat already 2S NEG get evil
['als gy gedaan hebt met Eeten, dan wensch ik dat je de Maaltyd wel bekommen mag.']
'I wish that when you have finished eating, you will not get sick.'

b. *a jam kaba* (N 1770: 281)
3S eat already
['hij heeft gegeeten']
'He has eaten.'

c. *mi doe langa hem caba* (CR 1745)
1S do with 3S already
'I am done with him (already).'

(42) a. *da hosso fervi kaba* (Sch 1783: 40)
the house paint already
'The house is painted (already).'

b. *Mie tata dedee sieksie jarie kaba* (Wey 1798: 88)
1S father dead six year already
['Myn vader is al zes jaaren dood.']
'My father has been dead for six years already.'

[88] In this source *kaba* occurs only once, without context, translated with 'Gedaan', meaning 'done' (Herlein 1718: 123).

(43) *Joe moese schrifi zo liki da ouwere brifi de maar den zanti mankeri joe moe potti*
2S must write zo like the old letter there but the.PL thing fail 2S must put

na wan zy da wi <u>habbi kaba</u> hessi anno bon zo heeren (VD c1765: 100)
LOC a side then 1P have finish hasty 3S-NEG good so gentleman
['Je moet net zoo Schryven als de ouwe Inventaris, ekcept het geen mankeerd moet je niet vergeeten en daar moet ik een aparte Notitie van hebben, dan hebben wy gaauw gedaan, is het zoo niet goed Heeren.']
'You should write similar to the old document, but you have to put the things that are failing at one side, then we are done quickly, isn't it right so, gentlemen.'

Note that the item *kaba* can also be used as a coordinating conjunction 'and (then)' (see section 6.1.1), a main verb meaning 'finish, complete; end' as in (44), or as a verb taking a non-finite sentential complement as in (45). The latter construction is used in the case of an action being completed, thus conveying the sense of terminative aspect.

(44) a. *Hoe tem ju <u>kaba</u>* (VD c1765: 27)
Q-time 2S finish
['Wanneer heb je gedaan.']
'When did you finish?'

b. *a <u>kaba</u>* (N 1770: 279)
3S finish
['t'is gedaan']
'It is done.'

c. *hutem ju sa <u>kaba</u> da worko?* (Sch 1783: 76)
Q-time 2S FUT finish the work
['wenn wirst du die Arbeit fertig krigen?']
'When will you finish the work?'

(45) a. Mijnheer *mi <u>kaba</u> fo schrifi* (VD c1765: 102)
my-lord 1S finish to write
['Myn Heer ik heb gedaan met Schryven.']
'My lord, I am done with writing.'

b. *da pikin no wanni <u>kaba</u> vo kreh (*od. *nanga kreh)* (Sch 1783: 91)
the child NEG want finish to cry / with cry
['das Kind hört nicht auf zu schreyen.']
'The child does not want to stop crying.'

Schumann (1783: 76) acknowledges all of the meanings of *kaba* mentioned above. In his dictionary, *kabà* means 'und; schon; fertig, genug, alle seyn, zu Ende seyn; fertig

machen; fertig werden mit etwas, aufhören; hör auf!" ['and, already, finished, enough, be all, end; finish; be done with something; stop; stop!'] (Schumann 1783: 76). He further characterizes *kaba* as *ningretongo*; its *bakratongo* equivalent is *arede* 'already' (< English *already*), see (46). The latter is also found in Van Dyk's manual (c1765), as in (46c).

(46) a. *da deddeskin de tingi "aréde"* (...) *datti krin na wi, di wi njusu Bakkra*
the dead-body ASP stink already that clean LOC 1P when 1P be.used.to B.
['der todte Körper stinkt schon.'] (Sch 1783: 7)
'The corps is stinking already (...). That sounds good to us, when we are used to speaking *bakratongo*.'

b. *da deddeskin de tingi "kaba"* (...) *datti morro krin, kaba*
the dead-body ASP stink already that more clean and

"alla" Ningre jeri datti (Sch 1783: 7)
all black understand that
[' --- stinkt schon']
'The corps is stinking already (...) that is better, and all blacks understand that.'

c. *a lassi al reddi* (VD c1765: 75)
3P expire al-ready
['hy is reeds al Dood.']
'He expired already.'

Table 4.2 *Aspect marking in the Early Sranan sources, Eastern Maroon Creole and Modern Sranan*

MOD. SRANAN	EARLY SRANAN 1707-67 CR	1718 HL	1762 SPT	C1765 VD	1770 N	1783 SCH	1798 WEY	EMC
e	*de*	-	-	*de; di; da; den*	*de*	*de*	*de, dee, dée dé,*	*e*
k(a)ba	*kaba caba*	-	-	*kaba kabbi*	*kaba*	*kaba*	*kaba*	*kaba*
-	-	-	-	*al reddi*	-	*aréde*	-	-

4.1.2.1 Aspect in Early Sranan, Eastern Maroon Creole and contemporary Sranan

In Eastern Maroon Creole, Aspect is marked by the aspect particle *e* and by auxiliary verbs (Goury 2003, Huttar & Huttar 1994: 497-503). The aspect particle *e* marks Imperfective, Habitual, Progressive and Ingressive Aspect. In addition to marking Imperfective, Habitual, Progressive and Ingressive, Early Sranan *de* can express Continuous Aspect. Huttar & Huttar (1994) report that Continuous Aspect is expressed only by the auxiliary verb *tan* 'remain' before the main verb in Eastern

Maroon Creole. Early Sranan *tan(n)* 'remain' is interchangeable with *de*, but *de* can also be combined with *tan(n)*.

Aspect and Progressive Aspect can alternatively be marked by auxiliary verbs: *lobi (fu)* 'like' (habitual), *kon* 'come' (ingressive), *bigin (fu)* 'begin' (ingressive) and *sete (fu)* 'begin, get ready' (ingressive). Examples of Early Sranan equivalents of the Eastern Maroon Creole aspect particle and auxiliary verbs have been presented above, albeit with somewhat different meanings and uses. For example, Ndyuka *e* and *sete (fu)* 'begin, get ready' are used in combination with adjectival verbs (or property items) to express ingressive aspect, whereas *kon* 'come', *bigin (fu)* 'begin' and *sete (fu)* 'begin, get ready' occur with non-statives. Example (40b) above, represented as (46) below, demonstrates that in late 18th century *fototongo*, *biegien foe* 'begin' can occur with property items. Furthermore, *kom(m)* or *kon* 'come' marking Ingressive Aspect is found mostly in combination with property items in the sources.

(47) *A biegien foe waran* (Wey 1798: 98)
3S begin to warm
['Het begint warm te worden']
'It is starting to get warm.'

Huttar & Huttar (1994) found that the Ndyuka aspect marker *e* does not precede the locative copula *de*, even though the 'being at a particular place' to which this construction refers can be habitual or progressive. Likewise, combinations of *de* and (variants of) the locative copula *de* are not encountered in any of the sources of Early Sranan.

An equivalent of *arede* is not encountered in Eastern Maroon Creole, instead *kaba* is used. The status of *kaba* in this context in the Suriname Creoles is heavily debated; some scholars have argued that it is a completive marker (Goury 2003, Migge 2000, Holm 1988), whereas others consider *kaba* an adverb (Seuren 1981, 1983; Nickel & Wilner 1984, Huttar & Huttar 1994). Winford (2000: 431) argues that *kaba* shows evidence of being grammaticized into an adverb meaning 'already' in contemporary Sranan, but that it almost certainly orginated as a serial verb meaning 'finish' as it typically occurs following the verb. The fact that it can also appear following other types of phrase is interpreted as evidence of its development into a true adverbial (Winford 2000: 431). Additional evidence for the grammaticalization of *kaba* is the following: In contemporary Sranan *kaba* modifies adverbial phrases of time (Winford 2000: 436). However, in one of the earliest attestations of completive aspect marking *kaba*, example (31c) above represented as (48) below, *kaba* is already in sentence-final position.

(48) *mi doe langa hem caba* (CR 1745)
1S do with 3S already
'I am done with him (already).'

Furthermore, *kaba* in the last line of the dialogue in (49) below shows that it can modify adverbial phrases of time in late 18th century Sranan. Although the findings presented above do not present counterexamples to Winford's (2000) path of the grammaticalization of *kaba*, they do suggest that the grammaticization of *kaba* was well on its way in 1745 (see also Bruyn 2003). Further research is needed to outline the development of the Sranan aspect system in detail (see Van den Berg 2006).

(49) [A] *Tan, mie briebie den dee kalie wie*
remain 1S believe 3P ASP call 1P
['Wacht, ik geloof dat men ons roept.']
'Wait, I think they are calling us.'

[B] *Ai, mie jerie datie toe, da oeman dé loekoe wie*
yes 1S hear that too that woman ASP look 1P
['Jawel, ik hoor het ook, de meid zoekt ons.']
'Yes, I hear it too, that woman is looking for us.'

[A] *Jerie wantrom fa a dé balie*
hear one-time how 3S ASP yell
['Hoor haar eens schreeuwen.']
'Just listen, how she is yelling.'

[B] *A sie wie kaba*
3S see 1P already
['Zy heeft ons al gezien.']
'She has seen us already.'

[C] *Da wan hafoe joeroe kaba datie mie dé soekoe oen* (Wey 1798: 120)
FOC one half hour already that 1S ASP search 2P
['Het is al een half uur geleeden dat ik ul. soekt.']
'For half an hour already I've been looking for you.'

4.1.3 Mood and Modality

The categories of deontic agent-oriented modality that are expressed in Early Sranan include Obligation (*musu* 'must', *abi fu* 'have to'), Necessity/Need (*musu* 'must', *habi fan doe* 'need'), Ability (*man*(*n*) *va* 'be able to', *sabi* 'know; can'), Possibility (*kan* 'can'), Desire (*wanni* 'want', *wensi* 'wish') and Permissibility (*mag* 'may'). Deontic speaker-oriented modality including Directive (including imperatives, demands and requests), Optative, Hortative and Admonitive is not marked by special auxiliaries; several modal auxiliaries expressing deontic agent-oriented modality can also be used in directives. They are therefore discussed in Chapter 7. Conditional mood is not specially marked: conditional clauses are optionally marked by (variants of) the conjunctions *efi*/*efu* 'if' or *of(oe)* 'or; if' and/or the Tense markers *sa* and *ben*. The conjunctions marking conditional clauses are discussed in section 6.4.6, the role of *sa* and *ben* in conditional

clauses is briefly discussed in section 4.1.1. Narrative, Consecutive and Contingent mood are not expressed by special forms.

Obligation. The speaker's estimation of the necessity that the proposition of the utterance be brought about is expressed by (variants of) the auxiliary verb *musu* 'must' (< English *must*) as in (50), which can be reduced to *mu*, see (51). It can be preceded by the negator *no* (50c, 51c) and tense markers such as *sa* (51b) and *ben* (50e, 51c) and it can be combined with other modals such as *kan* 'can; be able to' (50d). Examples of past obligation are limited to Weygandt's (1783) manual (50e, 51c).

(50) a. *a moese habi pa man* (VD c1765: 77)
3S must have payment
['ik zal haar Betaald zetten']
'She must receive punishment.'

b. *sikiman no musse jam, ma a musse dringi pappa* (Sch 1783: 130)
sick-AFF NEG must eat but 3S must drink porridge
'A sick person shouldn't eat, he should eat porridge.'

c. *dem sa moessoe gie dem na granman nanga couroutoe abara* (SPT 1762: art. 15)
3P FUT must give 3P LOC chief and court over
['aan ons ter discretie over te leeveren teegen de ordinaire praemie']
'They should hand them over to the Governor and the Court.'

d. (...) *en datem mie ben moesoe wiekie alla dey na vyvie joeroe kaba*
and when 1S PST must wake-up all dey LOC five hour already
['waarby men dagelyks al om vyf uuren s morgens op de beenen moet wezen']
'(...) and then I had to wake up already at five o' clock every day.' (Wey 1798: 132)

e. *Drictoro moesoe kan doe foeloesanie, diesie a no ben leerie srefie* (Wey 1798: 136)
director must can do many-thing REL 3S NEG PST learn self
['Directeur moet al veel doen, dat hy niet geleerd heeft']
'The director must be able to do many things he himself hasn't learned.'

(51) a. *Mie moe gi payman da tem mi takki na duisi tonge* (VD c1765: 38)
1S must give payment the time 1S talk LOC Dutch language
['Ik moet Boete geeven als ik in 't Hollands spreek.']
'I have to give payment when I speak Dutch.'

b. *Nono Masra, ma mie moe repie alla mie klantie* (Wey 1798: 110)
NEG-NEG master but 1S must help all 1S customer
['Neen Myn Heer; maar ik moet alle myne klanten tegelyk helpen.']
'No, Master, but I must help all of my costumers.'

c. *Compee no moe mekie flousoe nanga makandra* (Wey 1798: 121)
friend NEG must make compliment with eachother
['Men moet geen complimenten maken onder goede bekende']
'Good friends should not make compliments to eachother.'

d. *Den ben moesoe go toe froekoe na gron* (Wey 1798: 132)
3P PST must go too early LOC ground
['Men heeft ook vroeg naar 't veld moeten gaan']
'They too had to go to the grounds early.'

In the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762) the future marker *sa* precedes *mo(e)s(s)o(/i)e* 'must' in 43 out of 45 occurrences as in (49b) above, whereas this combination is not encountered in the other sources. Besides expressing future obligation, the item *sa* may also have served to soften the imperative nature of *mo(e)s(s)o(/i)e* in this source.

Furthermore, the construction *(h)abi va/fou/foe* 'have to' followed by a non-finite sentential complement can be used to express obligation, as in (52). See also section 6.2.1.2.

(52) a. *No wan habi fou tan na baca* (SPT 1762: art. 2)
NEG one have to remain LOC back
['Sijn te vreede en neeme sulx aen na te koome']
'No one has to stay behind.' (here: 'They will fully comply with this condition.')

b. *na dissi grunn nuffe reti somma de na pinna, kaba nuffe ougriwan*
LOC this ground enough right person BE LOC poverty and enough evil-one

findi bun; ma wi no habi va suku heddi va hem, hupeh a liddom
find good but 1P NEG have to search reason of 3S Q-place 3S lie.down
['auf dieser Welt geht es manchen rechtschaffenen bös, u. bösen Menschen geht es gut: aber wir sind nicht befugt, die Ursache (od. Quelle) davon zu ergründen.'] (Sch 1783: 63)
'On this earth plenty of righteous people live in poverty, and plenty of evil ones find wealth, however, we should not search for the cause of this, where it is.'

c. *Wan Basian da wan soema diesie abie foe takie na den Nengree en ne em*
a overseer BE a person REL have to talk LOC the.PL black and LOC 3S.OBJ

abra da Drictoro dee liebie da wroko diesie den Nengree moesoe doe,
over the director ASP leave the work REL the.PL black must do

en a no abie foe doe wan wroko, a moesoe abie alla tem wan wiepie na em sey foe fom
and 3S NEG have to do a work 3S must have all time a wip LOC 3S side to punish

den lessieman en den diesie no wanie wroko (Wey 1798: 137 - 138)
the.PL lazy and 3P REL NEG want work
['Een Bastiaan of Officier is zo veel als Opzichter over de Slaavenen an wie de Directeur, het werk, (dat de Slaaven doen moeten) belast, en, die altoos vry van werk is, hebbende altoos een zweep by zich, om de onwillige en luiaards te straffen.']
'An overseer is a person who has to talk to the slaves and whom the director puts in charge of the work that must be done by the slaves, while he doesn't have to do it; he has to have a wip on him all of the time to punish the lazybones and those who don't want to work.'

Winford (2000b: 71) suggests that the difference between contemporary Sranan *musu* 'must' and *abi fu* 'have to' can be described in terms of speaker involvement as is the case with English *must* and *have to*. Futhermore, *musu* covers obligation of various strenghts and *abi fu* only for strong obligation in contemporary Sranan. These differences can also be observed when the examples of (52) are compared with the ones represented in (50) and (51).

Necessity/Need. The auxiliary *musu* 'must' expressing obligation can also be used to express necessity or need, see (53).

(53) a. [A:] *Joe no moe habi monni.*
2S NEG must have money
['Heb je geen Geld van nooden.']
'Don't you need money?'

[B:] *Ai mi moe habi toe duzent pisi fo schelling* (VD c1765: 36)
yes 1S must have two thousand piece of guilder
['Ik zal 2000 Gulden van nooden hebben.']
'Yes, I need two thousand guilders.'

Furthermore, the phrase *habi fan doe* [lit. have of do] 'need' (< Dutch *van doen hebben*) with a direct object or a reduced complement clause referring to the object of need expresses necessity or need. The earliest attestation of this construction is represented in (54a). In Schumann's (1783) dictionary the object of need occurs as a direct object (54b) and as a sentential complement (54c). Note that (54b-c) are equivalents of (53) above.

(54) a. [A] *Joe no zi hoe fa mi de holli mi moffe*
2S NEG see Q-manner 1S ASP hold 1S word
['Ziet gy niet hoe ik myn Woord hou.']
'Don't you see how I kept my word?'

[B] *Da zo mi moe doe alletem.*
FOC so 1S must do always
['Zo moet men altyd doen.']
'I should always do so.'

[A] *Joe no habbi fan doe fo kakkesi mi toe trom.*
2S NEG have need to ask 1S two time
['Ik heb my geen tweemaal laaten nooden']
'You don't have to ask me twice.'

[B] *Joe doe bon kwetti* (VD c1765: 39)
2S do good really
['Je doed heel wel.']
'You have done very well.'

b. *mi habbi moni vandu* (Sch 1783: 191)
1S have money need
['ich habe Geld nöthig.']
'I need money.'

c. *mi habbi vandu vo datti* (Sch 1783: 191)
1S have need for that
['ich habe dieses nöthig, ich brauche, bedarf dieses.']
'I need that.'

Schumann (1783) remarks that *vandu* is *bakratongo* and that its *ningretongo* equivalent is a similar construction with *worko* lit. 'work', see (55a). Quite unexpectedly, it is the construction with *worko* and its equivalents and not *vandu* that is found in Weygandt's (1798) manual to express Necessity/Need (55b). It also encountered in Van Dyk's language guide (55c).

(55) a. *Nengre takki: mi habi worko nanga datti* od. *vo datti* (Sch 1783: 191)
black say 1S have work with that or for that
'Blacks say: "I need that.'

b. [A] *San mankeerie joe?*
thing be.wrong 2S
['Wat ontbreekt u?']
'What is wrong with you?'

[B] *Mie abie wroko nanga monie* (Wey 1798: 83)
1S have work with money
['Ik heb geld van doen']
'I need money.'

c. [A] *Gran tanki fo joe, leni mi joe neffi. Mi za gi joe jusse na bakke*
great thanks to 2S lend 1S 2S knife 1S FUT give 2S just LOC back
['Ik Bedank u grootelyks, leen my u mes. Ik zal het u aanstonds weêr geeven.']
'Please, lend me your knife. I'll give it back to you soon.'

[B] *Holli zo lange mino habi worki lange hem* (VD c1765: 40)
hold so long 1S-NEG have work with money
['Houd het maar, ik heb het niet van doen.']
'Keep it, I don't need it.'

Ability and Possibility. The lexical verb *sabi (fu)* 'know how to' can be used to express ability requiring knowledge (mental ability), whereas the auxiliary verb *kan* 'can' is used to express physical ability, general ability, root possibility[89] and permissibility. The modal use of (variants of) *sabi* (*fu*) is found in the late 18th century sources, that is Nepveu (1770), Schumann's dictionary (1783) and Weygandt's manual (1798), see (56a-c) respectively.

(56) a. *a sabi leij* (N 1770: 275)
3S know lie
['hij kan liegen of hij verstaat het liegen']
'He can lie.'

b. *da somma no sabi va swem* (Sch 1783: 169)
that person NEG know to swim
['der Mensch kann nicht schwimmen.']
'That person cannot swim.'

c. [A] *Joe no de go hoekoe (vissie) sontem?*
2S NEG ASP go angle fish some-time
['Gaat men nu en dan ook niet somtyds hengelen?']
'Are you not sometimes going fishing?'

[B] *Ai, efie mie abie pliesierie foe doe datie mie ben abie hollo diesie foeloe nanga*
yes if 1S have pleasure to do that 2S PAST have hole REL fill with

fiesie, en da plesie mie ben sabie foe halie retie, den Warappa,
fish and that place 1S PST know to haul right the.PL trout salmon

Quiqui nanga Jakie (Wey 1798: 141)
armoured.catfish and silver.catfish

[89] Root possibility includes all sorts of enabling conditions, those internal to the agent as well as external conditions, see Bybee et al. (1994) and Winford (2000b).

['Ja wel wanneer men daar toe maar lust heeft; ik had watergaaten die vol visch grimmelde en daar ik de warappers, quiquisen, vetjakjes slag op slag wist uit te haalen.']
'Yes, if I felt like doing that, I had waterholes that were filled with fish, and there I really could haul up trout salmon, armoured catfish and silver catfish.'

Schumann (1783) was aware of the subtle differences in the modal uses of *sabi* (*fu*) signaling mental ability, and *kan*, denoting physical ability; compare (56b) above with (57a) below, see also (57b). Besides funtioning as an auxiliary, *kan* expressing ability is encountered with a reduced sentential complement in this source (57c).

(57) a. *da hudu no kann swem, a de sungu* (Sch 1783: 169)
that wood NEG can swim 3S ASP sink
['dieses Holz kan nicht schwimmen, es sinckt.']
'That wood cannot swim (float), it is sinking.'

b. *mi no ha tiffi morro, mi no kann kau* (Sch 1783: 81)
1S NEG have teeth more 1S NEG can chew
'I don't have teeth anymore, I cannot chew.'

c. *ju no kann vo du, "mi" sa du* (Sch 1783: 79)
2S NEG can to do 1S FUT do
['wenn du nicht im Stande bist, es zu thun, so will "ich" es thun.']
'When you cannot do it, I will do it.'

In the remaining sources *kan* is followed by the main verb to express physical ability, general ability, root possibility, see (58). Example (58a) illustrates an enabling condition external to the agent, that is money. The auxiliary *kan* is also encountered in the records of the investigation of the revolts at the Bilwaarder plantation in 1762; the words in (58b) are uttered by the black overseer of the Clivia plantation. In the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762) *kan* is preceded by the past tense marker *ben*, expressing past ability in the sense that the agent(s) had the ability to perform the action denoted by the main verb *kom* 'come' (58c). This use of *ben* in combination with *kan* expressing past ability is encountered in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762), Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Weygandt's (1798) manual. The past tense marker *ben* preceding *kan* can also convey conditional ability, as in (58d). However, this is the only example of *ben kan* signaling conditional ability. No examples of (variants of) *ben* following *kan* are encountered in the sources.

(58) a. *Langa monni mi kan kisi alle zanti na engelsze konderi* (VD c1765: 39)
with money 1S can get all thing LOC English country
['In Engeland kan men door Geld alles krygen.']
'With money I can get everything in England.'

b. *Massera mi no* <u>*kan*</u> *kom, somma voeloe rommotto mi detappe pasi*
master 1S NEG can come, person many surround 1S 3P-stop passage
'Master, I cannot come, many people surround me, they block the passage.'
(CR 1762)

c. *En alla heddeman dissie no* <u>*sa*</u> <u>*ben*</u> <u>*kan*</u> *kom foe swerie disie frie,*
and all chief REL no FUT PST can come to swear this treaty

moessoe sendie samma foe dem (SPT 1762: art. 13)
must send person of 3P
['Sullende alle de opperhoofden die niet kunnen koomen, de andere die koomen moeten magtigen om de vreede te sluyten en te beeedigen']
'And all the captains who will not have been able to come to take their oath on this peace, should have send somebody in their place.'

d. *A dee fenie allatem sanie nofo foe passa em tem; joe no ben go wantem*
3S ASP find always thing enough to pass 3P time 2S no PST go one-time

na planasie, datie joe <u>*ben*</u> <u>*kan*</u> *sie o san den dé doe?* (Wey 1798: 133)
LOC plantation that 2S PST can see Q thing 3P ASP do
[' Hy vind altyd stoffe genoeg daar zyn tyd mede verloopt; zyt gy nooit op Plantagie geweest, dat gy 't eene op 't andere hebt kun nen opmerken?']
'He is always finding enough things to do to pass his time; Have you not once gone to a plantation, so you would have been able to see what they are doing?'

In contemporary Sranan, the item *man* is an auxiliary meaning 'be able to' and is used to express ability "involving physical enabling conditions internal to the agent or imposed on the agent by forces beyond his or her control (e.g. physical laws, misfortune or accident, injury, poverty, etc." (Winford 2000b: 77). The auxiliary *man* is absent from all 18th-century sources, although the item *man* is found in court records dating from 1707, see (59a). In Schumann's (1783) dictionary the item *man* is encountered with a reduced sentential complement and is preceded by a tense marker, as in (59b-c).

(59) a. [A] *joù no man*
you NEG man
'You don't have the nerve.'

[B] *Mi man*
1S man
'I do.'

[A] *joù go dan* (CR 1707)
2S go then
'Then, go!'

b. *Mi no <u>mann</u> va hoppo datti* (Sch 1783: 107)
1S NEG able to lift that
['ich bin nicht stark genug um das aufzuheben']
'I am not able to lift that.'

c. *ju sa <u>mann</u> va tjarri datti?* (Sch 1783: 107)
2S FUT able to carry that
'wirst du dieses tragen können.']
'Will you be able to lift that?'

The item *man* in (59a-c) is categorized as a noun in a nominal predicate with "zero-copula", although the tense marker in (59c) can also indicate that *man(n)* is verbal. However, the verbal nature of *man* is not acknowledged by Schumann (1783: 107): "Mannsperson; der Mann einer Frau; alles, was männlichen Geschlechts ist." ['male; the husband of a wife; everything that is of male gender']. Moreover, the first record of auxiliary *man(n)* with a bare lexical complement instead of a reduced sentential complement headed by (variants of) the complementizer *fu* dates from the 20th century (Van den Berg & Arends 2004).

Permissibility. Agent-oriented permissibility is expressed by *kan* 'can', which also signals physical ability, general ability and root possibility (see above). Speaker-oriented permissibility is also expressed by *kan*. Although it can be difficult to determine which mood is expressed by *kan,* it clearly refers to conditions imposed by some external authority in the following examples, being the government in (60a), the lady living next to the church in (60b) and the addressee in (60c).

(60) a. *Marra effoe dem sa wandie tiarrie dem sandie goo na fotto foe serrie, dan dem no*
but if 3P FUT want carry the.PL good GO LOC city to sell then 3P NEG

sa <u>kan</u> sendie moro na tien sama (SPT 1762: art 10)
FUT can send more LOC ten person
['Doch soo sij eenige goederen aan Paramaribo off elders sullen willen senden sullen sij niet sterker dan 8 off 10 teffens moogen afkoomen']
'But if they should wish to bring their things to Paramaribo in order to sell them, then they will not be permitted to send more than ten people.'

b. *myki Koridon go hakkesi na da misi disi libi na zy kerki*
make K. go ask LOC the lady REL live LOC side church

offe a plessi mi <u>kan</u> kisi passi lange boote (VD c1765: 91)
if 3S please 1S can get passage with boat

['laat Koridon reis gaan by de Jufvrouw die naast de Kerk Woond en vraagen of ik met haar Boot mag meê gaan.']
'Let Koridon go and ask the lady who lives next to the church whether it is alright with her for me to travel on her boat.'

c. [A] *Mie sa <u>kan</u> driengie wan glasie wien*
1S FUT can drink a glass wine
['Ik zou wel een glas wyn kunnen drinken.']
'I could do with a glass of wine.'

[B] *Driengie dan* (Wey 1798: 80)
drink then
['Drinkt dan']
'Then, drink!'

The item *mag* 'may' (< Dutch *mag* 'may', infinitive *mogen* 'may') only occurs once in Van Dyk's (c1765) manual; it is not encountered in any of the other sources. In (61) *mag* denotes that someone is not allowed to give a proper burial to the person just killed by the director of the plantation, the director being the imposing authority.

(61) a. *Ke mastra hoe fa joe kan haksi zo zanti joe kili mi man kaba joe myki den*
EMP master Q-manner 2S can ask so thing 2S kill 1S man and 2S make 3P

beri hem lange hassi likki wan zomma disi doe gran ogeri zomma no <u>mag</u> jarri
bury 3S with horse like a person REL do great evil person NEG may carry

hem da ogeri kwitti na mi hay (VD c1765: 76)
3S FOC evil really LOC 1S eye
['Heer Meester hoe kan je myn zulks vraagen, jy laat myn Man Dood slaan en laat hem Begraaven als een Misdaadiger die op een Hord gesleept word, mogt hy niet door Menschen Begraaven worden, kan ik zulks met goeije Oogen aanzien.']
'Oh, master, how can you ask such a thing! You killed my husband and you made them bury them with the help of a horse like someone who has done evil and they may not carry him off; it is a terrible sight.'

Desire. Desire is expressed by (variants of) *wanni* 'want' (< English *want*), which also functions as a main verb meaning 'want'. Examples of the modal auxiliary *wanni* are given in (62). See section 6.2.1.2 for a discussion of *wanni* with different types of sentential complements.

(62) a. *Jo <u>wantje</u> gaeu wakke lange mie?* (Hl 1718: 121)
2S want go walk with 1S
['Wilje met my uitgaan?']
'Would you like to go out with me?'

b. *Mie <u>wan</u> taki langa hem* (VD c1765: 45)
1S want talk with 3S
['Ik wil met hem spreeken.']
'I want to talk to him.'

c. *a kotti da odo gi mi, datti takki, a no ben <u>wanni</u> takki datti krin na mi, a*
3S cut the word GIVE 1S that say 3S NEG PST want talk that neat LOC 1S 3S

no ben takki mi lasi va dasanni (Sch 1783: 126)
NEG PST talk 1S bottom-line of that-thing
'He cut short his words, that means, that he did not want to tell me that accurately, he didn't tell me the heart of the matter.'

d *Mie ben <u>wanie</u> kon loekoe joe* (Wey 1798: 96)
1S PST want come look 2S
['Ik kwam u bezoeken.']
'I wanted to come visit you.'

In certain contexts auxiliary *wanni* expresses intention rather than desire, such as in (63).

(63) *Moro nosso effoe wan foe dem doe of <u>wandi</u> doe wan sandie fou broko dissie frie* (...)
more now-so if one of 3P do or want do a thing to break this treaty
['vooral die iets koomen te doen teegen deese accoord off tot verbreeking der vreede (...)'] (SPT 1762: art. 11)
'Especially if one of them does or intents to do something to break this peace (...)'

The auxiliary *wanni* can also refer to an ability more abstract than desire or intention in Schumann's dictionary, see (64).

(64) *da kotto pánsuma, a no <u>wanni</u> dre; alla tarra klossi dre kaba, da kotto,*
the skirt stay-behind 3S no want dry all other clothes be.dry already the skirt

trobbi va dre (Sch 1783: 133)
have-difficulty to dry
'The shirt stays behind, it doesn't want to dry; all other clothes have dried already, but the skirt has difficulty to dry.'

In Weygandt's (1798) manual the verb *wensi* 'wish' (< Dutch *wensen* 'wish') with a reduced sentential complement can be used to express desire in a more polite manner, as in (65). As this use of *wensi* is not encountered in the other sources of Early Sranan it may be a *fototongo* or *bakratongo* paraphrase of (61b) above. See also the discussion of desiderative complement-taking verbs in section 6.2.1.2.

(65) *Mie <u>wensie</u> foe takie nanga em* (Wey 1798: 102)
1S wish to talk with 3S.OBJ
['Ik wenschte hem wel eens te spreeken.']
'I wish to speak to him.'

In addition to *wantje* 'want', the item *wil* can be interpreted as an auxiliary expressing desire in Herlein's text, see (66). In the remaining sources this item is not encountered, so *wil* is either a Dutch-derived loan, or a feature of an earlier variety of Early Sranan that did not survive. It could have been a future tense marker derived from English *will* (Rens 1953; Voorhoeve & Lichtveld 1975; Arends 1995, see also section 4.1.1), which Herlein interpreted as a modal auxiliary based on the formal resemblance with the Dutch verb *willen* 'want'. Note that all examples with *wil* can alternatively be interpreted as expressing future tense:

(66) a. *Oe tem wie wil gaeu na Riba?* (Hl 1718: 122)
Q time 1P want go LOC river
['Wanneer wille wy de Rivier op-varen?']
'When do we want to go up the river?'
'When will (shall) we go up the river?' (Arends 1995b: 126)

b. *à <u>Wil</u>kom loeke joe na agter dina tem* (HL 1718: 122)
3S want-come see 2S LOC after dinner time
['Ze wilje t'agtermiddag komen bezoeken']
'She wants (will) to visit you after dinner time.'

c. *Mie <u>wil</u> gaue na Watre-zy* (Hl 1718: 122)
1S want go LOC water-side
['Ik wil na de Water-kant gaan.']
'I want (will) to go the water-side.'

In addition to marking habitual aspect in the late 18th century sources (section 4.1.2), the item *lobbi* expresses desire. The object of desire is denoted by the reduced sentential complement in all sources of Early Sranan; therefore it is discussed in section 6.2.1.2.

Table 4.3 *Agent-oriented modality in Early Sranan, Eastern Maroon Creole and Modern Sranan*

MOD. SRANAN		EARLY SRANAN 1707-1767 CR	1718 HL	1762 SPT	C1765 VD	1770 N	1783 SCH	1798 WEY	EMC
Obligation	*mu musu*	-	-	*moesoe moessie mo(e)ssoe*	*mo(e) moes(e/i) mos(se)*	-	*musse*	*moe moesoe*	*mu*
	abi fu S	-	-	*habi fou*	-	-	*habi va*	*abie foe*	*a(bi) fu*
	-	-	-	*moesoe moessie mo(e)ssoe*	*mo(e) moes(e/i) mos(se)*	-	*musse*	*moe moesoe*	*musu*
Necessity / Need	*abi NP fanowdu*	-	-	-	-	-	*habbi NP vandu*	-	-
	abi fanowdu fu S	-	-	-	*habbi fan doe fo*	-	*habbi vandu vo*	-	-
	-	-	-	-	*habi worki lange*	-	*habi worko nanga/vo*	*habi wroko nanga*	-
	sabi fu S	-	-	-	-	*sabi*	*sabi*	*sabie foe*	*sá(bi)*
Ability Possibility	*kan*	*kan*	-	*kan can*	*kan*	-	*kan(n) kann vo*	*kan*	*kan*
	man	*man*	-	-	-	-	*mann va S*	-	*man fu*
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*poi*
Permiss.	*kan*	*kan*	-	*kan can*	*kan*	-	*kan(n)*	*kan*	*kan*
	mag	-	-	-	*mag*	-	-	-	-
Desire	*wani*		*wantje wanto*	*wandi(e)*	*wan wande(/i) wandi fo*	*wandi wanti*	*wanni*	*wanie wanie foe*	*wani (fu)*
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*wensie foe*	*winsi*
	lobi	-	-	-	*lo(e)b(b)i(/e) fo*	-	*lobbi va*	*lobie foe*	-
	-	-	*wil*	-	-	-	-	-	-

4.1.3.1 Mood and Modality in Early Sranan, Eastern Maroon Creole and contemporary Sranan

An overview of the items that express agent-oriented modality in contemporary Sranan, Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole is presented in table 4.2. More or less the same items are used in all three languages. I will point out some of the similarities and differences below, awaiting further research.

Obligation, including debititive mood, is expressed by *mu* in Eastern Maroon Creole, whereas the long form *musu* marks logical necessity (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 514-516). Both *moe* and *moesoe* are encountered in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and

Weygandt's (1798) manual but the different forms do not seem to correspond to different moods in these sources. Eastern Maroon Creole *mu* is preceded by the negator *ná* and tense markers, the aspect marker follows *mu*. No examples of Early Sranan *moe* or *moesoe* followed by the aspect marker are encountered in the sources.

While need or necessity is expressed in Early Sranan by the phrase *habi fan doe* 'need' (< Dutch *van doen hebben* 'need') and a similar phrase in contemporary Sranan (*abi fanowdu* 'need' < Dutch *van node hebben* 'need'), this phrase is not encountered in Eastern Maroon Creole. The Early Sranan phrase *habi wroko nanga/vo* has no corresponding equivelent in Eastern Maroon Creole or contemporary Sranan.
The Eastern Maroon Creole item *poi* expressing possibility has no counterpart in the sources of Early Sranan, or contemporary Sranan (see also Winford & Migge 2003). Huttar & Huttar (1994: 517) note that *man fu* is used for potential mood (possibility) in downriver Ndyuka and Paramaccan, which is similar to the Early Sranan examples presented in (59b-c) above, represented as (67).

(67) a. *Mi no mann va hoppo datti* (Sch 1783: 107)
1S NEG able to lift that
['ich bin nicht stark genug um das aufzuheben']
'I am not able to lift that.'

b. *ju sa mann va tjarri datti?* (Sch 1783: 107)
2S FUT able to carry that
['wirst du dieses tragen können.']
'Will you be able to lift that?'

4.1.4 Combinations of markers and auxiliaries expressing Tense, Mood and Aspect

Several combinations of markers and auxiliaries expressing Tense, Mood and Aspect were mentioned in sections 4.1.1, 4.1.2 and 4.1.3, some will be summarized and presented in more detail in this section. The combination *de go* expresses predictive future and immediate or prospective future in late 18th century Sranan, which may have a *ningretongo* undertone, was already discussed in section 4.1.1. The following combinations of aspect markers are encountered in the sources: *de* can precede Continuous Aspect marking *tan*, expressing Ingressive or Progressive Continuous Aspect (68a). The item *de* is also encountered with ingressive aspect marking auxiliary *bigin (fu)*, expressing Progressive Continuous Aspect (68b).

(68) a. *dem rombotto mi,* od. *dem de tann rombotto mi* (Sch 1783: 145)
3P surround 1S / 3P ASP remain surround 1S
['sie sind um mich herum.']
'They are surrounding me.'

b. (...) *en ofoe den Catoenknopoe dee biegien foe broko Catoen* (Wey 1798: 141)
and if the.PL cottom-boll ASP begin to break cotton
['en of de catoenknoppen niet haast breeken']
'(...) and if the cotton bolls are being to produce cotton.'

In general, markers of Tense and Aspect precede modal auxiliaries, see section 4.1.3. Certain combinations of Tense markers with modal auxiliaries give rise to other, secondary meanings. Besides expressing Past Ability, the combination *ben kan* can also convey Conditional Ability (69).

(69) *A dee fenie allatem sanie nofo foe passa em tem; joe no ben go wantem*
3S ASP find always thing enough to pass 3P time 2S no PST go one-time

na planasie, datie joe ben kan sie o san den dé doe? (Wey 1798: 133)
LOC plantation that 2S PST can see Q thing 3P ASP do
['Hy vind altyd stoffe genoeg daar zyn tyd mede verloopt; zyt gy nooit op Plantagie geweest, dat gy 't eene op 't andere hebt kun nen opmerken?']
'He is always finding enough things to do to pass his time; Have you not once gone to a plantation, so you would have been able to see what they are doing?'

One combination that is attested seldomly in the sources is the future marker *sa* in front of the auxiliary *mu(su)* expressing Obligation and Need/Necessity. While it is not encountered in Ndyuka (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 496), it is found frequently in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762) and once in Weygandt's language manual but not in the other sources, see (70). As *sa* can also convey the sense of wish or hope of the speaker in addition to indicating later time reference, it may be used in these examples to soften the imperative nature of (variants of) *musu*.

(70) a. *dem sa moessoe gie dem na granman nanga couroutoe abara* (SPT 1762: art. 15)
3P FUT must give 3P LOC chief and court over
['aan ons ter discretie over te leeveren teegen de ordinaire praemie']
'They should hand them over to the Governor and the Court.'

b. *Foe da thee diesja joe sa moe gie twentie na fo sreen (skellen)* (Wey 1798: 141)
for the tea here 2S FUT must give twenty LOC four shilling
['Gy zult voor die thee zes Guldens moeten geeven.']
'For this tea here, you will have to give twenty four shillings.'

Alternatively, it may be indicative of a more formal or polite variety. For example, *sa* also occurs in sentences such as (70a) in Weygandt's manual, which is followed by (71b). The imperative in (71b) can be regarded as the more direct, less polite equivalent of (71a). Both examples presented under (71) are taken from the list of everyday expressions included in this source. Although *sa kan* in (71a) can be interpreted literally, meaning 'will be able', the expression of future ability/possibility

is not the primary intention of the speaker. Here, the item *sa* clearly conveys the sense of a wish or hope, as in contemporary Sranan (Winford 200b).

(71) a. *Mie sa kan n'jan piekienso* (Wey 1798: 80)
1S FUT can eat little
['Ik zou wat kunnen eeten.']
'I could eat something.'

b. *Gie mie piekien n'jan n'jan* (Wey 1798: 80)
give 1S little food
['Geeft my wat te eeten.']
'Give me some food.'

In section 4.1.1, it was mentioned that the past tense marker *ben* can occur in combination with the future marker *sa* to invoke a non-real event reading. Example (27), represented below as (72) for reasons of convenience, illustrates a hypothetical (72a) and a past counterfactual (72b).[90] Note the different ordering of the items *sa* and *ben* in these two types of conditional clauses.

(72) a. *mi bribi, a sa ben komm* (Sch 1783: 15)
1S believe 3S FUT PST come
['ich glaube, er wird mal gekommen seyn.']
'I think that he will have come.'

b. *effi mi no ben takki gi ju, ju no ben sa sabi* (Sch 1783: 15)
if 1S NEG PST talk GIVE 2S 2S NEG PST FUT know
['wenn ich dirs nicht gesagt hätte, so würdest du es nicht wissen, (od. gewusst haben).']
'If I had not told you, you would not have known.'

The earliest combination of *sa* and *ben* is found in three witness statements dating from 1757, see (73a-c). Two statements differ only slightly (73a-b), the third (73c) is somewhat peculiar because of the form of the Past Tense marker *(son*), the complementizer *voeroe* (see section 6.2.1.1) and the change in perspective: the third person singular pronominal subject *a* in the protasis and the first person singular pronoun in the consequent clause both refer to the same person (not the actual speaker).

[90] Hypotheticals differ from counterfactuals in that they reflect imagined situations in any time context, whereas counterfactuals denote events in the present or past. The epistemic element of doubt or uncertainty on the part of the speaker is stronger in hypotheticals than in counterfactuals, which are known or assumed to be non-factual by the speaker (Winford 2000b: 108, footnote).

(73) a. *evie mi massra ben sendie mie go na Tampatie dan mie sa ben Soria dem Backara*
if 1S master PST send 1S GO LOC T. then 1S FUT PST show the.PL white
['indien mijn meester mijn nae Tampatie had gesonden dan had ik die blancke wel getoond off geweesen'] (CR 1757)
'If my master had send me to Tempati, then I would have shown the Whites.'

b. *evie mie massra ben sende migo na Tempatie, dan mie sa ben soorie dem Backara*
if 1S master PAST send 1S-GO LOC T. then 1S FUT PST show the.PL white
(CR 1757)
'If my master sent me to Tempati, then I would show the Whites.'

c. *eevie a ben die na tampatie tan mie sa son leerie da bakra voeroe fom negre*
if 3S PST BE LOC Tempati then 1S FUT PST learn the white to assault black
(CR 1757)
'If he had been in Tempatie, then I would teach the whiteman to assault blacks.'

In addition to the discourse context, the presence of the conjunction *eevie* 'if' and the past tense marker *ben* in the main clause and the combination of *sa* and *ben* in the subsequent clause strongly suggest that these sentences should be interpreted as counterfactuals (see section 6.2.2.6 on conditional clauses). However, the ordering of *sa* and *ben* is at variance with the ordering *ben sa* found in counterfactuals in contemporary Sranan (Voorhoeve 1957, Seuren 1981, 1983; Adamson & Smith 1995; Winford 2000b) and those found in the other 18th century sources, see for example (72b) above. Van den Berg & Arends (to appear 2004) agree with an anonymous reviewer who pointed out that the speaker could have been a fluent but non-native speaker of Sranan on the grounds that fluent L2 speakers of English often make mistakes with verb tenses in counterfactual clauses. Since the entire Black population of Surinam was outnumbered by newly-imported slaves every three to five years during the first fifty years of colonization and every ten years during the next fifty years (Arends 1995b), the speaker could indeed have been a fluent but non-native speaker of Sranan.

Combinations of *sa* and *ben* are not encountered in Herlein's (1718) text, Van Dyk's (c1765) manual, Nepveu's (1770) manuscript or the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762), except for two occurrences of *sa ben* in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty, represented in (74). Contrary to the examples in (73), *sa ben* in (74) is not expressing the speaker's subjective attitude or opinion, but simply future in the past.

(74) a. *Fiscalla sa paij dem f50: Sur: mon - da f42 pissie vo serem – ma effie*
treasurer FUT pay 3P 50 Suriname money FOC 42 pieces of shilling but if

dem kisi dem na krosi bay, na wan plandasie, dem sa kisie tien piesie fo er
3P catch 3P LOC close-by LOC a plantation 3P FUT get ten piece of ?

Sch[91] *tee f42, na fasie dem sa ben kisie dem farra weij, ofoe*
shilling until 42 LOC manner 3P FUT PST catch 3P far-away or

korosie bay foe fotto. (SPT 1762: art. 5)
close-by of fort
['(...) en waarvoor aan haar sal werden betaald van f 40 tot f 50 na mate der verr off nabijheit der plaatse daar sij die sullen vangen.']
'The treasurer shall pay them fifty guilders in Surinamese money – that is forty-two shilling – but if they capture them close-by, on a plantation, they shall get between ten and forty-two shilling, depending on whether they will have captured them far away or close to Paramaribo.'

b. *En alla heddeman dissie no sa ben kan kom foe swerie disie frie, moessoe*
and all chief REL NEG FUT PST can come to swear this treaty must

sendie samma foe dem (SPT 1762: art. 13)
send person of 3P
['Sullende alle de opperhoofden die niet kunnen koomen, de andere die koomen moeten magtigen om de vreede te sluyten en te beeedigen']
'And all the captains who will not have been able to come to take their oath on this peace, should have send somebody in their place.'

In Weygandt's (1798) language manual only the ordering *ben sa* is encountered; it is used to express future in the past (75a-b) and in conditionals such as (75b). Example (75b) is taken from the extensive overview of the conjugation of the verb *fom* 'punish'.

(75) a. [A] *Mie no ben kan sie na fesie osan ben sa pasa*
1S NEG PST can see LOC front Q-thing PST FUT pass
['Ik kon niet voorzien wat 'er zoude gebeuren.']
'I could not have foreseen what would happen.'

[91] This part of the original text (*fo er Sch*) is not entirely clear; *Sch* is an abbreviation of Dutch *Schelle* or *Schellingen*, which is presumably the source of Early Sranan *serem* (SPT) and *sreen* (Wey) denoting the local currency. Schumann (1783: 154) lists only *shelling* and *sjelling,* translating it with 'ein Schilling, 1/4 Gulden, 5 Stuiver. Höllandisch, 6 Stuiver Surinamsch' ['a shilling, ¼ guilder, 5 Dutch nickels, 6 Surinam nickels'].

[B] *San dan?*
thing then
['Wat dan?']
'What then?'

[A] *Datie mie <u>ben sa</u> kiesie so menie tra wroko moro* (Wey 1798: 110)
that 1S PST FUT get so many other work more
['Dat ik nog zoveel andere werk zoude krygen.']
'That I would get so much more additional work.'

b. *Mie no <u>ben</u> <u>sa</u> fom den Droengoeman?* (Wey 1798: 73))
1S NEG PST FUT punish the.PL drunkard
['Zou ik de Dronkaards niet straffen?']
'Would I not punish the drunkards?'

c. *Mie no <u>ben</u> <u>sa</u> dray foe kon loekoe joe ofoe mie ben sabie datie*
1S NEG PST FUT linger to come see 2S if 1S PST know that
['Ik zou met verzuimd hebben u te komen bezoeken indien ik het geweeten had.'] (Wey 1798: 121)
'I would not have postponed to come see you, if I had known that.'

Weygandt (1783) concludes the chapters on the conjugation of the verbs with an overview of 'infinitives' as in (76) for the verb *fom* 'punish'. He lists the sequence *ben fom* as the past 'infinitive', meaning 'having punished'. Therefore, I assume that the sequence *sa ben fom* must have existed in the variety represented in this source, even though it is not attested in this source.

(76)

Fom,	['Straffende.']	'punishing'
no fom,	['niet straffende.']	'not punishing'
ben fom,	['gestraft hebbende.']	'having punished'
no ben fom,	['niet gestraft hebben.']	'not having punished'

(Wey 1798: 73)

An overview of combinations of TMA markers and (semi-)auxiliary verbs in Early Sranan is give in table the cross-table 4.4 below. The first item of the combination is presented in the first column, the second and subsequent items are listed in the top row. Only those combinations are included that are actually encountered. Thus, combinations such as the above mentioned *sa ben*, which must have existed in the variety described by Weygandt (1798), are not included.

Table 4.4 *Overview of combinations of TMA markers and (semi-)auxiliary verbs in Early Sranan*

	ben	*sa*	*go*	*de*	ASPECTUAL AUXILIARIES	MODAL AUXILIARIES
ben	-	SCH *ben sa* WEY *ben sa*	VD *ben go* SCH *ben go* WEY *ben go*	WEY *ben dee* *ben dé*	VD *ben tan* SCH *ben tann*	VD *ben kan* *ben wan* SCH *ben wanni* WEY *ben kan* *ben moe(soe)* *ben sabie foe* *ben wanie*
ben sa	-	-	-	-	-	-
ben go	-	-	-	-	-	-
ben de	-	-	-	-	-	-
ben tan	-	-	-	-	-	-
ben MOD. AUX	-	-	-	-	-	-
sa	CR *sa ben* *sa son* SPT *sa ben* SCH *sa ben*	-	VD *za go* *zey go* WEY *sa go*	WEY *sa dé*	VD *za tan* SPT *sa kom* SCH *sa tann* *sa komm* WEY *sa kon* *sa kom*	VD *za wandi fo* SPT *sa mo(e)s(s)oe* *sa kan/can* *sa wandie (foe)* *sa habie foe* SCH *sa mann va* WEY *sa kan* *sa moe* *sa wanie*
sa ben	-	-	-	-	-	SPT *sa ben kan*
sa go	-	-	-	-	-	-
sa ASP. AUX	-	-	-	-	-	-
sa MOD. AUX	-	-	-	-	-	-
go	-	-	-	-	-	-
de	-	-	VD *de/di go* SCH *de go* WEY *de/dé/dee go*	-	VD *de tan* SCH *de tann* WEY *de tan* *dee begien foe*	-
de go	-	-	-	-	-	-
de ASP. AUX	-	-	-	-	-	-

ASPECTUAL AUXILIARIES	-	-	-	-	-	-
MODAL AUXILIARIES	-	-	VD *wan go* WEY *moesoe go*	-	SPT *moessoe tan* VD *moe tan* WEY *kan tam*	WEY *moesoe kan*
MOD. AUX *go*	-	-	-	-	-	-
MOD. AUX *tan*	-	-	-	-	-	-
MOD. AUX *kan*	-	-	-	-	-	-

4.1.4.1 Combinations of markers and auxiliaries expressing Tense, Mood and Aspect in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

Huttar & Huttar (1994: 494-495) note that the relative past marker *be* can be followed by the relative future marker *o* and the mood marker *sa* in Ndyuka. The combinations *bo* (< *be o*) and *be sa* commonly mark the apodosis or consequent of a counterfactual conditional sentence, but they are not restricted to this use. The Early Sranan examples of counterfactuals presented in section 4.1.4 above show that only *sa* in combination with *ben* is found in the apodosis of Early Sranan counterfactuals.

Ndyuka relative future *o* (< *go*) and the mood marker *sa* do not cooccur (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 495). The items *go* and *sa* do cooccur in the Early Sranan sources, but they differ in meaning and use from the Ndyuka items *o* and *sa*, see section 4.1.1. Huttar & Huttar (1994: 405) report that relative future *o* and obligative *mu* can cooccur according to some speakers, but others disagree. In the Early Sranan sources, *go* is not found in combination with (variants of) *mu*(*su*). However, *sa* can precede (variants of) *mu*(*su*) in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762) and Weygandt's (1798) language manual.

Obligative *mu* precedes aspectual *lobi* (*fu*) and *tan* in Ndyuka (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 510). While no examples of *mu*(*su*) preceding *lobi* (*fu*) are found in the sources, the sequence *mo*(*e*)(*s*)(*soe*) *tan* V is encountered in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762) and Van Dyk's (c1765) manual. Furthermore, obligative *mu* can be followed by the aspect marker *e* in Ndyuka (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 508). The combination *mu*(*su*) *de* V is not enountered in the sources.

Huttar & Huttar (1994: 500) found items *kon* and *e* cooccuring in Ndyuka, as well as *bigin* and *e*. Both combinations express progressive ingressive aspect, progressive *e* precedes the ingressive aspect marking auxiliary verbs *kon* and *bigin*. In the case of *bigin*, the item *e* can also precede the main verb and follow the auxiliary (*bigin e* V). Progressive ingressive aspect is expressed by the sequence *de bigin (fu)*, found only in Weygandt's (1798) language manual. No examples of *bigin de* are found in the sources.

Although not all possible combinations of TMA markers in Eastern Maroon Creole can be discussed here (see Huttar & Huttar 1994, Goury 2003, Winford & Migge 2003), the findings presented in this section already show that the amount of possible combinations of TMA markers in Eastern Maroon Creole is

greater than in the sources of Early Sranan. However, we have to take into account that certain combinations of TMA markers could not have been possible in the varieties of 18th century Sranan due to the categorial status of some of the items, as in the case of *go* and *sa* (section 4.1.1, see also Goury 2003). Further research is clearly needed to deepen our understanding of the development of the Sranan TMA system.

4.2 Valency adjusting operations

Intransitive, transitive and bitransitive clauses were discussed in section 2.3. In this section the topic of argument structure is revisited from the perspective of the grammatical or syntactic valency of the verb. In the world's languages the syntactic valency of a verb can be increased and decreased i.e. arguments can be added or removed from the clause. Furthermore, the alignment of the arguments of the verb can be altered. These valency adjusting operations will be discussed below.

4.2.1 Valency increasing operations

The valency of a verb can be increased in a number of ways in the world's languages. Morphological causatives are not found in Sranan; lexical causatives and analytic causatives are the linguistic instantiations of the notion of causation in this language. They are discussed in the following section.

Another valency increasing operation enountered in Early Sranan is dative shift, "because it is a means of bringing participants performing the roles of RECIPIENT and BENEFACTIVE onto 'center stage' in addition to whatever participants may already be on stage" (Payne 1997: 192). Dative shift is discussed in section 4.2.1.2.

4.2.1.1 Lexical and analytic causatives

Lexical causatives are those verbs that have some notion of cause embedded in their meaning. Several Early Sranan verbs can be used in a causative as well as in a non-causative construction. A typical lexical causative is the verb *brokko* 'break' (77); its appearance in a non-causative construction is discussed in more detail in section 4.1.2 below.

(77) *a <u>brokke</u> da pletti* (VD c1765: 62)
3S break the plate
['zo liet zy het Bord vallen']
'She broke the plate.' ('She caused the plate to break.')

Other verbs are restricted to causative constructions, such as *killi* 'kill' or *sori* 'show; tell', see (78a) and (78b). Their non-causative equivalents have different verbs, such as *dede* 'die; be dead' (78b) and *si* 'see' (79b).

(78) a. *joù <u>kielle</u> mie, joù <u>kielle</u> mie* (CR 1762)
2S kill 1S 2S kill 1S
'You kill me, you kill me!' ('You are causing me to die.')

b. *mie dede* (CR 1762)
1S die
'I die.'

(79) a. (...) *dan mie sa ben soorie dem Backara* (CR 1757)
then 1S FUT PST show the.PL white
'(..) then I would show the whites.'

b. *teh a si mi, a putti futu wantem* (Sch1783: 48)
when 3S see 1S 3S put feet immediately
['so bald er mich sahe, lief er davon.']
'When he saw, he immediatly took off.'

Most Early Sranan causatives are analytic. The verb *meki* 'make; cause to happen; let' (< English *make*) is often used to express the notion of cause in this type of clause. It takes a complement that includes the agent of the caused event and the caused event if the caused event is intransitive, as in (80). If the caused event is transitive, the complement consists of the agent of the caused event, the caused event and the patient of the caused event, resulting in a bitransitive causative (81).

(80) *sua meki tiffi dedde* (Sch1783: 167)
our make tooth die
['sauer macht die Zahne stümpf.']
'Acid makes teeth wear away.'

(81) a. *Mastra za mikki den fom wi* (VD c1765: 48)
master FUT make 3P beat 1P
['Meester zellen wy slaagen krygen.']
'The master will make them beat us.'

b. *mi sa meki Massra fumm mi gi ju?* (Sch1783: 50)
1S FUT make master beat 1S GIVE 2S
['dennkst du denn, dass ich mich will um deinentwillen schlagen lassen?']
'For your sake, I will make the master punish me?'

Note that *meki* followed by a sentential complement can occur in the complement of *meki*, resulting in the following complex construction:

(82) (...) *dan mie dee mekie da Basian mekie den mekie em moro betree* (Wey 1798: 137)
then 1S ASP make the overseer make 3P make 3S.OBJ more better
['(...) den bastiaan te ordonneeren hetzelve te doen verbeeteren.']
'(...) then I am making the overseer make them make it better.'

Meki 'make; cause to happen; let' is not only a causative verb, it can also be used as a manipulative verb and a permissive verb, always selecting sentential complements.

Meki is discussed in more detail in section 6.2.1.2 under the heading manipulative predicates. Imperatives headed by *meki* are discussed in 5.4.

4.2.1.2 Dative shift

The roles of recipient, experiencer and benefactive can be expressed by arguments in the form of prepositional dative phrases headed by (variants) of the prepositions *fu* and *na* or the serial item *gi* in a serial verb construction typically following the direct object, although they can occasionally precede the direct object. Furthermore, the arguments expressing these roles can appear immediately after the verb, unmarked by *fu, na* or *gi*, and precede the direct object, thus forming a double object construction. The process that derives double object constructions from prepositional dative phrases and *gi*-marked serial verb constructions is named dative shift.

Bruyn, Muysken & Verrips (1999) have investigated double object constructions, prepositional dative constructions headed by the preposition *na* or *fu* and serial verb constructions with *gi* in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Schumann's (1781) compilation of the four Gospel books of the New Testament. They found that in both sources, double object constructions alternate with constructions marked by *gi*, and that the dative preposition is in most cases *na*, although occasionally *fu* is used (Bruyn, Muysken & Verrips 1999: 341). Further, prepositional dative phrases headed by *na* and *gi*-marked serial verb constructions appear to be interchangeable with most verbs in these sources, if they express the role of recipient: "*na* can occur with a recipient but not with beneficiary. The latter is expressed by *fo/vo/va* 'of, for', or more frequently, by *gi* (...) Apart from this, *gi* and *na* fulfill the same function as a dative marker" (Bruyn, Muysken & Verrips 1999: 346).

In the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762) the role of beneficiary is marked by *gi(e)*, see (83); variants of *fu* are not found in this context. Double object constructions with a pronoun or noun phrase denoting the beneficiary are not encountered in this source.

(83) a. *Dem wandi fou hondi langa fou soutoú gi dedi sama foú dem* (SPT 1762: art15)
3P want to hunt and to shoot GIVE dead person of 3P
'They want to hunt and to fire to honor their dead.'

b. *A poti alle dissi santi deja na inni gi dem foe hakisi* (...) (SPT 1762: preamble)
3S put all this thing here LOC in GIVE 3P to ask
'He wrote all these here things down for them to ask (...).'

The role of recipient can be expressed by a phrase marked *na* (84a), a combination of *gie* and *na* (84b),[92] and occasionally in a double object construction (84c).

[92] The fact that *gie* and *na* can occur in combination in this position in the sentence may be regarded as evidence that the serial item *gie* is not yet fully grammaticalized in the recorded variety at this time; its primary function is to mark the process of transfer. The locative preposition *na* marks the destination. In Schumann's (1783: 116) dictionary, the same expression is listed but without the locative preposition. The locative preposition introducing the destination of a moving object is found only in examples with *gi* functioning as the main verb; serial *gi* is never found with *na*. See further section 6.3.

(84) a. *grandman sa takie of sendie takie na dem* (...) (SPT 1762: art 8)
chief FUT tell or send word LOC 3P
'(...) the governor will say or send them a message (...).'

b. *Effie granman of koeroetoe sendie moffo gi na dem, takie ningre ronwey* (...)
if chief or court send word GIVE LOC them SAY black run.away
['Soodrae sij van de heer Gouverneur off regeeringe alhier kennisse krijgen van eenige desertie van slaven'] (SPT 1762: art. 7)
'If the governor or the court will send them a message saying that Blacks ran away (...).'

c. (...) *bikasie dem masara offoe bacara doe dem ogrie* (...) (SPT 1762: art. 5)
because 3P master or white do 3P evil
['uyt hoofde van mishandelingen van hun meesteren off anderen']
'(...) because their masters or others have hurt them (...).'

In the Court Records no prepositional dative phrases expressing the roles of beneficiary or recipient are found; the role of recipient is expressed as the secondary object in a double object construction, see (85).

(85) a. *mie wisie mie daa na Tampatie, dan mis sa lerre Backaraman voeroe fom negre*
1S wish 1S there LOC T. then 1S FUT learn white-man to hit black
['ik wensschte dat ik in Tampatie was, dan soude ik Blanke leeren om neegers te kloppen en slaan'] (CR 1757)
'I wish I was there in Tempati, then I would have shown the whites to beat up blacks.'

b. *mi no zal doe joù okri* (CR 1761)
1S NEG FUT do 2S evil
'I will not hurt you.'

Even though the number of sentences with an expressed recipient is quite small (n=7, including 3 doubles), the fact that they all are double object constructions is noteworthy from the perspective of register. Because double object constructions have less explict morphosyntactic marking, it can be tentatively assumed that double object constructions are more likely to occur in informal, colloquial language varieties than in formal varieties (Bruyn, Muysken & Verrips 1999). Thus, Bruyn, Muysken & Verrips (1999) account for the difference in number of double object constructions in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Schumann's (1781) Gospel text. A similar line of reasoning can explain the difference in the distribution of types of constructions found in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762) and the Court Records. Both sources reflect actual spoken discourse, but they differ in register: the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762) is more formal than the Court Records (see chapter 1).

Examples from Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual are in line with the findings presented above: *na* and *gi* mark the role of recipient, whereas *gi* and occasionally variants of *fu* mark the beneficiary. Several examples with alternating prepositional dative phrases, *gi*-marked serial verb constructions and double object constructions from Schumann's (1783) dictionary demonstrate that the author was aware of the relationship between these constructions. In the following examples the recipients are underlined.

(86) *mi ben begi <u>Gado</u> datti*, od. *mi ben beggi datti <u>na</u> <u>Gado</u>* (Sch 1783: 13)
1S PST beg god that / 1S PST beg that LOC god
['ich hatte Gott darum gebeten.']
'I have begged God for that; I have begged for that to God.'

Note that dative shift can occur without a direct object present:

(87) a. *mi begi Gado*, od. *mi begi <u>na</u> Gado* (Sch 1783: 13)
1S beg god / 1S beg LOC god
['ich bete zu Gott']
'I beg God.'

b. *mi sa dini ju*, OD. *mi sa dini <u>gi</u> ju* (Sch 1783: 31)
1S FUT serve 2S / 1S FUT serve GIVE 2S
['ich will dir dienen.']
'I will serve you.'

Moreover, Schumann gives several examples showing that *na* and *gi* are not always interchangeable, even though both mark the role of recipient, see for example (88).

(88) a. *mi de langa mi hann <u>na</u> ju* (Sch 1783: 98)
1S ASP stretch 1S hand LOC 2S
['ich strecke meinen Arm nach dir aus.']
'I am stretching my arm to you.'

b. *mi de langa mi hann <u>gi</u> ju* (Sch 1783: 98)
1S ASP stretch 1S hand GIVE 2S
['ich reiche dir meine Hand (od. Arm).']
'I am offering my arm to you.'

In addition to double object constructions and constructions such as (87) above, the following examples of prepositional dative phrases are found in Weygandt's (1798) manual. In (89a) the prepositional dative phrase follows the direct object (*wroko*), whereas it precedes the direct object in (88b).

(89) a. (...) *en mie gie wroko na da djariman foe doe* (...) (Wey 1798: 137)
and 1S give work LOC the garderner to do
['(...) en den tuinier werk voor dien dag gegeeven hebbende (...)']
'(...) and I have given the gardener work to do (...).'

b. (...) *en mie gie na Loosoe-Ba*[-]*sian em wroko kaba* (...) (Wey 1798: 137)
and 1S give LOC shed-overseer 3S work already
['en de Loos Bastiaan zyn werk gegeeven hebbende,.']
'(...) and I have given the shed overseer his work (....).'

4.2.1.3 Valency increasing operations in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

Huttar & Huttar (1994) discuss analytic causatives with *meke* as the outcomes of valency increasing operations in Eastern Maroon Creole: "The valency of any verb except the copula *na* can be increased by adding a causer nominal and *meke* (...) the causer is often not a personal agent, but a situation (...) There is no formal difference depending on the agentivity of the causee, and the causee cannot be omitted" (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 486). Thus, Early Sranan analytic causatives resemble their Eastern Maroon Creole counterparts except for the causer: most Early Sranan *meki* causatives have an animate agent.

Dative shift is not adressed in any particular section in Huttar's & Huttar's (1994) grammar of Eastern Maroon Creole as such, but they do discuss a selection of verbs that can take an indirect object forming a double object construction. The verbs include *leli* 'teach', *leni* 'lend', *soi* 'show', *gi* 'give', *begi* 'request', *akisi* 'ask', *taigi* 'tell' and *sikiifi* 'write' (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 157 – 159). A selection of these verbs will be compared to their Early Sranan equivalents below, revealing some interesting differences and similarities.

Soi 'show' can take a beneficiary or a recipient as its indirect object (90a, 91a), but only the beneficiary can appear as a prepositional dative phrase introduced by *gi* (90b). Thus, (91b) is ungrammatical, unless it is read as follows: 'I will show this book (to someone) for my brother' (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 366).

(90) a. *Den mu soi den gaansama lesipeki* (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 366)
3P must show the.PL adult respect
'They must show the older people respect.'

b. *Den mu soi lesipeki gi den gaansama* (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 366)
3P must show respect GIVE the.PL adult
'They must show respect to the older people.'

(91) a. *Mi o soi mi baala a buku ya* (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 366)
1S FUT show 1S brother the book here
'I wil show my brother this book.'

b. * *Mi o soi a buku ya gi mi baala* (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 366)
1S FUT show the book here GIVE 1S brother
'I wil show this book to my brother.'

In the Early Sranan sources *sori* 'show' is found most frequently with double object constructions.[93] It is attested thrice with a prepositional dative phrase; two are headed by *na*, one is introduced by *gi*. In (92a) the prepositional phrase denotes a recipient, while in (92b) it expresses a beneficiary. Although it cannot be recovered from the context of (93) what is ordered to be shown, I assume a recipient reading is intended.

(92) a. *dem sa moesoe sorie alle dem condre na Bacara* (SPT 1762: art. 2)
3P FUT must show all the.PL village LOC village
['Alle haare dorpen sullen sij moeten aanwijsen']
'They will have to show all their villages to the whites.'

b. *ju sori assranti na mi?* (Sch 1783: 8)
2S show impertinence LOC 1S
['willst du dich gegen mich frech aufführen?']
'Are you showing me impertinence?'

(93) *sori gi mi* (Sch 1783: 159)
show GIVE 1S
['zeig miss.']
'Show me.'

Eastern Maroon Creole dative-shift constructions with *soi* only allow the role of beneficiary to become a direct object. The role of recipient cannot be expressed as a prepositional phrase headed by *gi*; *soi* allows recipients as indirect objects only. In Early Sranan, both roles are allowed to be shifted. Furthermore, the prepositional dative phrases are marked by different prepositions. The Eastern Maroon Creole prepositional phrase expressing the beneficiary is marked by *gi*, whereas its Early Sranan equivalent is marked by *na*. The Eastern Maroon Creole recipient of *soi* is not expressed by a prepositional phrase, whereas it can be marked by *na* or *gi* in Early Sranan.

Prepositional phrases headed by an equivalent of *na* are found with another Eastern Maroon Creole verb that alternatively allows two objects, namely *leni* 'lend; borrow'. In this case, the preposition introduces not the recipient or the beneficiary, but rather the source (94a); its Early Sranan equivalents found in Schumann's (1783)

[93] In the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty *sori* with a double object constructions is found once, 5 instances of *sori* with a double object construction are encountered in Van Dyk's (c1765) manual, Schumann's (c1783) dictionary has two and Weygandt's (1798) manual one.

dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual are given in (94b) and (94c). The latter, representing *fototongo*, has *fu* instead of *na*.[94]

(94) a. *Mi leni wan boto a wan man* (Eastern Maroon Creole, SIL 2003)
1S borrow a boat LOC a man
'I borrowed a boat from a man.'

b. *mi wanni leni moni na ju* (Sch 1783: 101)
1S want borrow money LOC 2S
['ich will Geld von dir borgen.']
'I want to borrow money from you.'

c. *Leenie foe Soema* (Wey 1798: 33)
borrow of person
['Afleenen.']
'Borrow from someone.'

In both Eastern Maroon Creole and Early Sranan the prepositional phrase headed by *(n)a* disambiguates the meanings of *leni*. *Foe* is used in a similar way in Weygandt's (1798) manual. *Leni* in the examples in (94) above can only convey the sense of 'borrow', whereas *leni* with two objects can only mean 'lend', see (95a-b) below. Schumann (1783) disambiguates *leni* by using different prepositional phrases, *na* in the case of *leni* 'borrow', *gi* in the case of *leni* 'lend'; compare (94b) above with (95c).

(95) a. *Mi leni wan man mi boto* (Eastern Maroon Creole, SIL 2003)
1S lend a man 1S boat
'I loaned my boat to a man.'

b. *Gran tanki fo joe, leni mi joe neffi* (VD c1765: 40)
great thanks to 2S lend 1S 2S knife
['Ik Bedank u grootelyks, leen my u mes.']
'Please, lend me your knife.'

c. *mi sa leni da moni gi ju* (Sch 1783: 101)
1S FUT lend the money GIVE 2S
['ich will dir das Geld leihen.']
'I shall lend the money to you.'

The Early Sranan examples (94b) and (95c) are characterized as *bakkratongo* (Schumann 1783: 101); the correct *ningretongo* expression according to Schumann's consultant is *jurü* or *juru* 'rent, bargain; lend; borrow', though occurring in similar constructions as *leni*, see (96). (Note that *juru* can also function as a noun meaning

[94] The expression *leenie foe* literally borrow of/from is most likely influenced by the Dutch expression *lenen van* 'borrow from'. However, variants of *fu* are found more often heading prepositional phrases that express a source, see 2.6.1.6.

'hour; o'clock; time'.) *Juru* nor *leni* are found with two objects in Schumann's (1783) dictionary.

(96) a. *mi wanni juru moni na ju* (Sch 1783: 101)
1S want borrow money LOC 2S
['ich will Geld von dir borgen.']
'I want to borrow money from you.'

b. *mi sa juru da moni gi ju* (Sch 1783: 101)
1S FUT lend the mony GIVE 2S
['ich will dir das Geld leihen.']
'I shall lend you the money.'

Eastern Maroon Creole has an item *yuu* that can function as a verb, meaning 'rent', and as a noun, meaning 'hour; o'clock; time' (SIL 3003). Thus, it is only a partial match between Early Sranan *juru* and Eastern Maroon Creole *yuu*: both can be used as nouns and verbs with similar meanings, but Early Sranan verbal *juru* additionally has others senses that appear to be conveyed by Eastern Maroon Creole *leni* only. Thus, Eastern Maroon Creole *yuu* 'rent' seems to more closely resemble Early Sranan *hüre* or *hoeroe* 'rent', which is typified as Dutch by Schumann (1783: 69).

Huttar & Huttar (1994) include in their discussion of Eastern Maroon Creole verbs allowing two objects the verb *sende* 'send' as it appears to take indirect and direct object, "[y]et, the meaning is specialised in such a way that we take the first NP as the direct object, the second as a prepositionless adverbial, with a roughly purposive meaning" (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 159), as in (97).

(97) *Mi o sende sama wan sani* (EMC, Huttar & Huttar 1994: 159)
1S FUT send person a thing
'I'll send someone on an errand.'

Additionally , the verb *sende* can be used as a verb of transfer, but then it cannot take an indirect object denoting the recipient. The recipient is expressed as a prepositional phrase headed by *gi* (98).

(98) a. *Da na mi sende a biifi ya gi yu* (EMC, Huttar & Huttar 1994: 159)
then COP 1S send the letter here GIVE 2S
'Now it was I who sent this letter to you.'

b. **Da na mi sende yu a biifi ya* (EMC, Huttar & Huttar 1994: 159)
then COP 1S send 2S the letter here
'Now it was I who sent you this letter.'

In contrast with Eastern Maroon Creole *sende* with a purposive meaning, Early Sranan *sendi,* a manipulative predicate, takes a sentential complement optionally marked by (a variant of) *fu* instead of an object, see section 6.2.1.2. Similar to Eastern Maroon

Creole *sende*, Early Sranan *sendi* can be used as a verb of transfer taking a prepositional phrase headed by *gi* or *na* or both denoting the recipient, see (99). Examples of double object constructions with *sendi* are not found in the Early Sranan sources. Because this type of construction is not allowed in Eastern Maroon Creole, it is likely that it did not occur in Early Sranan and that it is therefore not present in the sources.

(99) a. (...) *grandman sa takie of sendie takie na dem* (...) (SPT 1762: art 8)
chief FUT tell or send word LOC 3P
'(...) the governor will say or send them a message (...).'

b. *Joe sa wanie senie em wan trom na mie* (Wey 1798: 124)
2S FUT want send 3S.OBJ a turn LOC 1S
['Zoud gy haar wel eens by my willen zenden.']
'Will you send her to me some time?'

c. *Effie granman of koeroetoe sendie moffo gi na dem, takie ningre ronwey* (...)
if chief or court send word GIVE LOC them SAY black run-away
['Soodrae sij van de heer Gouverneur off regeeringe alhier kennisse krijgen van eenige desertie van slaven'] (SPT 1762: art. 7)
'If the governor or the court will send them a message saying that Blacks ran away (...).'

d. *senni datti gi mi* (Sch1783: 152)
send that GIVE 1S
['schicke mir das.']
'Send that to me.'

Note that when instead of a recipient a destination is expressed, the prepositional phrase denoting the destination can only be headed by the locative preposition *na* (100).

(100) *mi wan zendi dem na pranasie* (VD c1765: 90)
1S want send 3P LOC plantation
['Ik wil ze na de Plantagie zenden.']
'I want to send them to the plantation.'

In conclusion, double object constructions do not always result from dative shift in Eastern Maroon Creole: several verbs with multiple meanings allowing two objects cannot alternatively express the recipient or the beneficiary as a prepositional phrase. The type of construction disambiguates the meaning of the verb. The Early Sranan findings presented above suggest that this is not the case in Early Sranan: double object constructions can be replaced with prepositional dative phrases and vice versa.

Another difference between Eastern Maroon Creole and Early Sranan is that different prepositions head the phrases expressing the roles of recipient and beneficiary (if the roles can be expressed as prepositional phrases). The Eastern

Maroon Creole prepositional dative phrase is marked with *gi*, but in Early Sranan *na* and *gi* perform this function.

It may be the case that the predecessors of Early Eastern Maroon Creole exhibited as much variation as Early Sranan, but that certain features ceased to exist in the former whereas their Early Sranan equivalents continued to be used. Variation is more likely to occur in large loose communities such as plantations and the city than in small, relatively stable communities such as the Ndyuka and the Paamaka.

4.2.2 Valency decreasing operations (passives)

Payne (1997: 172) lists several valency decreasing operations, ranging from reflexives, reciprocals and middles to subject omission, passives, inverses, object omission, antipassives, object demotion and object incorporation, that can be found in the world's languages. From a purely syntactic point of view, the only valency decreasing operation found in the Early Sranan sources involves basic passives. Basic passives have a subject that is not an agent and a main verb that can be used transitively in its non-passive form; the verb expresses an activity and selects an agent subject and a patient object (Keenan 1985). Early Sranan basic passives are discussed below.

In addition to a basic passive, the third person non-singular pronoun *dem* with indefinite and non-specific reference can be used to downplay the centrality of the role of agent. Schumann (1783) suggests that this use of *dem* is an alternative strategy to derive a passive: "bey vielen Worten kann man das "passivum" nicht anders geben, als mit *dem*." (Schumann 1783: 29). Both transitive and intransitive verbs can occur with indefinite *dem*; see (101) and (102). The latter illustrates the meaning of *woijowoijo* 'marketplace'.

(101) a. *Tide da jarri den ben myki mi Mam* (VD c1765: 44)
today COP/the year 3P PST make 1S mother
['Van Daag is myn Moeder Jaarig.']
'Today is the day my mother was born.'

b. *dem ben meki mi na Bakkrakondre* (Sch1783: 29)
3P PST make 1S LOC Europe
['ich bin in Europa geboren.']
'I have been born in Europe.'

(102) *dapeh dem de siddom va selli sanni* (Sch1783: 204)
there 3P ASP sit.down to sell thing
'There they sit down to sell things.'

Early Sranan basic passives typically involve verbs expressing volitional acts that have a direct and perceptible effect on the patient object. They include common change of state verbs such as *brokko* 'break' (103) and *kotti* 'cut' (104), but also verbs such as *selli* 'sell' (105).

(103) a. (...) *in na netti kom na mi of mi zweri mi brokke joe hede* (VD c1765: 66)
in LOC night come LOC 1S or 1S swear 1S break 2S head
['en kom van Nagt by myn, of ik zweer je dat ik u de Kop zal breeken.']
'(...) come to me tonight or I swear that I will break your head.'

b. *Tanki mastra a noe fe mi rasi brokke a noefe vo joe mastra* (VD c1765: 59)
please master 3S enough 1S buttocks break enough for 2S master
['Dankje Meester, het is genoeg, myn Billen binnen al aan stukkend, Genaade, Genaade']
'Please master, enough, my buttocks are broken, it's enough master.'

(104) a. *kotti da meti na pisipisi* (Sch 1783: 88)
cut the meat LOC piece.REDUP
['zerschneide das Fleisch in lauter kleine Stücke.']
'Cut the meat in pieces.'

b. *a kotti kaba* (Sch 1783: 88)
3S cut already
['es ist schon zerschnitten.']
'It is cut already.'

(105) a. *mi sa selli hudu gi ju* (Sch 1783: 152)
1S FUT sell wood give 2S
['ich will dir Holz verkaufen..']
'I will sell wood to you.'

b. *dasanni no selli jetti?* (Sch 1783: 152)
that-thing NEG sell yet
['ist dieses noch nicht verkauft?']
'Isn't that sold yet?'

Basic passives are found in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual. The majority is perfective, often marked by the adverb *kaba* 'finished; already', but in Schumann's (1783) dictionary occasionally passives with other tenses and aspects are found, see (106), (107b) and (108b).

(106) *da gotro de go brokko* (Sch 1783: 78)
the trench ASP FUT break
'The trench is going to collapse.'

(107) a. *mi boli janjam* (Sch 1783: 20)
1S cook food-REDUP
['ich koche Essen.']
I cook food.'

b. *da janjam* *de* *boli* (Sch 1783: 20)
the food.REDUP ASP cook
['das Essen kocht.']
'The food is cooking.'

(108) a. *ju fulu glasi tumussi, wini trueh abra* (Sch 1783: 3)
2S fill glass excessive wine spill.out over
['du machst das Glas so voll, dass der Wein überläuft.']
'You fill up the glass excessively, the wine overflows.'

b. *a de fulu tumussi, a de go passa abra* (Sch 1783: 3)
3S ASP full excessive 3S ASP go pass over
['es ist zu voll, es wird überlaufen.']
'It is getting too full, it will spill.'

Even though basic passives are found in all three major sources of Early Sranan, the fact that they are found more frequently in the late 18th century sources may indicate that their frequency increased over time. The following passages from Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Weygandt's (1798) manual support this hypothesis to some extent. In Van Dyk's (c1765) guide a transitive construction is used with a zero object pronoun and a third person non-singular pronominal subject is used to express that the table is set, whereas Weygandt makes use of a passive, compare (109) and (110).

(109) [A] *Joe buy gi wini takki homan potti tafel*
2S boy give wine tell woman put table
['Jongen geef een Glas Wyn en zeg teegen de Meiden dat ze de Tafel ..']
'You, boy, give us wine and tell the women to set the table.'

[B] *Mastra den potti kaba* (VD c1765: 69)
master 3P put already
['Meester de Tafel is bereid om te Eeten.']
'Master, they set (it) already.'

(110) a. *foe dekie tafla* (Wey 1798: 28)
to set table
['de Tafel dekken']
'to set the table.'

b. *Tafla dekie kaba?* (Wey 1798: 93)
table set already
['Is de Tafel gedekt?']
'Is the table set?'

Note that not every verb can be passivized. The verb *(h)oppo*, for example, always selects an agent subject irrespective of whether it used transitively, meaning 'lift up', or

intransitively, meaning 'get up', see (111). Note that the latter meaning is expressed by a different verb in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide (*tan op(p)e* 'get up' < Dutch *opstaan* 'get up' or English *stand up*) and Weygandt's (1798) manual (*tanap(p)oe* 'get up'), see (112).

(111) *effi ju srefi no kann hoppo, mi sa hoppo ju* (Sch 1783: 67)
if 2S self NEG can get.up 1S FUT lift 2S
['wenn du nicht selbst aufstehen kannst, so will ich dich aufheben.']
'If you cannot get up by yourself, I will lift you up.'

(112) a. *mi wan tan oppe* (VD c1765: 45)
1S want stand up
['Ik wil opstaan.']
'I want to get up.'

b. *A tanapoe kaba?* (Wey 1798: 100)
3S get.up already
['Is hy al op?']
'Is he up already?'

4.2.2.1 Valency decreasing operations in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

Eastern Maroon Creole passive verbs or clauses resemble their Early Sranan counterparts in that they are not formally distinct from active ones: passives and actives have the same range of tenses and aspects (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 477 – 485). If a passive is preceded by the aspect marker *e,* it is a dynamic passive; if not, it is a stative passive (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 481). Thus, the passives marked by *de* in Schumann's (1783) dictionary such as the ones in (107b) and (108b) can be regarded as dynamic passives, even though Schumann's translation suggests they are stative.

5 The simple sentence

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter the Early Sranan simple sentence is discussed, that is a sentence containing a single clause. Declarative clause are used to form statements, simply asserting information (5.1); negative clauses are used to state that a certain state of affairs is not true (5.2); interrogative clauses are used to ask questions (5.3), and imperative/prohibitive clauses for commands (7.4). Predicate nominals are discussed in 5.5 and comparative clauses in 5.6. In sections 5.7 to 5.9 types of clauses are investigated that differ from the ones discussed in previous sections in various ways: the effect of intonation is discussed in 5.7, movement, dislocation and cleft constructions are discussed in sections 5.8, 5.9 and 5.10 respectively. Section 5.11 on exclamations, swear words and insults concludes this chapter.

5.1 Declarative clause

Declarative clauses are the most common clause type. The basic constituent order of an Sranan declarative clause is Subject – Verb – Object; the most agent-like argument of a transitive clause precedes the verb, which is followed by the least agent-like argument(s), as in (1a). In the case of an intransitive clause, the only argument precedes the verb (1b).

(1) a. *mi potti hem na wan sij caba* (CR 1745)
1S put 3S.OBJ LOC a side already
'I have put him on one side already.'

b. *Zon komotte* (HL 1718: 123)
sun come.out
['De Zon komt op.']
'The sun rises.'

5.2 Negative clause

A negative clause asserts that some event, situation or state of affairs does *not* hold (Payne 1997) with clausal negation. The negative particle or negator *no* is usually positioned in between the subject and the verb, preceding the markers of tense, mood and aspect and auxiliaries, see (2).

(2) *dem no sa moessoe hollie nowan bacara nengre alwasie grandie of pikien*
3P NEG FUT must hold NEG-one white black whether big or small

na dem mindrie (SPT 1762: art. 6)
LOC 3P midst

['Sij sullen onder geen pretext hoe genaamt eenige slaaven bij haar moogen houden (...)']
'They should not keep any Black belonging to the Whites, whether big or small, with them.'

In addition, the negator *no* can precede a particular constituent of a clause (constituent negation), which can have a semantic effect very similar to that of clausal negation, see for example the copula-less predicate nominals in (3) (discussed in more detail in section 5.5).

(3) a. *jou no meester voor mi* (CR 1707)
2S NEG master for 1S
'You are not my master.'

b. *Mingo joù no man*
Mingo 2S NEG man
'Mingo, you don't have the nerve.'

In the case of constituent negation, *no* can occur in clause-initial position due to negative focus, compare (4a) and (4b-c). Schumann (1783) adds double quotation marks to indicate that *no* in this position receives intonational stress (see section 5.2).

(4) a. *mi no haksi hem* (Sch 1783: 124)
2S NEG master for 1S
['ich habe ihn nicht gefragt.']
'I have not asked him.'

b. *"no" hem mi haksi* (Sch 1783: 124)
NEG 3S 1S ask
['ich habe nicht "ihn" gefragt.']
'I have not asked HER'.

c. *"no" mi haksi hem* (Sch 1783: 124)
NEG 1S ask 3S
[' "ich" habe ihn nicht gefragt.']
'It wasn't me, who asked him.'

Schumann (1783) discusses the various functions of the item *no*, stating that its position in the sentence and the distribution of intonational stress across the sentence are indicative of the function it serves: "[*n*]*o* muss allezeit "vor" dem Wort, worauf es sich bezieht, stehen, anstatt dass wir Deutsche das *nicht* allezeit hinten setzen: u. um einen besonderen Nachdruck darauf zu legen, wird *no* zuweilen ganz vorne gesezt (...) Manchmal wird *no* ganz hinten gleichsam verloren angehängt, u. als dann bedeutet es: "etwa", "vieleicht", "wol" (...) Man sieht aus allen diesen Exempeln, wie genau es bey *no* auf die Stelle ankommt, wo man es hinsezt; u. wie eine jede Bedeutung ihre

"gewisse" Stelle für *no* hat: ferner, wie genau es ausserdem auch auf den "Accent" ankommt, wo man denselben hinlegt" ["*no* should always be preceding the word it has in its scope, contrary to Germain *nicht* 'not' which occurs in postposition; *no* can be placed in clause-initial position for emphasis (...) often *no* is placed in clause-final position, it then means 'more or less', 'maybe', 'right' (...) The examples show that the position of *no* determines its meaning; it also depends on the intonational stress."] (Schumann 1783: 123-124).

No is sporadically represented as *na* in Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Van Dyk's (c1765) manual. Although these occurrences may just be unintentional spelling errors or errors made by the type setter in the case of Van Dyk's (c1765) manual,[95] they should not be ignored as they resemble the Eastern Maroon Creole negative particle *ná* (see section 5.1.2.1). The examples from Van Dyk's (c1765) manual are presented in (5).

(5) a. *koffi na lypi alle plessi* (VD c1765: 59)
coffe NEG ripe all place
['de Koffi is over al niet Ryp.']
'The coffee is not ripe anywhere.'

b. *da stole na hey* (VD c1765: 27)
the chair NEG high
['De Stoel is te laag.']
'The chair is not high.'

c. *Na troy jamjam* (VD c1765: 27)
NEG throw food
['Eet zindelyk.']
'Don't throw your food around.'

Basic negative clauses do not differ much across the various sources of Early Sranan, except for the following: in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide combinations of clausal negation and constituent negation are not encountered, whereas they are found in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762), Schumann's dictionary (1783) and Weygandt's manual (1798).[96] Complex negative quantifiers that are the result of constituent negation such as *no wan zanti* 'nothing' (6a, see also section 3.1.3), do not occur in negative clauses in Van Dyk's manual; instead negative clauses with clausal negation are used, as in (6b) and (6c). Clausal negation can be accompanied by quantifiers that are inherently negative, such as *nimmere* 'never' (6d).

[95] In particular the one instance of negative *na* in Schumann's (1783) dictionary may be a spelling error; *na* is not listed as possible variant of *no*. Furthermore, the locative preposition *na* is sporadically written as *no*, as in for example *no ondro* lit.at below ['unter'] 'down; below' (Sch 1783:120). This may be a case of vowel assimilation.

[96] Herlein's (1718) text and Nepveu's (1770) revision have no examples of negative clauses in which clausal negation is accompanied by constituent negation.

(6) a. *No wan zanti* (VD c1765: 21)
NEG a thing
['Niemendal.']
'Nothing.'

b. *a kili wan negere lange gon bekassi anno hondi wan zanti da de* (VD c1765: 85)
3S kill a black with gun because 3S- NEG hunt a thing that day
['daarom heeft hy een Neeger Dood Geschooten om dat hy die Dag niets Gejaagd had']
'Because he didn't shoot anything that day, he killed a black.'

c. [A] *Mi vergiti da man nem*
1S forget the man name
['Ik vergeet die Man zyn naam.']
'I've forgotten that man's name.'

[B] *Nem no doe wan zanti.* (VD c1765: 53)
name NEG do a thing
['De naam doed niemendal.']
'The name is not important.'

d. *Mino jerri zo wan zanti nimmere* (VD c1765: 79)
1S-NEG so a thing never
['Dat heb ik nooit gehoord']
'I have never heard such a thing.'

Example (7) shows that constructions similar to (6b,c) are also found in the Court Records.

(7) *dem no sa doe joe wan santie* (CR 1760)
3P NEG FUT do 2S a thing
'They will not harm you.'

In addition to clauses similar to (6b,c,d) and (7) above, negative clauses are encountered in the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762), Schumann's dictionary (1783) and Weygandt's manual (1798), in which clausal negation is combined with negative quantifiers (see section 2.5.3), but not with other negated constituents, see (8).

(8) a. *Effi inniwan nengre kom na dem, dem no sa holli no wan nimbre* (SPT 1762: art. 5)
if any black come LOC 3P 3P NEG FUT hold NEG one never
'If any Black comes to them, they will never keep any of them'

b. *da somma* <u>*no*</u> *de siki* <u>*no wan*</u> *tem* (Sch 1783:)
the person NEG ASP be.sick NEG one time
['der Mensch is niemals krank']
'That person is never sick.'

c. *Den* <u>*no*</u> *kan sie* <u>*no*</u> <u>*wan*</u> *kroektoe fou na ienie* Wey 1798: 112)
3P NEG can see NEG one crooked fold LOC in
['Men ziet er geen oneffen vouw in.']
'They cannot see a crooked fold in it.'

5.2.1 Negative clauses in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

Clausal negation in Eastern Maroon Creole is expressed by the negative particle *ná* or *á* immediately after the subject. Clausal negation is rarely expressed in non-finite subjectless subordinate clauses headed by the complementizer *fu*; it is never expressed in other subjectless clauses such as non-initial clauses in serial verb constructions (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 251-253).

Constituent negation is expressed by *ná wan* 'not one' preceding a constituent headed by a noun in combination with clausal negation in the same clause or the main clause, if the negated constituent does not precede the verb. Constituent negation is usually more emphatic than clausal negation (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 253). Furthermore, Eastern Maroon Creole nominal and adverbial constituents can be preceded just by *ná*, but then they have to be in clause-initial position or be clefted (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 253-255). The constituents marked by *ná wan* are often fronted or clefted, but they can occur in other positions than clause-initially.

In the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762), Schumann's dictionary (1783) and Weygandt's manual (1798) equivalents of Eastern Maroon Creole negative clauses are found (see above). Van Dyk's guide (c1765), on the other hand, differs: clausal negation and constituent negation do not co-occur. However, equivalents of the examples from Van Dyk's guide (c1765) are found in Eastern Maroon Creole: a noun phrase in a negative clause can be emphasized by the numeral *wán* 'one' or the indefinite article *wan* 'a' preceding the head of the noun phrase (9).

(9) *mi á si* <u>*wan*</u> *sani* (EMC, Huttar & Huttar 1994: 331)
1S NEG see a thing
'I don't see a thing.'

5.3 Interrogative

Two types of interrogative clauses (requests for information, action etc.) can be distinguished in Early Sranan: those eliciting affirmation or disaffirmation (yes/no questions), and those anticipating a more elaborate response (Payne 1997). Interrogative clauses of the latter type are usually marked by a question word in clause-initial position; they are also known as question word questions.

Early Sranan interrogative clauses do not differ from other types of clauses described in this chapter with regard to word order, the presence of special markers etc. There is, however, a difference in intonation, which is described by Schumann

(1783: 57) as follows: "Um in der Negersprache eine Frage auszudrücken, werden die Worte im geringsten nicht verändert oder in eine andre Ordnung gesezt, als sonst; sondern man muss die Frage blos durch den unterschiedenen Ton in der Aussprache anzeigen" ['To phrase a question in the language of the Blacks the words are not changed or placed in a different order, except for the following: one has to mark the question with a different tone in the pronunciation'] (Schumann 1783: 57). In Eastern Maroon Creole (Huttar & Huttar 1994) and in contemporary Sranan (my own observations), an interrogative clause without a question word exhibits a final rising intonation that extends back over most of the sentence, while a final rising intonation is absent in most other sentence types. I assume that that this is the difference in intonation Schumann aimed to describe. Note that in the case of a question word question, the intonation does not rise as much as it does in the case of a yes/no question.

In Herlein's (1718) text, Nepveu's (1770) revision of the former, Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual an interrogative clause is orthographically marked by a question mark at the end of the clause (10). Early Sranan interrogatives are never marked by a question mark in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, but the corresponding Dutch interrogatives are, see (11a-b). Furthermore, question marks are not encountered in the Court Records and the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty.

(10) *Mie jary no grandebon?* (Hl 1718: 121)
1S garden NEG great
['Is mijn Tuin niet goed?']
'Isn't my garden beautiful?'

(11) a. *Jo no za jam vossi* (VD c1765: 92)
2S NEG FUT eat first
['Zel je niet eerst Eeten?']
'Shall you not eat first?'

b. *Hoe ply da mastra de* (VD c1765: 93)
Q place the master be
['Waar is de Directeur?']
'Where is the director?'

Early Sranan interrogative clauses (yes/no questions and question word questions) function not only as requests for information, action etc.; they can also mark exclamatives (see section 7.11) or they can be rhetorical, such as the following example from the Court Records:

(12) *hoe santie tide Picorna soetoe mi* (CR 1759)
Q thing today Picorn shoot 1S
'What happened today (is that) Picorna shot me.'

Note that requests do not necessarily have the form of an interrogative. Schumann's consultant states that requests in *ningretongo* and *bakratongo* differ as follows, although both have the form of an imperative:

(13) a. *effi Ningre wanni begi Ningre tranga va tru, dem takki: tangitangi, mi hatti-lobbi,*
if black want beg black strong for true 3P say please.REDUP 1S heart-love

mi bossi ju futu, du mi da plessiri! (Sch 1783: 13)
1S kiss 2S feet do 1S the pleasure
'When blacks desires a favour of another black, they'll say: "please, my dearest, I'll kiss your feet, grant me the pleasure!"'

b. *effi Ningre begi Bakkra, dem takki: grangtangi vo Massra, effi Massra plîs*
if black beg white 3P say great-please to master if master please

va gi mi datti! (Sch 1783: 13)
to give 1S that
'When blacks desire a favour of a white, they'll say: "Many thanks to the sir, if it would please master to give me that!'

Yes/no questions. Neutral and leading yes/no questions can not be differentiated on the basis of special markers. However, certain items such as the negative particle *no* in (10) and (11a) above can reveal that the speaker is expecting an affirmative response. Disaffirmative responses are elicited by indirect speech acts, such as (14).

(14) *mi sa meki Massra fumm mi gi ju?* (Sch 1783: 50)
1S FUT make master punish 1S for 2S
['dennkst du denn, dass ich mich will um deinentwillen schlagen lassen?']
'You don't think that I'll let the master punish me for your sake?'

The request for affirmation or disaffirmation can be expressed explicitly by adding a phrase functioning as a tag to a declarative clause: In Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, it is the phrases *anno bon* or *anno troe* the speaker uses to request affirmation, see (15a) and (15b). The latter is alternatively found in an abbreviated form in Weygandt's (1798) manual (16).

(15) a. *joe potti alle den pissi gron na ini krien kaba den dotti*
2S put all the.PL piece ground LOC in clean but 3P dirty

alle anno troe buurman? (VD c1765: 101)
all 3S-NEG true buurman
['je zet dat al de Stukken schoon zyn en zy zyn allemaal Vuil; Is het zoo niet buurman?']
'You suggested, that all the pieces of land were clean but they are dirty, right, neighbour?'

b. [A] *Mi no potti wan zanti na da brifi morre likki mi kalle da mastra lange*
1S NEG put a thing LOC the letter more like 1S call the director with

schrifi man fo kom jussena anno bon
write-er to come right-now 3S-NEG good
['Ik heb 'er niet anders in Geschreeven als een Vriendelyk Verzoek of Buurman met zyn Schryver hier reis Blieft te koomen: Is dat niet goed?']
'I only wrote in the letter that I'm calling the director and the writer to come over soon; isn't that good?'

[B] *Ai da bon a za kom fo joe hede ma fo mi hede*
yes FOC good 3S FUT come for 2S cause but for 1S cause

anno za kom (VD c1765: 97)
3S-NEG FUT come
['Dat is goed, hy zal om uwent wil koomen, maar om myne niet.']
'Yes, it's good, he'll come for you, he wouldn't come for me.'

(16) *Joe lobie ajen wan soopie no troe?* (Wey 1798: 127)
2S like again a drink NEG true
['Je lust weer een soopie niet waar?']
'You want another drink, right?'

In Schumann's (1783) dictionary the item *no* functions as a tag, positioned at the end of a yes/no question (17a), or at the end of an elliptical yes/no question from which the interrogative clause is omitted, as in (17b). The item *no* in (17b) indicates that the speaker is expecting a positive response.

(17) a. *ju lau no?* (Sch 1783: 124)
2S mad TAG
['bist du etwa verrückt?']
'You're mad, right?'

b. *somma teki datti? "ju" no?* (Sch 1783: 124)
who take that 2S TAG
['wer hat dis genommen? etwa du? wol du?']
'Who has taken that? What about you?'

No tags are found in the texts by Herlein (1718) and Nepveu (1770) texts, the Court Records and the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762).

Question word questions. Early Sranan question word questions have a question word in sentence-intial position that not only marks the clause as a type of interrogative (hence the name), it also indicates what information is being elicited by the speaker.

Almost all Early Sranan question words are analytic; they consist of (variants of) the question particle *hu* (<English *which*)[97] and a questioned semantic unit (Smith 1987; Muysken & Smith 1990; Arends 1995; Bruyn 1995). Schumann (1783: 68) describes the structure of the Early Sranan question word as follows: "*hu* kann aber nie für sich alleine stehen, sondern muss allemal an andere Worte vorn angehängt werden" ['*hu* can never stand alone, cliticization is obligatory']. The only exceptions are *somma* 'who; person' and *san(ni)* 'what; thing' in Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual; they can function as question words without the question particle *hu* (Bruyn 1995).

(18) a. *<u>husomma</u> lukku da pikin?* (Sch1783: 104)
Q-person watch the child
['wer hat das Kind in Aufsicht? it. wer besorgt das Kind?']
'Who watches over the child?'

b. *<u>somma</u> luku tafra?* (Sch1783: 104)
who wait table
['wer dient bey Tisch?']
'Who waites on the table?'

(19) a. *<u>husanni</u> ju wanni? <u>sanni</u> ju wanni?* (Sch1783: 149)
Q-thing 2S want what 2S want
['was willst du?']
'What do you want?

b. *<u>San</u> joe wannie n'jan?* (Wey 1798: 80)
what 2S want eat
['Wat wilt gy eeten?']
'What do you want to eat?'

Other comments by Schumann (1783) concerning question words are the following: with regard to the items *hupeh* and *husei* questioning the location (20), he states that they differ with regard to specifity. The latter is "allgemeiner u. unbestimmter als *hupeh*" [wider-ranging and less specific than *hupeh*] (Schumann 1783: 151).

(20) a. *<u>hupeh</u> ju findi datti?* (Sch1783: 69)
Q-place 2S find that
['wo hast du dieses gefunden?']
'Where did you find that?'

[97] Other sources that have been suggested are English *how* (Echteld 1961) and *who* (Arends 1989), but English *which* seems more likely, see Muysken & Smith (1990) and Bruyn (1995).

b. *husei ju potti hem?* (Sch1783: 69)
Q-side 2S put 3S
['wo hast du es hingelegt?']
'Where did you put it?'

Furthermore, he states that **hudi* cannot be used as a variant of *hudissi* Q-which 'which?' (Schumann 1783: 68).

Early Sranan question words are discussed in considerable detail by Arends (1995) and Bruyn (1995: 145 – 160); the reader is referred to these sources for more information on the formation and development of Sranan question words. Table 5.1 (next page) is an overview of various question words found the Early Sranan sources, Modern Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole.

The question particle *hu* is not only involved in the formation of canonical question words such as the ones represented in the table above; an open-class content word can fill the questioned semantic unit questioning elements of the noun phrase or the adverbial phrase in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual, see (21).

(21) a. *Hoe klossi a weri* (VD c1765: 25)
Q clothes 3S wear
['Wat voor een Kleed heeft hy aan.']
'What is he wearing?'

b. *hu vool ju wanni?* (Sch1783: 134)
Q poulty 2S want
'Which chicken do you want?'

c. *O brada a dee?* (Wey 1798: 107)
Q broad 3S COP
['Hoe breed is 't?']
'How wide is it?'

Furthermore, elements of the noun phrase and the adverbial phrase can be questioned by (variants of) *husomma* 'whose?', *hudissi* 'which?', *husorte* 'what kind?' and *humenni* 'how many/much?'. Note that question words questioning elements of a noun or adverbial phrase can replace the entire phrase:

(22) a. *humenni somma libi jette?* (Sch1783: 102)
Q-many people leave yet
'How many people left already?'

b. *humenni de?* (Sch1783: 194)
Q-many be-there?
'How many are there?'

Table 5.1 *Question words in Modern Sranan, Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

MOD. SR	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
	1707-1767	1718	1762	C1765	1770	1783	1798	
	CR	HIL	SPT	VD	N	SCH	WEY	
WHO	*hoe*	*oe*	-	*hoe*	-	*(hu-)*	*(o(e))*	*sama*
(o)suma	*sambre*	*som bady*		*zom(m)a*		*somma*	*sama*	
Q-person							*o(e) soema*	
WHAT	*hoe*	-	-	*hoe*	-	*(hu-)*	*(o) san*	*(on) san*
o-sani	*santie*			*za(n(ti))*		*sanni*		
(o)san				*hoe san*				
Q-thing				*wat zan*				
WHICH	-	-	-	-	-	*hudissi*	-	*ondi*
o-di(si)						**hudi*		*ondu*
Q-this								
WHICH	-	-	-	-	-	*hu-sorte*	*oe sortoe*	*sowtu*
o-sortu								*sootu*
Q-sort								*sowtu wan*
WHEN	-	*oe tem*	-	*hoe tem*	*hoe tem*	*hutem*	*oe tem*	*on ten*
o-ten				*hoe late*	*oe tem*	*hulati*	*oe la(a)ti*	*on lati*
Q-time						*hudeh*		*on yuu*
WHERE	-	*oe plasje*		*hoe plessi*	*na hoe*	*(na)*	*o pree*	*(on) pe*
o-plesi; (o)pe		*oe plesje*		*hoe pi/pe*	*plesi*	*hupeh*	*o() plee*	
Q-place		*oe plesse*		*hoe p(l)y*			*o()pleesie*	
					na hoe sey	*(na)husei*		*(on) se*
WHY	-	*ver wate*	-	*fo zan*	-	*(va) huheddi*	*foe*	*(on) saide*
san(e)de				*hed(d)e(n)*		*va husanni*	*osanhédee*	*(fu) san ede*
what-reason						*heddi*	*foe o san*	*fu saide meke*
san meki							*hedee*	*saanti*
what make								*san pasa*
HOW	-	*oe fasse*	*hoe fa*	*ho(e) fa(s(s)i)*	*hoe()fasi*	*hufa(si)*	*oe fa(sie)*	*(on) fa*
(manner)		*oe fasje*			*ou fasi*			
o-fasi;					*hoefisi*			
(o)fa								
Q-fashion								
HOW	-	-	-	*hoe menni*	*oemeni*	*humenni*	*oe menie*	*onmen*
(quantity)								
o-meni								
Q-many								

Most elements of the main clause can be questioned. Examples of questioned subject, direct and indirect object, manner, constituent of adverbial of time, location or reason can be found in almost every Early Sranan source. Examples of questioned comitative and instrument are encountered in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Weygandt's (1798) manual, see (23) and (24).

(23) [A] *Misi riddi heden a de go trouw*
miss red head 3S ASP go marry
['Jufvrouw Rood-Kop gaat Trouwen.']
'Miss Redhead is getting married.'

[B] *Lange hoe zomma*
with Q person
['Met wie.']
'With whom?'

[A] *a De go trouw lange wan gran zomma* (VD c1765: 32)
3S ASP go marry with a great person
['Zy gaat met een Groote Trouwen.']
'She's going to marry an important man.'

(24) *Nanga o san mie kan dienie joe* (Wey 1798: 76)
with Q thing 1S can serve 2S
['Met wat kan ik u dienen']
'What can I serve you with?'

Examples of questioned elements in finite subordinate clauses occur less frequently in the sources. The question particle and the questioned semantic unit occur in initial position of the subordinate clause (Court Records, Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, Schumann's (1783) dictionary), except for Weygandt's (1798) manual, where it can occur at the beginning of the main clause as well as at the beginning of the subordinate clause, see (25).

(25) a. [A] *Oe latie dan?*
Q late then
['Hoe laat is 't dan?']
'What time is it then?'

[B] *Oe latie joe memree wie dee?* (Wey 1798: 101)
Q late 2S think 1P COP
['Hoe laat meend gy dat wy zyn?']
'At what time do you think we will be there?'

b. *Mie no sabie o sama da em* (Wey 1798: 91)
1S NEG know Q person FOC 3S
['Ik weet niet wie hy is.']
'I don't know who he is.'

Only one example of a questioned element of a nonfinite subordinate clause is found in the sources, it is the elliptical question in (26).

(26) [A] *gi mi da nefi*!
give 1S the knife
['gib mir das Messer!']
'Give me the knife!'

[B] *sanni va go du?* (Sch 1783: 51)
what to go do
['wozu?']
'Why?'

5.3.1 Interrogative clauses in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

An Eastern Maroon Creole interrogative clause can be distinguished from a declarative clause on the basis of the final rising intonation of the former (Huttar & Huttar 1994) similar to Early Sranan (see Schumann's description discussed above).

Yes/no questions. Neutral and leading yes/no questions are formally indistinct; the expected response is generally recovered from the pragmatic-cultural context (Huttar & Huttar 1994). Although questions expecting an affirmative response can be marked by clause-final *so*, it does not unambiguously signal that response (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 14). Clause-final *no*, on the other hand, explicitly expresses the speaker's expectation of an affirmative response, similar to the Early Sranan examples from Schumann's (1783) dictionary represented in (14). However, the Eastern Maroon Creole *no* tag is not restricted to yes/no questions, as it is found in question word questions, statements and commands; it marks a certain degree of shared information or agreement between speaker and adressee (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 15).

Question word questions. Eastern Maroon Creole question word questions are marked by question words occuring at the beginning of the main clause; they can be preceded only by vocatives, conjunctions and governing prepositions (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 21), similar to their Early Sranan equivalents. In general, the overview of question words in Modern Sranan, Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole presented in Table 5.1 above shows no surprises, except for the following: In both contemporary Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole the form of the question word 'which?' is *o-di(si)* and *on-di*, respectively. Early Sranan equivalents of this construction are encountered in Schumann's (1783) dictionary only, but then only the unabbreviated form. What is more, the form **hudi* is ungrammatical in this source. Another question word that is encountered primarily in its unabbreviated form in the Early Sranan sources while it is

reduced in Eastern Maroon Creole (*saide*) and contemporary Sranan (*sa(n)ede*)[98], is *fu husanni heddi* literally for Q thing reason/head 'why?'. Note that in addition to *saide* 'why?' and *(fu) san ede* 'why?' Eastern Maroon Creole uses two other forms *saanti* 'why?' and *san pasa* 'why?'. Arends (1995) and Bruyn (1995) have argued that the Sranan question word system need not have been established in one go (cf. Muysken & Smith 1990), and that in particular the question word for 'why?' took some time to be established. Bruyn (1995) shows that well into the 18th century *fu husanni heddi* did not really belong to the core question word system; in this light it is important that Herlein (1718) has recorded *ver wate* 'why?' and not a variant of *fu husanni heddi* (see also table 5.1). Arends (1995) suggests that the fact that *ver wate* 'why?' is not corrected by Nepveu can mean that it was still used in some varieties of Early Sranan spoken during Nepveu's time. Furthermore, the question word *hufa* 'how?' in Van Dyk's (c765) guide, Schumann's (1783) dictionary and his Gospel (1781) and Weygandt's (1798) manual can convey both the meaning 'how?' and 'why?' (Bruyn 1995: 148). The fact that in Eastern Maroon Creole several other question words meaning 'why?' are used alongside *saide* 'why?'and *(fu) san ede* 'why?' whereas other question words are very similar in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole, support Bruyn's claim that *fu husanni heddi* was not part of the core question word system of the varieties of Early Sranan, that were spoken before the split between Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole.

The Early Sranan examples of elements of phrases, main clauses and subordinate clauses that can be questioned more or less correspond to their Eastern Maroon Creole counterparts (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 20 – 36), except for the following: Eastern Maroon Creole and Early Sranan differ in the position of the question word when an element of a subordinate clause is questioned. In Eastern Maroon Creole, "[t]he questioned element (...) occurs at the beginning of the main clause, rather than at the place in the subordinate clause where the corresponding nonquestion element would occur (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 25). The Early Sranan sources show a preference for the question word at the beginning of the subordinate clause. The only source in which the subordinate questioned element occurs at the beginning of the main clause is Weygandt's (1798) manual, recall example (25) above.

5.4 Imperative and prohibitive clauses

Basic imperative clauses differ from declarative and interrogative clauses with regard to the position of the verb and the intonation pattern of the sentence. As no subject is expressed, a verb occupies the sentence initial position in (positive) imperative sentences (27a). Prohibitive clauses have the negative particle *no* in sentence-intial position, followed by the verb (27b).

(27) a. *Ope windels* (Hl 1718: 123)
open window
['Doet de Vensters open.']
'Open the windows!'

[98] The form *va huheddi* 'why?' is attested in Schumann's (1783) dictionary.

b. *No mandi* (VD c1765: 23)
NEG be.mad/upset
['Weest niet Kwaad.']
'Don't be mad!'

Basic imperative and prohibitive clauses are not obligatorily marked for singular or plural person reference; basic imperatives are generally subject-less. However, the second person singular *ju* and the plural pronoun *une* can be used in sentence initial position for extra emphasis on the addressee(s) or as a politeness marker. See (28). Prohibitive clauses have the negative particle *no* in between the pronoun and the verb.

(28) a. *Joe go dan* (CR 1707)
2S go then
'Then, go!'

b. *Oenno tan piekien* (VD c1765: 108)
2P stay little
['Wagt een beetje']
'Wait a little, you all!'

In addition to the basic imperatives and prohibitives described above, three other types of imperatives are found in the sources: *go*-imperatives, *kom*-imperatives and *meki*-imperatives. *Go*-imperatives and *kom*-imperatives are directives. A *go*-imperative is directed away from the speaker, while the *kom*-imperative is directed towards the speaker, compare (29) and (30). Schumann (1783: 51) comments on *go* that it not always means that the adressee should leave: "So wird es auch sehr häufig vor dem imperativum vorgesezt, (wenn es auch gleich nicht immer bedeutet, dass man erst deswegen "gehen" muss)" ['similarly, it is often placed at the beginning of an imperative (it then not necessarily means that one has to go away first)'].

(29) a. *Goo selle joe voule* (CR 1763)
go sell 2S poulty
'Go sell your chickens!'

b. *Go poele boeba na da kauw* (VD c1765: 83)
go remove skin LOC the cow
['Gaâ en Vild dat Koe-Beest']
'Go skin the cow!'

(30) a. *kom bosse mie wantem* (Hl 1718: 122)
come kiss 1S once
['Kom zoen my reis.']
'Come kiss me!'.'

b. *tangi tangi massera kom helpi mi* (CR 1763)
please please master come help 1S
'Please, please, master, come help me!'

c. *komm fütti da bruku* (Sch 1783: 46)
come fit the pants
['probire diese Hosen, ob sie dir passen.']
'Come try these pants on!'

Meki-imperatives are marked by the causative verb *meki* 'make; cause to happen; let' in clause-initial position. *Meki*-imperatives differ from *go-* and *kom*-imperatives in that *meki* is immediately followed by the subject of the clause that is the object of *meki*, as in (31).

(31) a. *mekka tan booy* (CR 1747)
make-3S stay booy
'Let him stay, boy!'

b. *kotti hem na pikien pissi myki homan kissie hessi na koekeroe*
cut 3S.OBJ LOC little pieces make woman get hastily LOC kitchen
['hakt het dan aan kleine stukken en maak dat de Meiden het gaauw in de Keuken krygen'] (VD c1765: 83)
'Cut it in little pieces and see to it that the women in the kitchen get it quickly.'

Meki-imperatives can be preceded by other clauses such as imperatives as in (31b) above, or coordinate declarative clauses as in (32).

(32) *tideh ju lasi tem tumussi, meki ju komm tamarra bitem* (Sch 1783: 18)
today 2S lose time much make 2S come tomorrow on time
'Today you were very late, be on time tomorrow!'

When *meki* is followed by a first person plural pronoun, the imperative expresses a proposal for shared action by the speaker and the addressee rather than a command as in (33).

(33) a. *Miki wie doe wan tra zanti* (VD c1765: 29)
let 1P do a other thing
['Laat ons wat anders doen.']
'Let's do something else.'

b. *meki wi jam breki* (Sch 1783: 21)
let 1P eat breakfast
['lass uns frühstücken']
'Let's have breakfast.'

When *meki* is followed by a first person singular pronoun, *meki* often conveys the sense of 'allow' and 'permit' rather than 'make' (34). Such imperatives are more polite manifestations of the more straightforward imperatives discussed above.

(34) a. *mikki mi vili joe pols* (VD c1765: 41)
let 1S feel 2S wrist
['Laat ik u Pols voelen.']
'Let me feel your wrist.'

b. *meki mi fütti da jakketi gi ju* (Sch 1783: 46)
let 1S fit the jacket give 2S
['lass mich dir den Rock anprobiren (ob er dir passt.)']
'Let me help you try on the jacket.'

Combinations of *meki* with a second person subject pronoun are found in Van Dyk's guide (c1765) and Schumann's dictionary (1783). However, they are not found in Weygant's manual (1798). Imperatives are included in the discussion of the verbs *abie* 'have', *dee* 'be', *aksie* 'ask' and *fom* 'punish', but when it comes to the second person, the basic imperative is used. In (35) examples are given for the verb *fom* 'punish'.

(35)

Fom den,	['Straf dezelve']	'Punish them.'
Mekie a fom den,	['Laat hy dezelve straffen']	'Let he punish them.'
Mekie wie fom den,	['Laat ons dezelve straffen']	'Let's punish them.'
Oen fom den,	['Straft gylieden dezelve']	'You punish them!'
Mekie den fom den,	['Laten zy dezelve straffen']	'Let they punish them.'

(Wey 1798: 71)

Examples of prohibitives with *meki* are found in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Weygandt's (1798) manual. The negative particle *no* can precede *meki*, or it can occur in the clause following *meki* in both sources, see (36).

(36) a. *No myki a jerri* (VD c1765: 49)
NEG make 3S hear
['Maak niet dat hy het hoord.']
'Don't let him hear it.'

b. *Mekie a no fom kroektoe fasie* (Wey 1798: 71)
make 3S NEG punish crooked manner
['Laat hy niet onrechtvaardig straffen']
'Don't let him punish someone unjustly.'

In general, *meki*-imperatives appear to be more polite than basic imperatives. An even more polite manifestation of a command is a declarative clause similar to (28) above, in which the second person singular or plural is combined with a verb phrase

consisting of (variants of) the modal auxiliary verb *mu(su)* 'must' preceding the main verb (37).[99]

(37) a. *joe moese jam bille volle* (VD c1765: 53)
2S must eat belly full
['Eet je Buik vol.']
'Eat as much as you like.'

b. *ju musse putti min na da tori* (Sch 1783: 111)
2S must put thought LOC the tale
['merke recht auf diese Sache, denke darüber nach.']
'You must give the tale some thought.'

The distribution of types of imperatives and prohibitives within the Early Sranan sources is demonstrated in table 5.2. No examples of imperatives and prohibitives are found in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty.

Table 5.2 *Imperatives and prohibitives in Modern Sranan, Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

	MOD. SR	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
		1707-1767	1718	1762	c1765	1770	1783	1798	
		CR	HL	SPT	VD	N	SCH	WEY	
basic imperative	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
prohibitive	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
go-imperative	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	?
kom-imperative	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	?
meki-imperative	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
meki-imperative (1S)	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	?
meki-imperative (1P)	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	?

5.4.1 Imperatives and prohibitives in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

Eastern Maroon Creole imperatives and prohibitives have a higher final pitch than declarative clauses; singular imperatives and prohibitives are usually subject-less, whereas plural imperatives have the first/second person plural pronoun *u* in clause-initial position (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 46). Early Sranan subject-less imperatives can be singular or plural.

An Eastern Maroon Creole imperative can include the aspect marker *e* in clause-initial position, but no other markers of tense, mood or aspect. No examples of imperatives beginning with the corresponding aspect marker *de* are found in the sources of Early Sranan.

The Eastern Maroon Creole copula *na* does not occur in imperatives, whereas *de* does, but it is considered particularly brusque and businesslike (Huttar &

[99] Variants of the modal auxilary *musu* 'must' are discussed in section 6.2.3.

Huttar 1994: 49-56). More frequently *tan* 'stay' is used rather than the copula *de*, in particular in basic imperatives with nominal complements (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 50). No examples of imperatives with Early Sranan equivalents of *na, de* or *tan* in clause-initial position are found in the sources.

Huttar & Huttar (1994) distinguish two types of imperatives in addition to basic imperatives: *meke*-imperatives and *mu*-imperatives. *Meke*-imperatives are marked by the causatively used verb *meke* 'make' in clause-initial position with a following object sentence. *Mu*-imperatives resemble declarative clauses in which the main verb is preceded by the modal auxiliary *mu* 'must' (< *musu*), *musu* 'must' cannot precede the main verb. In the sources of Early Sranan variants of *mu* as well as *musu* are encountered in imperatives. Eastern Maroon Creole equivalents of Early Sranan *go*- and *kom*-imperatives are not discussed. The Eastern Maroon Creole verb *kon* 'come' can occur at the beginning of a mixed imperative followed by a *meke*-imperative or a clause with first person singular or first/second person inclusive subjects (38), but then it means 'come on' rather than 'come (here)'.

(38) *kon meke u go* (EMC, Huttar & Huttar 1994: 55)
come make 1P/2P go
'Come on, let's go.'

Eastern Maroon Creole prohibitives are marked by the negative particle *(n)á* preceding the verb. Prohibitives with *meke* 'make' can have the negative particle in clause-initial position (*ná*), or in the clause following *meke*, similar to Early Sranan *meki*-prohibitives.

5.5 Predicate nominals (and related constructions)

In this section clauses are discussed in which the semantic content of the predication is embodied in a noun, expressing proper inclusion, equation, location, existence and possession. They are called predicate nominals (Payne 1997). [100] They have in common that the copula is used to express the predication, or, alternatively, the subject and the nominal predicate are simply juxtaposed without an intervening copula.

The historical development of the entire Sranan copula system has been investigated on the basis of a large number of texts by Arends (1986, 1989, 1995). His findings concerning Early Sranan can be roughly summarized as follows: while early-18th-century Sranan does not seem to have used a copula in any type of copula construction, by the end of the 18th century, the copulas *da* and *de* were frequently (though not categorically) used. The functional distribution of these items was such that *da* was used in presentative constructions (e.g. 'It's me') and predicate nominals, while *de* appeared in predicate nominals and predicate locatives/existentials. This distribution reflects the sources from which both copulas are ultimately derived, irrespective of whether this process took place on Suriname soil (Arends 1989; Migge 2002, 2003) or elsewhere (Smith 2001; McWhorter 1995): *da* is derived from the English pre-nominal attributive demonstrative *that* (McWhorter 1995); *de* is derived

[100] Property items are mainly used to express attribution in Early Sranan, see section 2.4.

from the English locative adverb *there* (Smith 1987). Below predicate nominals and related constructions in the sources are illustrated.[101]

Predicate nominals: proper inclusion and equation. Two notions are expressed by predicate nominals, that of proper inclusion ('that man is a teacher') and that of equation ('that man is my father'). Arends (1989: 61) discovered that the rise of copular *de* over *da* is related to the emergence of these separate categories from the class of predicate nominals in Early Sranan. The earliest equative clauses are found in the Court Records dating from 1707. They have in common with the equative clauses from Herlein's (1718) text that they are copula-less; they consist of two juxtaposed noun phrases without an intervening copula (NP NP juxtaposition, Payne 1997). These findings support the claim that NP NP juxtaposition is a normal strategy to form predicate nominals in early-18th-century Sranan (Arends 1989). Representative examples from both sources are given in (39) illustrating equation; the examples in (39) illustrate proper inclusion (see also Van den Berg & Arends 2004). The examples in (39) and (40) also illustrate that the NP NP juxtaposition is not restricted to special contexts such as negation.

(39) a. *jou no meester voor mi* (CR 1707)
NEG Ø master for 1S
'You are not my master.'

b. *Oe som bady Mastre vor joe?* (Hl 1718: 281)
Q somebody Ø master for you
['Wie is jou Meester?']
'Who is your master?'

(40) [A] *Mingo joù no man*
Mingo 2S NEG Ø man
'Mingo, you don't have the nerve.'

[B] *mie man* (CR 1707)
1S Ø man
'I do.'

In Van Dyk's (c1765) manual both types of predicate nominals can be copula-less or marked by the copula *da*; the copula *de* is not encountered in this source. Example (41) illustrates equation, while (42) shows proper inclusion. [102]

[101] Note that the overview below is not fully overlapping with Arends' (1986; 1989) as several constructions involving predicate adjectives or property items are not viewed as copular constructions involving a copula and an adjectival complement. Instead, certain property items are regarded as verbal predicators that can be marked by the imperfective aspect marker *de* (see section 2.4). Furthermore, the terminology used here is in line with Payne (1997).

[102] The sentence in (40a) comes from the play. It is a line produced by the white overseer, who wants to stress that he is not one of the slaves of the plantation and therefore should not be treated as one by the

(41) a. *mi no negere fo joe* (VD c1765: 53)
1S NEG Ø black of 2S
['ik ben geen Neeger van jou.']
'I am not one of your slaves.'

b. *joe man da granman vo joe* (VD c1765: 69)
2S man COP chief of 2S
['is je Man Koning over jou?']
'Is your husband your king?' (meaning 'Does your husband own you?')

(42) a. *mi blibi joe wan bon maatie fo dem* (VD c1765: 53)
1S believe 2S Ø a good mate of 3P
['ik geloof dat je een beste Maat van haarluy bint.']
'I think that you are a good friend of theirs.'

b. *joe da mastra fo pranasi* (VD c1765: 56)
2S COP master of plantation
['Ben jy de Meester van de Plantagie?']
'Are you the owner of the plantation?'

In Court Records dating from the same period as Van Dyk's (c1765) manual the copula *da* is used in both types of predicate nominals: (43a) illustrates proper inclusion, (43b) exemplifies equation. Thus, they are in line with the strategy observed in Van Dyk's (c1765) manual, that is to use *da* in both types of predicate nominals.

(43) a. *mi da bossiman* (CR 1761)
I COP bush-man
'I am a marron.'

b. *wie da ningre voor joe* (CR 1762)
we COP slaves for you
'We are your slaves.'

Few examples of proper inclusion are found in the third mid-18th century source, that is the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty; all are presented in (44). The first copular construction expresses proper inclusion, the second equation. Both constructions are marked by a copula, albeit not the copula that would be expected based upon the findings presented above. The first copula is *de*, the second copula is *na*.

director. Therefore, this sentence ilustrates equation. If the speaker had been a slave, then it could have been an example of proper inclusion.

(44) *En dem fo pikien sa moessoe <u>de</u> pikien foe dem heddeman, en datem onnoe de*
and the.PL four child FUT must COP child of 3P chief and when 2P COP

foe takie sweerie, onnoe sa moessoe swerrie toe takie dem pikin dissie onnoe pottie
to talk swear 2P FUT must swear too that the.P child REL 2P put hand

na wie han, dem <u>na</u> reijtie piekien foe heddeman (SPT 1762: art. 13)
LOC 1P 3P COP right child of chief
['alle eige kinderen van opperhoofden, gelijk sij ook deese vreede op de solemneelste wijse sullen moeten besweeren, in welken eed ook sal begreepen worden dat de over te leeveren gijzelaars weesentlijk eige kinderen van opperhoofden sijn']
'And these four children should be captains' children, and when you will take your oath, you should also swear that the children you will hand over to us are really the children of captains.'

From a contemporary point of view the form of the copula used in the equative construction in (6) is not unusual: Arends (1986, 1989) shows that *da* changes into *na* during the 19th century.[103] In contemporary Sranan *(n)a* is the default copula in equative and presentative copular constructions. However, in none of the 18th century sources except the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty is *na* used as copula. I have no explanation for this, other than that it may be a spelling error accidentally foreshadowing a change that would take place a century later.

The fact that different copulas are used in (44) foreshadows the differentiation of the equative category with respect to time. From the late 18th century onwards *da* is used frequently though not categorically for the expression of equation and *de* for proper inclusion. The time-independent category of equation is expressed by the copula *da*, whereas the time-dependent category of proper inclusion is marked by the copula *de*; the former cannot be tensed, the latter can be (Arends 1986, 1989). This is actually illustrated in (44) above: whereas *de* is preceded by the marker of future time reference *sa*, *na* is not. Based on data from the Court Records (see (43) above), Van den Berg & Arends (2004: 31) conclude that the differentiation of predicate nominals was a late 18th century development. The data from the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty call for a modification of this conclusion: evidently the differentiation can already be observed in this mid-18th century text representing a rather formal variety of Early Sranan. Note that none of the people participating in the negotiations are native speakers of Early Sranan; for the European government officials and the Saramaka Maroons this Early Sranan is a lingua franca. Although variation among the different varieties of Early Sranan is to be expected, it is surprising that the first attestation of two types of predicate nominals is the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762) and not the Court Records or Van Dyk's (c1765) manual, as the latter represent more colloquial varieties.

[103] Cesaari (1836-7) is the first source in which copular *na* is found (Arends 1989: 32), but there it occurs only in presentative sentences.

In Schumann's (1783) dictionary predicate nominals can be copula-less as in (45a) and (45a), or marked by a copula: the copulas *de* and *da* are used frequently to differentiate between proper inclusion and equation, see (45b) and (46b).

(45) a. *djinja wan bunne dressi vo tranga heddi-hati* (Sch 1783: 31)
ginger Ø a good medication for strong head-ache
'Ginger is a good medication against strong headaches.'

b. *wi de porisomma* (Sch 1783: 140)
1P COP poor-people
'We are deprived people.'

(46) a. *hem da Gadolamm, dissi dem ben killi* (Sch 1783: 53)
3S.EMP Ø the god-lamb REL 3P PAST kill
['es ist das Lamm Gottes, welches getödtet worden ist.']
'It the lamb of God that they have killed.'

b. *mi grangmamma mamma da mi awò* (Sch 1783: 53)
1S grandmother mother COP 1S ancestor
'My grandmother's mother is my ancestor.'

Weygandt (1798) clearly has a preference for copulas over the juxtaposition of two noun phrases. No examples of copula-less clauses illustrating proper inclusion are encountered in his manual except for the sentence given in (47a). By default, this type of predicate nominal is marked by (variants of) *de* as in (47b).

(47) a. *Da ben wan mooi sabathem* (Wey 1798: 100)
that PST Ø a beautiful evening
['het was een zeer schoone avond.']
'That was a beautiful evening.'

b. *Ka datie sa dee wan pliesierie!* (Wey 1798: 134)
EXCL that FUT COP a pleasure
['Welk vermaak!']
'Now that will be a pleasure!'

Copula-less equative clauses are encountered more frequently than predicate nominals expressing proper inclusion (48a). In addition, equation is expressed by the copula *da* (48b), even when the nominal predicate is preceded by the determiner *da* (48c). Weygandt's (1798) manual is the first manual in which this construction is found.

(48) a. *Mie sa go loekoe oe soema datie* (Wey 1798: 91)
1S FUT go look Q person Ø that
['Ik zal gaan zien wie het is.']
'I will go look who that is.' '

b. [A] *O sama <u>da</u> joe?*
Q person COP 2S
['Wie zyt gy?']
'Who are you?'

[B] *Mie <u>da</u> joe boen matie* (Wey 1798: 88)
1S COP 2S good friend
['Ik ben u goeden vriend.']
'I am your good friend.'

c. *Joe <u>da</u> da moro boen Compé foe mie diesie mie abie* (Wey 1783: 121)
2S COP the more good friend of 1S REL 1S have
['Gy zyt de beste vriendin die ik heb.']
'You are the best friend (of me) that I have.'

Predicate locatives and existentials. Predicate locatives and existentials are both marked by the copula *de*, which is derived from the English locative adverb *there*. The copula *de* is fully verbal, as it can be preceded by TMA markers such as the future tense marker *sa* (49b) and the past tense marker *ben* (49c). Locational adjuncts are optional; the locational clause with *de* can convey the sense of being present somewhere, since this is part of the meaning of the copula *de* (Arends 1986, 1989).

(49) a. *hoe sambre <u>dee</u>* (CR 1745)
Q person COP
'Who's there?'

b. (...) *en datem dem sa <u>dé</u> na fotto dan* (...) (SPT 1762: art. 10)
and when 3P FUT COP LOC fort then
'(...) and when they will be at the fort, then (...).'

c. *mi wensi no wan zomma fo wi ben <u>de</u>* (VD c1765: 81)
1S wish NEG one person of 1P PST COP
['ik wenschten wel dat geen van ons alle hier teegenwoordig was']
'I wish that none of us would have been here.'

d. *a ben <u>de</u>* (Sch 1783: 15)
3S PST COP
['er war da; er ist da gewesen.']
'He was there; he has been there.'

Locational clauses differ from existentials in that the former can be copula-less under certain conditions, whereas the latter are never copula-less (Arends 1986, 1989). Indeed, interrogative locative copular constructions are often copula-less in Van Dyk's

(c1765) manual, as in (50), except for those cases in which the subject is presented by a personal pronoun (see the last line in (50)).[104]

(50) [A] *Hoe ply slotelen fo jarri*
Q place key of garden Ø
['Waar is de Sleutel van de Thuyn.']
'Where is the key of the garden?'

[B] *Da mino zabi*
that 1S-NEG know
['Ik weet het niet.']
'That I don't know.'

[A] *Hoe ply a de* (VD c1765: 43)
Q place 3S COP
['Waar is hy.']
'Where is it?'

Three examples of copula-less interrogative locative clauses are found in Weygandt's (1798) manual similar to the ones found in Van Dyk (c1765); compare (51) and (52) with (50) above. Note that the copula is always present when the subject of the construction refers to an animate being, irrespective of whether it is represented by a personal pronoun, a name or a noun. In the remaining 18th century sources no examples of copula-less interrogative locative clauses are found.

(51) a. *Oe plee joe reekenen* (Wey 1798: 112)
Q place 2S bill Ø
['Waar is uw reekening.']
'Where is your bill?'

b. *opleesie Cato dee?* (Wey 1798: 109)
Q-place Cato COP
['waar is Cato?']
'Where is Cato?'

[104] According to Arends (1986, 1989), interrogative copula-less locative copular constructions are rather exceptional in his sample. I looked for interrogative locative copular constructions in Van Dyk's (c1765) manual and found that eight examples are copula-less while nine occur with a copula. Most of the latter contained personal subject pronouns. Thus, copula-less locative copular interrogatives occur almost as frequently as locative copular interogatives that occur with a copula in this source. Therefore I assume that the copula was optional in this type of construction in the variety represented in this source, except for interrogative locative copular constructions in which the subject is presented by a personal pronoun. Three examples of copula-less interrogative locative copular constructions are found in Weygandt's (1798) manual, while I found thirteen examples of interrogative locative copular constructions with a copula.

(52) a. *Oe plee da klosie diesie joe go tekie?* (Wey 1798: 109)
Q place the cloth Ø REL 2S go take
['Waar is 't goed dat gy hebt gaan haalen.']
'Where is the cloth, that you went to get?

b. *Deja da monie dee diesie joe moe abie* (Wey 1798: 112)
here the money COP REL 2S must have
['Daar is 't geld dat u toekomt.']
'Here is the money that you earned.'

In contemporary Sranan locational clauses with the locative adverbs *dia* 'here' and *dape* 'there' are categorically (*dia*) or variably (*dape* or *drape*) copula-less (Seuren 1981; Arends 1986; 1989). I have found no examples of copula-less locational clauses with (variants of) *dape/daplessie* in any of the sources (they all have copulas), but locational clauses with (variants of) *dia* are encountered in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, Nepveu's (1770) text, Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) language manual.

The following examples show that locational clauses with (variants of) *dia* are categorically copula-less in the variety represented in Schumann's (1783) dictionary (53). The item *dea* functions as locative adverb in this source (see section 2.1.3).

(53) a. *a dea* (Sch 1783: 27)
3S Ø here
['hier ist es.']
'It is here.'

b. *no wan hai watra dea* (Sch 1783: 56)
NEG one drop water Ø here
['es ist kein Tropfen Wasser hier.']
'Here is not one drop of water.'

Arends (1989: 37-38) explains the origin of the locative adverb *dea* as a case of fusion: *dea* is a merger of the copula *de* and the locative adverb *ia* or *ja* 'here', which is derived from English *here* (Smith 1987: 295). In Schumann's dictionary *dea* functions an adverb, suggesting that the fusion process is completed in the variety represented in this source.

Variants of *dea* are also found in Weygandt's (1798) language manual, but here they function as locative adverbs meaning 'here/there' and as locative copulas meaning 'be here/there', see (54) and (55) respectively. The future tense marker *sa* is evidence of the verbal nature of *deeja* in (55c).[105] Apparently, in the late 18th century *fototongo* variety represented in Weygandt's (1798) language manual, locational clauses are variably copula-less, dependent on the function and the position of *de(e)ja*.

[105] Note that the construction in (54a) is both locational and existential, resulting from the use of the item *deeja* instead of (a variant of) *de*. If the speaker only wanted to express his state, he would have used (a variant of) the copula *de*.

(54) *A takie d'josno a sa klarie, mara em srefie deeja* (Wey 1798: 94)
3S say just-now 3S FUT be-ready but 3S.EMP self Ø here/COP-here
['Zy zegd het zal aanstonds gereed zyn .... maar daar is zy zelfs.']
'She says that it will ready soon, but there she is herself.'

(55) a. *Mie deeja heelie boen* (Wey 1798: 94)
1S COP(-here) very good
['Ik ben hier wel.']
'I'm very well here.'

b. *Wan briefie foe em deja foe joe* (Wey 1798: 103)
a letter of 3S COP(-here) for 2S
['Daar is zyn Brief voor u.']
'His letter for you is here.'

c. *A ben takie a sa deeja na halfoe aitie* (Wey 1798: 114)
3S PST talk 3S FUT COP(-here) LOC half eight
['Hy heeft gezegd om half agt hier te zullen zyn.']
'He said that he would be here at half past seven.'

The item *dea* is also found in Nepveu's (1770) text. In the wordlist it is translated with the Dutch locative adverb *daar* 'there'. Similar to Weygandt's (1798) language manual, *dea* can function as a locative adverb (56a, first line) and as a copula (56a, second line; 56b). Alternatively, the copula *de* can be used in locational clauses, compare (56b) with (56c).

(56) a. [A] *joedea*
2S-Ø-here
['benje daar']
'Are you there?'

[B] *mi dea hiaso* (N 1770: 281)
1S COP here-so
['ik ben hier']
'I am here.'

b. *adea na tappoe* (N 1770: 277)
3S-COP LOC top
['t'is boven, hij is boven']
'He is on top.'

c. *a de nami heddi* (N 1770: 279)
3S COP LOC 1S head
['t'is in mijn hoofd om te zeggen ik denk 'er om']
'It's in my head.' (meaning: 'I'll remember'.)

In Van Dyk's (c1765) text the item *deeja* is encountered once as a locative adverb meaning 'there', but not as part of a predicate locative. The copula *de* is often followed by (variants of) the locative adverb *ja* 'here' in clauses with a more locative than existential meaning, see (57). Copular *da*, on the other hand, has a more existential than locative meaning (57b).

(57) a. [A] *Anno de na hosse a go we lange den bakkera disi ben <u>de</u> <u>ja</u>*
3S-NEG COP LOC house 3S go.away with the.PL white REL PST COP here
['Hy is uitgegaan met de Blanken, die hier geweest zyn.']
'He left the house, he went away with the whitemen who have been here.'

[B] *Hoe bakkera datti*
Q whiteman that
['Met wat voor Blanken?']
'What whitemen?'

[B] Myn heer *foele bakkera ben <u>de</u> <u>ja</u> kaba* (...) (VD c1765: 93)
my lord many whiteman PST COP here already
['Myn Heer daar zyn veel Blanken geweest (…)']
'My lord, many whitemen have been here (…).'

b. *Wan brifi <u>da</u> fo joe* (VD c1765: 35)
a letter COP for 2S
['Daar is een Brief voor u.']
'There's a letter for you.'

Presentatives. Existentials marked by the item *da* (< English *that('s)*) in clause-initial position (Arends 1986, 1989, Bruyn 1995, Migge 2002) serve a presentative function; they are therefore called presentative clauses. *Da* functions as a marker of both identificational focus and presentational or informational focus. Presentative clauses are encountered in all sources except for Herlein (1718) text. Thus, the earliest examples are from the Court Records of 1757, expressing proper inclusion:

(58) *hoe santie tide Picorna soetoe mie <u>da</u> him, mie sie him <u>da</u> no boesie neger*
Q thing today P. shoot 1S FOC 3S 1S see 3S.OBJ BE NEG bush black
(CR 1757)
'What happened today (is that) Picorna shot me, it's him, I saw him, it's not a Maroon.'

In the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty of 1762, presentative clauses expressing attribution such as (59) are found.

(59) *Alle taki, <u>da</u> reiti so; dem wan sweri da fri* (SPT 1762)
All say FOC right so 3P want swear the treaty
'They all said it was good this way; they wanted to take an oath on the treaty.'

In Van Dyk's (c1765) manual, Nepveu's (1770) text, Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) language manual, similar examples of presentative clauses expressing attribution, proper inclusion, equation and possession are encountered (see also Arends 1989).

(60) a. *<u>da</u> no dieri* (attribution, VD c1765: 92)
FOC NEG expensive
['Dat is niet te duur.']
'That's not expensive.'

b. *<u>da</u> wan bon zomma* (proper inclusion, VD c1765: 31)
FOC a good person
['Hy is een goed Man.']
'That's a good person.'

c. *<u>da</u> da kromanti neger* (equation, VD c1765: 74)
FOC that cormantin black
['Het is die Kormantynsze Neeger.']
'It's the Kormantin black.'

d. *<u>Da</u> fa joe* (possession, VD c1765: 17)
FOC of 2S
['Dat is van jouw.']
'That's yours.'

The examples presented above show that *da* is not preceded by the negation marker or any of the markers of tense, mood and aspect. Presentative clauses are usually not marked for tense, mood or aspect; the negation marker follows *da* (see (60a) above). The sentences in (61) are the only examples found in the 18th century Sranan sources of presentative clauses marked for past tense (see also Arends 1989).

(61) a. *<u>Da</u> ben wan mooi sabathem* (Wey 1798: 100)
FOC PST a beautiful evening
['het was een zeer schoone avond.']
'That was a beautiful evening.'

b. *<u>Da</u> ben toe joeroe diesie mie go sliebie* (Wey 1798: 113)
FOC PST two hour REL 1S go sleep
['Het was twee uuren doe ik ging slaapen']
'It was two o'clock when I went to bed.'

Possessive clauses. Possessive clauses can be marked by (variants of) the copula followed by a prepositional complement introduced by (variants of) the prepositions *fu* 'for', *na* 'at' or *nanga* 'with'. Alternatively, possession can be expressed by (variants of) *abi* 'have'. According to Arends, definite possessed items appear as subjects of the *de fu* clause up to about 1900, while indefinite possessees appear as the object of the verb *abi* 'have' (Arends 1989: 39-40). Mental or physical states can never be expressed as objects of *abi* 'have'; they are expressed as subjects of *abi* 'have' or related verbs such as *kisi* 'get; catch; have' or *holi* 'hold' (see also chapter 6), or as prepositional complements headed by *nanga* 'with' (Arends 1989: 40). Here the expression of possession in each source is discussed.

No possessive clauses are found in Herlein's (1718) text and the Court Records.[106] In the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762) and Nepveu's (1770) text only possessive clauses with *habi* are encountered, see (62) and (61) respectively. Note that the possessed items in (62b) and (63b) are definite.

(62) a. (…) *bicassie à habie bigie teij teij, dem sa* (…) (SPT 1762: art. 6)
because 3S have big charm, 3P FUT
'(…) because he has a powerful charm, they will (…).'

b. *onnoe sa kissie dem sandie dissie pottie na briffie disie mi habie hija namie*
2S FUT get the.PL thing REL put LOC letter REL 1S have here LOC-1S
['(…)word haar toegestaan hetgeen sij gevraagt hebben en hun geaccordeert is van gereedschappen etc. volgens de lijst hierbij gevoegt (…).'] (SPT 1762: art.13)
'(…) you will receive the things that were put in the letter I have here with me.'

(63) a. *a habi wissi* (N 1770: 280)
3S have poison
['hij of zij heeft vergift']
'He has poison.'

b. *a habi hem wintie* (N 1770: 233)
3S have 3S wind
['Hij heeft zijn windt']
'He's possessed.'

In Van Dyk's (c1765) language manual, possessive clauses with *habi* 'have' and *kissi* 'get; catch; have' are restricted to indefinite possessees, including those that express

[106] Note that in Court Records of 1759 *habi* and *kiesie* are used interchangeably, expressing a notion related to possession:

(1) a. *Aaij booij tide mie kiesie joe* (CR 1759) b. *mie habi jou tide booij* (CR 1759)
yes boy today 1S catch 2S — 1S have 2S today boy
'Yes, boy, today I got you.' — 'I got you today, boy.'

physical and mental states, see (64) and the second line in (65). In addition, mental and physical states can appear as subjects of copular constructions taking a complement that is headed by *na* 'at', see the first line in (65), and (66).

(64) *Joe kissi hangerie* (VD c1765: 42)
2S get hunger
['Heb je Apteit.']
'Are you hungry?'

(65) [A] *Mastra koorsze de hele netti na mi ti nou*
master fever COP all night LOC 1S until now
['Meester ik heb de heelen Nagt de Koorts gehad tot nou toe.']
'Master, I had a fever all night, till now.'

[B] *Offe joe habe koorsze hoe fa joe no kom na mi* (VD c1765: 74)
if 2S have fever Q how 2S NEG come LOC 1S
['Als je de Koorts hebt gehad waarom kom je dan niet by myn']
'If you had a fever, why didn't you come to me?'

(66) *Koorze de na joe* (VD c1765: 41)
fever COP LOC 2S
['Gy hebt de Koorts.']
'You have fever.'

In Schumann's dictionary possession can be expressed by the verb *habi* 'have', which can be abbreviated to *ha*, see (67) and (68). Note that *habi*/*ha* can take both definite and indefinite possessees as its object.

(67) a. *Saramakka-Ningre habi Djutongo* (Sch 1783: 32)
Saramaka black have Jew-language
'Saramaka have Djutongo.'

b. *da boto habi aiti lo* (Sch 1783: 102)
the boat have eight paddle
['das Boot hat 8 Riemen.']
'The boat has eight paddles.'

(68) a. *patakka ha boon tumussi* (Sch 1783: 133)
wolf fish have bone many
'Wolf Fish really have many bones.'

b. *kakkerlakka no ba wan reti na vool-hosso* (Sch 1783: 78)
cockroach NEG have a right LOC hen-house
['Gewalt gilt vor Recht; ein Neger kann gegen einen Blanken sein Recht nicht behaupten.']
'Cockroaches don't have rights in the hen-house.' (proverb)

Furthermore, possession can be expressed by copular constructions taking a complement headed by *vo/va* 'of', *na* 'at' or *nanga* 'with'. Constructions with *na* 'at' or *nanga* 'with' denote physical and mental states; constructions with *de vo* are limited to definite possessees. All types of constructions can be paraphrased using the verb *habi* 'have' that takes an object denoting the possessee, see (69b, d).

(69) a. *datti de vo dem* (Sch 1783: 29)
that COP of 3P
['das gehört ihnen.']
'That belongs to them.'

b. *da uman habi hem mune, a de na mune* (Sch 1783: 117)
the woman have 3S month 3S COP LOC month
'The woman is menstruating.'

c. *sari dem allamal, dissi de nanga sari hatti* (Sch 1783: 150)
console 3P all REL COP with sad heart
['tröste alle betrübte Herzen.']
'Console all those who are miserable.'

d. *mi sari na mi hati, mi habi sari na mi hatti,*
1S sad LOC 1S heart 1S have sadness LOC 1S heart

mi de na sari od. *nanga sari* (Sch 1783: 150)
1S COP LOC sadness / with sadness
['ich bin betrübt, ich gräme mich.']
'I'm sad.'

Moreover, possessive clauses denoting physical and mental states can have the main verb *kissi* 'get, catch, have'. Similar to *habi* 'have', *kissi* 'get, catch, have' can take an object denoting the possessee. Unlike *habi*, the possessee can also be expressed by the subject of *kissie* 'get; catch; have', see (70).

(70) *mi habi hekki; mi kissi hekki; hekki kissi mi* (Sch 1783: 64)
1S have hiccup 1S catch hiccup hiccup catch 1S
'I have got the hiccups.'

Possession is most frequently expressed by the verb *(h)abi(e)* 'have' followed by an object denoting a definite or indefinite possessee in Weygandt's (1798) language

manual, see (71a) and (71b). Furthermore, mental and physical states are denoted by direct objects of *(h)abi(e)* 'have' (70c-d) or *kiesie* 'get; catch; have' (72). Possessive clauses in which the subject denotes the possessee are not encountered in this source.

(71) a. *Mie abie drie man piekien nanga wan Oema piekien* (Wey 1798: 88)
1S have three man child and one woman child
['Ik heb drie zoonen en een dochter.']
'I have three sons and one daughter.'

b. *Mie moe abie toedrie anglierkie jettee* (Wey 1798: 119)
1S must have two-three carnation yet
['Ik moet nog eenige Angelieren hebben.']
'Furthermore, I must have some carnations.'

c. *Foe retie (ten minstie) a no moesoe mankeerie foe abie nofo konie* (Wey 1798: 136)
for right at least 3S NEG must lack to have enough cunning
['Ten minsten dient hy er niet van ontbloot te weezen']
'At least he mustn't lack sufficient cunning.'

d. *Mie abie wan boen hangrie* (Wey 1798: 136)
1S have a good hunger
['Ik heb een goede honger.']
'I have a good appetite.'

(72) *Cato kiesie koorsoe na netie* (Wey 1798: 127)
Cato catch fever LOC night
['Cato heeft van nacht de koorts gekreegen']
'Cato has gotten the fever last night.'

No examples of copular constructions taking a complement headed by (variants of) *foe* 'for', *na* 'at or *nanga* 'with' are found in Weygandt's (1798) manual, except for the one presented under (73).

(73) *mi dee nanga wan tranga koorsoe* (Wey 1798: 126)
1S COP with a strong fever
['Meester ik ben met een zwaare koorts bezet']
'I have a strong fever.'

In conclusion, possessive clauses with *habi* 'have' occur in almost every source of Early Sranan; the possessee is denoted by the direct object of this verb, the subject represents the possessor. Alternatively, the verb *kisi* 'get; catch; have' can be used to express possession (Van Dyk; Schumann; Weygandt). Possessor and possessee can occur as subject and object (Van Dyk; Weygandt), object and subject, or both (Schumann). Furthermore, possession can be expressed by a copular construction in which the copula takes a complement headed by the preposition *na* 'at' (Van Dyk;

Schumann), *nanga* 'with' (Schumann; Weygandt) or *vo* (Schumann). The subject of the construction represents the possessee in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, while it denotes the possessor in Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual. Thus, the variety represented in Weygandt's (1798) manual, *fototongo*, differs from the ones described in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Schumann's (1783) dictionary in that the possessor is denoted by the subject in every type of possessive clause without exception.

In the varieties represented in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Schumann's (1783) dictionary of Early Sranan, subjects of certain types of possessive clauses can denote the possessee. In Schumann's dictionary of the *ningretongo* variety of Early Sranan, the possessee can be the subject of *kisi* 'get; catch; have'. As equivalents of this type of possessive clause are found in the native languages of the Suriname slaves and free men of African descent (see Alleyne 1980, Arends 1989), our hypothesis that *ningretongo* displays more substrate features than *fototongo* clearly holds for this type of possessive clause.

In Van Dyk's (c1765) manual the possessee denoting the subject is part of a locational construction which may be reminiscent of 18th century colloquial varieties of English; further research is needed to determine the origin of this type of construction.

In the table below the findings on predicate nominals (and related constructions) and their Modern Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole counterparts are presented.

Table 5.3 *Copular constructions in Modern Sranan, Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole**

	MOD. SR	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
		1707-1767 CR	1718 HL	1762 SPT	c1765 VD	1770 N	1783 SCH	1798 WEY	
Predicate nominal proper inclusion:									
NP NP	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
NP COP NP	*de*	*da*	-	*da*	*da*	-	*de*	*dé; de(e)*	*na* (*a, ne*); *de*
equation:									
NP NP	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
NP COP NP	*(n)a*	*da*	-	*na*	*da*	-	*da*	*da*	*na* (*a, ne*); *de*
Predicate locatives									
NP NP	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
NP COP NP	*de*	*de*	-	*de; dé*	*de ja; de; da; di*	*de; dea*	*de*	*de; de(e)ja*	*de*
Predicate existentials									
NP NP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NP COP	*de*	*de*	-	*de; dé*	*de*	*de*	*de*	*dé; de(e)*	*de*
Presentative COP S	*(n)a*	*da*	-	*da*	*da*	*da*	*da*	*da*	*na* (*a, ne*)
*Possession***									
NP_{POR} *habi* NP_{PEE}	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
NP_{POR} *kisi* NP_{PEE}	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	?
NP_{PEE} *kisi* NP_{POR}	?	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	?
NP_{PEE} *de fu* NP_{POR}	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	*na fu*
NP_{PEE} *de na* NP_{POR}	?	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	*de a*
NP_{POR} *de na* NP_{PEE}	?	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	?
NP_{POR} *de nanga* NP_{PEE}	+	-	-		-	-	+	+	*de anga*

* + means present; - means absent; ? means no data available
** PEE is an abbrevation of PossessEE; POR stands for PossessOR

5.5.1 Predicate nominals and related constructions in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

Predicate nominals (and related constructions) in Eastern Maroon Creole are investigated by Migge (1998, 2002, 2003), Goury (2003) and Huttar & Huttar (1994) in sections 1.2.1.1 and 2.1.1.4-6. The EMC copula *na* and its allomorphs *a* and *ne*[107] can not be preceded by markers of negation and tense, mood and aspect; it is replaced by *de* in these environments. The only exception is the past tense marker *be*, which

[107] Preceding the third person singular object pronoun *en*, the low vowel /a/ in copular (*n*)*a*, the locative preposition (*n*)*a* 'at' and the negator (*n*)*á* is raised to mid vowel /e/ (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 580).

follows *(n)a/ne*. The copula *(n)a/ne* is found in predicate nominals, possessive clauses and presentatives and topic-comment constructions.

The copula *de* can be preceded by markers of negation and tense, mood and aspect. It appears in predicate locatives and existentials and with complements such as (certain types of) reduplicated property items, ideophones, adverbs and numerals. In addition, the copula *de* can occur with extraposed constituents. Huttar & Huttar (1994: 137) note that "*de* often suggests less permanence about the described state than does *(n)a/ne*. But the two can often be used to refer to the same situation with no apparent difference in meaning or emphasis, partly because of the severe limitations on occurrence of *na*.".

Predicate nominals. Predicate nominals usually occur with *(n)a/ne* or *de*, although copula-less predicate nominals do exist. Copula-less are those constructions in which the referent of the first nominal is identified with that of the second (equation); they are common with the first person singular pronoun *mi* as subject (first nominal) when one is 'recounting one's name' and the demonstrative pronouns *dati* 'that' and *disi* 'this' appearing as second nominals (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 148). The discussion of Early Sranan predicate nominals above suggest that copula-less predicate nominals are less restricted in Early Sranan.

Proper inclusion and equation are not differentiated in EMC. Although proper inclusion and equation are marked by different copulas from the late 18th century onwards, they are not marked in the varieties of Early Sranan dating from the early and mid-18th century.

Predicate locatives and existentials. EMC predicate locatives and existentials are marked by the copula *de*; copula-less predicate locatives and predicate existentials are not mentioned in the EMC sources. Early Sranan predicate locatives can be copula-less under certain conditions, predicate existentials are never copula-less.

Presentatives. EMC presentative clauses are headed by *(n)a/ne*, which functions as a marker of identificational and presentational or informational focus. Similar to Early Sranan, the past tense marker follows the focus marker.

Possessive clauses. Huttar & Huttar (1994: 297 – 300) describe two types of possessive clauses in Eastern Maroon Creole. Possessive clauses with the verb *abi* 'have' in which the possessor corresponds to the subject and the possessee is denoted by the object similar to the Early Sranan examples presented earlier. Besides possession or ownership of objects, the verb *abi* 'have' can be used to express a variety of other notions, such as kinship relations, age and personal characteristics. The range of meanings and uses of EMC *abi* seems to correspond closely to the range of meanings and uses of Early Sranan *(h)abi*.

Furthermore, possession can be expressed by the copulas *(n)a/ne* and *de* with the possessee as the subject and the possessor as the object. The object is preceded by the preposition *fu/fi* 'for' or *a* 'at'. Note that Early Sranan equivalents of the latter are found only in Van Dyk's (c1765) manual; in Schumann's (1783) dictionary and

Weygandt's (1798) guide the possessor is the subject and the possessee corresponds to the object. The fact that the construction found in Van Dyk's (c1765) text also occurs in EMC suggests that it is characteristic of a variety of Sranan spoken on the plantations before the flight of the founders of EMC.

Moreover, possession can be expressed by the copula *de* taking a complement headed by *anga* 'with' denoting the possessee in EMC. Equivalents of this type of construction are found in the late 18th century sources.

5.6 The comparative

The Sranan comparative construction in various texts from the 18th, 19th and 20th century is investigated from a diachronic point of view by Arends (1989). He concludes that the most salient general feature of the comparative construction throughout all of the documented history of Sranan is the great variety of types of comparative construction (Arends 1989: 80). Five types are distinguished based on Stassen's universal typology of comparison (Stassen 1985); they are outlined in (74).[108]

(74)	a.	the Allative Comparative :	X big TO/FOR Y
	b.	Exceed-1 Comparative:	X big EXCEED Y
	c.	Exceed-2 Comparative:	X EXCEED Y (in) bigness
	d.	the Conjoined Comparative:	X big, Y small; X big, Y not big
	e.	the Particle Comparative (particle *leki* or *na*)	X big *leki*/*na* Y
	f.	the Mixed Comparative	different options

Each type is discussed in more detail below except for the Conjoined Comparative, the Exceed-2 Comparative and the Mixed Comparative as they are not encountered in the 18th century sources.[109] The remaining types of comparatives are found in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762), Van Dyk's (c1765) language manual, Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) language guide. No comparatives at all are found in Herlein's (1718) text, Nepveu's (1770) document and the Court Records. Schumann's (1783) dictionary stands out against Van Dyk's (c1765) manual and Weygandt's (1798) guide as it displays three types of comparative construction (the Allative Comparative, the Exceed-1 Comparative and the Particle Comparative), whereas comparative constructions in the manuals by Van Dyk (1765) and Weygandt (1798) are Particle Comparatives of the *leki*-type. The following

[108] Arends (1989) distinghuishes the variants of comparative constructions based on the universal typology of comparison developed by Stassen (1985). The list given in (1) is an adaptation of table 2: A Universal Typology of Comparison (based on Stassen 1985: 39-47) presented by Arends (1989: 73). The list follows the format adopted by Arends; he abstracts from presence/absence of the copula, word order and comparative marking of the predicate (English '-er' or 'more').

[109] The Conjoined Comparative, the Exceed-2 Comparative and the Mixed Comparative do occur in contemporary Sranan (Arends 1989). Arends suggests that it could have been a coincidence that they have not appeared in the sources, in particular a colloquial variant such as the Conjoined Comparative. The Conjoined Comparative would be a primary candidatefor incorporation into a creole language from a typological point of view, as it is semantically transparent and it is neutral with respect to word order (Arends 1989: 87).

extends the more general treatment of 18th century Sranan comparative constructions presented in Arends (1989).

The Allative Comparative. The Allative Comparative is encountered only once in the sources, that is in in Schumann's (1783) dictionary, see (75).[110] Therefore I assume that it was not used as frequently as the other types of comparative constructions.

(75) *a grandi va mi* (Sch 1783: 53)
3S old to/for 1S
['er ist älter als ich.']
'He is older than me.'

It is interesting that (75) denotes a comparison of age. In Ewe, one of Sranan's major substrate languages, the Allative Comparative is restricted to the same semantic domain (Arends 1989: 76). This finding reinforces the view that the main variety represented in this source is indeed *ningretongo*, the variety of 18th century Sranan that is closer to the native languages of the people deported to Suriname from the West-African coast than the varieties represented in the texts by Van Dyk and Weygandt (see Chapter 1).

The Exceed-1 Comparative. The Exceed-1 Comparative is expressed by means of a serial verb construction in which the multifunctional item *moro* acts as a verb meaning 'exceed; outdo' (see also section 6.3). It introduces the standard of comparison while occuring in series with the comparative predicate, see (76). It is encountered only in Schumann's (1783) dictionary.

(76) a. *a biggi morro mi* (Sch 1783: 17)
3S big outdo 1S
['er ist dicker als ich.']
'He is fatter than me.'

b. *dem gongossa morro dago* (Sch 1783: 52)
3P feign outdo dog
['sie heucheln ärger als ein Hund.']
'They are feigning more than dogs.'

Another multifunctional item that once may have been used as the second verb in a serial verb construction introducing the standard of comparison is *pasa* 'pass; overtake; past; over; after', discussed in see section 6.3.

The Particle Comparative (particle *leki* or *na*). Early Sranan has two comparative particles: *(a)leki* (< English *alike*) and *na*. They can be used in cases where two noun

[110] In addition to the 18th century sources investigated by Arends, I researched the Court Records and the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762). The Allative Comparative is not encountered in either source.

phrases are compared on a certain parameter and in cases where *moro* acts as an quantitative adverbial ('more') instead of a verb preceding the standard of comparison (Arends 1989). The examples given in (77) and (78) illustrate the latter, showing that *leki* and *na* are interchangeable in all sources except for Weygandt's (1798) manual, in which the numeral *moro* 'more' is found only with *lekie* 'than' (77d).

(77) a. *Onnoe sa moessoe swerrie toe dattie onnoe no habie no wan condre morro allekie dissie*
2P fut must swear too that 2S NEG have NEG one village more than REL 3P

*onnoe kallie nem foe dem arrede gie na wie bacar*a (SPT 1762: 13)
2S call name of already give LOC 1P white
['die gehouden sullen sijn alle de naame der dorpen en opperhoofden op te geeven en ook te sweeren dat er geen meer off andere sijn']
'You should swear also that you do not have any other villages than those whose names you have already mentioned to us Whites.

b. (...) *morre liki toe ten tien go we na bossi* (VD c1765: 79)
more than two time ten go-away LOC bush
['(...) meer als twintig zyn 'er na 't Bos geloopen']
'(...) more than twenty left for the rainforest.'

c. *mi sa gi ju morro leki datti, mi sa gi ju morro na "so"* (Sch 1783: 100)
1S FUT give 2S more than that 1S FUT give 2S more LOC so
['ich will dir noch mehr geben als dieses.']
'I shall give you more than that.'

d. *Moro lekie retiemiendrie* (Wey 1798: 7)
more than right-middle
['Meer als de helft.']
'More than half.'

(78) a. (...) *dan dem no sa kan sendie moro na tien sama* (SPT 1762: art. 10)
then 3P NEG FUT can send more LOC ten person
['(...) sullen sij niet sterker dan 8 off 10 teffens moogen afkoomen']
'(...) then they will not be able to send more than ten people.'

b. (...) *joe hoendi morre na toe ten tien na bossi* (VD c1765: 96)
2S hunt more LOC two time ten LOC bush
['en meer dan twintig na het Bos gejaagd (...).']
'(...) you have chased more than twenty into the rainforest (...).'

Contrary to *na*, *lekie* can also be used in cases where something other than two noun phrases are compared, see (79). Moreover, it can also be used to introduce equative adverb clauses and manner clauses (see section 6.4).

(79) a. *Joe jam morre metti liki briddi. Jam morre briddi na da metti* (VD c1765: 27)[111]
2S eat more meat than bread eat more bread LOC the meat
['Uwe Eet meer Vlees als Brood. Eet meer Brood by het Vlees.']
'You eat more meat than bread. Eat more bread with the meat.'

b. *Mie dé gie joe moro betree koopoe lekie wan trawan* (Wey 1798: 108)
1S ASP give 2S more better bargain than a other-one
['Ik doe u beter koop als aan anderen.']
'I am giving you a better bargain than anybody else.'

In constructions where two noun phrases are compared on a certain parameter, the particle *leki* is used to express either equality or inequality; see (80) and (81) respectively.

(80) a. *da homan dom liki kauw* (VD c1765: 62)
the woman stupid like cow
['dat Vrouw-Mensch is zoo dom in haar Hoofd als een Koe']
'That woman is as stupid as a cow.'

b. *kwassikwassi pori morro dago leki ougrimeti srefi* (Sch 1783: 96)
coati foul more dog like beast self
'A coati is more awful than a dog, it is really like a wild beast.'

(81) a. (...) *da gron no mosse morre biki liki wan hondert na vyfi ten tien akkers*
the ground NEG must more big like one hunderd LOC five time ten acre
['(...) dan moet het Land niet grooter zyn als 150 Akkers.'] (VD c1765: 87)
'(...) the land must not be bigger than 150 acres.'

b. *Tidee da weerie dé moro mooi lekie esredee* (Wey 1798: 98)
today the weather COP more beautiful like yesterday
['Het is van daag weer schoonner weêr als gisteren.']
'Today the weather is more beautiful than yesterday.'

The item *na* can be used only in comparatives in which two noun phrases are compared on a single dimension expressing inequality. Schumann remarks that *leki* and *na* are interchangeable: "Nach *morro* kann man statt *leki* auch *na* brauchen" ['after *morro* one can also use *na* instead of *leki*'] (Schumann 1783: 100). However, the following examples from Schumann's (1783) dictionary demonstrate that *leki* and *na*

[111] Note that the second sentence *Jam morre briddi na da metti* could be interpreted as if it were a comparative construction, because *na* has been documented to function as a comparative particle, see (78) above. However, the comparative particle *na* only surfaces preceded by the quantitative adverbial *moro* in the mid-18th century sources. Furthermore, *na* corresponds to the Dutch preposition *bij* 'with' in the original translation. Even though Van Dyk's translations generally are not strict transpositions of the Sranan text into Dutch, comparative constructions are usually maintained. Therefore, I do not consider it a comparative construction.

feature in different types of comparative construction: *leki*-comparatives are usually copular, *na*-comparatives are serial verb constructions.

(82) a. *ju langa morro mi, ju langa morro na mi, ju de morro langa leki mi*
2S long outdo 1S 2S long outdo LOC 1S COP more long like 1S
['du bist länger, grösser als ich.'] (Sch 1783: 98)
'You are taller than me.'

b. *a de morro langa leki mi,* oder *a langa morro na mi* (Sch 1783: 100)
3S COP more long like 1S / 3S long outdo LOC 1S
['er ist grösser als ich.']
'He is taller than me.'

The only exception is given in (83b): verbal *moro* 'outdo' is followed by *leki* instead of *na*. It may foreshadow the loss of the *na*-comparative and the rise of the *leki*-comparative during the 19th century (Arends 1989).

(83) a. (...) *ma "buku" morro betre leki bassia* (Sch 1783: 12)
but bend more better than bend
'(...) but *buku* is better than *bassia*.'

b. *ju betre morro leki mi?* (Sch 1783: 16)
2S better outdo than 1S
['bist du besser als ich?']
'Are you better than me?'

Table 5.4 *Comparative constructions in Modern Sranan, Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*[112]

	MOD. SR	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
		1707-1767	1718	1762	c1765	1770	1783	1798	
		CR	HL	SPT	VD	N	SCH	WEY	
Allative	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
Exceed-1	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
Exceed-2	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Particle: *leki*	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
Particle: *na*	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
Conjoined	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mixed	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+

[112] This table is partially based on table 3 'Historical development of the Comparative in Sranan' (Arends 1989: 80). It presents the types of comparative constructions found in the sources from the 18th century in more detail and compares them to Modern Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole.

5.6.1 Comparative constructions in Eastern Maroon Creole and Early Sranan

Huttar & Huttar (1994) outline the various types of comparative construction in Eastern Maroon Creole. Huttar (1981) compares several types of Eastern Maroon Creole comparative constructions with various Kwa equivalents; Migge (1998) investigates serial verb constructions expressing comparison and compares them to their equivalents in the Gbe varieties Maxi, Waci, and Xwela.

In Eastern Maroon Creole, five types of comparative constructions are encountered: the Allative, the Exceed-1 and Exceed-2 Comparative, the Particle Comparative and the Mixed Comparative Comparative. Moreover, comparison can be expressed by negating an expression of equality (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 290). The Conjoined Comparative is not attested in Eastern Maroon Creole as far as I know, it is not mentioned in any of the sources I consulted. Thus, Eastern Maroon Creole and contemporary Sranan differ as follows: a) the Conjoined Comparative is not encountered in Eastern Maroon Creole whereas it does occur in contemporary Sranan; b) the Allative Comparative is found in Eastern Maroon Creole but not in contemporary Sranan (see table 5.4 above). Furthermore, the Exceed-2 Comparative occurs in Eastern Maroon Creole and contemporary Sranan, but the parameter of comparison can be introduced by different prepositions in the languages: the Sranan parameter of comparison can be introduced by the locative preposition *na,* while the Eastern Maroon Creole parameter of comparison can be preced by the locative preposition *a* or the preposition *anga* 'with'. Furthermore, both *moo* and *pasa* can participate in this type of comparative construction under certain conditions outlined by Migge (1998), whereas only *moro* can occur in the contemporary Sranan Exceed-2 Comparative; compare (84a) and (84b).

(84) a. *a moro mi na koni* (Sranan, Donicie 1959: 43)
3S outdo 1S LOC cleverness
'He is more cunning than me.'

b. *a dagu ya moo /pasa den taa wan anga / a bigi*
the dog here outdo pass the other one with LOC big
'This dog surpasses the other ones in size.'
(EMC, Huttar & Huttar 1994: 290)

Huttar & Huttar (1994) note that the Exceed-2 Comparative occurs only rarely in Eastern Maroon Creole, and that it has a feeling of archaicness. Moreover, "[t]he choice of *anga* 'with' in these rather than the general locative preposition *a* is associated with a "traditional upbringing" – i.e., it is more likely to be heard from older people or others with little influence from outside the Ndyuka tribal territory" (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 291). Regrettably, this type of comparative construction is not reported in the sources. In spite of its absence I assume that it must have been an Early Sranan feature, as it is encountered in contemporary Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole. Most likely the preposition preceding the parameter of comparison would have been *langa* (see section 2.6.1.3).

Another type of comparative construction that is not encountered in the sources of Early Sranan but that is attested in contemporary Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole is the Mixed Comparative (Arends 1989), also known as the double *moo*-construction (Migge 1998). It is a combination of the Exceed-1 Comparative and the Particle Comparative, as both the parameter of comparison and the standard of comparison can be preceded by *moro* (Sranan) or *moo* (Eastern Maroon Creole), see (85) and (86). The first *moro/moo* is the adverbial comparative marker meaning 'more', the second *moro (leki)/moo (eke)* is the serial item meaning 'outdo'.

(85) *a moro betre moro whisky* (Sranan, Arends 1985: 79)
3S more better OUTDO whisky
'It is better than whisky.'

(86) *Kofi moro bigi moro leki Kwaku* (Sranan, Arends 1985: 71)
Kofi more big more than Kwaku
'Kofi is bigger than Kwaku.'

(87) *a dagu ya moo bigi moo (eke) den taa wan*
the.S dog here more big more like the.P other one
'This dog is bigger than the other ones.' (EMC, Huttar & Huttar 1994: 288)

In Arends' sample, it occurs only in post-1900 sources, "and even there sporadically, but it seems to be current in modern Sranan" (Arends 1989: 79). I assume that this type of comparative construction is not encountered in the sources of Early Sranan as it did not occur at the time. The fact that it is not encountered in 19th century sources besides the 18th century sources under investigation here warrants this conclusion. Its occurence in contemporary Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole may be explained in terms of grammaticalization, though this needs to be investigated in more detail.[113] Because the Conjoined Comparative is not found in Eastern Maroon Creole even though it is encountered in contemporary Sranan, I assume that it was not a feature of Early Sranan, but a recent innovation.

The Allative Comparative. The Eastern Maroon Creole Allative Comparative occurs with a small number of items denoting the parameter of comparison. Most items refer to size, although a few others refer to age and physical property (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 371). Thus, Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole have in common that the Allative Comparative is relatively rare; other types of comparative constructions such the Exceed Comparatives and the Particle Comparative are more frequent and have a

[113] The co-occurence of the adverbial comparative marker and the serial item *moro/moo* in contemporary Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole suggests a loss in meaning content of the items in both positions in both languages. The process of desemanticization or semantic bleaching and the subsequent processes of extension and decategoralization of *moro/moo* may have been accelated by constructions such as (5) and (6) above, in which the quantitative adverbial is combined with (variants of) the comparative particle *leki* 'like; than' and comparative *na* 'than'. Furthermore, the loss of the comparative particle *na* may have contributed to the grammaticalization of the verb *moro/moo* and ultimately to the emergence of the Mixed Comparative.

wider distribution. Furthermore, in both languages the parameter of comparison can be Age in the case of the Allative Comparative. As the emergence of this type of comparative construction may be attributed to Gbe as it is found in Ewe in which it is restricted to the domain of Age, the Allative Comparative probably emerged denoting the comparison of Age, after which it may have spread over other domains (Arends 1989). Whereas this type of construction gradually gave way to other types of comparative constructions in the varieties of Early Sranan (Arends 1989), it perseveres in Eastern Maroon Creole.

The Exceed-1 Comparative. In Eastern Maroon Creole the items *moo* can precede the standard of comparison as part of a serial verb construction in which the main verb expresses the parameter of comparison (Huttar 1981; Huttar & Huttar 1994; Migge 1998), similar to *moro* in Early Sranan (see also section 8.3.2). The standard may be a nominal or a clause.

Alternatively, the item *moo* may be followed by the particle *eke* 'like' as in (88). Similar constructions are also encountered in Early Sranan, but they are different from their Eastern Maroon Creole equivalents: Early Sranan *moro* cannot occur without (variants of) *leki* in Van Dyk's (c1765) manual and Weygandt's (1798) guide as in (88), whereas *eke* is optional in Eastern Maroon Creole (89). The only source in which *leki* may be optional is Schumann's (1783) dictionary, see (90).

(88) a. *Mi jam morre likki joe* (VD c1765: 40)
1S eat more like 2S
['Ik Eet meêr als gy.']
'I eat more than you.'

b. *Mie lobie foe dee nanga joe moro lekie nanga wan trawan* (Wey 1783: 121)
1S love to be with 2S more than with a other one
['Ik verkies 't uwe voor alle anderen.']
'I like to be with you rather than with another.'

(89) a. *a dagu ya bigi moo (eke) den taa wan*
the dog here big more like the.PL other one
'This dog is bigger than the other ones.' (EMC, Huttar & Huttar 1994: 288)

b. *Mi mma e go a uku moo (eke) mi sisa*
1S mother ASP go LOC fish more like 1S sister
'My mother goes fising more than my sister.'
(EMC, Huttar & Huttar 1994: 288)

(90) a. *ju betre morro leki mi?* (Sch 1783: 16)
2S better outdo than 1S
['bist du besser als ich?']
'Are you better than me?'

b. *ju langa morro mi* (Sch 1783: 98)
2S long outdo 1S
['du bist länger, grösser als ich.']
'You are taller than me.'

Besides *moo*, *pasa* can precede the standard of comparison in Eastern Maroon Creole (Huttar 1981; Huttar & Huttar 1994; Migge 1998); it can be used in cases where "the property under comparison is gradient, may be acquired by different entities in different degrees or at different speed levels or is individually adjustable for each entity. Often the assumption is that the entities of comparison started out at the same level with respect to that property" (Migge 1998: 219). It cannot occur with the property items *yonkuu* 'young', *lontu* 'round', *siki* 'sick' and *taanga* 'difficult' (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 290). The few Early Sranan examples of comparative constructions in which (variants of) *pasa* are encountered certainly do not meet these qualifications.

The Particle Comparative. While Early Sranan has two comparative particles that can introduce the standard of comparison, the Eastern Maroon Creole standard may be preceded by *moo* or *moo eke*, see above. Eastern Maroon Creole *eke* must be preceded by *moo* (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 288).

5.7 Intonation

Schumann's (1783) dictionary is the only Early Sranan source containing clues on the intonation of several types of clauses, see for example section 7.3 on the intonation of the interrogative clause and his observations on the meaning of *no*: "Man sieht aus allen diesen Exempeln, wie genau es bey *no* auf die Stelle ankommt, wo man es hinsezt; u. wie eine jede Bedeutung ihre "gewisse" Stelle für *no* hat: ferner, wie genau es ausserdem auch auf den "Accent" ankommt, wo man denselben hinlegt" ["The examples show that the position of *no* determines its meaning; *no* conveys different meanings in different positions; furthermore, its meaning also depends on the intonational stress."] (Schumann 1783: 123-124).

Intonational stress is orthographically marked by Schumann, represented here as double quotation marks (inverted commas); see for example (91).

(91) a. *mi no wanni "datti wawan", mi wanni morro tu* (Sch 1783: 124)
1S NEG want that just 1S want more too
['ich will nicht nur dieses, sondern auch noch mehr.']
'I don't want JUST THAT, I want more on top of that.'

b. *mi "no" wanni datti wawan* (Sch 1783: 124)
1S NEG want that just
['ich will "nicht" dieses allein.']
'I DON'T want just that.'

c. boontjes *"drai" na tiki* (Sch 1783: 32)[114]
bean-s (Dutch) curl LOC stick
'Bean vines wind themselves around the stake.'

The quotation marks in the examples in (91) above illustrate that intonational stress can be used to mark focus: it gives *datti wawan*, *no* and *drai* prominence. Thus, the clauses deviate in their pragmatic nuances from the other clause types discussed in previous sections. The stress on *datti wawan* 'just that' in (91a) expresses counter-presuppositional focus, also known as contrastive focus: the speaker believes that the adressee is under the impression that he wants just that one object while in fact he wants that object and more. The stress on the negative particle *no* in (91b) indicates that in the eyes of the speaker, the addressee is assuming that the speaker wants just that one object while in fact he doesn't want it at all. Examples (91a) and (91c) on the one hand and (91b) on the other illustrate a difference in scope of focus: the scope of focus in (91a) and (91c) is a particular constituent, while the scope of focus in (91b) is the truth value of the clause. Note that several 'intensifying adverbs' such as (variants of) *srefi* 'self; even' can be used with the same effect as intonational stress, see section 3.1.3.

5.7.1 Intonation in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

In Eastern Maroon Creole, a tone language, the default intonational stress or intonation peak falls on the most prominent item or constituent, that is the subject in the case of a predicate nominal or the direct object in the case of a transitive clause. In the case of clauses without a prominent constituent but with a clause-final word having a long syllable such as ideophones or the 'intensifying adverb' *té*, the peak is clause-final (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 576-577). Extra high pitch and extra length of both vowels and consonants can be used for emphasis, but from the two examples given by Huttar & Huttar (1994), it is not clear whether emphasized items are restricted to clause-final position or not: both are sentence-final. Furthermore, one ends with an ideophone and the other with the adverb *té*. The examples from Schumann's (1783) dictionary given in (91) above show that the position of the prominent item or constituent is not restricted to clause-final position. Furthermore, stress is not used in Eastern Maroon Creole to mark counter-presuppositional focus, whereas it can be used in this manner in Early Sranan, that is in the Early Sranan variety represented in Schumann's (1783) dictionary.

5.8 Movement (fronting)

In section 5.1 the default constituent order of the Early Sranan transitive and intransitive clauses is discussed: the most agent-like argument of a transitive clause precedes the verb, which is followed by the least agent-like argument(s). In the case of an intransitive clause, the only argument precedes the verb . However, a different

[114] This example is found under the entry *dobbli* 'turn; wind; curl'. The verb *drai* 'turn; curl' is emphasized because the consultant wants to make clear that in this particular example *dobbli* is out of place; contrary to what the adressee might have expected, *drai* is the appropriate verb to use and not *dobbli*.

ordering of consituents serving a particular pragmatic purpose can be found in the sources in all of the clause types discussed above: the least agent-like arguments can occur in clause-initial position as a result of which they are given prominence. Example (92) illustrates a fronted temporal adverb (91a) and a fronted direct object in a simple clause and a serial verb construction (92b,c); (93) shows fronted prepositional phrases. Note that the entire prepositional phrase is fronted, prepositions do not allow stranding in any of the sources (the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762), Van Dyk's (c1765) guide; Schumann's (1783) dictionary; Weygandt's (1798) manual).

(92) a. *grande we a go na kamere* (VD c1765: 72)
long 3S go LOC room
['hy is al lang na zyn Kamer gegaan.']
'A long time ago, he went to his room.'

b. *no boi kruttu da somma meki* (Sch 1783: 19)
NEG little businesss person make
['der Mensch macht nicht geringe Händel.']
'The person is not into small business.'

c. *da meti mi sa kotti, platti gi une* (Sch 1783: 139)
the meat 1S FUT cut distribute give 2P
['das Fleische will ich zerschneiden u. unter euch austheilen.']
'I'll cut the meat and distribute it amongst you all.'

(93) a. *na im da fom a kisi wan flauw* (VD c1765: 51)
LOC in the beating 3S catch a faint
['onder het slaan kreeg hy een Flaauwte']
'During the beating he fainted.'

b. *na dissi grunn nuffe reti somma de na pinna (...)* (Sch 1783: 63)
LOC this country plenty right person COP LOC poverty
['auf dieser Welt geht es manchen rechtschaffenen bös (...)']
'On this world plenty good people are poor (...).'

c. *Nanga alla datie joe no sa kiesie alla da monie diesie joe aksie* (Wey 1783: 106)
with all that 2S NEG FUT get all the money REL 2S ask
['Met dat al zult gy u volle eisch niet krygen.']
'For all of that, you will not get all of the money you are asking.'

d. *Foe da thee diesja joe sa moe gie twentie na fo sreen* (Wey 1783: 123)
for the tea here 2S FUT must give twenty LOC four shilling
['Gy zult voor die thee zes Guldens moeten geeven.']
'For this tea here, you will have to give twenty four shillings.'

Fronting and intonational stress can co-occur in Schumann's (1783) dictionary; compare (94b) and (95b) with their pragmatically unmarked equivalents in (94a) and (95b) respectively.

(94) a. *mi no si ju tideh?* (Sch 1783: 123)
1S NEG see 2S today
['hab ich dich nicht heut gesehen?']
'Didn't I see you today?'

b. *"tideh" mi no si ju?* (Sch 1783: 123)
NEG 3S.OBJ 1S ask
['soll ich dich heut nicht gesehen haben?']
'Didn't I see you this very day?'

(95) a. *mi no haksi hem* (Sch 1783: 124)
1S NEG ask 3S.OBJ
['ich habe ihn nicht gefragt.']
'I didn't ask him.'

b. *"no" hem mi haksi* (Sch 1783: 124)
NEG 3S.OBJ 1S ask
['ich habe nicht "ihn" gefragt.']
'It isn't HIM I asked.'

5.8.1 Movement in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

Nominal and prepositional constituents can be moved to clause-initial position for emphasis in Eastern Maroon Creole; movement to other positions is not allowed (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 312). Similar to Early Sranan fronted constituents, the entire Eastern Maroon Creole prepositional constituent is fronted; stranding is not allowed. Furthermore, fronting is especially common with temporal expressions.

Huttar & Huttar (1994: 312) note that fronting for emphasis and fronting for topicalization are formally indistinguishable, "although in some cases a constituent fronted for emphasis may be given suprasegmental prominence not given to one fronted for topicalization. Whether a given case of fronting is emphasis or topicalization is determined by the discourse and nonlinguistic context". Thus, the examples (95) and (956) above from Schumann's (1783) dictionary in which (parts of) fronted constituents receive intonational stress are most likely instances of fronting for emphasis.

5.9 Dislocation

In addition to the type of movement discussed in the previous section, the structure of the Early Sranan simple clause can deviate from the default structure outlined in section 5.1 due to dislocation. Dislocation refers to the positioning of a constituent outside the clause, whereas fronted constituents occur inside the clause. In the Early Sranan sources, the dislocated constituent mainly occurs in sentence-initial position

(left dislocation). Often, but not always, the dislocated constituent is separated from the main clause by a comma, suggesting a pause in the pronunciation. The dislocated constituent is recapitulated by a resumptive pronoun in the main clause, such as the third person singular pronoun *a* in (96). The resumptive pronoun can be emphasized as in (97).

(96) a. *Da dirkture a libi ogeri lange wi* (VD c1765: 84)
the manager 3S live evil with 1P
['De Directeur leeft slegt met ons']
'The manager, he treats us badly.'

b. *da bun, dissi mi de jam, a de morro mi va takki* (Sch 1783: 114)
FOC good this 1S ASP eat 3S ASP outdo 1S to say
'It's good, what I'm eating, I am so overcome by it, I cannot describe it.'

(97) *da direkteure fo one hem wandi mi fom da negere zo menni* (VD c1765: 75)
the manager of 2P 3S.EMP want 1S punish the black so many
['de Directeur van jou luy wil hebben dat ik hem zoo veel slaagen geef.']
'Your manager, HE wants me to punish the blacks so often.'

Most examples of left dislocation in the sources of Early Sranan express topicalization of the subject as in (96) above, but other nominal constituents can be dislocated and thus topicalized, see (98). Both the dislocated constituent and the resumptive pronoun are underlined in (98).

(98) *En alla dem ronne wee nengre disie dem tarri backa, garan man effie coúroetoe sa can doe*
and all the.PL runaway black REL 3P carry back chief or court FUT can do

innie sandie dem wandie nanga dem (SPT 1762: art. 5)
every thing 3P want with 3P
['En sullen die werom gebragten slaaven nae welgevallen der blanken met de dood off anders na exigentie gestraft werden.']
'And all the run-away Blacks they return, the Governor or the Court shall be permitted to do anything they like with them.

5.9.1 Dislocation in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

Dislocation in Eastern Maroon Creole is a means of topicalization of subjects and other nominal constituents (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 342-350). Nominal constituents can be topicalized by left dislocation and occasionally by right dislocation. Of the latter no examples are found in the Early Sranan sources. Dislocation can be combined with fronting or clefting of the resumptive pronoun in Eastern Maroon Creole; in the Early Sranan sources equivalents of these combined constructions are rare. In general, dislocation appears to be more developed in Eastern Maroon Creole than in the documented varieties of Early Sranan.

5.10 Cleft constructions

The form and function of cleft constructions in Sranan have been investigated by Arends (1989) from a diachronic point of view. In Early Sranan cleft constructions, the focused constituent is moved to sentence-initial position, marked by the copula *da*, as in (98). Clefting can be used to mark a constituent for both contrastive and non-contrastive (or intensifying) emphasis, but the latter is found more frequent in the sources (Arends 1989).

(99) a. *Da so dem Saramaka Ningre teki da fri na fesi fou masara Dorich*
FOC so the.PL Saramaka black take the treaty LOC face of master D.

langa sergant Ritter (SPT 1762)
with sergeant R.
'This is how the Saramaka accepted the treaty in the presence of Mr Dörich and Sergeant Ritter.'

b. [A] *Dan joe de kom motte na fransi konderi*
then 2S ASP come.out LOC french country
['Gy komt dan van Parys']
'Then you are coming from France.'

[B] *Ai da da ply mi kommote* (VD c1765: 35)
yes FOC the place 1S come.out
['Ja Myn Heer om u te Dienen.']
'Yes, that's where I come from.'

Negative cleft constructions can be marked by the copula *da* followed by the negative particle *no* in Schumann's 1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual, see (100). In Herlein's (1718) text, the court records, the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace treaty (1762), Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Nepveu's (1718) document no examples of negative cleft constructions are encountered.

(100) a. *da no boi gudu da somma habi* (Sch 1783: 19)
FOC NEG small wealth the person have
['er hat keinen kleinen Reichthum.']
'He is VERY wealthy.'

b. *Da no em da da hatie lobie?* (Wey 1798: 122)
FOC NEG 3S COP the heart love
['Is hy niet de Hartevriend?']
'Isn't HE your lover?'

In general, the clefted constituent is not separated from the rest of the clause by a complementizer, a conjunction, a particle or a relativizer (see also Arends 1989).

However, in Weygandt's (1798) manual several variants of *diesie* functioning as relativizers occur in clauses resembling cleft constructions, see (101).

(101) a. [A] *ma oe sama dé fom na doro so tranga?*
but Q person ASP hit LOC door so hard
['maar wie klopt daar zo hard aan de deur?']
'But who is knocking on the door so loudly?'

[B] *Da soema diesie dee kon loekoe joe* (Wey 1798: 109)
FOC person REL ASP come look 2S
['Het is gezelschap dat gy krygt.']
'It's SOMEONE who is coming to see you.'

b. *Da no da retie monie deja diesie joe moe abie* (Wey 1798: 109)
FOC NEG the right money there REL 2S must have
['Is daar niet 't geen gy hebben moet']
'Isn't that THE RIGHT AMOUNT OF MONEY over there that you need?'

Arends (1989: 95) argues that, in addition to a cleft interpretation, a non-cleft reading of these examples is equally possible: *da* can be an introductory copula instead of a cleft marker, the remainder of the clause is then a standard relative clause. This type of clause is particularly common in response to a question word question, as in (100a). Moreover, the non-cleft reading of (101a) is favored by the discourse context, as it would be odd to emphasize *soema* 'somebody; someone' in the reply (101a). Although a non-cleft reading of (101a) is very likely for the arguments outlined by Arends (1989), these arguments have no bearing on constructions such as (101b), which is clearly a cleft construction. Therefore, I assume that in the *fototongo* variety of Early Sranan represented in Weygandt's (1798) manual relativizers can be used in cleft constructions.

Another type of cleft construction that is found only in Weygandt's (1789) manual is one in which the clefted constituent is a prepositional phrase (see also Arends 1798), as in (102). Arends (1989) suggests that the sources may be biased, as in contemporary Sranan prepositional phrases headed by various prepositions can be clefted. Additional support for this point of view is provided by Eastern Maroon Creole, in which clefted prepositional phrases headed by various prepositions are common (Huttar & Huttar 1994). Thus, clefting of prepositional phrases must have been a feature of Early Sranan.

(102) *da foe datie hédé diesie foe mie moe tan?* (Wey 1798: 110)
FOC for that reason this of 1S must remain
['Moet de myne daarom blyven leggen']
'That's why mine must remain?'

Clefted constituents can be nominal or prepositional, as illustrated above, or verbal (see also Arends 1989). Cleft constructions with clefted verbs differ from the ones with clefted nominal constituents in the following: the verb occurs in the clefted constituent as well as in the non-focused remainder of the clause, see (103).

(103) a. *da koksi ju koksi mi* (Sch 1783: 84)
FOC ridicule 2S ridicule 1S
['du hast recht deinen Spott mit mir.']
'You RIDICULE me.'

b. *da fufur a fufur* (Sch 1783: 46)
FOC steal 3S steal
['er ist ein rechter Dieb, er kann das Stehlen nicht lassen.']
'He steals, he is a real thief.'

c. *da go mi de go* (Sch 1783: 50)
FOC go 1S ASP go
['den Augenblick gehe ich']
'I'm GOING.'

Because examples of clefted verbs are found only in Schumann's (1783) dictionary, I conclude that clefted verbs are characteristic of the *ningretongo* variety of Early Sranan represented in this source. This type of clefting is not allowed in English, whereas it is encountered in several West-African languages that have contributed to the formation of Sranan (Twi, Yoruba). Therefore, the hypothesis that the *ningretongo* variety of Early Sranan displays more substrate features than other varieties of Early Sranan clearly holds for this type of cleft construction.

5.10.1 Cleft constructions in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

Eastern Maroon Creole cleft constructions have the copula *na* in sentence-initial position followed by the clefted constituent; in negative cleft constructions, the copula is followed by the negative particle *ná* and subsequent the clefted constituent (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 315 – 327). If the clefted constituent is verbal, the verb is repeated in the remainder of the clause, similar to the *ningretongo* examples from Schumann's (1783) dictionary above. Note that relativizers, conjunctions or complementizers cannot introduce the non-focused constituent in Eastern Maroon Creole. As relativizers can be used to introduce the Early Sranan *fototongo* non-focused constituent, Eastern Maroon Creole and Early Sranan *fototongo* are very different in this respect.

5.11 Exclamations, swear words and insults

The most salient marker of an exclamation in the varieties of Early Sranan is the exclamative particle *ke* expressing amazement which is best translated into English as 'what!?'. Variants of *ke* are found in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, Schumann's (c1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual (104).

(104) a. *Joe takki a zoete kauw ke anno habi jam jam noefe na pranasi* (VD c1765: 85)
2S talk 3S shoot cow EXCL 3S-NEG have food enough LOC plantation
['Wat zegje! heeft hy geen Eeten op de Plantagie, dat hy de Koe-Beesten juist moet Dood Schieten.']
'You're saying that he shot a cow? What!? Isn't there enough food on the plantation?'

b. *ké! Ningre bari Ningre?* (Sch 1783: 12)
EXCL black call black
['was hat ein Neger vor Recht, andre Neger auf der Strasse anzurufen?']
'What!? Is the pot is calling the kettle black?'

c. [A] *Ma san mie dee sie dé na tapoe joe tafla?*
but what 1S ASP see there LOC top 2S table
['Maar wat zie ik daar op uw tafel?']
'But what do I see there on the top of your table?'

[B] *Da wan tafla oloysie*
FOC a table clock
['Het is een tafel-orlogie.']
'It's a table clock.'

[A] *Ké fa a mooy!* (Wey 1798: 124)
EXCL how 3S pretty
['Wat is dat liefjes.']
'How pretty!'

Schumann (1783) categorizes *ke* (and its variant *tje*) as a *Verwunderungswort* literally amazement-word, it is translated as (German) *ey!* 'hey!'. The term *Verwunderungswort* is also used for phrases with *lukku* 'look; care for; pay attention, watch out' in (105a-b); they express that the adressee should pay attention. The verb *lukku* 'look; care for; pay attention, watch out' also features in warnings such as (105c-d).

(105) a. *lukku sanni!* (Sch 1783: 124)
look thing/what
['ey sieh doch!']
'Careful!'

b. *lukku lukku!* (Sch 1783: 124)
look.REDUP
'Careful!'

c. *lukku, so menni bredi ju libi abra!* (Sch 1783: 3)
look so many bread 2S leave over
['ey, du lässt so viel Brodt übrig!]'
'Careful! You're spilling so much bread!'

d. *lukku bun nanga mi!* (Sch 1783: 104)
look good with 1S
['hab mich nicht zum besten!']
'Watch out for me!'

e. *dasanni ju du mi, lukku bun!* (Sch 1783: 37)
that-thing 2S do 1S look good
['du hast mir so einen Tort angethan, nimm dich vor die Folgen in Acht.']
'For what you did to me, just watch out!'

In addition to *ke*, the exclamatives *(h)a* 'oh!' and *ei ei* 'hey! hey!' are found in Weygandt's (1798) manual. Both can be used to express amazement and/or delight, the former can also be used to express frustration depending on the discourse context (106a). Both exclamatives are presumably characteristic of *fototongo*, as they are found in Weygandt's (1798) manual only. What is more, they occur in the dialogue between a plantation director and a city-dweller. Both the director and the city-dweller use variants of *ke* to express their amazement, but the city-dweller also uses *ha!* 'oh!' and *ei! ei!* 'hey! hey!', see (106b) and (107).

(106) a. *A! no trobie mie toemoe sie mie abie trasanie foe memree* (Wey 1798: 128)
EXCL NEG trouble 1S too.much 1S have other-thing to think
['Ach! plaag my niet, ik heb andere dngen genoeg te denken.']
'Oh! Don't bother me so much, I have other things to think of.'

b. *Ha! mie wensie mie abie wan ofoe toe foe den deja, mie sa mekie*
EXCL 1S wish 1S have one or two of 3P here 1S FUT make

den no sa waka langa (Wey 1798: 128)
3P NEG FUT walk long
['Ha! ik wou dat ik er een paar hier hadde, zy zouden niet lang loopen']
'Hey! I wish I had one or two of those here, they wouldn't be walking for long.'

(107) *Ei! Ei! fa den ben dé dienie joe zo boen* (Wey 1798: 84)
EXCL EXCL how 3P PAST ASP serve 2S so good
['Wel man, wat wierd gy knap bediend.']
'Hey! Hey! They were serving you well!'

The exclamative *o* 'oh!' is found in Van Dyk's (c1765) manual and Schumann's (1783) dictionary expressing extreme anxiety; it often occurs in conjunction with a calling upon a god.

(108) a. *Aurora, ô! goeie gada hoe zan joe brocke* (VD c1765: 61)
A. oh good god Q thing 2S break
['Aurora, ô! goeie God, wat breekje daar']
'Oh, Aurora! Good god! What did you break?'

b. *o Gado, sari mi* (Sch 1783: 150)
oh god sad 1S
['Gott, erbarme dich meiner!']
'Oh god! Take pity on me!'

Schumann (1783) lists a number of exclamations referring to a god, sometimes commenting upon their usages. In (109) his comments are presented in between brackets following the English translation.

(109) a. *Gado blessi mi!* (Sch 1783: 18)
god bless 1S
['ein gewöhnlicher Fluch der Neger.']
'God bless me!' ('A common imprecation among the blacks.')

b. *Gado blessi ju!* (Sch 1783: 18)
god bless you
['Gott segne dich!']
'God bless you!'

c. *Gado musse de na ju fesi!* (Sch 1783: 41)
god must COP LOC 2S face/front
['Gott sey mit dir! (ein Wunsch der heidnischen Neger untereinander).']
'May god be with you!' ('A wish amongst heathen blacks')

d. *Gado wanni, wi sa komm santa morromorro* (Sch 1783: 115)
god want 1P FUT come holy more.REDUP
'If god's willing, we'll better ourselves more and more.'

The expressions listed in (109) are different from the few found in Van Dyk's (c1765) manual, see (110). No such expressions are found in Weygandt's (1798) manual or any of the other Early Sranan sources.

(110) a. *Danki fo joe mi goede mastra gado helpi mi mastra moe libi lange* (VD c1765: 102)
thank to 2S 1S good master god help 1S master must live long
['Wy Danken uw myn Heer, God heeft ons geholpen en hy geeft uw lang Leeven']
'Thank you my good master, with god's help my master must live long.'

b. [A] *Hoe zan jo zel doe*
Q thing 2S FUT do
['Wat zel je dan doen.']
'What will you do?'

[B] *Gado zabi mi zal tysi hoe fa da zanti za wakke* (VD c1765: 65)
God knows 1S FUT try Q manner the thing FUT walk
['God weet het, ik zal het probeeren hoe 't zal gaan.']
'God knows, I'll give it a try and see how it will go.'

The phrase *da(s)notti* is found in exclamations in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide, Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual. It is derived from the English phrase *that('s) nothing*. It can be used as a phrase meaning 'it's nothing, it means nothing; it is not important' or it can function as noun meaning 'forgiveness'. In Van Dyk's (c1765) language manual it is used only as a phrase meaning 'it's nothing; it's not important' (111), while in Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) both usages are acknowledged, see (112) for examples from Schumann's (1783) dictionary.

(111) [A] *Den ben poele mi bloedi alreddi* (VD c1765: 41)
3P PST pull 1S blood already
['Men heeft my al eens Gelaaten.']
'They have bled me already.'

[B] *Das notti joe moe hole joe warm* (VD c1765: 41)
that.nothing 2S must hold 2S warm
['Daar is niet aan geleegen, gy moet u Warm houden.']
'It doesn't matter. You must keep yourself warm'.

(112) a. *dasnotti* (Sch 1783: 27)
forgiveness
['das hat nichts zu bedeuten, es ist schon gut! it. Vergebung, Verzeiung; vergib mirs!']
'It means nothing; it's okay; forgiveness, reconciliation; forgive me!'

b. *dasnotti! mi ben missi!* (Sch 1783: 112)
forgiveness 1S PST miss
['vergib mir meinen Fehler.']
'Forgiveness! I have erred!'

In section 5.3 it is stated that interrogatives can function as exclamations, expressing intensification like the yes/no interrogative in (113) or rhetorical effect like the question word questions in (114). In particular exclamations starting with (variants of) the question word *(hu)fa(si)* can be used to express that something should not be the case, as in (114a). They are found in Van Dyk's (c1765) quide, Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Weygandt's (1798) manual.

(113) *da wan dungru datti?* (Sch1783: 26)
FOC a darkness that
['das heisst stockfinster!']
'That's darkness, that is!'

(114) a. *Mi ogere gado hoe fa ogeri fadom na mi hede tappe* (VD c1765: 64)
1S evil god Q manner evil fall.down LOC 1S head on
['Ik, ô! groote God, wat kwaad komt my over']
'My! Evil god! What evil is happening to me!'

b. *Oe dondro baliebalie joe de mekie deja* (Wey 1798: 84)
Q thunder noise.IDEO 2S ASP make here
['Wat dondrend geraas maakt gy hier']
'What thundering noise are you making here!'

Few examples of insults, swear words and curses are found in the sources. Insults can be comparative clauses in which the adressee is compared to an animal, see (115). Swear words and curses often refer to body parts or animals, see (116a) and (116b).

(115) *da homan dom liki kauw* (VD c1765: 62)
the woman stupid like cow
['dat Vrouw-Mensch is zoo dom in haar Hoofd als een Koe']
'That woman is as stupid as a cow.'

(116) a. *joù mama, Pima* (CR 1762)
2S mother cunt
'your mother's cunt!'

b. *Joe dago hoe fa joe no potti fole potti wan trom morre* (VD c1765: 80)
2S dog Q manner 2S NEG put full put one turn more
['Jou Hond waarom schenk jy de Glaazen niet vol, schenk nog reis in.']
'You dog! Why didn't you fill (the glasses), fill (them) once more!'

The consultant comments upon the word *pîma* 'cunt' in Schumann's (1783) dictionary that it is only used as a *ningretongo* swear word, a more respectful *ningretongo* word for a woman's vagina is *bombo* 'vagina', see (117).

(117) a. *pîma* (...) *da muffe da wan takkrusanni, dem no takki hem tarra fasi, leki na kossi*
cunt the word COP a evil-thing 3P NEG say 3S.OBJ other way like LOC curse
(Sch1783: 137)
'Cunt (...) the word is wrong, they don't use it in any other way except for swearing.'

b. *bombo (...) datti da reti nem, dissi dem de takki (son)*[115] *nanga reti, sondro*
vagina that COP right name REL 3P ASP say so? with right without

prefuru effi kossi (Sch1783: 20)
swear or curse
'Vagina (...) that is the right name used in an appropriate manner, without swearing or cursing.'

5.11.1 Exclamations, swear words and insults in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

Several Eastern Maroon Creole exclamatives are discussed in section 1.11.1.1.3 of Huttar & Huttar's (1994) grammar: *yee*, *baa*, *oo*, *oho* and *he* the response forms *kwetikweti* 'not at all' and *ai* 'yes' and the tag *no* express noncontradictory emphasis, "usually with other semantic components as well" (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 302). Eastern Maroon Creole insults resemble the Early Sranan example given in (104) above, although they are more elaborate: an Eastern Maroon Creole insult consists of an optional second person singular personal pronoun followed by a noun phrase preceding a comparative prepositional phrase marked by *e(n)ke*; "[t]he noun phrase consist of a noun refering to a body part, almost always preceded and/or followed by one or more modifiers before the *eke* phrase" (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 359).

The Eastern Maroon Creole question word *fa* 'how?' can be used to emphatically state that the content of the question should not be the case (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 63), similar to the Early Sranan example given in (103a). Furthermore, the question word *(on) soutu* questioning a noun phrase is used to emphasize the non-existence of the object or situation denoted by that noun phrase, or to deny a preceding proposition or suggestion (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 63). No equivalents of this type of construction are found in the sources of Early Sranan.

[115] The item *son* is placed in between brackets because in the original manuscript it is difficult to determine if it is crossed out or not (Bruyn, p.c.).

6 The complex sentence

6.0 Introduction

In the following sections several types of coordinate and subordinate clauses are presented: coordinated clauses are discussed in 6.1, complement clauses in 6.2, serial verb constructions and paratactic strings of verbs in 6.3 and, last but not least, adverbial clauses 6.4. Sranan subordinate clauses that modify noun phrases, i.e. relative clauses, are discussed in detail by Bruyn (1995) and will therefore not be discussed here.

6.1 Coordination

Complex sentences may consist of coordinate clauses, that is a series of two (or more) clauses (coordinands) that are not syntactically dependent on each other but form a semantic or conceptual unit; they may be linked by a coordinator or they may simply be juxtaposed (Payne 1985; Haspelmath 2004). In Sranan, all coordinators are prepositive and precede the second coordinand. Note that most coordinators can also be used as discourse coordinators as they may be used to link an utterance to the preceding discourse.

Three types of coordination are distinguished: conjunction, disjunction and adversative coordination. In the case of conjunction, two clauses may simply be coordinated without further presuppositions or dependencies. In contrast, disjunction is a type of coordination that presents mutually exclusive alternatives. In the case of adversative coordination, a contrast exists between the coordinands or between the implications of the coordinands. They are discussed in the following sections. Every section concludes with a comparison of the findings with Eastern Maroon Creole and an schematic overview of the findings.

6.1.1 Conjunctive coordination

Sentences are coordinated by simple juxtaposition (parataxis) or by coordinating conjunctions such as *en* 'and' and *dan* 'then' and conjunctive adverbs such as *so srefi* 'in the same way, also' and *kaba* 'and (then)'. In the case of parataxis, the order in which the sentences appear is not arbitrary. It usually follows the temporal order in which the events expressed by the coordinands takes place (1).

(1) a. *ju fulu glasi tumussi, wini trueh abra* (Sch 1783: 3)
2S fill glass excessive wine throw.away over
['du machst das Glas so voll, dass der Wein überläuft']
'You fill the glass too much, the wine runs over.'

b. *Kiejo gi da battra potti pikien na wan kalebassi fo da trange zanti*
Kiejo give that bottle put little LOC a calabash of that strong object

go na joe worke bakke (VD c1765: 50)
go LOC 2S work back
['Kiejo geeft de Fles en doed een beetje in de Kallebas van dat starke Goed en gaa dan weêr na jou Werk.]
'Kiejo, get the bottle, put a little bit of that strong stuff in a calabash and go back to your work.'

Juxtaposed coordinands can often be identified by the repetition of phrases in similar syntactic functions (2a-b), but not necessarily, as in (1) above.

(2) a. *effi Indjin soutu fissi, dem meki kotti kotti kotti, dem trueh soutu na tappo,*
if Amerindian salt fish 3P make cut cut cut 3P throw.away salt LOC top

lobbi hem tranga na inni, na bakka dem dre da fissi na sonn (Sch 1783: 88)
rub 3S.OBJ strong LOC inside LOC back 3P dry that fish LOC sun
'When the Amerindians salt fish, they make cuts, they put salt on it, rub it hard inside, then they dry the fish in the sun.'

b. *hatti bron fo hem a potti mi na ty ty mi kommotte na*
heart burn of 3S.OBJ 3S put 1S LOC rope.REDUP 1S come.out LOC

ty ty mi go tikki den pallecade befo zon dom (VD c1765: 89)
rope.REDUP 1S go take the.PL palisade before sun down
['waar over dat hy zoo kwaad wierd dat hy my aan een Touw liet binden en braaf af klopten, doe ging ik nog na hetBos en haalden de overige eêr de Zon nog onder was']
'He went so mad, he tied me up, when I got out, I went for the palisades before sun down.'

Conjunction: the conjunction en. Two coordinands may be conjoined by the conjunction *en* 'and' in the sources of Early Sranan. The examples in (3) demonstrate that the conjunction *en* 'and' may be used to join main clauses (3a) and juxtaposed subordinate clauses (3b).

(3) a. *Go kalli bakkera bassia en gi wattre fo wassi han* (VD c1765: 69)
go call white overseer and give water for wash hand
['Gaâ en roep de Blanke Officier en geef Waater dat ik myn Handen wasch']
'Go call the white overseer and give water to wash my hands.'

b. (...) *dan dem sa mossoe hilpie bacara foe goo fettie nanga dem* <u>*en*</u> *foe kissie dem* (...)
then 3P FUT must help white to go fight with 3P and to catch 3P
['sullen sij de blanke assisteren om dezelve daartoe te dwingen']
(SPT 1762: art. 8)
'(...) then they should help the Whites to go fight them and capture them.'

In general the item *langa* 'and; with' cannot be used to join clauses. This preposition conjoins nouns and nominals, pronouns and/or noun phrases ('and') among other functions, see section 2.6.5. However, in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide the form *langa* is encountered once as a clausal conjunction joining two clausal coordinands:

(4) Myn heer *da zoepe da zwiti* <u>*lange*</u> *da doksi toe* (VD c1765: 103)
my lord (Dutch)the soup COP sweet and the duck too
['Myn Heer die Soup is lekker en de Eend-Vogel ook.']
'My lord, the soup is sweet and so is the duck.'

Conjunction: the conjunctive adverbial dan. The adverbial *dan* 'then, at that time' is common in most Early Sranan sources when introducing adverbial clauses such as conditionals and time clauses. However, in Weygandt's language manual it can alternatively be used as a coordinator when the coordinands express temporal sequence, as in (5). This use of *dan* is not found in the other sources of Early Sranan. Temporal sequence is most frequently expressed by simple juxtaposition as in (1) above and (6) below.

(5) a. *Zo dra mie wassie mie fessie kaba* <u>*dan*</u> *mie dee go letie mie pipa,*
as.soon.as 1S wash 1S face already then 1S ASP go light 1S pipe ASP

<u>*en dan*</u> *mie dé kuyrie safrie sa frie go na d'jarrie, foe sie ofoe alla sanie dé*
and then 1S stroll softly.REDUP GO LOC garden to see if all thing ASP

boenboen lekie fa a moesoe dee (Wey 1798: 134)
good.REDUP like how 3S must COP
['Na myn pyp aangestooken te hebben, wandelde ik al zoetjes naar de thuin, naziende of alles behoorlyk word behandeld en opgepast']
'As soon as I have washed my face, I light my pipe and I stroll leisurely to the garden, to see if all is well, like it should be.'

b. *tee mie loekoe alla sanie kaba en mie gie wroko na da djariman foe doe,*
when 1S look all thing already and 1S give work LOC that gardener to do

<u>*dan*</u> *mie dee go loekoe mie kweekie* (Wey 1798: 134)
then 1S ASP go look.at 1S poultry
['alles nagezien en den tuinier werk voor dien dag gegeeven hebbende, ging ik myn kweek bezien']
'When I have looked at everything and I have given work for the gardener to do, I go look at my poultry.'

(6) myn heer *joe locke den kisi morre jam jam den no za vervoeren*
my lord (Dutch) 2S look 3P catch more food.REDUP 3P NEG FUT steal

morre den za worke morre na tappe (VD c1765: 45)
more 3P FUT work more LOC top
['Myn Heer maak dat ze meer Eeten krygen, dan zellen zy niet Steelen en dan zullen zy meer Werken als zy gedaan hebben']
'My lord, you make sure that they get more food, then they will not steal anymore and they will work more than they have done.'

Conjunction: the conjunctive adverbial (da) so (srefi). The adverb *so* 'in this way; thus' can be used as a coordinator as in (7).

(7) a. *bunne jorka kibri hem, ougri jorka de wakka va meki trobbi:*
good spirit hide 3S.OBJ evil spirit ASP walk to make trouble

so dem oure piple takki
so 3P old people talk
'The good spirit hides himself, the evil one goes out to make trouble: in this way the elder people talk.' (Sch 1783: 75)

b. *da reiti; so dem sa doe* (SPT 1762: art.2)
FOC right so 3P FUT do
['Sijn te vreede en neeme sulx aen na te koome']
'It is good; they will do so.'

The connective *so* may be substituted with the adverbial phrase *so srefi* lit. so same, meaning 'in the same way, also' as in (8a) or with *da so* lit. it.be so, meaning 'in this way; thus' as in (8b).

(8) a. *mi pikin kali mi grangmamma "hem awò": so srefi a kali mi*
1S child call 1S grandmother 3S greatgrandparent also 3S call 1S

grangtatta "hem awò" tu (Sch 1783: 9)
grandfather 3S greatgrandparent too
'My child calls my grandmother his/her great parents; in the same way, he/she calls my grandfather his/her greatgrandparent too.'

b. *oenno moes pree bon dore te de brokke da zo mi wandi* (VD c1765: 108)
2S must play good through until day break FOC so 1S want
['weest de heelen Nagt Plyzierig, tot den Dag aanbreekt']
'You must play all through the night until dawn, that is what I want.'

Conjunction: the conjunctive adverbial kaba. The multifunctional item *kaba* 'and; already; enough; to finish; to complete' may also be used as a conjunctive adverb coordinating two clauses (9).

(9) a. *da mastra a za harki zo zanti of mi takki da zanti* (VD c1765: 65)
the master he FUT hear such thing or 1S say that thing

a za kieli da man fo mi kaba a za slibi lange mi na tappe
3S FUT kill the man of 1S and 3S FUT sleep with 1S LOC top
['zou die Meester daar na luisteren, als ik hem dat zei zou hy myn Man Dood slaan en Slaapen booven dien by myn']
'If the master hears such a thing if/or I say such a thing, he will kill my husband and sleep with me on top of it.'

b. *ju pulu krapátu, kaba heddi libi na inni buba, a meki afùh* (Sch 1783: 90)
2S remove thick and/but head leave LOC in skin 3S make boil
'If you remove a tick and the head is left in the skin, it causes a boil.'

c. [A:] *Masra mie no ben kan kaba moro heesie* (Wey 1798: 110)
master 1S NEG PST can finish more hastily
['Myn Heer ik kon 't niet eerder afmaaken']
'Master I could not have finished it more hastily.'

[B:] *Kaba joe ben pramiesie mie datie mie sa abie em na sondee*
but 2S PST promise 1S that 1S FUT have 3S LOC Sunday
['Ondertusschen had gy my beloofd dat ik 't reeds om Sondag zoude hebben']
'But you promised me that I would have it on Sunday.'

The examples in (9) demonstrate that *kaba* can be used in different ways: *kaba* can simply juxtapose coordinands without stating their relationship (*and*-coordination), as in (9a). Furthermore, *kaba* can be used as a connective to express counterexpectation as in the dialogue exemplifying *but*-coordination in (9c). Van Dyk (c1765) clearly has a preference for *kaba* as a connective expressing *and*-coordination; he is the only one who uses it to connect clauses as well as nominal phrases. Schumann's (1783: 76) translation of *kaba* indicates that he considers *kaba* a type of *and*-connective; he translates adverbial *kaba* with *und* ['and'] in addition to *schon* ['already']; *fertig* ['ready'] and *genug* ['enough']. Indeed, the type of coordination exemplified in (9b) above can be categorized as *and*-coordination. Alternatively, it may be categorized as a type of *but*-coordination. In Weygandt's language manual the connective *kaba* occurs most frequently in coordinated clauses such as (9c) expressing *but*-coordination. Here, *kaba* expresses counterexpectation, a function that is also observed in contemporary Sranan (Donicie 1954, Voorhoeve 1962).

6.1.2 Disjunctive coordination

The unequivocal strategy to join disjunctive coordinands is by means of syndetic coordination. The coordinands denote mutually exclusive alternatives that may be joined by a disjunctive coordinator, variants of *efi* 'or; if' and *ofu* 'or; if'. The coordinator precedes the second coordinand as in (10a), and, optionally, may also occur in front of the first coordinand (10b,c). Two coordinators express indifference of choice more explicitly than one.

(10) a. *den takki offe den no takki den moe ly* (VD c1765: 82)
3P say or 3P NEG say 3P must lie
['Hoor, als zy het zeggen, zoo moeten zy het Liegen']
'Whether they talk or they don't talk, they have to lie.'

b. *offe da troe offe da no troe joe sleffi go jarri dem* (VD c1765: 90)
or that true or that NEG true 2S INT go carry 3P
['Waar of niet waar, brengt ze zelf']
'Whether it is true, or it is not true, you bring them yourself.'.

c. *da allawan na mi, effi ju du so, effi ju no du* (Sch 1783: 181)
FOC all-one LOC 1S if 2S du so if 2S NEG do
'It is all one to me, whether you do so, or you do not.'

The coordinators *efi* 'or; if' (< English *if*) and *ofu* 'or; if' (< Dutch *of* 'or; if') are interchangeable. In the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762) *effie* and *offoe* occur in free alternation:

(11) *Selfie effie dem bossie nengre na baka ouwka of mapana nengre disie frie*
even if the.PL bush black LOC back Auka or Mapana black REL free

arrede nanga bacara sa wandie foe mekie trobie offoe doe bacara ogrie, dan dem sa
already with white FUT want to make trouble or do white evil then 3P FUT

mossoe hilpie bacara foe goo fettie nanga dem en foe kissie dem effie foe mekie dem tan
must help white to go fight with 3P and to catch 3P or to make 3P stay

boen nanga bakara en holi da frie reijtie nomo (SPT 1762: art. 8)
good with white and hold that peace right certainly
['ook in gevalle de bosneegers van agter Auka off bij haar soganaamde Mapana neegers onse slaaven mogten ophouden off anders de vreede mogte breeke ende blanken overlast doen, sullen sij de blanke assisteren om dezelve daartoe te dwingen']
'Even if the Bush Negroes behind Auka or the Mapana Blacks, who already made peace with the Whites, should wish to make trouble or do bad things to the Whites, then they should help the Whites to go fight them and

capture them, or to make them become friends with the Whites and stick strictly to the peace.'

In Van Dyk's (c. 1765) language manual only variants of the Dutch derived source form *offoe* are are encountered, see (11a) and (11b) above. In contrast, Schumann (1783) lists English derived *effi* as in (11c), *offu* is not encountered in his dictionary.

In Weygandt's (1798) manual, variants of *offoe* and *efie* are not interchangeable: *offoe* coordinates disjunct coordinands whereas *efie* mainly introduces conditional clauses. When they occur in succession, the difference in meaning and function becomes clear: *ofoe* precedes *efie* and not the other way around, see (12).

(12) *tee mie njam kaba, dan mie dee doe diesie ofoe datie; dee leesie na wan boekoe, ofoe*
when 1S eat already than 1S ASP do this or that ASP read LOC a book or

dé schriefie maandlystie, ofoe trasannie ofoe efie brievie kon foe da Granmassera foe
ASP writ month-list or other-thing or if letter come of the director to

gie Coffi na wan Stierman ofoe Pondobakra &c *ofoe mie no abié notie foe doe*
give coffee LOC a steersman or carrier etc. or 1S NEG have nothing to do

dan mie de mekie den potie Coerjala na watra foe go na wan foe mie Buurman
than 1S ASP make 3P put canoe LOC water to go LOC one of 1S neighbor
['naar 't ontbyt hield ik my met de eene of andere bezigheden op, leesde in een boek, schreef wat, 't zy maand lysten of andersints, of indien er orders gekoomen waren met het afleeveren van Coffy aan een Stuurman of Pontevoerder &c. niet te doen hebbende liet ik de Courjaal of Tentpontje in 't water zetten, vaarende naar de eene of andere buurman'] (Wey 1798: 140)
'When I have eaten, I do this or that; reading a book or writing the monthly overviews, or something else, or if the orders of the director have come to give coffee to the steersman or carrier and so on, or (if) I do not have anything to do, then I will make them put the canoe in the water to go to one of my neighbors.'

I assume that both *ofoe* and *efie* were used in Early Sranan to introduce disjunctive coordinands (*efie* is the oldest form as it is English-derived), but that in the course of time *efie* specialized in marking conditional clauses, whereas *ofoe* became the default marker of disjunctive coordinands under the influence of acrolectal varieties of Early Sranan.

6.1.3 Adversative coordination

This type of coordination is used to indicate that the relationship between the coordinate clauses is one of contrast. This relationship may simply be one of contrast or opposition, uncomplicated by further presuppositions or dependencies. The clauses may be juxtaposed as in (13), or conjoined with the coordinators *ma*(*ra*) 'but' or *noso* 'otherwise, or'.

(13) a. *mino kan finde da homan mi miti wan bny de na passi* (VD c1765: 77)
1S-NEG can find the woman 1S meet a boy there LOC crossing
['ik kan haar niet vinden, maar ik ben een Jongen teegen gekoomen']
'I cannot find the woman, (but) I met a boy at the crossing.'

b. *da vool ben siddom na tin eksi tappo, a brokko neni* (Sch 1783: 23)
the chicken PAST sit.down LOC ten egg top 3S break nine
['diese Henne hat 10 Eyer zum brüten gehabt, aber nur 9 heraus gebracht, aus gebrütet']
'The chicken laid ten eggs, but (only) nine hatched.'

In the case of counterexpectation or denial of expectation, the contrast between the clauses is pragmatically based: this type of adversative coordination with the form 'A *but* B' is taken to mean: given A, it might be expected that not B, nevertheless B holds (Payne 1985). With counterexpectation, juxtaposition of clauses is not an option, one of the following conjunctions must be used to conjoin the clauses: *ma(ra)* 'but', *tog* 'yet, however', *ma tog* 'but yet' or *kaba* 'but'. The latter was discussed above as it may also be used in the case of conjunction. Examples of remaining coordinators are presented below.

Adversative coordination: the conjunction ma(ra). The conjunction *ma* or *mara/maar* 'but' (< Dutch *maar* 'but') may be used to in the case of contrast (14a) or in the case of counterexpectation (14b).

(14) a. *gran gado soli wi, date we no do bon, <u>maar</u> mi no sabi* (CR 1766)
big lord show 1P that 1P NEG do good but 1S no know
'The master showed us that we did not do good, nevertheless I did not know.'

b. *mi moe go we na hosse <u>ma</u> banba we zel takki makandre fo da zanti*
1S must go away LOC house but shortly 1P FUT talk each other of the thing
['Ik moet juist na myn Huis, maar by occasie zal ik u nog wat anders vertellen]' (VD c1765: 105)
'I have to go home, but we will talk with each other about it.'

No difference is found in the distribution of *ma* and *mara*: in most of the Sranan sources where this conjunction occurs, both *ma* and *mara* are encountered expressing contrast and counterexpectation. In Van Dyk's language manual *ma* alternates with *maar*; both forms can be used to perform these functions. In Schumann's (1783) dictionary only *ma* is present, no other variants are encountered.

Adversative coordination: the coordinator noso. The adverbial phrase *no so* lit. not so, meaning 'otherwise; if not' may be used as a connective coordinating disjunctive clauses. As such, it is opposite in meaning and function to the conjunction *so*

presented above. The earliest attestation of *nosso* performing this function is in the text of the Saramaka Peace Treaty of 1762:

(15) *En onnoe sa moessoe doe so sreffie na onnoe ondro: dissie sa kom foe doe ogrie,*
and 2P FUT must do so same LOC 2P under these FUT come to do evil

onnoe sa moessoe fom hem, en serrefie killie hem, effoe da ogrie bigie, effoe gie
2P FUT must hit 3S.OBJ and even kill 3S.OBJ if that evil be.big or give

hem abra na bacara. Moro <u>nosso</u> effoe wan foe dem doe of wandi doe wan
3S.OBJ over LOC white more otherwise if one of 3P do or want do a

sandie fou broko dissie frie effie wan foe dem doe ogrie na bacara, bakara sa kan
thing to break this treaty or one of 3P do evil LOC white white FUT can

kissie dem en straffe dem so allekie dem doe tarra friman (SPT 1762: art. 11)
catch 3P and punish 3P so like 3P do other freeman
['gelijk sij ook gehouden sullen sijn te straffen alle de soodanige onder hun die eenig quaad off mollest koomen te pleegen, selfs tot doodstraffen toe, en dezelve desnoods aan de blanken overleeveren, vooral die iets koomen te doen teegen deese accoord off tot verbreeking der vreede, gelijk de blanke ook bevoegt zijn omme alle die van hen bij de blanke pexeeren te vangen en te straffen']
'And you should do likewise among yourselves: who shall do bad things, you should beat him, and even kill him, if it is a big evil, or hand him over to the whites. Especially if one of them does or wishes to do something to break this peace or if one of them does bad things to the whites, the whites will be permitted to capture them and punish them just like they do with other free blacks.'

In this example, the opposition between the two disjunctive coordinate clauses is the following: while the first clause presents two possible ways of dealing with rogue lacks (they may be punished by the Saramaka, or they may be handed over to the whites to receive punishment), the second clause introduced by (*moro*) *nosso* presents only one way of dealing with persons who might break the treaty or have done harm to whites: the whites apprehend them. In the former the Saramaka have a choice, in the latter they have not.

It is not clear whether *nosso* in example (15) above functions as a connective on its own or is it is part of an adverbial phrase with *moro* 'more', that performs as a disjunctive connective. In the following example from Van Dyk's language manual, *no zo* 'if not' occurs only in combination with *off(e)* 'or; if':

(16) *fielida doe zoo likki mi takki of no zo ogeri za fadom na joe hede tappe*
Filida do so like 1S talk r NEG so evil FUT fall.down LOC 2S head top
['daarom doe zoo als ik u zeg, of anders zal het kwaad op u Kop uitvallen]
(VD c1765: 68)
'Filida, do as I say, if not, evil will fall down on your head.'

In Weygandt's manual, *noso* can occur as a single disjunctive conjunction as in (17a) or in combination with *ofoe* 'or; if' as in (17b). Note that the former is expressed by the black overseer in the play, whereas the director in the play utters the latter.

(17) a. *Cato kiesie koorsoe na netie, Serafina de piekien betree, noso alla*
Cato catch fever LOC night Serafina COP little better otherwise all

den trawan dee boen (Wey 1798: 127)
the.PL other COP good
['Cato heeft van nacht de koorts gekreegen, Serafine die is wat beter, anders zyn de anderen nog wel']
'Cato caught a fever last night, Serafina is a little better, oppositely all the others are good.'

b. *Joe dee da plee ajen joe lesieman,* toe *passa na wroko, ofoe no so*
2S COP that place again 2S lazy-AFF go.on move.on LOC work or otherwise

mie sa mekie Basian dressie joe (Wey 1798: 127)
1S FUT make overseer cure 2S
['Ben je daar weer jou luiaard, toeschielyk naar't werk, of anders zal ik je door de Bastiaan laaten cureeren']
'Are you there again, you lazybones, go on, move on to work, or else I will make the overseer take care of you.'

Adversative coordination: the conjunction tog/tokoe. The conjunction *tog* or *tokoe* 'yet, however' expresses the counterexpectation relation between the contents of the coordinated clauses more vehemently than the conjunction *ma* presented above. Note that *tokoe* is follows the second coordinand in the dialogue in (18b).

(18) a. *"bassia", da Djutongo: tog wi habi hem tu; ma "buku" morro betre*
bend COP Jew-language yet 1P have 3S.OBJ too but bend more better

leki bassia (Sch 1783: 12)
like bend
'*bassia*, that is Djutongo, yet we have it too; nevertheless, *buku* is better than *bassia*'.

b. [A] *Wie no ben kiesie langa tem siepie*
1P NEG PST catch long time ship
['Wy hebben lang geen scheepen gehad']
'We haven't had ships (come in) for a long time.'

[B] *Sanie dee nofo na kondre tokoe* (Wey 1798: 104)
thing COP enough LOC country yet
['Daar is toch genoeg in 't land']
'Yet, there is enough in the country.'

Adversative coordination: combining ma *and* tog. On top of the ascending order of strength of the counterexpectation relation between the clauses is the combination of the conjunctions *ma(ra)* 'but' and *tog* 'toch' as in (19).

(19) *krijà" da Djutongo; ma tog wi habi hem nuffe* (Sch 1783: 91)
raise that-be Jew-language but yet 1P have 3S enough
'*krijà* that is Djutongo; but nevertheless we have it often enough.'

6.1.4 Series of coordinands and coordinators

Although most examples presented above are binary coordinations, Early Sranan seems to allow an indefinite number of coordinands; the coordinands may simply be justaposed in the case of conjunction and adversative coordination, or preceded by a coordinator in the case of conjunctive, adversative or disjunctive coordination. A series of coordinands may have a coordinator preceding every coordinand but the first one, as in the following example of disjunctive coordination of three subordinate clauses (20). The first *effi* in (20) is the subordinator.

(20) *kaba dem membre, effi dem no lukku va treffe, treffe sa kissi dem, va killi dem,*
and 3P think if 3P NEG look for allergy allergy FUT catch 3P to kill 3P

effi va meki dem siki, effi va du dem iniwan tarra ougri (Sch 1783: 186)
or to make 3P sick or to do 3P every other evil
'And they are mindful (of the fact that) if they fail to observe the allergy, the allergy will get hold of them, in order to kill them, or to make them sick, or to bring upon them every other harm.'[116]

[116] The translation of the word *treffe* 'allergy' only partly captures the complex of meanings associated with it in Early Sranan. Schumann (1783: 186) translates it as *ein aberglaubischer Abscheu vor etwas, ein aberglaubisches Verbot; it. eine Sorte Flecken in der traut, beynahe wie Brandtflecken, wovon die Neger glauben, dass sie dadurch entstehen, wenn sie ihre treffe nicht beobachten.* [a superstitious abomination for something, a superstitious ban; a certain kind of spots, similar to burn marks, of which the Blacks believe that they emerge when they are not mindful of their allergy]. He remarks that this custom has its origin in the slaves' native countries, where every family has their own god that materializes in a certain animal, tree or fruit. To teach the children to respect these objects, so that they will stay away from them, the elders make the children believe that if they eat that particular animal or if they uproot that particular tree, misfortune will come upon them: *Der Neger ihre, ist nichts anders als Abgötterey. Den ausser den allgemeinen Göttern hat bey den Negern (in ihrem Lande) noch eine jede Familie ihre eigenen besonderen Götter<-n-> z.B. ein gewisses*

The coordinator can be followed by a second coordinator as we have seen in the case of the adversative coordinators *ma* and *tog* earlier. Another frequently encountered combination of coordinators is the sequence *en dan* 'and then', as in example (5a) above. A coordinator may also be followed by a subordinator in contemporary Sranan (Voorhoeve 1962). The following example from the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty contains several instances of the conjunction *en* followed by a subordinator; see also section 6.2 on subordination.

(21) *<u>En effie</u> wan heddeman na oenoe mindrie doe wan so sandie disie dem fredie foe kiesie hem*,
and if a chief LOC 2P midst do one so thing REL 3P fear to catch 3S.OBJ

bicasie à habie bigie teij teij, dem sa moessoe sendie takie na ga granman,[117]
because 3S have big charm 3P FUT must send word LOC ? chief

fou à kan sendie wan comando nanga soldatie foe goo fettie foe kiesie hem. *<u>En dan</u>*
for 3S kan send a command with soldier to go fight to catch 3S.OBJ and then

diesie tan hollie nanga bakara sa moesoe helpie foe kiesie dem ogrie wan foe bacara
these stay hold with white FUT must help to catch 3P evil one of white

sa kan dewengie dem foe tan boen nanga bakara en fou holi diesie frie boen boen
FUT can force 3P to stay good with white and to hold this peace good.REDUP
['Ook desnoods toestaan in gevalle sulx door eenig opperhooft mogt gedaan worden en dat sij die niet ten eerst een wel uyterlijk binnen een maand konden dwingen, dat de blanke bij hun komen met een commando om de sodanige daartoe te noodsaken en te straffen, alzoo desulke die eenige slaaven verbergen sullen gehouden worden als breekers van de vreede en van haar vrijheit vervallen, in welken gevallen sij sig met de blanken sullen moeten voegen en deselve trouwelijk assisteeren in alles'] (SPT 1762: art. 6)
'And if a captain in your midst does something like that and they are afraid to capture him because he has a powerful charm, they should inform the Governor so he can send a military command to go fight and capture him. And then those who are friends with the Whites should help capture the evil ones so the Whites can force them to be friends with the Whites and to stick strictly to this peace.'

6.1.5 Coordination in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

The following table presents an overview of the types of coordination and coordinators encountered in the Early Sranan sources. Furthermore, they are

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Thier, Baum, Frucht, pp. Um nur den Kinderen eine Furcht vor diesen Dingen beyzubringen, damit sie sich an denselben nicht vergreiffen; so machen ihnen die Eltern solche Dinge weiss, dass wenn sie z.B. dieses Thier ässen, oder einen solche Dinge Baum umhieben, pp. (welcher dieser Familie ihr Gott ist) so würde dieses oder jenes Unglück, über sie kommen.

[117] Probably a writing error (*na ga granman* for *na granman*). Another possibility is that *ga* is a variant of *go* 'go'and *na* and *ga* are reversed. If the latter is correct, it would be a serial verb construction, see section 6.3.

compared with Eastern Maroon Creole (Huttar & Huttar 1994, Goury 2003). Easten Maroon Creole equivalents of the Early Sranan types of coordination and coordinators are presented in the right column.

Table 6.1 *Coordination in the Early Sranan sources and Eastern Maroon Creole*

		EARLY SRANAN							EMC	
		1707-1767 CR	1718 HL	1762 SPT	c1765 VD	1770 N	1783 SCH	1798 WEY		
CONJUNCTIVE COORDINATION										
parataxis		-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	parataxis
dan 'then, and so'		-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	*da* 'then, and so'
		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	(*da*) *soseefi* 'also'
so srefi 'in the same way, also'		-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	*soseefi*
so 'in this way; thus'		-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	
da so 'in this way, thus'		-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	
en 'and'		-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	*ne / neen* 'and (then)'
nanga / langa		-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	*anga (fu)*
kaba		-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	
DISJUNCTIVE COORDINATION										
efoe		-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	*efu*
ofoe		-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	*ofu*
efie		-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	*efi*
ADVERSATIVE COORDINATION										
contrast	parataxis	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	parataxis
	ma(ra)/ maar	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	*ma* 'but'
	noso	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	
counterexpectation										
	ma(ra)/ maar	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	*ma* 'but'
	tog/tokoe	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	*toku* 'however'
	ma tog	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	*ma toku* 'nonetheless'
	kaba	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	

Conjunctive coordination in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole. Huttar & Huttar (1994) suggest that parataxis is probably limited to sentences with (partly) coreferential

subjects in Ndyuka. The examples in (1) and (2) above show that this is not the case in Early Sranan: parataxis of coordinands with different subjects that are not even partly coreferential are encountered in the sources.

The coordinators of Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole differ strikingly. For example, the most common conjunctive coordinators in Ndyuka are *da* 'then, and so' and *ne* or *neen* 'and (then)' in the case of temporal sequence, while the most common conjunctive coordinator in the Early Sranan sources is *en* 'and (then)'; parataxis is also common. Furthermore, Huttar & Huttar (1994) report that dependent clauses such as embedded indirect questions (22a) or non-finite complement clauses (22b) can be coordinated with *anga*, the conjunctive coordinator for nominals.

(22) a. (...) *fa den fende den sani anga fa den á fende den* (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 229)
how 3P find 3P thing with how 3P NEG find 3P
'... how they found their things and how they didn't find them.'

b. *A wataa abi a kaakiti enke neko wataa, fu lan sani anga*
the water have the power like poison-vine water for paralyze thing with

fu duungu sani (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 229)
for drunk thing
'The water has the effect of juice of the fish-poison vine, to paralyze things and to stupefy things.'

In general, the Early Sranan equivalent of *anga* is not found in constructions such as the ones presented in (23) above; *langa* and its variant *nanga* function as prepositions, see section 2.6.5. However, recall that in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide there is one example in which *langa* links two coordinands, including a small clause. Of course, it may just be a slip of the pen; Van Dyk may have momentarily forgotten that nominal phrases and clauses cannot be joined by the same item in Sranan as no such distinction exists in his mothertongue that is also the official language of the colony. Alternatively, it may have been typical of the variety spoken on the old plantations on the banks of the Commewijne River.[118]

Another intriguing difference between Eastern Maroon Creole and Early Sranan concerns the use of *kaba*: In the Early Sranan sources it can be used as a coordinator that joins conjunctive as well as adversative coordinands. However, coordinating *kaba* is not found in Eastern Maroon Creole (Huttar & Huttar 1994, Goury 2003).

Disjunctive coordination in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole. Coordinands expressing alternatives are joined by *ofu* 'or', *efu* 'or; if' or *efi* 'or; if' in Eastern Maroon Creole. These three variants are also encountered in the Early Sranan sources, but only in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762) all three co-occur. Schumann

[118] Note that this use cannot be accounted for in terms of substrate influence. In several West-African languages, including Fongbe, the conjunction that is used to join clauses cannot be used to conjoin nouns, pronouns, (pro)nominals and noun phrases (Lefebvre & Brousseau 2002: 114).

(1783) lists and uses only *effi* as a disjunctive coordinator. The other variants are not encountered in his writing, which is interesting because they must have existed at that time as they occur in the other Early Sranan sources and in Eastern Maroon Creole. He may have excluded variants of *efu* and *ofu* in an attempt to even out the language.

Because *ofu, efu* and *efi* occur in Eastern Maroon Creole as well as in several sources of Early Sranan, I assume that they must have been present in the varieties of Early Sranan spoken in the early 18th century. Thus, the Dutch derived form *ofu* is actually quite old.

Adversative coordination in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole. This type of coordination is formed by parataxis or by conjoining coordinands by *ma* 'but' and/or *toku* 'yet, however' in Eastern Maroon Creole (Huttar & Huttar 1994). In addition to *ma(ra)* 'but' and *tog/tokoe* 'yet', adversative coordinands in Early Sranan can be bounded by *noso* 'otherwise; if not' or *kaba* 'and; but'. Because *ma* and *toku* introduce adversative coordinands in both Eastern Maroon Creole and Early Sranan, I assume that these coordinators must have been used in the early varieties of Early Sranan. Since the adversative coordinators *noso* and *kaba* are found exclusively in Early Sranan, I assume that *noso* and *kaba* grammaticalized in Early Sranan, but not in Eastern Maroon Creole.

6.2 Subordination: Complementation

Complementation is the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication[119] is an argument (subject or object) of a predicate (Noonan 1985: 44). Fourteen classes of (sentential) complement-taking predicates can be distinguised semantically: utterance predicates; thought predicates; pretence predicates; commentative predicates or factives; predicates of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge; predicates of fearing; desiderative predicates; manipulative predicates; modal predicates; achievement predicates; phasal predicates or aspectuals; immediate perception predicates; negative predicates and conjuctive predicates. Each class will be discussed in more detail in 6.2.1.2, except for negative predicates and conjunctive predicates. These do not occur in Sranan.

A complement clause can be introduced by a subordinating conjunction, that is a complementizer, see section 6.2.2.1. Furthermore, a complement clause may be reduced or sentence-like. A reduced complement lacks an overt subject or certain other elements typical of a main clause such as tense/aspect marking as the underlined clause in (23a). Because the reduced clause lacks these items, it is usually non-finite and has determined time reference (Noonan 1985, Winford 1993). A sentence-like complement clause has the same syntactic form as a main clause. Example (23b) contains a sentence-like complement; example (24) is a main clause presented here to facilitate a comparison between the two types of clauses.

[119] A predication can be viewed as an argument of a predicate if it functions as the subject or object of that predicate (Noonan 1995: 44).

(23) a. *Ningre lobbi va tarri sanni na heddi tappo* (Sch1783: 180)
black like to carry thing LOC head top
['die Neger tragen gern alles auf dem Kopf']
'Blacks like to carry things on their head.'

b. *inideh ju takki, tamarra ju sa pai mi* (Sch 1783: 171)
everyday 2S say tomorrow 2S FUT pay 1S
['alle Tage sagst du, du willst mir morgen bezahlen']
'Every day you tell me, tomorrow you will pay me.'

(24) *tammara mi sa kaba hem* (Sch 1783: 76)
tomorrow 1S FUT finish 3S.OBJ
'Tomorrow I will finish it.'

In section 6.2.1.2 the types of complement clause will be discussed in relation to the complement-taking predicate.

6.2.1 Complementizers

Sranan has two types of complementizers, *dati* 'that' and variants of what later evolved into *fu* 'to'. The item *taki* can also be used to introduce complement clauses, but its occurence in the sources is restricted to utterance and thought predicates except for one instance, which is represented under (25).

(25) *Mara mie sie takie da negie joeroe na joe oloysie* (Wey 1798: 144)
but 2S see SAY FOC nine hour LOC 2S watch
['Maar ik zie dat het ruim neegen uuren op uwe klok is']
'But I see that it is nine o' clock at your watch.'

As it is not encountered introducing complement clauses to other complement-taking predicates than utterance and thought predicates and perception prediates (25), there is simply too little evidence to argue that it was a fully established complementizer in Early Sranan (instead of a serial verb construction, see section 6.3): it cannot be shown to have lost its main verbal semantic characteristic, that is marking discourse. Furthermore, syntactic tests of verbhood cannot be used because the data are inconclusive. Complementizing *taki* is never preceded by any tense and aspect markers or polarity markers in the Early Sranan sources nor is it preceded by a subject (typical of verbs). Furthermore, I did not find any examples in which *taki* is pied-piped, clefted or stranded. In general, these findings are in line with the analysis of the status of *taki* as a functional element, but it is impossible to verify them. On the other hand, in the examples given under (26) below, *takie* clearly falls out of the main clause. In (26a), *takie* is separated from the main verb *swerrie* 'to swear' by an adverb. In (26b) *takie* is preceded by another argument headed by a serial item. (But see section 6.3.2 for an example of a serial verb construction with multiple serial items.)

(26) a. *onnoe sa moessoe swerrie toe takie dem pikin dissie onnoe pottie na wie han*,
2P FUT must swear too say the.PL child REL 2P put LOC 1P hand

dem na reijtie piekien foe heddeman (SPT 1762: art.13)
3P COP right child of chief
['in welken eed ook sal begreepen worden dat de over te leeveren gijzelaars weesentlijk eige kinderen van opperhoofden sijn']
'You must also swear that the children who you will hand over to us, are really the children of captains.'

b. *Effie granman of koeroetoe sendie moffo gi na dem, takie ningre ron weij* (...)
if governor or court send word give LOC 3P COMP black run away
['Soodrae sij van de heer Gouverneur off regeeringe alhier kennisse krijgen van eenige desertie van slaven'] (SPT 1762: art.7)
'If the Governor or the Court will send them a message saying that Blacks ran away (...).'

Thus, I assume that *taki* was used as a complementizer in certain varieties of Early Sranan already by the mid-18th century. In contemporary Sranan (Plag 1993) and in Eastern Maroon Creole (Huttar & Huttar 1994; Migge 1998, 2003; Goury 2003), *taki* is a fully grammaticalized complementizer meaning 'that'.

Complement clauses may be introduced by the complementizers *dati* 'that' in the case of sentence-like complements evoking a factive reading and variants of *fu* in the case of reduced or sentence-like complements that are neutral with respect to the truth of the proposition to the embedded complement. Complementizers are not obligatory: the presence of a complementizer is not required in the case of sentence-like complements. If no complementizer is present, complementation is often though not always indicated by punctuation marks (commas and the like), separating the main clause and the complement clause. Plag (1993) studies the development of *fu* 'to' and *dati/taki* 'that' in Sranan from a diachronic perspective. Bruyn (1995: 187) notes that the conjunction *di(si)* may sometimes be analyzed as a complementizer in both contemporary 18th-century Sranan, besides being a demonstrative and a conjunction introducing causal, concessive and temporal adverb clauses. I have found no examples in the sources that unambigously demonstrate the complementizer function of *di(si)* while an interpretation in terms of a causal, concessive or temporal reading is impossible, so I will discuss *di(si)* in section 6.4.1.

The complementizer dati. The earliest manifestation of *dati* as a complementizer is in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762), where it alternates with *takie* 'say' introducing complement clauses to utterance and thought predicates, compare (27a) and (27b). It is further found in Court Records dating from 1766, see (27c).

(27) a. *Onnoe sa moessoe swerrie toe dattie onnoe no habie no wan condre morro*
2P FUT must swear too that 2P NEG have NEG one village more

allekie disie onnoe kallie nem foe dem arrede gie na wie bacara (SPT 1762: art. 13)
like REL 2P call name of 3P already give LOC 1P white
['die gehouden sullen sijn alle de naame der dorpen en opperhoofden op te geeven en ook te sweeren dat er geen meer off andere sijn']
'You'll have to swear also that you do not have any other villages than those whose names you have already mentioned to us Whites.'

b. *onnoe sa moessoe swerrie toe takie dem pikin dissie onnoe pottie na wie han*,
2P FUT must swear too that DET.PL child REL 2P put LOC 1P hand

dem na reijtie piekien foe heddeman (SPT art. 13)
3P COP right child of chief
['in welken eed ook sal begreepen worden dat de over te leeveren gijzelaars weesentlijk eige kinderen van opperhoofden sijn']
'You should also swear that the children you will hand over to us are really the children of captains.'

c. *Grand Gado soli wi, date wi no do bon* (CR 1766)
chief lord show 1P that 1P NEG do good
'The master showed us that we did not do good.'

When these new findings are combined with the other 18th century examples of complementizer *dati* in Van Dyk's and Weygandt's language manual, complementizing *dati* is attested in four out of seven sources of Early Sranan. Therefore, the complementizer *dati* must have been a feature of Early Sranan.[120]

The complementizer fu. Besides marking several semantic roles such as possessor, source, goal and benefactive, variants of what later became standardized *fu* 'to' may also be used to introduce reduced complement clauses. An overview of these variants is presented in table 6.2 below. The conjunction *fu* may also be used to introduce reduced and sentence-like adverbial purpose clauses, which are discussed in section 6.4.4.

[120] These findings support Bruyn (1995) refuting Plag's (1993:62) claim that *dati* did not turn into an established Sranan complementizer until the latter half of the 19th century.

Table 6.2 *Variants of the complementizer* fu *in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

MOD. SRANAN	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
	1707-1767	1718	1762	C1765	1770	1783	1798	
	CR	HL	SPT	VD	N	SCH	WEY	
fu 'to'	*voe* *voeroe*	-	*foe* *foú* *fou*	*fo* *foe*	-	*vo* *va*	*foe*	*fu* *fi*

Two forms stand out, *voeroe* in a Court Record of 1757 and the form *va* in Schumann's dictionary. The form *voeroe* is encountered in the statement of the slave Avontuur from June 7, represented in (28a). It is also found in one of the witness accounts of the Dutch bystanders represented in (28b). In another witness account *voeroe* is replaced with *voe* (28c).

(28) a. *mie wisie mie daa na Tampatie dan mis sa lerre Backaraman voeroe fom negre*
1S wish 1S there LOC T. then 1S FUT learn whiteman to assault black
['ik wensschte dat ik in Tampatie was, dan soude ik Blanke leeren om neegers te kloppen en slaan'] (CR 1757)
'I wish I was in Tempati, than I would teach the whitemen to assault blacks.'

b. *eevie a ben die na tampatie tan mie sa son leerie da bakra voeroe fom negre*
if 3S PST COP LOC T. then 1S FUT PST learn the whiteman to assault black
'If he had been in Tempati, then I would teach the whiteman to assault blacks.' (CR 1757)

c. *mie wie sie mie de Tampati dan mi zoe leere bakra voe fom ningre* (CR 1757)
1S wish 1S COP T. then 1S FUT learn white to assault black
'I wish I was in Tempati, then I would teach the whites to assault blacks.'

The form *voeroe* is clearly non-standard, which is probably the reason why it does not occur in (28c). Bickerton (p.c.) suggests that *voeroe* is a contraction of *voe* and the second person singular pronoun *joe* 'you'; the referent of the pronoun would be the same person as the one selected by the indirect object *Backaraman* 'whiteman; European' or *bakra* 'white; European'. However, no examples of similar constructions are encountered in the Early Sranan sources: if the indirect object has the same referent as the subject of the complement clause, the subject is usually not expressed as in (28c) above or (29) below.

(29) *mie sa leerie joe foe wiekie biefo mie* (Wey 1798: 113)
1S FUT learn 2S to wake.up before 1S
['Ik zal u leeren voor my optestaan']
'I will teach you to wake-up before I do.'

The form *voeroe* might be a quirk of Avontuur, who was probably a fluent but non-native speaker of Sranan, on the grounds that he also uses the verb tenses in this counterfactual clause in a non-standard manner (Van den Berg & Arends 2004), see also chapter 4.1.

Another non-standard form of the complementizer *fu* that is restricted to one source only, is the form *va,* found in Schumann's (1783) dictionary. Schumann (1783: 191) lists both *va* and *vo* under the same entry, suggesting that they are variants: "*va, vo,* von; für; dass, auf dass, damit; um zu; it. nota genitivi" [*va, vo*, of; for; that, so, in order that; in order to; item indicating genitive case]. Example (30a) and (30b) show that both forms may be used to introduce a complement clause, although the distribution of both forms is not arbitrary, as was already shown by Plag (1993).

(30) a. *na sabba Dju ha treffe vo smoko wan pipa tobakka* (Sch 1783: 146)
LOC sabbath Jew have aversion to smoke a pipe tobacco
'On Sabbath Jews are disinclined to smoke a pipe of tobacco.'

b. *mi ben teki hatti va du datti* (Sch 1783: 62)
1S PST take heart to do that
['ich habe mich unterstanden, habe es gewagt, dieses zu thun.']
'I have dared to do that.'

My survey confirms that *va* is most frequently used in reduced complement clauses and to mark a possessor noun phrases, whereas *vo* is more likely to be chosen for the marking of source, goal, benefactive or other non-possessive semantic roles.[121] Plag (1993: 136) concludes that "Schumann's use of *vo* and *va* in his sample sentences thus run counter to his own linguistics analysis" (i.e. that they are free variants).[122] However, Schumann clearly states that *va* is the Sranan equivalent of the Latin complementizer *at*:

> Nota: *Wenn* das *(od.* damit*) im latein. mit* at *gegeben wird, so heisst es* va: *wird es aber im latein. ausgelassen, u. nur durch den* accusativum cum infinitivo *gegeben, so wird auch im Negerischen (gemeiniglich) das* va *weggelassen.* z.E. (Schumann 1783: 191)[123]

[121] Note that *fa* marking a possessor also occurs in Van Dyk's language manual (see Chapter 2).
[122] Bruyn's transcription of Schumann's original manuscript brought to light three errors in the transcription by Kramp (1983) concerning *vo/va*: Kramp (1983) transcribed twice *vo* instead of *va*, once *va* occurred instead of *vo*. However, even when these corrections are taken into account, the general pattern is that *va* is most frequently used in reduced complement clauses and to mark a possessor noun phrases, whereas *vo* is more likely to be chosen for the marking of source, goal, benefactive or other non-possessive semantic roles. This pattern is also encountered in Schumann's manuscript Bible translation of 1781 (Plag 1993).
[123] Many thanks to Adrienne Bruyn, who kindly provided this corrected transcription based on her recent study of the original manuscript stored in the EBG archives in Paramaribo. Note that it is not clear whether it is *at* or *ut* in the original manuscript, although the range of meanings and uses of the latter would plead for a translation with *va* (Bruyn p.c.).

[Note: In those instances where *that* (or *in order to*) is translated with *at* in Latin, it is *va* (in Sranan); however, in those instances where it is left out and only expressed by an accusative-with-infinitive construction in Latin, *va* can also be left out in the language of the slaves.]

Note that here *vo* is not given as a possible variant, Schumann asserts that "*so heisst es* va", meaning 'than it is *va*'. The difference between *va* and *vo* is clearly illustrated by the following example in which the desiderative predicate *hangri* 'to be hungry for; to long for' occurs with a pronoun denoting the object of desire which is introduced by *vo* (31a) and a complement clause introduced by *va* (31b).

(31) a. *teh a ben go kaba, mi ben hangri vo hem bakka* (Sch 1783: 58)
when 3S PST go already 1S PST hungry for 3S.OBJ again
['nachdem er weg war, habe ich mich wieder nach ihm gesehnt']
'After he left, I again longed for him.'

b. *mi hangri va sabi datti nanga reti* (Sch 1783: 144)
1S hungry to know that with right
['ich wünsche das recht gründlich zu wissen']
'I am hungry to know that in detail.'

I assume that in the variety spoken by Schumann's teachers and consultants *va* must have appeared frequently as a subordinating conjunction which he interpreted and regularized as a conjunction introducing complement clauses of complement-taking predicates.

6.2.1.1 Complementizers in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

The Early Sranan complementizers *voeroe* and *va* discussed above have no counterpart in Eastern Maroon Creole. Eastern Maroon Creole has a complementizer *fu*, which may also occur as *fi* (Huttar & Huttar 1994). Furthermore, there is a subordinating conjunction *fa* 'how', but it introduces adverbial manner clauses (see section 6.4.3).

While in the Early Sranan sources sentence-like complements are introduced by *dati* 'that', or *taki* in the case of complements to utterance and thought predicates and the occasional perception predicate, the primary Eastern Maroon Creole complementizer is *taki* 'that' (Huttar & Huttar 1994; Migge 1998; Goury 2003). *Dati* is not an Eastern Maroon Creole complementizer. I assume that *taki* was the typical basilectal Early Sranan form in the early 18th century. *Dati* may have been its acrolectal variant. Note that the underlying structures may have differed across the varieties in those days: the complementizer *dati* introduced a sentence-like complement (as it still does), whereas *taki* may have followed an utterance or thought predicate in a serial verb construction. Subsequently, *taki* grammaticalized into a complementizer via an intermediate stage in which it was additionally used with verbs denoting cognition and perception (see Plag 1995 for a detailed study of the grammaticalization of *taki*). On the other hand, the underlying structures may not have differed: *taki* could have been

reanalyzed as a complementizer introducing complements to utterance and thought predicates similar to its equivalent in various West-African languages.[124] Its use later extended to verbs denoting cognition and perception verbs and other contexts. Thus, the emergence of *taki* could be a case of what Bruyn (1995, 1996) calls 'instanteneous' and 'apparent' grammaticalization: complementizing *taki* can be regarded as the result of a process of grammaticalization that has taken place already in the West-African languages that contributed to the development of Sranan. The use of *taki* in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762) supports the latter scenario.

6.2.2 Complement-taking predicates

The basis of the following description of complement-taking predicates (CTPs) in the sources of Early Sranan is Noonan's (1985) semantic classification of these precidates. Furthermore, Winford's (1993) study of predication in the Caribbean English Creoles served as a stepping stone. The following CTPs are discussed in this section: utterance and thought predicates, immediate perception predicates, commentative predicates or factives, predicates of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge, predicates of fearing, desiderative predicates, manipulative predicates, modal predicates, achievement predicates, and phasal predicates or aspectuals. By exception, this section will not conclude with a comparison of the findings with Eastern Maroon Creole, as Eastern Maroon Creole CTPs have not yet been studied in depth.

Utterance and thought predicates. Utterance predicates are used in sentences to describe a simple transfer of information; they describe the manner of transfer or the illocutionary force of the original statement and they can also give an evaluation of the speaker's (as opposed to the agent subject's view) of the truth of the proposition encoded in the complement (Noonan 1985: 110). Thought predicates are also known as propositional attitude predicates, they resemble utterance predicates in that they also express an attitude regarding the truth of the proposition expressed as their complement, but their animate subjects are experiencers as opposed to the agentive subjects of utterance predicates. As the difference between experiencers and agentive subjects is not marked in Sranan, utterance and thought predicates will be treated as one type of complement taking predicate. They include *taki* 'say' (< English *talk*), *kali* 'call' (< English *call*) and *bribi* 'believe; think' (English *believe*), more examples are given in table 6.3 below.

As opposed to other classes of complement-taking predicates, these predicates appear to have in common the following: the third person singular subject appears to be *a* when the speech, thought or feelings reported by the complement clause are not those of the subject of the main clause. If the referent of the third person singular pronominal subject is the one whose speech, thoughts or feelings are reported in the complement clause, then the appropriate pronominal form is *hem*. See also 2.2.1.

[124] Parkvall (2000) reports that complementizers derived from verbs meaning 'say' or 'talk' are plentiful in Lower Guinea, listing at least five language clusters and 25 languages.

Other examples of this type of predicate with sentence-like and reduced complements are given in (33) and (32a); the examples under (32) and (33) further exemplify complements clauses with and without complementizers.

(32) a. *joe kale wan bakkera bassia fo kom na hosse da tem mino de*
2S call one white overseer to come LOC house the time 1S-NEG COP
['laat je de Officier roepen als ik niet Thuis ben'] (VD c1765: 96)
'You call a white overseer to come to the house when I am not there.'

b. *Kaba joe ben pramiesie mie datie mie sa abie em na sondee* (Wey 1798: 104)
but 2S PST promise 1S that 1S FUT have 3S.OBJ LOC Sunday
['Ondertusschen had gy my beloofd dat ik 't reeds om Sondag zoude hebben.']
'But you promised me that I would have it on Sunday.'

(33) a. *massara Apolo takie Asart vae Picorna soetoe him* (CR 1759)
master Apolo say Asart of Picorna shoot 3S.OBJ
'Master, Apolo said, that Asart belonging to Picorna shot him.'

b. *mi bribi, a sa ben komm* (Sch 1783: 15)
1S believe 1S FUT PST come
['ich glaube, er wird mal gekommen seyn.']
'I believe, he will have come.'

Table 6.3 presents an overview of the distribution of several utterance and thought predicates in the Early Sranan sources; it also indicates whether these predicates are encountered having a complement, whether this complement is introduced by a complementizer or not, and if the complement is reduced in the sense that it is lacking an overt subject or tense marking.

Table 6.3 *Utterance and thought predicates in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

MOD. SRANAN	EARLY SRANAN																					EMC
	1707-1767			1718			1762			1765			1770			1783			1798			
	CR			HL			SPT			VD			N			SCHUM			WEY			
	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	
aksi 'ask'				+	+	-	+	+	±	-	-	-	+	+	-	-			+	±	±	*akisi* 'ask'
bari 'shout'																-			-			*bali* 'shout'
begi 'ask'							-			+	-	-				+	+	-	+	-	+	*begi* 'ask'
bilofi 'promise'										-												
bribi 'believe'							-			+	-	-				+	-	-	+	+	-	*biibi* 'believe'
kali 'call'				-			-			-						-			-			*kai/kaa* 'call'
kry 'cry'							-			+	-	-				-			-			*kee* 'cry'
memre 'think; remember'							+	-	-	+	-	-	-			+	-	-	+	±	±	*membee* 'remember' (*denki* 'think')
piki 'answer'							+	-	-	+	-	-				-			-			*piki* 'answer'
pramisi 'promise'																-			+	+	-	*paamisi* 'promise'
raai 'advise'																			+	+	+	*lai* 'advice'
sendi moffo 'inform'							+	+	-							-						
sendi aksi 'inform'				-															-			
taki 'say'	+	-	-	-			+	+	-	+	+	-	-			+	±	±	+	±	-	*taki* 'say'

S = sentential complement (+ present; - absent)
C = subordinating conjunction (+ present; - absent; ± both present and absent)
R = reduced complement (no subject or tense marking)(+ reduced; - full SC; ± both reduced and full)

Immediate perception predicates. This type of predicate names the sensory mode by which the subject directly perceives the event coded in the complement. Therefore, the complement has the same time reference as the event denoted in the main clause and tense markers cannot occur in the complement. Contrary to for example English, the subject of the complement cannot be raised to the main clause: the third person pronominal subject is *a* in the complement to the immediate perception predicates such as *zie/si(e)* 'see' (34). No examples of third person pronominal object *hem* that can be regarded as raised subjects of complements to immediate perception predicates are

encountered in the Early Sranan sources. Note that in the original Dutch translation in (34b) the subject of the complement is raised.[125]

(34) a. *Joe no zie a de domele hem tonge na ini nekki locke a lassi al reddi*
1S NEG see 3S ASP tumble 3S tongue LOC in neck look 3S expire already
['Zie je niet dat hy zyn Tong dubbeld in zyn Keel slaat hy is reeds al Dood.']
(VD c1765:75)
'Don't you see him swallowing his tongue; look, he is expiring already.'

b. *Mie sie a dee kom* (Wey 1798: 75)
1S see 3S ASP come
['Ik zie hem koomen.']
'I see him coming.'

Even though it names the sensory mode by which the subject directly perceives the event coded in the complement, the verb *luku* 'look; see' is not an immediate perception predicate. Examples are given in (34a) above and (35) below.

(35) *Loeke mie Druije se hansum?* (Hl 1718: 121)
look 1S grape ? beautiful
['Zie mijn Druiven hoe mooi zijn ze?']
'See my grapes, how beautiful they are.'

Arends (1995b: 34) points out that the structure in (35) can be interpreted in at least two different ways: *se* can be a misprint for the overt copula *de* ('look at my grapes be beautiful') or the question word *oe* ('look at my grapes, how beautiful'). He suggests that the former is less likely than the latter, because the structure of the sentence ('look at my grapes be beautiful') is rather uncommon for Early Sranan. This is indeed the case: if *mie Druije* 'my grapes' is the object of *loeke* 'look; see', the complement clause should have had a subject, as in (36).

(36) *Loeke da pisi gron a poli kwetti* (VD c1765: 44)
look that piece ground 3S spoil really
['Dat stuk Land is geheel bedorven']
'Look at that piece of land, it is really spoilt.'

A third way of interpreting the structure in (35) is the following: *mie Druije* 'my grapes' could be the subject of the complement clause and *hansum* 'handsome, beautiful' a

[125] Note that Veenstra (1996) shows that perception verbs in Saramaka, another sister language of Sranan, can take both finite as well as non-finite complements and that in the case of immediate perception verbs the complements are non-finite. He uses several tests to determine the nature of the complement, including a) different time adverbials in both the main clause and the complement; b) the scopal properties of quantifiers in the different complements; c) negation placement; and d) the interaction between negation and quantifiers. Unfortunately, these tests cannot be used with the Early Sranan sources.

property item, taking on an inchoative interpretation when marked by the imperfective aspect marker *se*, which can be a misprint for *de*, as Arends (1995b) suggested. In the case of (35), it would indicate that the grapes are in the process of becoming beautiful.

Although this interpretation would be feasible from the perspective of complementation, the original translation favors the analysis put forward by Arends (1995) and Schuchardt (1914: XIX): *se* is most likely a misprint for the question word *oe* in a sentence that is anacoluthic.

Table 6.4 *Perception predicates in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

	EARLY SRANAN																		EMC
	1707-1767			1718			1762			1765			1770			1783			1798			
	CR			HL			SPT			VD			N			SCHUM			WEY			
	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	
si 'see'	-									+	-	-	-			+	-	-	+	±	-	*si* 'see'
jerri 'hear'										+	-	-	-						+	±	-	*yee* 'hear'
harki 'hear'													-									*aliki* 'hear'
fili 'feel'																-						*fii* 'feel'
smeri 'smell'																-			-			*sumee* 'smell'
drem 'dream'																-						*deen* 'dream'

S = sentential complement (+ present; - absent)
C = subordinating conjunction (+ present; - absent; ± both present and absent)
R = reduced SC (no subject or tense marking) (+ reduced; - full SC; ± both reduced and full)

Predicates of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge. Predicates of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge describe the state or the manner of acquisition of knowledge; their complements typically denote what is being asserted. Both sentence-like and reduced complements are encountered in the sources, as is shown in (36) and (37) respectively.

(37) a. *oenno <u>zabi</u> takki no wan zomma ben pree lange da drom na negi moen tem*
2P know say NEG one person PST play with the drum LOC nine moon time
['daar is in de Tyd van neegen Maanden niet op Gespeeld, dat weet je wel']
(VD c1765: 108)
'You know that no one has played the drum in nine months.'

b. *San hedee joe pramiesie mie dan ofoe joe <u>sabie</u> datie joe no kan doe* (Wey 1798: 110)
Q reason 2S promise 1S than if 2S know that 2S NEG can do
['Waarom beloofde gy het my dan, als gy weet dat gy 't niet kan doen.']
'Then why do you promise me, if you know that you cannot do it.'

(38) a. *mie wisie mie daa na Tampatie dan mis sa lerre Backaraman voeroe fom negre*
1S wish 1S there LOC T. than 1S FUT teach whiteman to assault black
['ik wensschte dat ik in Tampatie was, dan soude ik Blanke leeren om neegers te kloppen en slaan'] (CR 1757)
'I wish I was in Tempati, than I would teach the whitemen to assault blacks.'

b. *a sabi va fumm Viole* (Sch1783: 47)
3S know to hit violin
['er kann auf der Violin spielen']
'He knows to play the violin.'

c. *No fergietie datie doe* (Wey1798: 92)
NEG forget that do
['Vergeet het dan niet']
'Don't forget to do that.'

The perception predicates *si* 'see', *luku* 'look; see' and *jeri* 'hear' may also be used as predicates of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge; occasionally these predicates occur with a complement clause in the sources (38c).

(39) a. *Datie joe sa sie betree* (Wey 1798: 110)
that 2S FUT see better
['Dat zult gy beter ondervinden']
'You will find out.'

b. *Mie de jerrie en boen nofo* (Wey 1798: 84)
1S ASP understand 3S.OBJ good enough
['Ik verstaa 't redelyk wel.']
'I am understanding it fairly well.'

c. *kaba jo go ronboute da pranasie joe loeke alle zanti krien krien* (VD c1765: 96)
and 2S go circumnavigate the plantation 2S look all thing clean.REDUP
['en booven dien gaat uwe de Plantagie rond Kuijeren om alles te bekyken in de Grond.']
'(...) and when you explore the plantation, you will see that everything is very clean.'

Table 6.5 *Predicates of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge in Early Sranan and EMC*

	EARLY SRANAN																		EMC
	1707-1767			1718			1762			1765			1770			1783			1798			
	CR			HL			SPT			VD			N			SCHUM			WEY			
	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	
sabi 'know'							-			+	±	±	-			+	+	+	+	±	±	*sabi* 'know'
jerri 'understand'										-						-			-			*yee* 'understand'
leri 'learn; teach'										-						-			+	+	+	*leli* 'learn; teach'
sori 'teach; show'	-						-			-						-			-			*soi* 'teach; show'

S = sentential complement (+ present; - absent)
C = subordinating conjunction (+ present; - absent; ± both present and absent)
R = reduced SC (no subject or tense marking) (+ reduced; - full SC; ± both reduced and full)

Commentative predicates or factives. Complements to this type of predicate provide a comment on the complement proposition which takes the form of an emotional reaction, evaluation or judgement. They are usually presupposed, discourse dependent and they have independent time reference (Noonan 1985). In the Early Sranan sources the most frequently found commentative predicates are attributative predicators such as *sari* 'be sorry, be sad, be weary', *hati* 'hurt; regret' and *fütti* or *fietie* 'be appropriate; be fitting'. Their complements may be sentence-like or reduced although the latter are encountered more frequently, as the following examples illustrate.

(40) a. *wi <u>zarri</u> fo joe alle da joe go lassi zo* (VD c1765: 111)
1P sorry for 2S all that 2S go perish so
['en zyn Inwendig Bedroefd, dat gy ons verlaat']
'We all feel sorry for you, that you perished in this manner.'

b. *mi hatti no faddomm, bikasi mi <u>sari</u> va findi janjam* (Sch 1783: 61)
1S heart NEG fall.down because 1S weary to find food
'I am not worried, although I am weary to find food'

(41) a. *a <u>Hatte</u> mi anno de na hosse* (VD c1765: 35)
3S hurt 1S 3S-NEG COP LOC house
['Het is myn Leed dat hy niet Thuis is']
'It hurts me that he is not at home.'

b. *A <u>hatie</u> mie datie a no dee na hoso* (Wey 1783: 103)
3S hurt 1S that 3S NEG COP LOC house
['Het is my leet dat hy niet t'huis is']
'It hurts me that he is not at home.'

c. *A <u>hatie</u> mie foe tam mie wawan* (Wey 1783: 120)
3S hurt 1S to stay 1S alone
['Het verdroot my alleen te zyn']
'It hurts me to stay on my own.'

The predicate *fütti* or *fietie* 'be appropriate; be fitting' differs from *bun* 'be good' and *hatti* 'hurt': the subject of the complement of *fütti/fietie* may replace the expletive subject *a* 'it' of the main clause, compare (42a) with (42b).

(42) a. *a no <u>fütti</u> wi va kruttu tarra somma* (Sch 1783: 93)
3S NEG be.fitting 1P to dispute other person
['es ziemt uns nicht, andere zu beurtheilen, zu richten']
'It does not become us to dispute with other persons.'

b. *Joe <u>fietie</u> foe natie den blommiekie bedie piekienso* (Wey 1798: 119)
2S be.fitting to wet the.P flower bed little
['Gy most de bloembedden wat begieten.']
'It would become you to wet the flowerbeds a little.'

Table 6.6 *Commentative predicates or factives in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

	EARLY SRANAN																					EMC
	1707-1767			1718			1762			1765			1770			1783			1798			
	CR			HL			SPT			VD			N			SCHUM			WEY			
	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	
sari 'be sorry'										+	±	±				+	+	+	-			*sali* 'be in sorrow'
fiti 'be proper'										-						+	+	+	+	-	-	*fiti* 'be proper'
hati 'hurt'										+	-	±	-			+	±		+	±	±	*(h)ati* 'hurt'

S = sentential complement (+ present; - absent)
C = subordinating conjunction (+ present; - absent; ± both present and absent)
R = reduced SC (no subject or tense marking) (+ reduced; - full SC; ± both reduced and full)

Pretense predicates. These predicates have as a characteristic that the world described by the proposition embodied in the complement is not the real world. As the status of the complement proposition in the real world is not given, complements to pretense predicates are normally interpreted as hypothetical non-events (Noonan 1985).

Although I have not encountered any examples of a pretense predicate with a complement clause in the Early Sranan sources, I assume that predicates such as *kori* 'fool, trick, deceive', *preh* 'play; bewitch; trick', *pili, piri* 'pick, pluck, twitch' (*bakratongo*) or *kisi* 'catch' qualify as pretense predicates as their contemporary equivalents in Eastern Maroon Creole and Sranan may take complements that describe hypothetical non-events.

Predicates of fearing. Predicates of fearing are characterized semantically by having experiencer subjects and expressing an attitude of fear or concern that the complement proposition will be or has been realized (Noonan 1985: 119). The primary predicate of fearing in the Early Sranan sources is *fredi* 'be afraid; fear' (< English *afraid*). The complements may be sentence-like (43a-b) or reduced (43c-d).

(43) a. *mi fredi den negere za potti heden te gedere fo doe wan biekie ogeri*
1S fear the.PL black FUT put head to-gether to do a big evil
['ik vrees dat zy de Koppen by malkaâr zullen steeken om een groot kwaad uit te voeren'] (VD c1765: 82)
'I feat that the blacks will put their heads together to do a big evil.'

b. *Masra no fredee datie mie sa aksie toemoesie* (Wey 1798: 108)
master NEG fear that 1S FUT ask excessive
['Myn Heer weest niet bang dat ik te veel eischen zal']
'Master, don't be afraid that I will ask too much.'

c. *zomma za fredi foe kom morre* (VD c1765: 46)
person FUT fear to come more
['iemand zou daar voor vreezen om weêr te koomen.']
'Someone will be afraid to come again.'

d. *o san wan slaafoe no sa doe ofoe a moesoe fredee fomfom* (Wey 1798: 137)
Q thing a slave NEG FUT do or 3S must fear beat.REDUP
['wat moet dan een Slaaf niet doen of hy moet voor de straf vreezen']
'What shouldn't a slave do, or he must fear to be beaten.'

Table 6.7 *Overview of predicates of fearing in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

	EARLY SRANAN																		EMC
	1707-1767			1718			1762			1765			1770			1783			1798			
	CR			HL			SPT			VD			N			SCHUM			WEY			
	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	
fredi 'fear'							+	+	+	+	±	±				-			+	±	±	*feele* 'fear'

S = sentential complement (+ present; - absent)
C = subordinating conjunction (+ present; - absent; ± both present and absent)
R = reduced SC (no subject or tense marking) (+ reduced; - full SC; ± both reduced and full)

Desiderative predicates. Opposed to predicates of fearing, desiderative predicates are characterized by a subject expressing a desire that the complement proposition be realized. The main desiderative predicates in the Early Sranan sources are *wensi* 'wish, hope' (< Dutch *wensen* 'to wish') and *wanni* 'want' (<English *want*). Example (44) illustrates that complements of the desiderative predicate *wensi* 'wish' can have independent time reference, they may be subject to a contrafactive interpretation and they can describe a proposition that is incapable of realization.

(44) a. *ô! Goede gado joe zoete da negere retti na ini hede a didde kwiti*
O good god 2S shoot the black right LOC in head 3S dead really

mi <u>wensi</u> no wan zomma fo wi ben de (VD c1765: 81)
1S wish NEG one person of 1P PST COP
['ô! Goede God, Schietje de Neeger regt in zyn Hoofd; ik wenschten wel dat geen van ons alle hier teegenwoordig was: Hy is mors Dood']
'Oh, good God, you shot the Black right in the head, he's dead for sure. I wish none of us had been here.'

b. *Mie <u>wensie</u> datie mie fom nange retie* (Wey 1798: 77)
1S wish that 1S punish with right
['Ik wenschte dat ik met recht straffe']
'I wish that I punish with justice.'

c. *Mie <u>wensie</u> foe takie nanga em* (Wey 1798: 102)
1S wish to talk with 3S.OBJ
['Ik wenschte hem wel eens te spreeken']
'I wish to speak to him.'

Complements to the desiderative predicate *wanni* 'to want' have determined time reference due to the fact that they usually express a desire that some state or event may be realized in the future even though it may be incapable of realization. Complements can be sentence-like or reduced and can occur with or without a complementizer.

(45) a. *mi <u>wandi</u> joe za trom hosse homan na plessi Aurora* (VD c1765: 65)
1S want 2S FUT turn house woman LOC place Aurora
['ik wil dat je een Huis-Meid word, in plaats van Aurora']
'I want that you will become the house servant in place of Aurora.'

b. *da mastra a za <u>wandi</u> fo slibi langa mi na netti* (...) (VD c1765: 64)
the master 3S FUT want to sleep with 1S LOC night
['de Meester zel van Nagt by myn willen Slaapen (...)']
'The master, he will want to sleep with me in the night (...).'

c. *Bieka mi no <u>wanie</u> datie joe borgoe mie* (Wey 1798: 106)
because 1S NEG want that 2S warrant 1S
['Om dat ik niet geborgd wil weezen']
'Because I don't want that I am in your debt.'

In Schumann's dictionary *wanni* 'want' is not encountered with a sentential complement[126]; it only occurs as an auxiliary (see 4.1.3) or in constructions such as (46a) where the putative subject of the sentential complement is raised to become the syntactic object of *wanni* 'want'. This construction is also attested in other Early Sranan sources (46b, c).

(46) a. *a <u>wanni</u> mi du so* (Sch1783: 191)
he want I do so
['er will, dass ich es so machen soll']
'He wants me to do so'

b. *da direkteure fo one hem <u>wandi</u> mi fom da negere zo menni* (VD c1765: 75)
that director of 2P 3S want 1S punish the black so many
['de Directeur van jou luy wil hebben dat ik hem zoo veel slaagen geef']
'The director of you, he wants me to punish the blacks so often.'

c. *Masra sa sabie, joe <u>wanie</u> mie kiesie trobie?* Wey 1798: 128)
master FUT know 2S want 1S catch trouble
['De Meester zal 't ontdekken, wild gy dat ik in ongelegenheid komt?']
'The master will know. You want me to get into trouble?'

A desiderative predicate resembling *wanni* 'want' is *hangri* 'long for; be hungry for' (<English *be hungry for* or *hanker*), presented in (47).

(47) a. *drisanni de, dissi mi <u>hangri</u> va kissi, kaba mi no kann kissi* (Sch 1783: 36)
three-thing COP REL 1S hanker to get and 1S NEG can get
['3 Dinge sind, die ich gern haben möchte, u. kann sie nicht kriegen']
'There are three things I'm longing to get and I can't have them.'

b. *Mie ben <u>hangrie</u> foe takie nanga joe* (Wey 1789: 92)
1S PST hanker to talk with 2S
['Ik was begeerig u te spreeken']
'I was longing to speak to you.'

The perception predicate *luku* 'look; see' can also be used as a desiderative predicate in Schumann's dictionary and Weygandt's language manual. It then conveys the meaning 'hope' and it occurs with a reduced complement clause introduced by the

[126] Note that *wanni* 'want' is encountered with a sentential complement in Schumann's manuscript Bible translation of 1781.

complementizer *va/foe* invoking a non-factive reading as in (49a), or with a sentence-like complement clause with factive meaning as in (49b).

(48) a. *mi de <u>lukku</u> va kissi dasanni* (Sch 1783: 105)
1S ASP look to catch that
['ich hoffe oder erwarte, verlange, dieses zu erhalten']
'I'm expecting to acquire that.'

b. *Nanga datie mie dé <u>loekoe</u> datie joe sa baay morotrom na mie* (Wey 1798: 106)
with that 1S ASP look that 2S FUT buy more-turn LOC 1S
['Daar mee hoope ik dat gy meer by my zult koopen']
'With that I'm expecting that you will buy from me more often.'

Predecessors of Modern Sranan *howpu* 'hope' are not encountered in the Early Sranan sources; the predicates *luku* 'look, see, hope' and *wensi* 'wish, hope' are used instead, the former with complements having independent time reference and the latter with complements having determined time reference. Eastern Maroon Creole *howpu* is translated with 'be confident, be assured' (SIL 2003), suggesting that the realization of the complement proposition is regarded less as a remote possibility than in the case of Modern Sranan. This, however, needs to be investigated in more detail.

Table 6.8 *Desiderative predicates in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

	EARLY SRANAN																						EMC
	1707-67			1718			1762			1765			1770			1783			1798				
	CR			HIL			SPT			VD			N			SCHUM			WEY				
	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R		
luku 'look for'	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		*luku* 'look for'
wani 'want'	-						+			±	±	+	±	+	+	-							*wani* 'want'
hangeri 'hanker'	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+		*angii* 'long to/for'
wensi 'wish'							+	-	-		-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	±	±		*winsi* 'wish'
lobi 'love; like'	-						+	+	+		+	-	-	-	+								*lobi* 'love; like'

S = sentential complement (+ present; - absent)
C = subordinating conjunction (+ present; - absent; ± both present and absent)
R = reduced SC (no subject or tense marking) (+ reduced; - full SC; ± both reduced and full)

Manipulative predicates. Manipulative predicates typically encode situations where the agent attempts to manipulate the affectee into performing some actions or assuming

some state (Noonan 1985: 126). Thus, they express a relation between an agent or a situation which functions as a cause, an affectee and a resulting situation. Manipulative predicates include the closely related causative and permissive predicates, both involving an element of causation (Noonan 1985: 125). The most frequently encountered representative of this class of complement-taking predicates in the sources is *meki* 'make; cause to happen; let', which can function as a manipulative predicate, a causative and a permissive predicate, see (49a-c) respectively.

(49) a. *datem a sa fendie datie dissie sama sa habie rettie,*
when 3S FUT find that this person FUT have right

a sa <u>mekie</u> a sa kiesie hem rettie (SPT 1765: art.11)
3S FUT make 3S FUT catch 3S.OBJ right
['(... bij den Heer Gouverneur,) die na exigentie van saaken hetselve sal laaten ondersoeken en regt weedervaeren']
'(...) and when he_i finds that this $person_k$ is right, he_i shall make sure that he_k will receive justice.'

b. *frekoutu <u>meki</u> mi no kann holi vo koffokoffo* (Sch 1783: 84)
cold make 1S NEG can stop to cough.REDUP
['wegen das Kathars muss ich husten']
'A cold makes me cough continuously.'[127]

c. *<u>myki</u> mi jerri na joe moffe* (VD 1765: 94)
let 1S hear LOC 2S mouth
['laat ik het nou reis uit uw Mond hooren!']
'Let me hear (it) from you.'

In general, complements to manipulatives have determined time reference, they are reduced and typically introduced by the complementizer *fu*, because the nature of the causative relationship requires a specific temporal order of cause and effect and the obligatory coreference between the affectee, the direct object of the manipulative predicate, and the subject of the complement clause usually causes the latter to be non-overt (Noonan 1985). However, sentential complements to *meki* 'make; cause to happen; let' have overt subjects and independent time reference, as the sentences in (49) demonstrate. Furthermore, they are neither reduced nor introduced by the complementizer *fu*. In particular example (49a) clearly shows that the complement clause has an overt subject, that is the third person singular pronoun *a*, and a future tense marker *sa*. If it had been a reduced complement clause, the semantic subject of the complement clause would have been converted into the object of *meki,* taking on the form *(h)em*. Moreover, the sentence would not have been tensed.

[127] Schumann's translation is not a literal paraphrase of the Sranan sentence, meaning *because of the cat hair I have to cough*. The word *frekoutu* (< Dutch *verkouden* 'cold')

The predicate *meki* 'make; cause to happen; let' is a simple manipulative predicate as it merely encodes the causative relationship. A manipulative predicate can also encode additional information about the manner of causation such as *dewengi* 'force' (< Dutch *dwingen* 'force') in (50a) and *sendie* 'send; order', or an illocutionary act, such as *kale* 'call; order' (< English *call*) as in (50c).

(50) a. (...) *foe bacara sa kan dewengie dem foe tan boen nanga bakara en fou holi diesie*
so white FUT can force 3P to stay good with white and to hold this

frie boen boen (SPT 1762: art. 6)
peace good.REDUP
['in welken gevallen sij sig met de blanken sullen moeten voegen en deselve trouwelijk adisteeren in alles']
'(...) so the Whites can force them to be friends with the Whites and to stick strictly to this peace.'

b. (...) *fou à kan sendie wan comando nanga soldatie foe goo fettie foe kiesie hem*
so 3S can send a/one command with soldier to go fight to catch 3S.OBJ
['dat de blanke bij hun komen met een commando om de sodanige daartoe te noodsaken en te straffen'] (SPT 1762: art. 6)
'(...) so he can send a military command to go fight and capture him.'

c. *joe kale wan bakkera bassia fo kom na hosse da tem mino de*
2S call a white overseer to come LOC house that time 1S-NEG COP
['laat je de Officier roepen als ik niet Thuis ben'] (VD c1765: 95-96)
'You call the white overseer to come to the house when I am not there.'

Opposed to complements to *meki* 'make; cause to happen; let', complement clauses to these predicates have determined time reference. Additionally, the affectee is represented only once (as the direct object of the complement-taking predicate), because of the obligatory coreference between affectee and subject of the complement clause. Thus, sentential complements to manipulatives are reduced and typically introduced by (variants of) the complementizer *fu*. Alternatively, manipulatives may participate in serial verb constructions with the motion/change of location-denoting serial items *go* or *kom*: compare (50b-c) with (51a-b). The former construction may have been typical of *bakratongo*, whereas the latter may represent *ningretongo*. See further section 6.3.1.

(51) a. *evie mie massra ben sende migo na Tempatie, dan mie sa ben soorie dem Backara*
if 1S master PAST send 1S-GO LOC T. then 1S FUT PST show the white
(CR 1757)
'If my master sent me to Tempati, then I would show the Whites.'

b. *kali hem komm!* (Sch 1783: 78)
call 3S.OBJ COME
['ruf ihn, dass er kommt!']
'Call him here!'

Table 6.9 Overview of manipulative predicates in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

	EARLY SRANAN																			EMC
	1707-1767			1718			1762			1765			1770			1783			1798			
	CR			HL			SPT			VD			N			SCHUM			WEY			
	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	
meki 'make; let; cause'	+	-	-				+	-	-	+	-	-				+	-	-	+	-	-	*meke* 'make; let; cause'
sendi 'send; order'	+	-	+				+	+	+	+	+	+				+	-	+	-			*sende* 'send; order'
dewengie 'force'							+	+	+							-						*dwengie* 'force'
komanderi 'command' ;																			-			*kumandei* 'command'

S = sentential complement (+ present; - absent)
C = subordinating conjunction (+ present; - absent; ± both present and absent)
R = reduced SC (no subject or tense marking)(+ reduced; - full SC; ± both reduced and full)

Achievement predicates. Noonan (1985: 129) divides this class of predicates into positive achievement predicates and negative achievement predicates; the former refers to the manner or realization of the achievement, the latter refer to the manner or reason for the lack of achievement encoded in the complex sentence. Complements to both types of achievement predicates will be reduced, as the time reference of the achievement (or non-occurence) will have the same time reference as the event (or non-occurence).

No good examples of primary achievement predicates with a complement clause are encountered in the Early Sranan sources. Ndyuka *puubei* 'try' (< Dutch *proberen* 'try') is an example of a negative achiement predicate, but no examples that bare a formal or a semantic resemblance are encountered in the Early Sranan sources. An example of a positive achievement predicate in Nduyka is *peefuu* 'dare, to be so bold as'. Schumann (1783: 141) lists *prehfulu* or *prefuru*, "aufs spielen erpicht seyn; leichtfertig, ausgelassen seyn, Narrenspassen treiben; einen zum besten haben", meaning 'to be eager to play; to be frivolous or rollicking; to mock; to pull someone's leg'. Although there is a formal resemblance, the two forms clearly differ in meaning. Instead, the phrase *(h)ab(b)i(e) hat(t)i(e)* lit. have heart 'have the heart (to do something); to prevail upon oneself (to do something)' occurs in the sources meaning 'dare; to be

so bold as' (52). Note that in (52a) the reduded complement clause is not introduced by a complementizer.

(52) a. *Nembre wan sa habbi hatti kibri wan nengre foe bakra.* (SPT 1762: art. 6)
never one fut have heart catch a black of white
'Never will one be so bold as to catch a whiteman's slave'.

b. *no wan habbi hatti fo open wan moffe* (VD c1675: 82)
NEG one have heart to open a mouth
['geen een durft zyn Mond oopen doen']
'No one dares to open his/her mouth.'

c. *Oe fa joe habie hatie foe go dan na doro?* (Wey 1798: 120)
Q manner 2S have heart to go then LOC exterior
['Hoe durft gy dan uitgaan?']
'How dare you to go out?'

The phrase *habi hatti* 'have the heart (to do something); to prevail upon oneself (to do something)' is also encountered in Schumann's dictionary, but the meaning 'dare; to be so bold as' is expressed by another phrase, that is *teki hatti* lit. take heart 'dare; to be so bold as'. Compare (34a) with (34 b).

(53) a. *a no habi hatti va komm* (Sch 1783: 62)
3S NEG have heart to come
['er getraut sich nicht zu kommen.']
'He doesn't have the heart to come.'

b. *mi ben teki hatti va du datti* (Sch 1783: 62)
1S PST take heart to do that
['ich habe mich unterstanden, habe es gewagt, dieses zu thun.']
'I dared to do that'.

Phasal predicates or aspectuals. This type of complement-taking predicate encodes the inception, continuation or termination of an act or state. Complements to phasal predicates are usually reduced because the time reference of the inception, continuation or termination must be the same as the time reference of the event itself (Noonan 1985). Most phasal predicates act as (semi-)auxiliaries, preferring a bare lexical complement (see chapter 4), but there are the following exeptions: complement clauses to the inceptive verb *begien* 'begin' are introduced by (variants of) *fu* in Weygandt's language manual (54a) and some of the complements to the terminative verb *kaba* 'finish; complete, stop' are preceded by *fo* in Van Dyk's manual (54b).

(54) a. *A dé <u>begien</u> foe kon ouwroe* (Wey 1798: 87)
3S ASP begin to become old
['Hy begint oud te worden.']
'He is beginning to get old.'

b. *miki wi <u>kaba</u> fo takki morre* (VD c1765: 98)
let 1P stop to talk more
['laaten wy niet meer Reedeneeren']
'Let us stop talking (more).'

Table 6.10 *Phasal or aspectual predicates in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

	EARLY SRANAN																						EMC
	1707-1767			1718			1762			1765			1770			1783			1798				
	CR			HL			SPT			VD			N			SCHUM			WEY				
	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R		
begin 'begin'										-						-			+	+	+		*bigin* 'begin' (*kon*)
tan 'live; stay; continue'	-			-			-			-			-			-			-				*tan* 'live; be; continue'
kaba 'finish; end; complete'	-			-						+	+	+	-			-			-				*kaba* 'finish; stop; end'
klari 'finish'										-						-			-				-

S = sentential complement (+ present; - absent)
C = subordinating conjunction (+ present; - absent; ± both present and absent)
R = reduced SC (no subject or tense marking)(+ reduced; - full SC; ± both reduced and full)

Modal predicates. Noonan (1985: 127) includes in this class any class of predicate that expresses epistemic or deontic modality. Epistemic modality is concerned with the degree of certainty of knowledge. Deontic modality is concerned with moral obligation or permission. While most Early Sranan modal predicates such as *musu* 'must' or *kan* 'can' prefer a bare lexical complement (see chapter 4), verbs such as *mann* 'be able' and *sabi* 'know; can' require a reduced complement introduced by *va*. The modal *mann* 'be able' denotes positive and negative (deontic) possibility (55). The verb *sabi* 'know' is used primarily as a predicate of knowledge in the sources (see above), but it can also be used as a modal expressing learned ability (56).

(55) a. *ju sa <u>mann</u> va tjarri datti?* (Sch 1783: 107)
2S FUT be.able to carry that
['wirst du dieses tragen können']
'Can you carry that?'

b. *mi no <u>mann</u> va hoppo datti* (Sch 1783: 107)
1S NEG be.able to lift that
['ich bin nicht stark genug um das aufzuheben']
'I cannot lift that.'

(56) a. *a <u>sabi</u> va fumm Viole* (Sch 1783: 47)
3S know to hit violin
['er kann auf der Violin spielen']
'He can play the violin.'

b. *da somma no <u>sabi</u> va swem* (Sch 1783: 169)
that person NEG know to swim
['der Mensch kann nicht schwimmen.']
'That person cannot swim.'

Furthermore, the verb (*h*)*abi*(*e*) 'have' in combination with a reduced complement clause introduced by (variants of) the complementizer *fu*, can act as a modal, expressing (deontic) necessity as in (57):

(57) a. *so dem sa doe. No wan <u>habi</u> fou tan na baca* (SPT 1762: art. 3)
so 3P FUT do NEG one have to stay LOC back
['neeme sulx aen na te koome']
'They will (all) do so. No one has to stay behind.'

b. *ma wi no <u>habi</u> va suku heddi va hem, hupeh a liddom* (Sch 1783: 63)
but 1P NEG have to search reason of 3S Q-place 3S lie.down
['aber wir sind nicht befugt, die Ursache (od. Quelle) davon zu ergründen.']
'But we should not look for the reason, where it is.'

c. *Wan Basian da wan soema diesie <u>abie</u> foe takie na den Nengree*
a overseer COP a person this have to talk LOC the.PL black
['Een Bastiaan of Officier is zo veel als Opzichter over de Slaaven']
(Wey 1798: 137)
'An overseer, that is the person that has to direct the slaves.'

Speaker's need is expressed by the phrase *habi fan doe* lit. have need 'need' (< Dutch *van doen hebben* 'need') which can occur with a reduced complement clause as in (58) or with a lexical complement, see further section 4.2.3.

(58) *Joe no habbi fan doe fo kakkesi mi toe trom* (VD c1765: 39)
2S NEG have need to ask 1S two time
['Ik heb my geen tweemaal laaten nooden']
'You don't have to ask me twice.'

Table 6.11 *Complement-taking modal predicates in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

	EARLY SRANAN																					EMC
	1707-67			1718			1762			1765			1770			1783			1798			
	CR			HL			SPT			VD			N			SCHUM			WEY			
	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	
man 'be able'	-															+	+	+				*man* 'can' *(poi* 'can')
sabi 'know; can'																+	+	+				*sabi* 'know; can'
habi 'have'							+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	*habi* 'have'
habi fandoe (wroko) 'need'										+						-			-			*habi fanowdu* 'need'

S = sentential complement (+ present; - absent)
C = subordinating conjunction (+ present; - absent; ± both present and absent)
R = reduced SC (no subject or tense marking) (+ reduced; - full SC; ± both reduced and full)

6.3 Serial verb constructions and paratactic strings of verbs

In this section strings of verbs such as serial verb constructions (SVCs) and paratactic constructions are investigated. Ample attention has been given to serial verb constructions in the world's languages, resulting in a range of syntactic and semantic criteria that set serial verb constructions apart from paratactic strings of verbs, small clause complements and the like. They include argument sharing constraints, constraints on the marking of tense, mood, aspect and negation and illocationary force constraint among others (cf. Jansen, Koopman & Muysken 1978, Sebba 1987, Seuren 1991, Veenstra 1996, Migge 1998, Ameka 2003 etc.). This is not the place to review these constraints in detail, so I will merely present a short characterization a prototypical serial verb construction. A serial verb construction is a sequence of verbs that both can function as a predicate in a simple clause. In a serial verb construction they share a subject which precedes the first verb in the sequence. One of the verbs seems to modify the proposition of the other verb; it either introduces a thematic role of that proposition or modifies that proposition in ways similar to a preposition in a non-serializing language. There is no linking element that connects the components of the construction. Tense, mood and negation markers may only precede the first verb, the second verb is generally unmarked (but may take an aspect marker). Migge (1998,

2003) differentiates between three types of SVCs in Eastern Maroon Creole: motion/change of location-type SVCs (directional), thematic role introducing SVCs (argument-introducing), and resultative SVCs. Their Early Sranan equivalents are discussed below. In addition to these types of serial verb constructions, Muysken & Veenstra (1994) and Veenstra (1996) further distinguish aspectual serial verb constructions and degree serial verb constructions. The former include the Saramaccan verb *kabá* 'finish' and *káá*, a suppletive form of *kabá*. *Kabá* marks completive aspect, *káá* has been reanalyzed as an adverb meaning 'already' (Veenstra 1996: 96-98). I have found little evidence of the verbal nature of *kaba* expressing completive perfective aspect in the sources of Early Sranan, so I will not treat it as a serial verb construction, see further section 6.2.2. Degree serial verb constructions include Saramacaccan verbs *pása* 'pass', *moó* 'more' and *pói* 'spoil'. The latter is used to mark excessive degree, *pása* and *moó* are used in comparative constructions. The Eastern Maroon Creole and Early Sranan equivalents of *pása* and *moó* are treated as thematic role introducing serial verb constructions below; *pói* has no equivalent.

Not every multiverb construction is a serial verb construction. Paratactic constructions typically express more than one proposition; they often express two sequentially ordered actions. They differ from SVCs in that paratactic constructions seem to be semantically equivalent to the 'corresponding' coordinate constructions, while SVCs are not. Paratactic constructions can further be characterized as follows: In paratactic constructions, the verb modifies the proposition of the other verb in ways different from a serial item in a serial verb construction. Furthermore, the overtly expressed NP arguments of the different verbs may be coreferential, or one may be elliptically omitted. All coreferential arguments have to be extracted together, and non-referential NPs cannot be extracted at all. The types of verbs that can be juxtaposed in paratactic constructions are relatively unconstrained as opposed to SVCs. Some examples of paratactic constructions are presented in section 6.3.3

6.3.1 Motion/change of location-type SVCs

The serial phrase indicates the direction, the origin, the limit etc. of a motion-related event. The serial phrases are headed by serial items which are derived from the following motion/change of location-denoting verbs *go* 'to go (away), to leave', *kom* 'to come', *romboto* 'to go around' and *komoto/komopo* 'to come from'. In their serial item function these verbs introduce the direction, the origin, or the limit or endpoint of the movement denoted by the verbal head of the construction.

Motion/change of location-denoting verb: 'to go (away), to leave'. The earliest attestation of *go* 'to go (away), to leave' in a SVC is the following example from court records of 1757:

(59) *evie mie massra ben sende migo na Tempatie, dan mie sa ben soorie dem Backara*
if 1S master PST send 1S go LOC T. then 1S FUT PST show the white
(CR 1757)
'If my master sent me to Tempati, then I would show the Whites.'

Another early example is found in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762):

(60) *Marra effoe dem sa wandie tiarrie dem sandie goo na fotto foe serrie* (...)
but if 3P FUT want carry 3P thing go LOC fort to sell then
(SPT 1762: art. 10)
'But if they should wish to bring their things to Paramaribo in order to sell them, (...).'

The serial item *goo* indicates that the direction denoted by the semantic head of the proposition, *tiarrie* 'to carry, bring', is away from the point of reference (the area between the Suriname and the Saramaka river) to a certain location (Paramaribo).

While the main verb *go* 'to go (away), to leave' may be replaced by the verb *gowe* in certain contexts, no examples of *gowe* as a serial verb are encountered in the early Sranan sources. Note that in Eastern Maroon Creole, both *go* and *gwe* may function as serial verbs (Migge 1998, 2003).

Motion/change of location-denoting verb: 'to come'. The main verb *kom* 'to come, to arrive at, to become' may function as a serial item. It then denotes that the motion of the main verb of the SVC is toward the point of reference of the speaker. The location of the point of reference may be overtly expressed (61a), or not (61b). In the case of the latter, the motion denoted by the main verb is directed toward the location of the speaker.

(61) a. (...) *onoe sa moesoe goo foe kiesie dem, en tiarrie dem kom nà fotto* (SPT 1762: art.7)
2P FUT must go to catch 3P and carry 3P come LOC town
'(...) you should go capture them and bring them to Paramaribo.'

b. *kali hem komm!* (Sch 1783: 78)
call 3S COME
['ruf ihn, dass er kommt!']
'Call him here.'

Motion/change of location-denoting verb: 'to go around'. The verb *romboto* 'to go around; to surround; to round' appears in a motion/change of location-type SVC in Van Dyk's (c1765) manual. As a serial item it describes the path of the motion expressed by the preceding verb; it indicates that the movement is around some location (62).

(62) *be fo joe dore da pranasie romboute fossi wan kom dotti bakke*
before 2S go.through the plantation go.around first one come dirty again

bekassi zili fa dom (VD c1765: 87)
because seed fall down
['eêr je de Grond rond bent, is het eerste al weêr eeven vuil, zoo dat gy niets en vorderd, dan vald het Zaad af en vergiftigd de heele Grond']

'Before you have gone around the whole plantation, the first one becomes dirty again because the seed falls down.'

Motion/change of location-denoting verb: 'to come from'. Forms derived from the verbs *komoto* 'to come from; to come out of; to leave from' (< English *come out*) and *komopo* 'to come from; to come out; to leave from' can function as a serial items. Serial *komoto* usually occurs with a locative phrase denoting the location from which the motion originates as in (63a), but it can also be used without an overtly expressed locative phrase, in particular when the source location is known from the context or expressed earlier in the discourse as in (63b).

(63) a. *Da Masra P. tjarie em komopo na Engliesie-kondree gie joe mie briebie*
the master P. carry 3S come.out LOC England give 2S 1S believe
['De Heer P zal 't u uit Engeland mêe gebracht hebben geloof ik']
(Wey 1798: 122)
'Master P. brought it from England for you, I think'

b. *Mi wandi myki den krien da gottere bon poele loete kommotte* (VD c1765: 57)
1S want make 3P clean the gutter good pull root come.out
['En ik wil het hebben, maak dat ze de Sloot ter deeg schoon maaken en haalen de Wortels wel uit de Grond']
'I want them to clean the gutter thoroughly and remove the roots'

The verb *komoto* alternates with *komopo* 'to come from; to come out of; to leave from' under the influence of Dutch: *–otto* is presumably replaced with *–oppo* under the influence of the Dutch verb *opkomen* 'to come out'. Schumann (1783: 85) lists both *kommoppo* and *kommotto*, and translates them as follows: *heraus gehen, heraus kommen; loskommen, befreyt werden; aufstehen*, meaning 'to go out, to come out, to come loose, to free, to stand up'. Table 6.12 shows the distribution of *kom(m)ot(t)o* and *kom(m)op(p)o* across the Early Sranan sources, suggesting that *komopo* became part of the Sranan vocabulary in the late 18th century.

Table 6.12 Komoto *and* komopo *in the early Sranan sources and Eastern Maroon Creole*

	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
	1707-1767	1718	1762	c1765	1770	1783	1798	
	CR	HL	SPT	VD	N	SCH	WEY	
kom(m)ot(t)o	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
kom(m)op(p)o	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-

6.3.1.1 Motion/change of location-type SVCs in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

The four types of motion/change of location-type SVCs in Early Sranan outlined above have the following equivalents in Eastern Maroon Creole: *go, kon, lontu* and *komoto* (Migge 1998). Furthermore, Eastern Maroon Creole has *pasa* 'to pass' and *poti*

'to put' that can function as serial items in a motion/change of location-type SVC. Serial equivalents of these forms are not encountered in the sources of Early Sranan. Moreover, *doo* 'arrive' can occur in a serial verb construction in Eastern Maroon Creole. However, at present it is not clear whether the Early Sranan multifunctional lexical item *doro* can function as a serial item, in addition to being used as a verb, meaning 'to arrive, to continue (until finished), to go through' and as an adverb denoting continuity when used with certain predicates (< Dutch *door*). As an adverb it further conveys the sense of 'outside'. Moreover, it can be used an a noun meaning 'door'. This multifunctional nature of *doro* makes it difficult to determine whether it is a serial item or an adverb in examples such as (64).

(64) a. *Bassia fom dorre* (VD c1765: 61)
overseer hit continue/through
['Officier slaa deur']
'Overseer, keep hitting.'

b. *oenno moes pree bon dore te de brokke* (VD c1765: 108)
2P must play good continue/through until day break
['weest de heelen Nagt Plyzierig, tot den Dag aanbreekt']
'You must keep playing until day break.'

The Eastern Maroon Creole serial item *doo* introduces the endpoint or limit of the motion denoted by the first verb. The location of the limit or endpoint may be expressed by the locative phrase following the SVC. The Early Sranan sources contain no examples of *doro* preceding a locative phrase. Moreover, Migge (1998) discovered that Eastern Maroon Creole *doo* frequently occurs in combination with SVCs headed by *kon* or *go* indicating the direction the motion. A search for Early Sranan equivalents yielded no matching results. All findings are summarized in table 6.13 below.

Table 6.13 *Motion/change of location-type SVCs*

	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
	1707-1767	1718	1762	c1765	1770	1783	1798	
	CR	HL	SPT	VD	N	SCH	WEY	
go 'to go'	*go*	-	*go(o)*	*go(e)*	*go*	*go*	*go*	*go/gwe*
kom 'to come'	-	-	*kom*	*kom*	-	*komm*	*kom*	*kon*
romboto 'to go around'	-	-	-	*romboute*	-	-	-	*lontu*
pasa 'to pass'	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*pasa*
komopo 'to come from'	-	-	-	*kom(m)ot(t)e*	-	*kommotto kommoppo*	*komopo*	*komoto*
doro 'go through; to arrive'	-	-		*do(o)r(r)e*	-	*dorro*	*doro*	*doo*
putti 'to put'	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*poti*

6.3.2 Thematic role introducing SVCs

In this section several constructions are discussed that originate in thematic role introducing-type SVCs. The thematic roles include experiencer, source, standard of comparison etc. They are introduced by items that derive from verbs conveying the sense of 'to give', 'to say', 'to outdo' and 'to overtake'. They are discussed below.

Thematic role introducing SVC: 'to give'. The item *gi* derives from the verb *gi* 'to give, to present' (< English *to give*), it can introduce thematic roles such as recipient, beneficiary or metaphorical recipient, as long as the referent is animate. No examples of serial *gi* introducing an argument with an inanimate referent have been found. Note that these thematic roles can alternatively be introduced by variants of the preposition *fu*, see section 2.6.14.

Schumann (1783: 49) translates *gi* as *geben*, meaning 'to give' as well as *zu, für*, meaning 'to, for', calling it a *dativi commodi*. The following examples in (65) illustrate that serial *gi* occurs in both the *bakratongo* and the *ningretongo* variety of early Sranan as only the main verb differs between the varieties; both varieties use serial *gi* to introduce the recipient role of transfer in this context.

(65)

Bakratongo:	*Ningretongo:*
mi sa leni da moni gi ju	*mi sa juru da moni gi ju*
1S FUT lend the money give 2S	1S FUT lend the money give 2S
['ich will dir das Geld leihen']	(Sch 1783: 152)
'I will lend the money to you'	'I will lend the money to you'

When used as a main verb, the recipient argument of *gi* 'to give, present' may be accompanied by the preposition *na* 'from, of, in', indicating that the following argument is not theme but recipient. The following example from the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762) shows that serial *gi* may also occur with *na* (66), but it is the only example.[128]

(66) *Effie granman of koeroetoe sendie moffo gi na dem, takie ningre ronwey*
if gouvernor or court send word GIVE LOC them COMP black run.away
['Soodrae sij van de heer Gouverneur off regeeringe alhier kennisse krijgen van eenige desertie van slaven'] (SPT 1762: art. 7)
'If the Governor or the Court sends them a message saying that Blacks ran away.'

If the main verb of the SVC denotes an activity, the referent of the phrase following *gi* is the beneficiary or metaphorical recipient of this activity.

[128] This may indicate that serial *gi* had more main verb qualities in the 1760s than later on, grammaticalizing into a preposition. On the other hand, it may just mean that sending a message involved the actual transference of a message.

(67) *Dem wandi fou hondi langa fou soutoú gi dedi sama foú dem* (SPT 1762: art15)
3P want to hunt and to shoot give dead person of 3P
'They want to hunt and to shoot in honor of their dead.'

Although the Early Sranan sources present no clear examples of SVCs in which the main verb denotes a state, I assume that based on examples such as (68) serial *gi* can also occur with verbs denoting a state.

(68) *a mandi gi ju* (Sch 1783: 107)
3S be.angry give 2S
['er ist böse auf dich']
'He is angry with you.'

If the transfer involves motion, a combination of SVCs may occur: one SVC headed by (a variant of) *go* or *kon* indicating the path of the motion denoted by the main verb, and one introducing the recipient, see (69a). In example (69b) a similar motion is expressed, but with a single SVC.

(69) a. *tjarri faija komm gi mi* (Sch 1783: 49)
carry fire COME GIVE 1S
['bringe mir Feuer']
'Bring fire over to me.'

b. *joe tjarrie wroko gie mie ajem, no troe?* (Wey 1798: 129)
2S carry work GIVE 1S again no true
['je brengt weer werk voor my, niet waar?']
'You bring me work again, right?'

As it is attested only in Schumann's (1783) dictionary, this juxtaposition of multiple serial items may have been characteristic of the *ningretongo* variety of Early Sranan.

Thematic role introducing SVC: 'to say'. Taki can be used as a main verb conveying the sense of 'to say, to speak' and as a serial item that introduces the theme argument of utterance and thought verbs (70a-b), as well as the occasional perception verb (70c). The categorial status of *taki* is discussed in section 6.2.1.1.

(70) a. *onnoe sa moessoe swerrie toe takie dem pikin dissie onnoe pottie na wie han,*
2P FUT must swear too that the.PL child REL 2P put LOC 1P hand

dem na reijtie piekien foe heddeman (SPT art. 13)
3P COP right child of chief
['in welken eed ook sal begreepen worden dat de over te leeveren gijzelaars weesentlijk eige kinderen van opperhoofden sijn']
'You should also swear that the children you will hand over to us are really the children of captains.'

b. *den drom no klare jetti oenno zabi takki no wan zomma ben pree*
the.PL drum NEG ready yet 2P know say no one person PST play

lange da drom na negi moen tem (VD c1765: 108)
with the drum LOC nine moon time
['Trommel is nog niet klaar, daar is in de Tyd van neegen Maanden niet op Gespeeld, dat weet je wel']
'The drums are not ready yet, you know that nobody has played the drums for nine months.'

c. *Mara mie sie takie da negie joeroe na joe oloysie kaba* (Wey 1798: 144)
but 1S see say FOC nine hour LOC 2S watch already
['Maar ik zie dat het ruim neegen uuren op uwe klok is']
'But I see that it is already past nine o' clock on your watch.'

Arends (1995:36) points out that the *benakese ta* sequence in the Herlein (1718) example in (71) could be viewed as a SVC, if the item *ta* is interpreted as *taki* as suggested by Schuchardt (1914: XIX). The item *ta* would then introduce a phrase denoting the content of the question, that is *entre ples* lit. other please, meaning '(if) it pleases the other'.

(71) *no mie ben benakese ta entre ples à reddi wen* (Hl 1718: 122)
no 1S PST send-ask say other please again ?
['Neen ik heb al by een ander late vragen of 't haar beliefde dat ik zou komen']
'No, I have send already to ask someone else if it would please her.'

Additional evidence for *ta* being short for *taki* is provided by a similar example from the Saramaka Peace Treaty, in which the content of the message is being introduced by *takie*:

(72) *Effie granman of koeroetoe sendie moffo gi na dem, takie ningre ron weij* (...)
if governor or court send word give LOC 3P that black run away
['Soodrae sij van de heer Gouverneur off regeeringe alhier kennisse krijgen van eenige desertie van slaven'] (SPT 1762: art7)
'If the Governor or the Court will send them a message saying that Blacks ran away (...).'

Thematic role introducing SVC: 'to outdo'. The multifunctional item *moro* can be used adverbially, meaning 'more', or as a verb, meaning 'to outdo' as (73a).[129] It can also be used to introduce the standard of comparison as in the first part of (73b). The verb

[129] Schumann (1783: 113) acknowledges both uses of *moro*, glossing it *mehr; it. über Vermögen seyn; überwältigen*, meaning 'more; to be out of range; to overcome'.

preceding *moro* denotes the property that is compared, the subject of the sentence denotes the item that is being compared.

(73) a. *dasanni de morro mi heddi* (Sch 1783: 114)
that-thing ASP outdo 1S head
['das ist mir unbegreiflich']
'That is beyond my comprehension.'

b. *pakkira krassi morro na pingo, ma dem morro switti tu vo jam*
peccary scream outdo LOC pig but 3P outdo sweet too to/for eat
(Sch 1783: 129)
'Peccaries scream louder than pigs, but they are also sweeter to eat.'

In the last part of (73b), the standard of comparison is not overtly expressed, *morro* then precedes the verb denoting the property of comparison, that is *switti* 'to be sweet' in (73b) above.

Thematic role introducing SVC: 'to pass, to overtake'. The main verb *passa* conveys the sense of 'to pass; to overtake', occuring with an expletive subject and a noun phrase that denotes the entity that is being overtaken (see section 2.3.1.2). In the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty, serial *passa* introduces a point in time that is 'overtaken':

(74) (...) *dem no sa moessoe wakka na sabatem passa aytie jourroe na passie*
3P NEG FUT must walk LOC evening pass eight hour LOC road
['doch sullen des avonds na agt uure niet mogen op straat sijn']
(SPT 1762: art. 10)
'(...) they will not be permitted to walk in the street in the evening after eight o' clock.'

In Weygandt's (1783) language manual *pasa* functions as a time adverb, situating the event in the past as in (75a), or as a degree adverb, indicating abundance or excessiveness as in (75b).

(75) a. *Den ben dé werie toedrie tem pasa moro biegie wan* (Wey 1798: 111)
3P PST ASP wear two-three time ago more big one
['Men droeg voor eenige tyd nog veel grooter.']
'Some time ago they wore bigger ones.'

b. *Joe abie tem passa* (Wey 1798: 107)
2S have time pass
['Gy hebt tyd over']
'You have time left.'

Furthermore, *passa* is found in the idiomatic expression *passa marki* literally PASS standard, meaning 'beyond the standard' in Van Dyk's (c1765) manual and Schumann's (1783) dictionary. Here, *passa* introduces a standard of comparison.

(76) a. *a wande worke te moese passa merki* (VD c1765: 85)
3P want work too much PASS standard
['hy wil meer Werk hebben als wy doen kennen']
'He wants to work (us) too much, beyond the standard.'

b. *a ha moni passa marki* (Sch 1783: 132)
3S have money PASS standard
['er hat erstaunlich viel Geld.']
'He has an incredibable amount of money.'

The phrase *passa marki* is listed as an independent entry in Schumann's (1783) dictionary, where is translated with *erstaunlich, über die Maasse*, meaning 'incredible, over the top'. I assume *passa marki* appears in these sources as an idiomatic expression, a relic, that may have had its origin in a serial verb construction. Support for this hypothesis is found in Eastern Maroon Creole. There, the serial equivalent of *passa* 'to pass; to overtake' introduces the standard of comparison.

6.3.2.1 Thematic role introducing SVCs in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

Migge (1998) distinguishes six thematic role introducing-type SVCs. The serial items are *gi* (< *gi* 'give'), *taki* (<*taki* 'say'), *moo* (< *moo* 'outdo'), *pasa* (*pasa* 'to pass, overtake'), *teki* (< *teki* 'take; to seize; to grab') and *tya* (< *tya* 'carry; hold'). *Teki* and *tya* have no equivalents in the sources of Early Sranan. Eastern Maroon Creole serial *teki* generally denotes that "its subject is actively, consciously and intentionally causing the change of the location, possession, or state denoted by the verb following it" (Migge 1998: 207). Eastern Maroon Creole serial *tya* may introduce a comitative role of the change of location-denoting verb following it. Early Sranan *tjari* only occurs in combination with verbs that may function as serial items, such as *go, kom*, *komopo*/*komoto* and *gi* in addition to functioning as as a main verb. An overview of the findings reported above is presented in table 6.14

Table 6.14 *Thematic role introducing SVCs in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

		EARLY SRANAN							EMC
		1707-1767	1718	1762	c1765	1770	1783	1798	
		CR	HL	SPT	VD	N	SCH	WEY	
gi	RECIPIENT BENEFICIARY	-	-	*gi, gie*	*gi*	-	*gi*	*gie*	*gi*
taki	THEME	-	*ta*	*takie*	*takki*	-	*takki*	*takie*	*taki*
moro	COMPARATIVE	-	-	-	-	-	*morro*	-	*moo*
pasa	COMPARATIVE	-	-	*passa*	-	-	*passa*	-	*pasa*
teki	'take'	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*teki*
tjari	'carry'	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*tya*

In addition to introducing recipient and beneficiary, Migge (1998) shows that Eastern Maroon Creole serial *gi* in juxtaposition with an utterance predicate such as 'say' or a propositional attitude predicate such as 'know' may be followed by a topic or theme. Constructions in which *gi* is preceded by a state verb, the phrase following *gi* may be interpreted as the experiencer of that state. Other roles that may be introduced by serial *gi* are purpose and possessor. No clear examples of serial *gi* introducing any of these roles are encountered in the sources of Early Sranan.

Furthermore, Migge investigates the categorial status of the serial items in Eastern Maroon Creole. *Teki* and *tya* are clearly verbal as they can be preceded by tense, mood, aspect or a negation marker and they further subcategorize for a subject argument. Moreover, the object of these verbs can be moved under focus as well as questioning and they can be predicate clefted. They cannot be pied-piped. Thus, they are verbal (Migge 1998: 229-230). On the other hand, the items *gi* and *moo* function as prepositions. They cannot be marked for tense, mood, aspect and negation and they do not take a subject. Furthermore, they cannot be predicate clefted. However, they may be stranded, a weak verbhood indicator. *Teki* and *pasa* hold intermediate positions on a verb-functional item continuum. *Teki* is relatively prepositional, whereas *pasa* is somewhat verbal. Both cannot be preceded by tense, mood, aspect or negation. They can be stranded, but they cannot be pied-piped. *Teki* cannot be predicate clefted, whereas *pasa* can be predicate clefted. The categorial status of these items in Eastern Maroon Creole is important for the Early Sranan findings as it may shed some light on why equivalents of *teki* and *tya* are not found in the sources. I assume that these items did occur in the basilectal varieties and perhaps in the mesolectal and acrolectal varieties of Early Sranan, but that they are not represented in the sources as the authors did not recognize their verbal nature. It might explain why serial items takes as a whole seem functional rather than verbal in the sources: the authors may have assumed that they were prepositions.

6.3.3 Resultative SVCs and paratactic constructions in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

The serial item of a resultative SVC derives from a verb denoting an action which results in a state. It indicates the result or limit of the action expressed by the

preceding verb. In Eastern Maroon Creole the possible serial items come from a relatively wide range of action denoting verbs which result in visible states such as *booko* 'to break', *piiti* 'to split, rip', *towe* 'to throw away', *koti* 'to cut' etc. The main verb of the SVC can be any action denoting verb that has an animate or active agent as its subject (Migge 1998).
None of the Early Sranan sources seem to have resultative SVCs: a search for serial equivalents of the Eastern Maroon Creole action denoting verbs listed above produced no results. As the range of verbs that may function as serial items is relatively wide in comparison with the other types of SVCs presented above and they are action denoting verbs, it is not always clear whether examples such as the ones in (78) are resultative SVCs or paratactic constructions, which also involve sequentially ordered actions.

(77) a. *fringi da appelsina, kissi hem bakka* (Sch 1783: 45)
throw the orange catch 3S.OBJ back
['wirf die Appelsine (als einen Ball) in die Höhe, u. fang sie wieder']
'Throw the orange (in the air), catch it again.'

b. *hem sweti tronn brudu, fadomm na grunn haihai* (Sch 1783: 56)
3S sweat turn blood fall.down LOC ground drop.REDUP
['sein Schweiss ward Blut, u. fiel Tropfenweiss auf die Erde']
'His sweat turned bloody, falling down to the ground in drops.'

c. *da meti mi sa kotti, platti gi une* (Sch 1783: 139)
that meat 1S FUT cut distribute give 2P
['das Fleische will ich zerschneiden u. unter euch austheilen']
'I will cut the meat, present it to you.'

Based on the criteria outlined in the introduction of this section, the examples in (77) are not SVCs, but paratactic constructions as they denote sequences of actions denoting different propositions. The second verb in the string modifies the event that is denoted by the first verb, as is clearly illustrated in (78).

(78) a. *kotti da klossi lange neffi krassi abere* (VD c1765: 111)
cut that cloth with knife cut over
['neemt u Mes en doed allemaal schuine sneejen in het Laaken']
'Cut the cloth with the knife diagonally.'

b. *a de siddom djonkò* od. *a de siddom huku* (Sch 1783: 32)
3S ASP sit.down nap / 3S ASP sit.down nap
['er sitzt u. nickt']
'He is sitting and napping.'

Arends (1995: 36) suggests that the second *ben* in the Herlein (1718) example in (79a) below may be interpreted as a misprint as Nepveu (1770) corrects it with *sendi* 'send' (79b); it would then precede the verb *hakese/hakisi* 'to ask' in a (*seni*-type) SVC.

(79) a. *no mie ben benakese ta entre ples à reddi wen* (Hl 1718: 122)
NEG 1S PST send-ask say other please again ?
['Neen ik heb al by een ander late vragen of 't haar beliefde dat ik zou komen']
'No, I have send already to ask someone else if it would please her'

b. *no mi sendi hakisi, na tara plessi a reddi* (N 1770: 274)
NEG 1S send ask LOC other please/place already
'No, I already asked somewhere else' or:
'No, I already asked someone else if it would please her'

I agree with Arends (1995) that *ben* in (79a) may be viewed as a misprint for *seni*; the following example from Weygandt's language manual shows that *seni* may be shortened to *sen* in combination with *aksi* 'to ask; question'. So Herlein's example in (79a) is off by only one letter.

(80) *Miesie Annaatje ben sen aksie mie ofoe mie sa dé na hoso* (Wey 1798: 122)
miss Anna PST send ask 1S if 1S FUT COP LOC house
['Juffrouw Annaatje heeft my belet laten vragen.']
'Miss Anna sent (someone) to ask me if I'll be at home.'

This type of construction is found in Herlein (1718), Nepveu (1770), Schumann (1783) and Weygandt (1798), but not in Van Dyk's (c1765) manual. In the latter, *zende,* a variant of *seni,* takes a non-finite subordinate clause. Compare (81a) and (81b).

(81) a. *Mie sa senie kalie em* (Wey 1798: 106)
1S FUT send call 3S.OBJ
['Ik zal hem laaten roepen']
'I will send (for someone to) call him.'

b. *Zende wan zomma fo go kalli hem* (VD c1765: 93)
send a person to go call 3S.OBJ
['Zend 'er een na toe die hem roept']
'Send someone to call him.'

The latter type of construction may be representative of the variety of Early Sranan that is associated with the 'old' English plantations on the banks of the Commewijne River.

6.4 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are subordinate clauses that have an adverb-like function in modifying the main clause. Several types of adverbial clauses are presented below, ranging from temporal clauses to causal clauses. Adverbial clauses are introduced by an initial conjunction or the adverbial function is recovered from the context. That the presence of a conjunction is not obligatory was already observed by Schumann (1783), who remarks that "nicht nur das wenn (so wohl "teh" als "effi"), sondern auch verschiedene andere kleine Verbindungswörter, als: und, dass, so pp. werden in der Negersprache sehr oft gans ausgelassen" ['not only *when* (both "teh" and "effi"), but also several other small conjunctions such as *and, that, so* are very often left out in the speech of the blacks'] (Schumann 1783: 177). All adverbial clauses are finite.

6.4.1 Time clauses

Time clauses are those adverbial clauses that express a temporal relation with the main clause. The common conjunctions introducing a time clause in the Early Sranan sources are *datem* 'when', *te*(*h*) 'when; until' and *disi* 'when'. They occur in clause-initial position; the clause can precede or follow the main clause. This is illustrated by the (a) examples and (b) examples of (82), (83) and (84) respectively.

(82) a. *da tem dem com na fotto dem sa moessoe go rettie na granman* (SPT 1762: art 9)
when 3P come LOC fort 3P FUT must go right LOC chief
['welk sij ten eersten en direct bij den Heer Gouverneur sullen addresseeren']
'When they come to Paramaribo, they will have to go straight to the governor.'

b. *dem boesie Saramaca sa moessoe gie dem bakka da tem dem com na*
the.PL bush Saramaka FUT must give 3P back when 3P come LOC

dem han (SPT 1762: art 9)
the.PL/their hand
'The Bush Saramaka should return them when they fall into their hands.'

(83) a. *teh ju kissi janda, drai huku* (Sch 1783: 69)
when 2S catch there turn corner
['so drehe um die Ecke herum']
'When you get there, turn the corner.'

b. *Oeplee Primo dee datie a no dee kon tee mie kalie em* (Wey 1798: 109)
Q-place P. COP that 3S NEG ASP come when 1S call 3S.OBJ
['Waar is Primo dat hy niet komt wanneer ik hem roep?']
'Where is Primo? He is not coming when I call him.'

(84) a. *di mi si hem, mi skreki* (Sch 1783: 157)
when 1S see 3S.OBJ 1S startle
['so wie ich ihn sah erschrack ich.']
'When I saw him, I had a bit of a fright.'

b. *ary fadom trange disi mi de na gron* (VD c1765: 70-71)
rain fall.down strong when 1S COP LOC ground
[' 't heeft zwaar Gereegend']
'It rained heavily, when I was at the grounds.'

In the examples presented above, *datem*, *te(h)* and *di(si)* clearly are adverbializers, as they modify the entire proposition and they are not coreferential. Alternatively, *datem* and *di(si)* can function as relativizers, introducing a subordinate clause that modifies a noun phrase (Bruyn 1995). The source of adverbializing *da()tem* 'when' may be an Early Sranan relative clause with a lexical head noun (*tem*) that is not marked by a conjunction (Bruyn 1995). Alternatively, it may stem from the adverb *da()tem* '(at) that time; then' (Bruyn 1995). Although the source of adverbializing *datem* 'when' is unclear, the examples from the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty given in (84) above provide additional support for the conclusion of Bruyn (1995), that is *datem* had already grammaticalized by the mid-18th century. Moreover, Schumann (1783: 27) presents *datem* 'when' and *teh* 'when; until' as interchangeable variants, as already discussed by Bruyn (1995: 180). The examples are reproduced below for the reader's convenience.

(85) a. *datem mi ben de, mi no si ju* (Sch 1783: 27)
when 1S PST COP 1S NEG see 2S
['als ich da war, sahe ich dich nicht']
'When I was there, I didn't see you.'

b. *teh mi ben de,* id. (Sch 1783: 27)
when 1S PST COP idem.dito (Latin)
'When I was there, ...'

The conjunction *te(h)* 'when; until' is related to the preposition *te(h)* 'until' (see section 2.6). It may be derived from Portuguese *até* 'until', or Kikongo (*na*)*té* (Bruyn 1995: 180). It is thus not surprising that *te(h)* can introduce extent clauses as well as time adverbials (see 6.4). In Schumann's Sranan – German dictionary the *teh*-clause that precedes the main clause denotes temporal circumstance (translated as German *wenn* 'when'), whereas the adverbial following the main clause expresses a temporal limit or degree (German *biss* 'until'), see examples (86a) and (86b).

(86) a. *teh ju sa oure, ju skin sa hebbi tu* (Sch 1783: 128)
when 2S FUT old 2S body FUT heavy too
['wenn du alt werden wirst, wirst du auch unbehülflich seyn']
'When you will grow old, your body will get burdensome too.'

b. *tann, têh mi (sa) komm* (Sch 1783: 178)
stay until 1S FUT come
['warte, biss ich komme(n werde)']
'Wait, until I (will) come.'

Schumann (1783) makes no reference to a difference in meaning in relation to a different position of the adverbial clause. Instead, he describes a difference in phonology, which is indicated by the diacritical marker on top of the vowel: "Es ist ein Unterschied zwischen *teh* u. *têh*; nemlich: *teh*; d.i. wenn es kurz ausgesprochen wird, heisst: wenn, als, da. Aber: *têh*; d.i. wenn es gedehnt wird, heisst: bis, so lange, als" ['there is a difference between *teh* and *têh*, namely *teh*, pronounced with a short vowel, means 'when; since'. But *têh*, pronounced with a drawl, means 'until; as long as; if'.] (Schumann 1783: 176). However, the conjunction *têh* (with the diacritic) always introduces an extent adverbial, following the main clause in Schumann's dictionary (87a), whereas the conjunction *teh* (without the diacritic) occurs mainly in adverbials preceding the main clause (87b), except for a couple of examples in which *teh* introduces a circumstance adverb clause that follows the main clause, see section 6.4.9.

(87) a. *tann nanga da worko, têh sonn komm koure haffo* (Sch 1783: 161)
stay with that work until sun come cold little
['wart mit der Arbeit, bis es ein wenig kuhlen wird']
'Wait with the work, until the sun is less strong.'

b. *teh a si mi, a putti futu wantem* (Sch 1783: 48)
when 3S see 1S 3S put feet at.once
['so bald er mich sahe, lief er davon']
'As soon as he saw me, he took off at once.'

Schumann compares *teh* with *effi* 'if; or', that can be used as a conjunction introducing conditional adverbials (see section 6.2.2.5), describing the difference in meaning as follows: "Ist dat wenn bedingungsweise (conditionale), so heist es: *effi*; bezieht es sich aber blos auf die Zeit (temporale), so heisst es: "teh"." ['If *wenn* has a conditional meaning, it is translated with *effi*; if it is primarily temporal, then it is *teh*.'] (Schumann 1783: 176). These observations confirm that the *te(h)*-clause (without the diacritic) preceding the main clause primarily has a temporal meaning.

In the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762) the conjunction is not marked to indicate whether it is introducing a time adverbial or an extent adverb clause. However, the preposition differs from the conjunction: the preposition is *thee* 'until', whereas the conjunction is represented as *te(e)* 'when; until'. The author Louis Nepveu might have perceived a difference in pronunciation, and assumed that it was caused by a difference in word category.

In general the difference between the time adverbial and the extent adverbial is not marked on the conjunction in Weygandt's (1798) language manual: the forms *tee, té* and *te* introduce both types of adverbial clauses (except for *te*; this form is

encountered only once with a time adverb clause). The position of the adverb clause, however, reveals whether it should be interpreted as a time adverbial or an extent adverbial. The examples in (88) illustrate the time adverbial, the ones in (89) exemplify the extent adverbial.

(88) a. *tee mie njam kaba, dan mie dee doe diesie ofoe datie* (Wey 1798: 145)
when 1S eat already then 1S ASP do this or that
['naar 't ontbyt hield ik my met de eene of andere bezigheden op']
'When I have eaten, I then do this or that.'

b. *té mie kmopo déda plesie dan mie dé go baka na hoso*
when 1S come.out there-that place then 1S ASP go back LOC house
['van daar, ging ik dan weer naar 't woonhuis'] (Wey 1798: 135)
'When I leave there, that place, I am then going back home.'

c. *te mie driengie coffi kaba dan mie dé go lesie ofoe scriefie, tee negie joeroe,*
when 1S drink coffy already then 1S ASP go read or write until nine hour

dan mie de go didon (Wey 1798: 143)
then 1S ASP go lie.down
['na het Coffydrinken, leesde of schryfde ik 't eene en 't andere tot negen uuren, wanneer ik my ter ruste begaf']
'When I finish drinking coffee, then I read or write, until nine o' clock, then I take a nap.'

(89) a. *Mie sa fom den tee den dédee?* (Wey 1798: 71)
1S FUT punish 3P until 3P die/dead
['Zal ik hun tot de dood toe straffen?']
` 'Shall I punish them until they die?'

b. *jannaso Klakoen diesie de balie té den dee lon na den wefie baka*
yonder-so turkey REL ASP call when 3P ASP run LOC the.PL female back
['ginds Kalkoensehaanen, al klokkende hunne wyfjes naloopen']
(Wey 1798: 134-135)
'Over there, turkeys that are calling when they are chasing the females.'

Note that *te/té/tee* 'when' introducing a time adverbial occurs more often than not with the correlating adverb *dan* 'then' in main clause initial position. In line with the findings reported above for Schumann's dictionary, time adverbials usually occur preceding the main clause whereas extent clauses follow the main clause.

In the description of plantation life, the conjunction *te* is used frequently with time adverbials denoting habitual actions characterizing the joys of living on a plantation (89b, 90).

(90) *tee mie siedon so dan den Nengree diesie dee siekie dé kon na mie*
when 1S sit.down so then the.PL black REL ASP sick ASP come LOC 1S
['een wyl aldus gezeten hebbende, komen de Zieke Slaaven, die met onderscheide kwaalen behebt zyn'] (Wey 1798: 135)
'When I am sitting like that (or: for a while), then the blacks that are sick come to me.'

Weygandt's (1798) language manual is the only source in which the conjunctions *foe* 'for; to' and *tee* 'when; until' occur in juxtaposition.

(91) *Mekie mie kiesie wan boen brekie foe tee mie komopo na gron,*
make 1S get a good breakfast for when 1S come.out LOC ground

mie kan n'jam (Wey 1798: 128)
1S can eat
['Zorgt dat er een goe ontbyt gereed is tegens dat ik uit het veld komt']
'Make me a good breakfast so when I leave the grounds I can eat.'

The conjunction *di(si)*, originally a demonstrative, has various functions and meanings: it can be used to introduce causal, concessive and temporal adverb clauses (Bruyn 1995). Here, I'll briefly discuss *di(si)* introducing time adverbials. Cause adverbials and concessive adverbials are discussed in section 6.4.4 and 6.4.9 respectively. The temporal function of *disi* was already established in the mid-18th century (Bruyn 1995: 187), see for example (84b) above. Schumann distinguishes *di* from *dissi*; they are listed as separate entries in his dictionary. *Dissi* is labeled a *pronomen demonstrativum et relativum*, *di* is translated as follows: "*di*, (dieser, diese, dieses; aber nur selten hat es diese Bedeutung. s. *dissi*.) 'da', 'indem'." ['*di,* (this; but it rarely has this meaning, see *dissi*), 'as', 'by"] (Schumann 1783: 32). In Weygandt's manual, only *diesie* is encountered (92); no equivalent of *di* is found in this source.

(92) *Den ben moesoe go toe froekoe na gron, biefosie den ben tron Drictoro,*
3P PST must go too early LOC ground before 3P PST turn director

en diesie den ben dé mara Bakrabasja (Wey 1798: 132)
and when 3P PST be but white-overseer
['Men heeft ook vroeg naar 't veld moeten gaan, voor men Directeur geworden is, en toen men maar Blankofficier was']
'They too had to go early to the grounds, before they became directors, and when they were only white-overseers.'

Other conjunctions that introduce adverbials expressing temporal sequence are *bevo* 'before' (< English *before*) or *biefosie* 'before', *(na) baka (diesie)* 'after (REL)' and *sensi* 'since' (< English *since*). The main clause can precede or follow the clause headed by *befo/biefosie* 'before', although the former occurs more often than the latter. Examples are given in (93).

(93) a. *<u>be fo</u> joe dore da pranasie romboute fossi wan kom dotti bakke* (...)
before 2S continue the plantation encircle first-one come dirty again
['eêr je de Grond rond bent, is het eerste al weêr eeven vuil']
(VD c1765: 87)
'Before you have gone round the plantation, the first one becomes weedy again (...).'

b. *Gado de sabi alla membre va wi, <u>bevo</u> wi pulu muffe na tongo*
god ASP know all thought of 1P before 1P pull word LOC tongue
['Gott weiss alle unsre Gedanken, ehe wir sie aussprechen'] (Sch 1783: 116)
'God knows all our thoughts, (even) before we articulate them.'

c. *Fiegie joe mofo <u>biefo</u> joe driengie* (Wey 1798: 95)
wipe 2S mouth before 2S drink
['Veeg uw mond af, eer gy drinkt']
'Wipe your mouth, before you drink.'

d. *Den ben moesoe go toe froekoe na gron, <u>biefosie</u> den ben tron Drictoro* (...)
3P PST must go too early LOC ground before 3P PST turn director
['Men heeft ook vroeg naar 't veld moeten gaan, voor men Directeur geworden is, (...)'] (Wey 1798: 132)
'They too had to go early to the grounds, before they became director (...)'

The item *biefosie* 'before' found in Weygandt's language manual may find its origin in a merger of the two time adverbs *fossi* 'first' and *befo* 'before'. Alternatively, it may be modelled on *bikasi* 'because' (see 6.4.4). The form is not an idiosyncrasy of Weygandt. It is also encountered in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762), in which it functions not as a conjunction, but as a time adverb (see 2.5.5.1). No examples of *bevo/biefosie* adverbials including a negation or a negative polarity item are encountered in the sources.[130]

The time adverbial introduced by the conjuction *(na) baka (diesie)* literally (LOC/the) back (this) meaning 'after (when)' is encountered in the late 18th century sources only, see (94). In the early and mid-18th century sources *(na) baka* primarily has a locative ('behind; back'), a repetitive ('again') or a reciprocal meaning ('back').

[130] The semantic fact that the event in the time adverbial headed by *before* is always incomplete with respect to the main clause event, is reflected in many languages in the way the negation is expressed in the adverbial. English *before*-adverbials cannot occur with the negative *not*, but they can occur with items such as *any* or *ever* (Thompson & Longacre 1985: 183). From a comparative point of view it would have been interesting to find out if this was also possible in Early Sranan.

(94) a. *ma dem pulu alla hudu fossi, <u>na baka</u> dem lutu dem tombu, bevo dem planti*
but 3P remove all wood first after 3P uproot the.PL trunk before 3P plant
(Sch 1783: 184)
'But they remove all the wood first, after uprooting the tree trunks, before planting.'

b. *<u>Na baka diesie</u> wie pley kaba wie go kuyrie* (Wey 1798: 100)
LOC after REL 1P play finish 1P go stroll
['Daar na, toen wy uitgespeeld hadden gingen wy wandelen.']
'After we finished playing, we went for a stroll.'

The conjunction *sensi* 'since' (< English *since*) introduces time adverbials that can precede or follow the main clause.

(95) a. *<u>Sensie</u> da tem en so té dorro té goo nembre wantem dem sa holie wan*
since then and so until through until go never once 3P FUT hold one
(SPT 1762: art 5)
'From that moment until forever they shall never keep one.'

b. *<u>zensi</u> a de na pranasi a habi morre likki drie ten tien homan* (...)
since 3S COP LOC plantation 3S have more like thirty woman
['Zoo lang hy op de Plantagie geweest is, heeft hy al meer als Dertig Vrouwen gehad'] (VD c1765: 65)
'Since he has been on the plantation, he has had over thirty women (...).'

c. *"tu" jari, no morro, passa, <u>sinsi</u> mi kommotto janda* (Sch 1783: 115)
two year NEG more pass since 1S come.out yonder
['es sind nur erst 2 Jahr, es ist noch nicht über 2 Jahr, seitdem ich von dort wegbin']
'Two years have past, no more, since I came from (that place) over there.'

Below an overview of the conjunctions introducing various types of time adverb clauses is presented. In the following section the Early Sranan conjuctions are compared with their Eastern Maroon Creole counterparts, which are represented in the righthand column of the table.

Table 6.15 *Conjunctions introducing time clauses in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

MOD. SRANAN	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
	1707-1767	1718	1762	C1765	1770	1783	1798	
	CR	HIL	SPT	VD	N	SCH	WEY	
datem 'when'	-	-	*datem*	*da tem*	-	*datem*	*da()tem*	-
te 'when; until'	-	-	*te, tee*	*te, tee*	-	*teh*	*te, té, tee*	*te* 'when'
di 'when'	-	-	-	*disi*	-	*di, disi*	*diesie*	*di* 'when'
befo 'before'	-	-	-	*be fo, befo befou, befon*	-	*bevo*	*biefo biefosie*	*fosi* 'before'
(*na*) *baka* (*disi*)	-	-	-	-	-	*na baka*	*na baka diesie*	*(na) baka (di)*
sensi 'since'	-	-	*sensie*	*zensi*	-	*sinsi*	-	*sensi* 'since'

6.4.1.1 Time clauses in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

Eastern Maroon Creole adverbial clauses are described in detail in section 1.1.2.4 of the Ndyuka grammar (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 109 - 128). Whereas the most common conjunctions introducing time adverb clauses in the Early Sranan sources are *da()tem* 'when', *te*(*h*) 'when; until' and *di*/*disi* 'when', the most common Eastern Maroon Creole time clause conjunctions are *di* 'when' and *te* 'when' (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 110-111). An Eastern Maroon Creole equivalent of the conjunction *da()tem* is not reported (Huttar & Huttar 1994; Goury 2003). However, as *datem* is found in several (types of) sources introducing temporal adverbials and it is used in these sources in a consistent manner, it must have been a feature of Early Sranan that did not survive, as it is also not encountered in contemporary Sranan (Bruyn 1995).[131]

The Early Sranan conjunctions *te*(*h*) 'when; until' and *di*/*disi* 'when' each have an equivalent in Eastern Maroon Creole. Similar to the findings noted above relating to Early Sranan *te(h)*, a *te*-clause preceding the EMC main clause connotes temporal or logical circumstance ('when'), whereas a *te*-clause following the main clause expresses a temporal limit or extent ('until') (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 110-111). Moreover, an intonation difference sets apart the EMC conjunction introducing the time adverbial from the one introducing the extent clause: "The *te* of the extent clause is bound phonologically to the end of the initial superordinate clause in that *te* gets high pitch followed by a short pause; the pitch of the following adverbial clause is lower. (By contrast, the usual pattern is that the subordinate conjunction is preceded by a short pause.)" (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 122). Thus, the intonation difference is caused by high pitch. Schumann may well have used the diacritical marker (*têh)* to indicate high pitch in Early Sranan. Furthermore, the EMC conjunction *te* is used with time

[131] Note that Fongbe 'when' clauses have the structure of relative clauses, consisting of a nominal head (*hwènu* 'time') and a definite determiner (Lefebvre & Brousseau 2002).

adverbials connoting habitual (and irrealis) actions, so the repeated use of the conjuction *te* in the description of the daily routine of a plantation owner in Weygandt's language manual is expected: it underlines that the events described in the subordinate clause are habitual.

While the conjunction *te* introduces time clauses expressing habitual and irrealis actions, time clauses connoting realis completed and anticipated actions are marked by the conjunction *di* 'when'. They precede the main clause in Eastern Maroon Creole (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 110-111). Although there are examples in the sources that support a similar distinction in Early Sranan, examples such as (96) show that the difference between clauses introduced by *te(h)* or *di(si)* is not as great as in Eastern Maroon Creole.

(96) a. *di mi si hem, mi skreki* (Sch 1783: 157)
when 1S see 3S.OBJ 1S startle
['so wie ich ihn sah erschrack ich.']
'When I saw him, I had a bit of a fright.'

b. *teh a si mi, a putti futu wantem* (Sch 1783: 48)
when 3S see 1S 3S put feet once
['so bald er mich sahe, lief er davon']
'As soon as he saw me, he took off at once.'

The meaning 'before' is conveyed by two different conjunctions in Eastern Maroon Creole, namely *fosi* 'before' and *te fu* 'before'. The former is used with events that actually happened, the latter is used with events that can happen (Huttar & Huttar 1995: 112). Although there is one example of the conjunction *biefosie* 'before' that bares a certain resemblance to EMC *fosi*, the preferred conjunction in the Early Sranan sources is (a variant of) *bevo* 'before', conveying both the realis and the hypothetical meaning. The item *fossi* 'first' functions as a time adverb meaning 'first' or as an ordinal numeral (see chapter 2). No equivalents of the Eastern Maroon Creole conjunction *te fu* 'before' are found in the Early Sranan sources.

In Eastern Maroon Creole, universal time is expressed with the conjunction *winsi/wansi* 'no matter ...' and a time expression such as *on ten* 'which time', *on dei* 'which day', or *on yuu* 'which hour' in Eastern Maroon Creole (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 113). Equivalents of this construction are not encountered in the sources, instead (variants of) *alla()tem* lit. all-time 'always' indicate universal time.

6.4.2 Locative clauses

Locative adverbials are introduced by (variants of) the conjunction *(na) dape* lit. at the/that place 'thereat; where', which may also appear as *(na) da plesie* lit. that/the place 'thereat; where', see examples (97) and (98) respectively. The short form is more

grammaticalized than the long form, both derive from English *place*. Note that the examples below could alternatively be analyzed as zero-marked relative clauses.[132]

(97) a. *Ai da* <u>*da ply*</u> *mi kommote* (VD c1765: 35)
yes FOC the place 1S come.out
['Ja Myn Heer om u te Dienen'][133]
'Yes, that is where I come from.'

b. *a hele grunn musse komm reti;* <u>*dipeh*</u> *heh, a musse sakka,*
3S whole ground must come right where be.high 3S must lower

<u>*dipeh*</u> *lo, a musse hoppo* (Sch 1783: 133)
where be.low 3S must increase
['dieses ganze Stück Land muss gleich u. eben werden; wo es hoch ist, muss abgetragen werden, u. wo es niedrig ist, muss erhöht werden.']
'The whole ground must become even; where it is high it must be lowered, where it is low, it must be raised.'

(98) a. *Dem sa moessoe tan libie de* <u>*na da plessie*</u> *dem habie dem condre dissi tem*
3P FUT must stay live there LOC the place 3P have 3P country this time
['Sij sullen blijven woonen daar sij nu sijn'] (SPT 1762: art. 3)
'They will have to remain where they now have their villages.'

b. (...) *dan mie dee go na gron ofoe* <u>*da pleesie*</u> *den Nengree dee wroko, foe sie (...)*
then 1S ASP go LOC ground or the place the.PL black ASP work to see
['(...) ging ik dan naar 't Veld, of daar de Negers bezig waren te werken, naziende (...)'] (Wey 1798: 137)
'(...) I then go to the plots or where the blacks are working, to see (...).'

Similar to the conjunctions *da()tem* and *di(si)*, *dapeh/daplessie* can function as an adverb 'there', a relative marker of headed relative clauses, a free relativizer and as a conjunction introducing adverbial clauses (Bruyn 1995: 181-184, see also chapter 4). In relation to its function as an introducer of locative adverbial clauses, Schumann (1783: 27) remarks that *(na) dapeh* is not used in indirect questions: "wenn es nicht fragweise steht" ['when it is not phrased as a question']. Locative indirect questions are marked by (variants of) the question word *(na) hupeh* lit. LOC Q-place 'where?' (see section 5.3). However, Bruyn (1995: 182) reports that Schumann's Gospel text contains a few examples of *na hupeh* 'where' introducing an adverbial clause. Although

[132] The difference between zero-marked relative clauses and conjunctions or free relatives may be seen as productive relative clause formation versus the use of more or less grammaticalized items that are pronominal or adverbial rather than fully nominal (Bruyn 1995: 162). As the findings suggest that the items *datem* and *dapeh/daplessi* and their variants are more adverbial than fully nominal in the Early Sranan sources, I treat them here as conjunctions introducing time and locative clauses.
[133] The Dutch translation is not a literal conversion of the Sranan sentence, but a polite reply (*om u te dienen* 'to serve you') confirming the basic assumption of the preceding question.

dipeh lit. this-place 'where' is encountered only in Schumann's work and not in the other sources, the forms *da* and *di*, both determiners with demonstrative value, are common with relativizers (Bruyn 1995).

Table 6.16 *Conjunctions introducing locative clauses in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

MOD. SRANAN	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
	1707-1767	1718	1762	c1765	1770	1783	1798	
	CR	HL	SPT	VD	N	SCH	WEY	
pe 'where'	-	-	*na da plessie*	*da ply*	-	*dapeh dipeh*	*daplessie*	*pe* 'where'

6.4.2.1 Locative clauses in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

The Eastern Maroon Creole locative adverbial clause is introduced by the conjunction *pe* 'where' and it can precede or follow the main clause (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 123; Goury 2003). As Bruyn (1995) documents the complete disappearance of (free) relativizers containing *da* and the near-disappearance of those containing *di* in contemporary Sranan, Eastern Maroon Creole *pe* may have been subject to the same processes of reduction, merging and innovation identified by Bruyn (1995) that have shaped the contemporary Sranan relativizers. Emphasis on the location is expressed in EMC by clefting of the locative adverbial (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 124), similar to the Early Sranan example (55a) above. Universal time is expressed by the phrase *ala pe* lit. all where 'everywhere' at the beginning of the adverb clause (Huttar & Huttar 1995: 124). Schumann (1783: 6) translates *allapeh* lit. all where 'everywhere' as German *überall* 'everywhere', but no exemplifying sentences with adverb clauses are found in this source or in the others.

6.4.3 Manner clauses

Subordinate manner clauses are introduced by (variants of) the conjunction *(leki) (hu/so) fa* lit. like (how/so) manner '(like) (Q) how' as in (99) or (*so*) *leki* '(so) like'. Manner clauses marked by *(leki) (hu/so) fa* always follow the main clause.

(99) a. *mi takki joe retti zo fa mie ben jerri* (VD c1765: 79)
1S talk 2S right so how 1S PST hear
['ik zeg net zoo als ik het gehoord heb']
'I am telling you just like I heard it.'

b. *mi za takki hoe fa joe za doe* (VD c1765: 64)
1S FUT talk Q how 2S FUT do
['ik zal je raad geeven, hoe dat je zal doen']
'I will tell you how you will do.'

c. *du so, <u>leki hufa</u> mi takki gi ju* (Sch 1783: 100)
do so like Q-how 1S talk GIVE 2S
['thue so, als wie ich dir sage']
'Do what I tell you to do.'

d. (...) *dan mie sa takie gie joe, tee wie dee smoko wan piepa, <u>fa</u> planasie liebie*
then 1S FUT talk GIVE 2S when 1P ASP smoke a pipe how plantation life

dee, <u>lekie fa</u> mie ben dé liebie dan (Wey 1798: 133)
COP like how 1S PST ASP live at-least
['(...) wil ik u wel (...) een schets van 't Plantagie – leeven geeven, ten minsten zo als ik geleefd heb.']
'(...) then I will tell you, when we are smoking a pipe, how plantation life is, at least how I experienced it.'

Similar to *da()tem/di(si)* and *dapeh/daplessie*, the item *fa* 'how; manner' (< *fasi* 'manner' < English *fashion*) can be used to derive relativizers and question words marking questions and embedded interrogative clauses (Bruyn 1995). It can be difficult to distinguish an embedded interrogative from an adverbial manner clause (see for example the first *fa* in (99d)), because interrogative *fa* can occur with and without the question particle and an overt initial question particle marks not only embedded interrogatives (99c, d).

The combination of the adverb *so* 'so; thus' and *fa* 'how; manner' appears to have been grammaticalized in the variety represented in Schumann's dictionary. It is presented as a discrete entry and translated as '*dieweil, darum-weil, indem; in so fern*', meaning 'while, whereas, because, as far as'. Thus, the presentation of *sofa* is very different from *sofasi* lit. so-manner ['*auf die Art, auf solche Art*'] 'in that manner; in such manner' (Schumann 1783: 159) from which it is originally derived. Moreover, several examples show that *sofa* can be used to indicate that the manner described in the adverbial is also the cause of the state or event described in the following main clause, see (100). This use of *sofa* is restricted to Schumann's work. It is not encountered in the other sources meaning 'whereas', although it is found meaning 'so like' as in (99a) above.

(100) a. *<u>sofa</u> mi wan kattibo, mi no kann du sanni mi wanni* (Sch 1783: 159)
while 1S a slave 1S NEG can do thing 1S want
['darum, weil ich ein Sclave bin, kan ich nicht thun, was ich will']
Because I am a slave, I cannot do anything I want.'

b. *<u>sofa</u> mi no libi na fotto, mi no sabi fasi va une* (Sch 1783: 166)
while 1S NEG live LOC fort 1S NEG know manner of 2P
['weil ich nicht hier an Paramaribo wohne, so weiss ich eure Einrichtungen u. Gewohnheiten nicht']
'Because I don't live in Paramaribo, I know not of your ways.'

Manner clauses introduced by (*so*) *leki* usually follow the main clause (101), but they are also encountered preceding the main clause (102).

(101) a. *bakara sa kan kissie dem en straffe dem so allekie dem doe tarra friman*
white FUT kan catch 3P and punish 3P so like 3P do other free man
['gelijk de blanke ook bevoegt zijn omme alle die van hen bij de blanke pexeeren te vangen en te straffen'] (SPT 1762: art. 11)
'The whites will be able to catch them and punish them just like they do other free men.'

b. *mi doe alle zanti lieke mi wandi* (VD c1765: 55)
1S do every thing like 1S want
['ik doe alles zoo als ik wil']
'I do everything the way I want it.'

c. *du so, leki mi takki gi ju* (Sch 1783: 100)
do so like 1S talk give 2S
['thue so, wie ich dir sage']
'Do so as I tell you.'

d. *Joe moesoe loekoe boen datie den Nengree doe da wroko soo lekie mie ben takie*
2S must look well that the.PL black do that work so like 1S PST talk

gie joe na passie (Wey 1798: 130)
give 2S LOC road
['Je moet wel toezien dat de Negers het werk uitvoeren zo als ik je onderwegens belast hebt']
'You must take care that the blacks do the work the way I have told you on the road.'

(102) *So alekı bakra poti da santi gi dem, a boen na dem* (SPT 1762: art. 5)
so like white put the thing give 3P 3S good LOC 3P
'The way the Whites propose it to them, it is alright with them.'

As the adverb *so* 'so; thus' is often associated with *leki* as in (101a, c-d) and (102), it is not surprising that they constitute a single word in contemporary Sranan (*soleki* 'like'). In particular the co-occurence of these two items introducing the adverb clause that precedes in the main clause as in (60) may have been a boost to the reanalysis of these two items as a single word. On the other hand, this may an effect rather than a source. This process was clearly not completed in the 18th century: in several sources *leki* occurs with and without *so* in similar contexts. Furthermore, Schumann (1783) systematically separates them by a comma, indicating that *so* belongs to the main clause and *leki* is part of the subordinate clause (102c).

Table 6.17 *Conjunctions introducing manner clauses in the Early Sranan sources and Eastern Maroon Creole*

MOD. SRANAN	EARLY SRANAN 1707-1767 CR	1718 HL	1762 SPT	c1765 VD	1770 N	1783 SCH	1798 WEY	EMC
(soleki) fa 'how'	-	-	-	*fa* *hoe fa*	-	*hufa* *(so) leki hufa*	*fa* *(zo) lekie fa* *lekie fo*	*enke fa* 'how'
soleki 'like'	-	-	*so aleki* *so alleki* *so(o) allekie* *so allequi*	*(zo) liki* *(zoo) likki* *lieki* *lieke*	-	*alleki* *so, leki*	*soo lekie* *zo lekie*	*enke* 'like'

6.4.3.1 Manner clauses in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

EMC manner clauses are introduced by the conjunction (*enke) fa* lit. like manner '(like) how' which can be modified by *leti* 'just' (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 113). The Early Sranan equivalent of EMC *leti* modifying the conjunction is *retti* 'just; right' (< English *right*) as in (100a). However, this use of *retti* 'just; right' is restricted to Van Dyk's (c1765) manual; it is not encountered in the other sources. Thus, it is confirmation that the variety of Early Sranan in Van Dyk's (c1765) manual is associated with the 'old' English plantations on the banks of the Commewijne River.

The EMC adverbial introduced by *enke fa* 'how' denotes an equation of manner. It can only follow the main clause, whereas the *fa*-clause can precede or follow the main clause (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 113). The Early Sranan examples presented above show that not every *leki fa*-clause describes an equation of manner and that this function can also be performed by a (*hu-*) *fa*-clause or a (*so*) *leki*-clause. While the (*so*) *leki*-clause may precede or follow the main clause, the *leki fa*-clause and the (*hu-*) *fa*-clause follow the main clause (sentences headed by (*hu-*) *fa* are either questions or exclamations, see chapter 7). Schumann (1783: 100) presents the following examples to illustrate the difference between the *leki*-clause and the *leki (hu)fa*-clause:

(103) a. *du so, <u>leki</u> mi takki gi ju* (Sch 1783: 100)
do so like 1S say give 2S
['thue so, wie ich dir sage']
'Do as I tell you.'

b. *du so, <u>leki hufa</u> mi takki gi ju* (Sch 1783: 100)
do so like Q-manner 1S say give 2S
['thue so, als wie ich dir sage']
'Do as in the way that I tell you.'

6.4.4 Purpose and reason clauses

Purpose adverb clauses and reason adverb clauses follow or precede the main clause in the Early Sranan sources; they are introduced by variants of the conjunction *fu*, see (104), which can also be used as a complementizer (see section 6.2.1.1).

(104) a. *dem sa moessoe sendie takie na granman foe à can sabie offoe à boen*
3P FUT must send word LOC governor for 3S can know if 3S good
['Sij sullen opgeeven (...), om van de regering geapprobeert en erkent te worden'] (SPT 1762: art. 4)
'They will have to send word to the governor, so (that) he can determine if it is good.'

b. *Wan zomma kom fo takki lange joe* (VD c1765: 24)
a person come to talk with 2S
['Daar is iemand om uw te spreeken']
'A person has come to speak to you.'

c. *putti da klossi na sonn, va a dre* (Sch 1783: 35)
put that clothes LOC sun for 3S dry
['leg die Wäsche in die Sonne, damit sie trockne']
'Put the laundry in the sun for it to dry.'

Although both types of clauses provide explanations for the occurrence of the main event described in the main clause, reason clauses differ from purpose clauses in that the latter express a motivating event which must be unrealized at the time of the main event described in the main clause, whereas reason clauses express a motivating event which may be realized at the time of the main clause event (Thompson & Longacre 1985: 185). No instances of reason adverbials marked by any other conjunction than *fu* are encountered in the sources, although a relative clause modifying the noun *he(d)di(e)* 'head; reason; cause' can be used to describe the reason (or cause) for a certain event.

Table 6.18 *Conjunctions introducing purpose clauses in the Early Sranan sources and Eastern Maroon Creole*

MOD. SRANAN	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
	1707-1767	1718	1762	c1765	1770	1783	1798	
	CR	HIL	SPT	VD	N	SCH	WEY	
fu 'for'	-	-	*foe* *foú* *fou*	*fo*	-	*va* *vo*	*foe*	*fu/fi* 'for; of'

6.4.4.1 Purpose and reason clauses in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

The EMC purpose clause is marked by *fu* 'for; of', although it occasionally occurs without this conjunction. Furthermore, the adverbial purpose clause usually follows

the main clause, but it can be clefted for emphasis (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 115-116). Contrary to other adverbial clauses, the *fu*-clause can occur without an explicit subject, when it would correspond to the subject or the direct object of the main clause (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 115-116). Example (105b) demonstrates that Early Sranan *fu*-clauses can also occur without a subject. Huttar & Huttar (1994) do not discuss reason clauses in the section on adverb clauses, so I assume that this type of adverb clause is not marked by a specific conjunction other than *fu* in Eastern Maroon Creole.

6.4.5 Cause clauses

Cause clauses are primarily introduced by *di(si)* 'when; because' or by *bika(si)* 'because' (< English *because*); both *di(si)*-and *bika(si)*-clauses usually follow the main clause, although the *di(si)*-clause denoting cause can also occur in front of the main clause.[134] The examples in (105) and (106) illustrate cause clauses introduced by *bika(si)* 'because' and *di* 'when; because' respectively.

(105) a. *Poudroe of krúiti betere fou dem <u>bikassi</u> kondre de na dem bakka jetti disi*
powder or powder better for 3P because country COP LOC 3P back yet REL

dem no sabi (SPT 1762: art.15) [135]
3P NEG know
'Gunpowder or gunshot is better for them because there are still places in the interior they are not familiar with.'

b. *Joe doe bon datie joe kom, <u>bieka</u> mie biegien foe kroetoe kaba* (Wey 1798: 114)
2S do good that 2S come because 1S begin to grumble already
['Gy doet wel dat gy komt want ik begon alreeds te grommen']
'You do well that you come, because I started to grumble already.'

(106) a. *hufa ju no sabi datti, <u>di</u> ju habi so biggi kunni* (Sch 1783: 30)
Q-manner 2S NEG know that because 2S have so big cunning
['wie kommts, dass du das nicht weisst, da du (od. der du) so grossen Verstand hast?']
'Why do not you know that, when you are so very clever?'

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[134] Note that the item *bika(si)* 'because' can occur in sentence-initial position, in particular when the entire sentence states the cause of a certain state or event that has been mentioned in the preceding discourse (by another discourse participant).

[135] *The fact that there does not seem to be any connection between this reply on the part of the Saramaka and the text of clause 15 is clarified by the Dutch text of the treaty (*Beloove gemelde slaave nooyt aen 't fort of onder het oog van een blanke te laete koome en onder hunne als slaave te houwden*, meaning '(they) promise that the slaves will never visit the capital or to come into contact with the whites and they will be kept as their slaves among themselves'). The Dutch text contains a Nota Bene, saying that at this point the Whites tried to talk the Maroons into accepting an alternative gift instead of gunpowder (Arends & Van den Berg 2004).*

b. *di* *ju brokko mi nefi, ju musse gi mi wan so srefiwan* (Sch 1783: 166)
because 2S break 1S knife 2S must give 1S one so same-one
['da du mein Messer zerbrochen hast, so must du mir ein eben solches wieder geben']
'Because you have broken my knife, you must give me an identical one.'

Schumann (1783: 17) lists only *bikasi* in his dictionary, stating that *bika* is the form used by the Jews: *bikasi*, weil; denn. *Dju takki: bika* [*bikasi*, because, as. Jews say: *bika*]. Weygandt (1798: 81) indicates that both forms are correct and interchangeable. *Bika* is most likely an abbrevation of *bikasi* as function words ending in *–si* can be shortened (*di* < *disi*; *–peh* < *–plessi*; *–fa* < *–fassi* etc.); this is expected to occur in the *fototongo* variety of Sranan in particular. Among the Jews in Paramaribo it may have been the preferred form.

Bika(si)-clauses are encountered more frequently than cause clauses marked by *di* in the sources of Early Sranan. Although it is not uncommon among the languages of the world that an item with a temporal meaning acquires a causal meaning (Thompson & Longacre 1985), Bruyn (1995) shows that the relativizing function of *di(si)* and its temporal, causal and concessive meanings were taken over from the West-African substrate languages rather than resulting from the language-internal process of grammaticalization. Thus, the preference for *bika(si)* 'because' over *di* as the marker of cause clauses in the sources of the early and mid-18th century (HL, SPT, VD, N, CR) may be explained in terms of disambiguity avoidance or Sranan competence, rather than being regarded as indicative of language change in the 18th century.

Table 6.19 *Conjunctions introducing cause clauses in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

MOD. SRANAN	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
	1707-1767	1718	1762	C1765	1770	1783	1798	
	CR	HL	SPT	VD	N	SCH	WEY	
bika(si) 'because'		-	*bikas(s)i(e)* *bicas(s)i(e)*	*bekas(s)i*	-	*bika* *bikasi*	*bieka(a)* *biekasie*	*bika* 'because'
di(si) 'when; because'	-	-	-	-	-	*di*	-	*di* 'when; because'
fu di 'because'	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	*fu di* 'because; since'

6.4.5.1 Cause clauses in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

The EMC cause clause is most often introduced by conjunctions *di* 'when; because', *bika* 'because' and *fu di* 'because; since' (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 117, Goury 2003). The latter conjunction *fu di* 'because; since' is not encountered in the sources, except for Weygandt's manual (the question mark in table 6.19 above). According to Bruyn (1995: 186, footnote), *fu di(si)* 'because' can originate from a combination of *fu* 'for'

and causal *di(si)* 'when; because', or it could be a fossilized demonstrative 'for this'. The examples from Weygandt presented in (107) hint at the latter.

(107) a. *Joe potie toemoesie foe diesie joe mekie den kloosie* (Wey 1798: 112)
2S put too.much for this 2S make the.PL clothes
[Gy zet te veel voor 't maakeloon.']
'You bill too much for making the clothes.'

b. *San oen doe na baka foe diesie oen n'jan saba* (Wey 1798: 100)
what 2P do LOC back for this 2P eat evening
['Wat deed gylieden na het avondeeten']
'What did you do after you had diner?'

EMC cause clauses can also be introduced by the phrase *fu di ... (ede) (meke)* 'for this ... (reason) (makes)' (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 117). A relative clause modifying Early Sranan *hed(d)i(e)* 'head; reason; cause' can be used similarly to denote cause as well as reason (see section 6.4.4 above).

6.4.6 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are optionally marked by (variants of) the conjunctions *efi/efu* 'if' (< English *if*) or *of(oe)* 'or; if' (< Dutch *of* 'or; if'), see (109) and (108) respectively. Note that these conjunctions also function as disjunctive coordinators, see section 6.1.2 above.

(108) a. *evie mie massra ben sende migo na Tempatie, dan mie sa ben soorie dem Backara*
if 1S master PST send 1S-go LOC T. then 1S FUT PST show the.PL white (CR 1757)
'If my master sent me to Tempati, then I would show the Whites.'

b. *effi mi ben jeri, mi ben harki ju tu* (Sch 1783: 73)
if 1S PAST hear 1S PAST listen 2S too
['wenn ich es gehört hätte, so hätte ich dir auch gehorcht']
'If I heard (it), I heard you too.'

(109) *offoe dem no wandie mekie da frie nanga bakara, dem sa moessoe helpie bakara*
if 3P NEG want make the peace with white 3P FUT must help white

foe goo fettie nanga dem (SPT 1762: art.2)
to go fight with 3P
'(...) if they do not want to make peace with the whites, they should help the whites in fighting them.'

Example (110) shows that no conjunctions need be present, and that the main clause is optionally marked by the conjunction *dan* 'then' (< Dutch *dan* 'then'), except for

Schumann's (1783) dictionary, where *dan* does not occur. No examples of *dan* 'then' marking a main clause are encountered in this source.

(110) a. *mi zi offe a retti dan mi za potti mi nem* (VD c1765: 103)
1S see if 3S right then 1S FUT put 1S name
['dat ik zie of het regt is, dan zal ik myn Naam zetten']
'If I see that it is right, then I will sign my name.'

b. *ju no kann vo du, "mi" sa du* (Sch 1783: 79)
2S NEG can to do 1S FUT do
['wenn du nicht im Stande bist, es zu thun, so will "ich" es thun']
'If you cannot do (it), then I will do (it).'

The conjunctions *efi/efu* 'if' or *of(oe)* 'if' are not the only indicator that a subordinate clause has a conditional relation with the main clause; tense marking on the verb also indicates that the sentence is a conditional. Moreover, tense marking can indicate the type of conditional. For example, counterfactual sentences have the past time marker *ben* in the subordinate clause and the future marker *sa* and the past marker *ben* in the main clause as in (109a) above. See further 4.1.

6.4.6.1 Conditional clauses in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

The EMC conditional clause can be introduced by *efi* 'if', *efu* 'if' or *ofu* 'if', which may be shortened to *fu* 'if' or *fi* 'if'. The conjunction may be omitted (Huttar & Huttar 1994). Equivalents of the long forms are encountered in the Early Sranan sources. In the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762) *effi, effoe* and *of(foe)* occur in free alternation. In Weygandt's language manual both *efie* and *of(f)oe* are encountered but only *efie* functions as a marker of conditional adverbials, *of(f)oe* marks disjunctive coordinands (see 6.1.2). Only the Dutch-derived form *of(fe)* is found in Van Dyk's (c1765) manual, whereas the English-derived form *efi* is not encountered in this source. This is surprising in the light of our hypothesis that the manual represents the language varieties of the 'old' English plantations.

Table 6.20 *Conditional clause conjunctions in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

MOD. SRANAN	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
	1707-1767	1718	1762	C1765	1770	1783	1798	
	CR	HL	SPT	VD	N	SCH	WEY	
efu 'if'	*evie* *eevie*	-	*effi* *effoe*	-	-	*effi*	*efie*	*efu* 'if' ... (*dan* 'then')
-	-	-	*of(foe)*	*of, offe, of fo*	-	-	-	*ofu* 'if'
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*fu* 'if'
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*fi* 'if'

The EMC conditional adverbial usually precedes the main clause, which is optionally marked by the conjunction *da* 'then; therefore'. If the main clause is negative, then *da*

'then; therefore' is often omitted. It it not clear whether the Early Sranan sources exhibit a similar predisposition: examples in which a negative main clause is marked by *da(n)* 'then; therefore' are encountered in Van Dyk's (c1765) language manual, the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762) and Weygandt's (1798) manual. The remaining sources have no conditional adverbials modifying negative main clauses (Hl, N, CR), or the item *da(n)* 'then; therefore' is not found at all (Sch).

The order of adverbial clause and main clause is reversed in the case of interrogatives, i.e. the conditional clause follows the main clause. Not surprising, this is also true for Early Sranan.

The EMC counterfactual is marked by the past time marker *be* in both the adverb clause and the main clause and the future marker *o* or the mood marker *sa* in the main clause, which is more or less similar to (109a) above. See 4.1 for a more detailed comparison of Early Sranan TMA and Eastern Maroon Creole TMA. Another way of presenting a counterfactual in EMC is the following: the main clause is an imperative or contains the auxiliary *mu* 'must' expressing obligation, the subsequent adverbial has the future marker *o* or the mood marker *sa*. The adverbial is introduced by the conjunction *ofu so/efu so* 'or else' (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 120). Early Sranan equivalents of this type of EMC counterfactual are encountered in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty, Van Dyk's language manual and Weygandt's text, see (111). The main clause in (111a) describes an obligation, the examples in (111b-c) are imperatives. Note that the Early Sranan examples differ from their EMC counterparts with regard to the conjunction complex introducing the adverbial: the Early Sranan examples contain a negation whereas the EMC has *ofu so/efu so* 'or else'.

(111) a. *en da tem dem com na fotto dem sa moessoe go rettie na granman en dem*
and the time 3P come LOC fort 3P FUT must go right LOC chief and 3P

no sa kan goo wan plessie effoe granman sa moessoe sabie (SPT 1762: art. 9)
NEG FUT can go a place if/or chief FUT must know
['(...) welk sij ten eersten en direct bij den Heer Gouverneur sullen addresseeren, sonder sig ergens buyte permisse te mogen ophouden (...)']
'(...) and when they arrive in Paramaribo they should go to the Governor immediately, and they will not be permitted to go anywhere or the Governor must know.'

b. *Takki jussena offe no zo mi za kieli joe mi zweri* (VD c1765: 62)
say just-now or NEG so 1S FUT kill 2S 1S swear
['Zeg aanstonds, of anders zal ik jou den Hals breeken, dat zweer ik u.']
'Say it right now, or else I will kill you, I swear.'

c. *Joe dee da plee ajen joe lesieman,* toe *passa na wroko,*
2S COP the place again 2S lazy-man, go on (Dutch) pass LOC work

ofoe no so mie sa mekie Basian dressie joe (Wey 1798: 127)
if NEG so 1S FUT make overseer cure 2S
['Ben je daar weer jou luiaard, toeschielyk naar 't werk, of anders zal ik je door de Bastiaan laaten cureeren.']
'Are you there again, you lazy bastard, go on, get to work, or else I shall make the overseer cure you.'

6.4.7 Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses express a concession which the proposition in the main clause is contrasted with (Thompson & Longacre 1985). They are marked by the conjunction *al()was(s)ie* 'although; even though' (< Dutch expression *al was* (...), literally even COP.PAST.S). Concessive clauses precede and follow the main clause in the sources (112).

(112) a. *En foe da hedde, al wassie dem nengre foe wie sa wandie foe takie datie*
and for that reason even.though the.PL black of 1P FUT want to say that

dem ronnowe offoe bikasie dem masara bacara doe dem ogrie, dem boesie Saramaca
3P runaway or because 3P master white do 3P evil the.PL bush Saramaka

sa moessoe gie dem bakka da tem dem com na dem han,
FUT must give 3P back when 3P come LOC 3P hand

bicassie granman nanga couroetoe nomo moessie loekoe na datie (SPT 1762: art.5)
because chief with court NEG-more must look LOC that
'And for that reason, even if our slaves may wish to say they ran away because their master or the Whites did them harm, the Bush Saramaka should return them when they come into their hands, because only the Governor and the Court should take care of that.'

b. *mi no wan soso-Ningre, alwassi mi kattibo* (Sch 1783: 163)
2S NEG a common-black even.though 1S slave
['ich bin kein so gemeiner Neger, wenn ich gleich ein Sclave bin']
'I am not just a common black, even though I am a slave.'

c. *Mie moesoe takie da wan pliesierie liebie na planasie, alwasie a abie em*
1S must say FOC a pleasant life LOC plantation even.though 3S have 3S.OBJ

brokohedee toe zo lekie alla tra liebie (Wey 1798: 143)
headache to so like all other life
['ik moet zeggen dat het Plantagieleeven geen onvermaaklyk leeven is, ofschoon het zowel als andere standen zyne zorgen heeft']
'I must say that it is a pleasant life on the plantation, even though it has its headaches too, like all other lives.'

Table 6.21 *The concessive conjunction in the Early Sranan sources and Eastern Maroon Creole*

MOD. SRANAN	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
	1707-1767	1718	1762	C1765	1770	1783	1798	
	CR	HL	SPT	VD	N	SCH	WEY	
awasi 'even if' *(aladi; awensi)*	-	-	*al wassie*	-	-	*al(l)wassi*	*alwas(s)ie*	*(a)wansi/ (a)winsi* 'even tough'

6.4.7.1 Concessive clauses in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

The EMC concessive clause usually precedes the negative main clause, which is optionally marked by the conjunction *toku* 'yet'. Huttar & Huttar (1994: 124) report that the concessive adverbial can be introduced by the conjunctions *anga ala (fa)* 'although' and *winsi/wansi/awansi (fa)* 'even though'. The form *awansi* and its variants *winsi* and *wansi* are related to Early Sranan *alwassi* as follows: *alwasi* > *awasi* > *(a)wansi* > (*a)wensi*). However, the structural make-up of the Early Sranan concessives differ from their EMC counterparts in the following: the Early Sranan main clauses are positive, they are not marked by a conjunction, and they precede the concessive adverb clause.

6.4.8 Degree clauses

The term degree clauses covers comparative adverb clauses, equative adverb clauses and extent adverb clauses. Comparative clauses were discussed in section 5.6, therefore they will not be discussed here.

Equative adverb clauses. Equative adverb clauses are marked by (variants of) *(a)leki* 'like; as if' (< English *like*). They follow the main clause. The conjunction *(a)leki* 'like' is also encountered introducing manner clauses, often in combination with *so* 'so; thus' or *(hu)fa* 'how' (see 6.4.3). Only a few examples of equative adverbials are found in the sources, equative nominals are encountered more frequently. See further section 5.6.

(113) a. *da singi va une go tumussi; da sanni tann <u>leki</u> hatti de go na tappo*
the song of 2P go excessive the thing stand like heart ASP go LOC top
['euer Gesang ist gar zu schön; es ist einem dabey, als wenn das Herz im Himmel wäre, d.i. himmlich wohl'] (Sch 1783: 174)
'Your song is too much; it is like my heart is going to heaven.'

b. *A tan na mie <u>lekie</u> mie no n'jan na drie dey* (Wey 1798: 80)
3S stand LOC 1S like 1S NEG eat LOC three day
['My dunkt dat ik in drie daagen niet gegeeten heb.']
'It is as if I haven't eaten in three days.'

Table 6.22 *Introducing equative clauses in the Early Sranan sources and Eastern Maroon Creole*

MOD. SRANAN	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
	1707-1767	1718	1762	c1765	1770	1783	1798	
	CR	HL	SPT	VD	N	SCH	WEY	
soleki 'like'	-	-	-	*(zoo) likki*	-	*alleki leki*	*lekie*	*enke* 'like' *eke* 'like'

Extent adverb clauses. Extent clauses are marked by the conjunction *te(h)* 'when; until', which also introduces time adverbials and circumstantials in all sources except for Schumann's (1783) dictionary. Time adverbials are introduced by *teh* 'when', while extent clauses are marked by *têh* 'until' in Schumann's work. The diacritical marker (*têh)* indicates a difference in intonation; most likely it signifies high pitch. The time adverbial marked by *te(h)* 'when' and the extent clause also differ in position with regard to the main clause: the time adverbial usually precedes the main clause in the sources, whereas the extent clause usually follows the main clause. See section 6.4.1 for a detailed discussion and examples.

6.4.8.1 Equative clauses in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

The EMC equative adverb clause is introduced by the conjunction *enke* 'like' or *eke* 'like', which is rarely omitted. The main clause preceding the adverbial often features the predicate *gei* 'resemble' (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 121). As the sources of Early Sranan exhibit only a few examples of equative adverbials, it is not clear whether the verb *tan* 'stand; be' could be regarded as the Early Sranan equivalent of EMC *gei* 'resemble'. The distinction made between the Early Sranan time adverb conjunction *te(h)* and extent clause marking *têh* is encountered in Eastern Maroon Creole (Huttar & Huttar 1994). See section 6.4.1.

6.4.9 Circumstance clauses

The circumstance clause denotes the external setting of an event described in the main clause. It is introduced by the conjunction is *te(h)* 'when; until', which is also encountered with time adverbials and extent clauses, see 6.4.1 and 6.4.8. Like the extent clause, the circumstance clause follows the main clause. In Schumann's dictionary, the circumstance clause can be recognized by the conjunction *teh* whereas the conjunction introducing the extent clause has the diacritical marker (*têh*). The context helps out in the case of the sentence-final adverbial introduced by *te(h)* in the remaining sources of Early Sranan. Circumstantials and extent adverbials are not differentiated orthographically in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty, Van Dyk's (c1765) manual or Weygandt's (1798) text.

(114) a. *onnoe moes pree bon dore <u>te</u> de brokke* (VD c1765: 108)
2P must play good contine until day break
['weest de heelen Nagt Plyzierig, tot den Dag aanbreekt.']
'You must continue to play well until day break.'

b. *mi sa hoppo na mussudeh, na dri kákkakreh,* (*teh kákka kreh dritron*)
1S FUT get.up LOC dawn LOC three cock-crow when cock crow thrice
['ich will mit dem ersten Anbruch des Tages, mit dem dritten Hahnengeschrey, aufstehen, (wenn die Hahne zum drittenmal krähen.)']
(Sch 1783: 118)
'I will get up at dawn, at three cock crows (when the rooster crows thrice).'

c. *Mie begie joe no mekie flousoe té joe dee na mie* (Wey 1798: 76)
1S beg 2S NEG make foolishness until 2S COP LOC 1S
['Ik bid u maakt complimenten wanneer gy by my zyt ']
'I beg you, don't be silly when you are with me.'

Negative circumstance clauses are introduced by the conjuntion *sondro (foe)* 'without' (< Dutch *zonder* 'without'). The adverb clause may be finite (115a-b) or non-finite (115c).

(115) a. *en dem sa mossoe loekoe dem jamjam serefie sondro bacara sa hoefoe foe gie dem*
and 3P FUT must look 3P food self without white FUT have to give 3P
['sonder dat men gehouden sal sijn hun kost off onderhoud te geven.']
(SPT 1762: art. 9)
and they will have to take care of their food themselves without the Whites having to give them any.'

b. *mi du datti sondro mi sabi* (Sch 1783: 160)
3P do that without 1S know
['ich thut das ohne es zu wissen']
'I do that without knowing.'

c. *Gie mie wan krien hempie sondroe foe takie somenie* (Wey 1798: 113)
give 1S a clean shirt without to talk so.much
['Geef my een schoon hemd zonder zo veel praats te maaken']
'Give me a clean shirt without talking so much.'

Table 6.23 *Conjunctions introducing circumstance clauses in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

MOD. SRANAN	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
	1707-1767	1718	1762	C1765	1770	1783	1798	
	CR	HL	SPT	VD	N	SCH	WEY	
te 'when; until'	-	-	*te* *tee*	*te* *tee*	-	*teh*	*té* *tee*	*te* 'when; until'
sondro (fu) 'without'	-	-	*sondro*	-	-	*sondro*	*sondro(e) (foe)* *sonro*	*sondee fu* 'without'

6.4.9.1 Circumstance clauses in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

EMC circumstance clauses are introduced by *te* 'when; until' or *sondee (fu)* 'without'. The latter is used in the case of a negative circumstantial which can be finite or non-finite (Huttar & Huttar (1994). Both the *te*-clause and the *sondee (fu)*-clause follow the main clause. Thus, the Early Sranan circumstantial and the EMC circumstanc adverb clause are very similar.

7 Conclusion

7.0 Introduction

In the preceding chapters a detailed description of Early Sranan was presented on the basis of a comparative qualitative study of different forms and constructions in the sources of Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole. In the present chapter those Early Sranan forms and constructions that vary in the sources of Early Sranan and/or that contrast with Eastern Maroon Creole are summarized and discussed from a multi-dimensional perspective. As stated in chapter 1, variation in the texts is multidimensional: variation in the texts can be can indicative of different regional varieties, social registers and styles as well as result from diachronic language change. Examples of variant forms and constructions are given in sections 7.1 and 7.2. In section 7.3 some of the differences between Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole are outlined. The ramifications of this study for creole formation are discussed in 7.4. This chapter concludes with suggestions for further research (7.5).

7.1 Dimensions of variation in Early Sranan[136]

Variation in the sources of Early Sranan is expected to occur along several dimensions including a geographical dimension, a stylistic dimension and a social dimension. In the current section and the next, these dimensions are illustrated with some of the findings presented in the preceding chapters. Note that even though I speak of several dimensions, it may not always be possible to distinguish between them, as they are intimately interrelated. For example, it is less likely that a recently immigrated Dutch-born plantation owner living in Paramaribo would have a basilectal variety of Sranan in his linguistic repertoire as opposed to a Suriname-born field slave of an old 'English' plantation at the Commewijne River, who in turn would not have spoken the variety that was associated with the European-born white population of Paramaribo. Linguistically, the features of the variety spoken by this field slave of an old 'English' plantation are assumed to be representative of an older basilectal variety of Sranan as opposed to the features of the variety spoken by the former, that are assumed to exhibit certain recent innovations under Dutch influence. The findings illustrating geographical, stylistic and social variation are discussed in sections 7.1.1 to 7.1.3. Most of these findings exemplify variation on a social dimension, corresponding to differences in social status and ethnicity. Therefore this dimension will be discussed in somewhat more detail, see 7.1.3. Variation in the sources of Early Sranan that results from diachronic language change is briefly discussed in section 7.2.

[136] The term dimension is used here within a linguistic perspective, following Biber (1998): a dimension comprises an group of co-occuring linguistic features, and each co-occurrence pattern can be interpreted in functional terms. Note that the dimensions distinguished here differ from those listed by (Biber 1998).

7.1.1 The geographical dimension

The geographical dimension includes two sub-dimensions, each referring to a geographical divide. One captures the differences between the varieties of Early Sranan spoken in the city as opposed to those spoken on the plantations, the other focusses on the differences between the varieties of different plantations. The varieties spoken on the Portuguese-owned plantations (mostly found on the banks of the middle reaches of the Suriname River) differed from those spoken on the plantations that were founded by the English in the period prior to 1667 (located mostly on the upper reaches of the Commewijne River, and on the Suriname River), and both differed from the varieties spoken on the plantations that were set up later at the lower reaches of the Commewijne River and the Cottica River. In 1688, Fort Sommelsdijk at the confluence of the Commewijne River and the Cottica River was completed. Thus, those rivers were protected up to that point and new plantations were set up there. After the completion of Fort Zeelandia on the estuary of the Commewijne River in 1747, new plantations were established on the banks of the lower reaches of the Commewijne River and the Suriname River.

There is the following evidence of the differences between the varieties that are spoken in different areas. Schumann (1783) records several different forms and constructions that seem to correspond to different plantation varieties as he labels them *Djutongo* (literally Jew language) and *English tongo* (English) respectively. *Djutongo* and *English tongo* are sometimes compared with the variety spoken in the city that I have named *Fototongo* and/or an unnamed variety that I assume is a less marked, more neutral variety of plantation Sranan. This variety is also the primary language of Schumann's main consultants (see section 1.3.7). Table 7.1 is an exhaustive overview of the items and constructions that are labeled *Fototongo*, *Djutongo* and *English Tongo*. Variant items and constructions that are not explicitly labeled are listed in the left-most column, they are treated as an unmarked variety of *prandasi tongo*. Items and construction that are categorized exclusively on a social dimension (*Ningretongo* vs. *Bakratongo*) are excluded from this table; they are discussed in section 7.1.3.

Table 7.1 *Comparable items and constructions in Djutongo, English tongo and Fototongo (Schumann's dictionary, 1783)*

	item or phrase	*Fototongo*	*Prandasi tongo* *Djutongo*	*English. tongo*	unnamed
(1)	'brain'	*tumtum va heddi*	-	*brens*	*tumtum va heddi*
(2)	'the rooster crows'	*kakka bari*	-	-	*kakka kreh*
(3)	'lie; betray'	-	*adjabre* (< Gbe?)	-	*lei, meki lei, tori lei*
(4)	'Why you are lying!?'	-	*hufa ju de meki adjabre?*	-	*hufa ju de meki lei?*
(5)	'constipation'	-	*affitùh* (< Port.)	-	-
(6)	'I am constipated'	-	*mi habi affitùh*	-	*mi belle tappa, belle tranga*
(7)	'yellow'	-	*bae* (< Port. *baio*)	-	*redi; ledi*
(8)	'bend down'	-	*bassia* (< Port. *baixar*)	-	*buku (bassia)*
(9)	'because'	-	*bika* (< Eng. *because*)	-	*bikasi; di*
(10)	'give birth; deliver'	- *(bringi)*	*bringi* (< Eng. *bring*; Germ. *bringen*)	-	-
(11)	'confuse'	-	*bruija, bulja* (< Port. *embulhar*)	-	*trobbi*
(12)	'quarrel'	-	*buija* (< Port. *bulhar*)	-	*kwari, trobbi*
(13)	'stay behind; remain'	-	*fikka* (< Port. *ficar*)	-	*libi, tann (fikka)*
(14)	'yeast; leaven'	-	*frementu* (< Port. *fermentar*)	-	*sürdegi*
(15)	'fruit'	-	*fruta* (< Port. *fruta*)	-	*janjam*
(16)	'raise; nurture'	-	*krijà* (< Port. *criar*)	-	*kweki*
(17)	'green; fresh; raw'	-	*glua, grua* (< Port. *crua*)	-	*grûn; lala*
(18)	'mother'	-	*mai* (< Port. *mai*)	-	*mamma*
(19)	'father'	-	*pai, paai* (< Port. *pai*)	-	*tatta*
(20)	'spread; scatter'	-	*panja* (< Port. *espalhar*)	-	*platti (panja)*
(21)	'midwife'	-	*plattiri, plattérin* (< Port. *porteira*)	-	*helpiman*
(22)	'(a pair of) pliers'	-	*tanga* (< Eng. *tongs*; D. *tang*)	-	*Kneiptang*
(23)	'coal tongs'	-	*faija tanga*	-	*issri va fassi krofaija*

Most *Djutongo* words in table 7.1 derive from Portuguese (Smith 1987; Arends 1992; Ladhams 1999). The item *adjabre* is possible of Gbe origin as it could represent a compounding of Fon *ája* 'report; conflict' and *blɛ* 'deceive; cheat' (Smith 1987: 127). *Bika* 'because' is a bit odd. While it appears simply to be an abbrevation of *bikasi* 'because' (< English *because*), Schumann's consultant only labels *bika* as *Djutongo*. It may be the case that the abbreviated form was used more frequently by the Jews, the Jewish mulattos and their slaves in the city (see also section 6.5.4). Smith (1987) derives the items *bringi* and *tanga* from English *bring* and *tongs* respectively. Alternatively, *bringi* may be derived from the German verb *bringen* 'produce; deliver' and *tanga* from Dutch *tang* or perhaps German *Zange* 'pliers' (the z presents the phoneme [ts]). Equivalents of *bringi* 'give birth' and *tanga* 'pliers' are not encountered in any of the sources of Early Sranan or in Eastern Maroon Creole. Instead, variants of *meki* (< English *make*) and *sesei* (< English *scissors*) are used. A (late) German origin of the former and a possibly mixed Dutch-German origin of the latter is plausible not only in terms of phonology, but also because of the historical context (Cohen 1982, 1991): the Jewish population of Suriname consisted not only of Sephardim of Portuguese and Spanish descent, but also of Ashkenazim from Germany, the north of France and Eastern Europe, who resided in Netherlands for several years before departure to Suriname or one of the other Dutch colonies in the Caribbean and North America. In the late 17th century and early 18th century Sephardim and Ashkenazim formed one Jewish community, that was dominated by the Sephardim[137]. Ashkenazi Jews were mainly active in Paramaribo as they were merchants rather than planters as the Sephardim. In the 1730s the Sephardim and the Ashkenazim formed separate communities, each with their own synagogue in Paramaribo. At first, the Jodensavane remained a center for the Sephardim, whereas the city became the center of the Askenazim. Few Askenazim owned sugar plantations. In this context a somewhat puzzling observation by Schumann's consultant on the word *bringi* 'give birth; deliver' makes sense: he may have overheard a black who may have belonged to an Askenazim.

(1) *bringi,* gebären. *na Fotto dem no habi da muffe so menni; da Djutongo: ma nuffe plantasi habi hem. Tog wan reti Fotto-kriolo ben takki: isredeh mi kau bringi wan mannpikin* (Sch 1783: 22)
'*bringi*, deliver. In the city they do not use this word as much, but plenty plantations have it. However, a real city black said: 'yesterday my cow gave birth to a bullcalf'.

When the economy collapsed in the last quarter of the 18th century, many Jews, in particular Sephardim, sold their plantations and moved to Paramaribo. Several (house-)slaves may have been taken by their masters to Paramaribo, while others were either sold or moved to other plantations to pay their master's debts. The slaves who were dispersed over other plantations adapted the local varieties, as a result of which their variety of *Djutongo* died out (see also Arends 1992). The *Djutongo* speaking slaves

[137] A small Sephardim community existed already in that area in the 1630s (Van Lier 1982; Cohen 1991).

who were moved to Paramaribo continued to speak *Djutongo* with their masters and among themselves, while acquiring the variety spoken in the city. Eventually this variety of *Djutongo* was replaced with the more general city variety and it died out, although it survives in words such as *bari* 'cry' (< Portuguese *balar* 'utter a characteristic sound (by an animal)')[138], that are labeled *Fototongo* by Schumann's consultant (see table 7.1 above). Note that this process of language death may have been reinforced by the fact that by the end of the 18th century both Sephardim and Ashkenazim resorted more and more to Dutch, the official language of Suriname.

Given the fact that Suriname was first colonized by the English, it is not surprising to find words and expressions in Sranan that are English in origin. Furthermore, it is to be expected to some extent that such words and expressions would be replaced more and more with other forms and constructions in the course of the 18th century as the English influence diminished. Nevertheless, in the late 18th century there are still isolated words and expressions that are associated with the old English plantations and the period in which Suriname was under English rule (*English tongo*). While many English left Suriname in the 1660s and 1670s, others stayed, including the Greenwood family. Charles Greenwood owned first a sugar plantation on the Commetewane creek, which he left for the sugar plantation Blakkreek at the upper reaches of the Commewijne River around 1680.[139] Presumably he took his *English tongo* speaking slaves with him to the new plantation. The Dutch Municx family (also known as Minnicks or Muenicx) owned two small plantations at the Suriname River when Suriname was under English rule. When the Dutch took over, they acquired several sugar plantations on the upper Commewijne River from departing English families, including Clarenbeek, Nimmerdor and Oranibo. Even though the departing English took slaves with them, some must have been sold as part of the inventory of the plantations. *English tongo* words and expressions may be traced back to these 'old' slaves. Examples of *English tongo* are rare, but the following example in Schumann's dictionary (1783) and the additional comments of his consultant indicate that they were present:

(2) *brens*, das Gehirn, *tumtum va heddi* (Engl. brains) *da reti English tongo; "wi" no habi hem, kaba dem fotto Ningre no jeri hem kwetikweti, na dem oure English plantasi dem habi hem; wi no takki tarrafasi, leki: tumtum va heddi* (Sch 1783: 21)
'*brens*, brains, *tumtum va heddi* (Engl. brains). That is English, we do not have it, and the city blacks do not have it at all. They have/had it at the old English plantations, (but) we do not say (it) in any other way, other than *tumtum va heddi*.'

In contrast, the dictionary lists several clearly English-derived items and expressions with their non-English derived equivalents, but contrastively they are not labeled *English tongo*. Some are discussed in section 7.1.3 as they are marked *Bakratongo* rather

[138] Alternatively Smith (p.c.) suggests that *bari* derives from English *bawl*, which has a similar meaning as Portuguese *balar*.
[139] Source: http://landsarchief.sr

than *English tongo*, and they have a non-English-derived *Ningretongo* equivalent. For example, *aréde* 'already' is listed as the *Bakratongo* variant of *kaba* 'already' (Schumann 1783: 7), see also section 4.1.2.

Arends (1992) provides further evidence of a variety of Early Sranan that is more heavily influenced by English, found in Captain John Stedman's (1790) narrative of his stay in Suriname from 1773 to 1777. This source was not included in our corpus. In addition to a short sample of the language of the blacks, Stedman writes that "[a]t the Estate Goet Accoord, I have heard an Old Negro Woman Say, *we lobee fo lebee togeddere*, by Which she Meant we Love to live together – At Paramaribo to Express the Same they tell you, *we Do looko for tanna Macandera*" (Stedman 1790: 516).[140] The Early Sranan sentences are repeated in (3).

(3) a. *we lobee fo lebee togeddere* (Stedman 1790: 516)
1P love to live together
'We like to live together.'

b. *we Do looko for tanna Macandera* (Stedman 1790: 516)
1P ASP look to remain-LOC together
'We like to live together.'

The two sentences differ mainly in the lexicon: *lebee* 'live' (< Engl. *live*) corresponds to *tan* 'remain; stay' (< Engl. *stand*), *lobee fo* 'love to' to *looko for* 'look for; want' and *togeddere* 'together' (< Engl. *together*) to *macandera* 'each other' (< Dutch *malkander*). Only the latter is an example of the replacement of English-derived words with Dutch-derived ones (discussed in section 2.2.3), the former are all English-derived (Arends 1992). However, *tan* and *looko for* convey different senses than their English sources, see sections 4.1.2 and 6.2.1.2 respectively. Furthermore, the aspect marker *do* is encountered in the *Fototongo* example. *Do* is not found in our corpus (but *de* is, see section 4.1.2), though it is attested in certain fixed expressions in contemporary Sranan (Donicie 1954, Arends 1992). Note that Van Dyk (c1765) and Schumann (1783) are the only other sources of Early Sranan in which equivalents of (3a) are encountered, although the latter further has desiderative predicates such as the one in (3b). That one is also found in Weygandt (1783) where alternatively *wensi* 'wish' (< Dutch wensen 'wish') is used as a desiderative predicate introducing full sentential complements. *Wensi* is also found in Van Dyk (c1765). In conclusion, several desiderative predicates, English-derived as well as Dutch-derived ones, are used interchangeably in the sources of Early Sranan. See section 6.2.1.2 for examples and details.

Other examples of English-derived words and constructions are discussed in section 7.2 as they are replaced with other items and/or constructions in the course of the 18th century.

[140] Goet Accoord and Blakkreek were neighbouring plantations at the Upper Suriname River. Most likely they were founded in the 1670s. A century later they were still being exploited but not for long after that, as they were abandoned in the 1780s. Stedman was stationed at a military post in the area in the 1770s.

7.1.2 The stylistic dimension

Varieties of language that are ordered along a stylistic dimension differ generally from the perspective of formality (Trudgill 1992). On the one end more informal, casual and/or colloquial varieties are encountered, whereas on the other end more formal, official and/or literary varieties are found. The following discussion presents several examples of stylistic variants that are relatively independent of the social and diachronic dimensions discussed in the following sections. For example, Nepveu's corrections of Herlein's text fragment (1718) are partly stylistic in nature. He replaces pronouns with **terms of address**, that are typical of a more formal style, compare (4a) with (4b). See also section 2.2.1.

(4) a. *Akesi of joe tan an house?* (HL 1718: 121)
3S-ask if 2S stay LOC house
['En vraagt of je t'Huis zult blijven?']
'She asks if you will be staying at home?'

b. 2e Reegel men zegt *ahakisi effi missie sa tan na Hosso* (N 1770: 274)
second line one say 3S-ask if lady FUT stay LOC house
'Second line, one says: 'She asks if the lady will be at home.'

Van Dyk's guide has several examples in which the adressee is denoted by a similar term of address. On the other hand, one finds examples such as (5) in this source, in which both an informal second person singular pronoun and a formal Dutch term of adress are used interchangeably in a single utterance, referring to one and the same adressee. Subsequently, a third person singular pronoun is used to denote the same referent. However, the latter type of construction is in line with the use of Dutch *myn heer* 'my lord' as a more formal term of address.[141]

(5) *Odi* myn heer *hoe fa joe tan gran tanki fo* myn heer *a komi ja*
howdy my lord Q manner 2S stay many thanks to my lord 3S come here

fo loeke da da pranasie wan trom (VD c1765: 93)
to look LOC the plantation one time
['Goeden Dag myn Heer hoe Vaard uwe al, ik Bedank uw met een dat je zoo goed bent en bekykt de Plantagie eens.']
'Goodday, Sir, how are you? Many thanks to Sir, (that) he has come here to look at the plantation on this occasion.'

While van Dyk makes no distinction between a formal term of adress and an affectionate term (compare (5) above with (6a) below), Weygandt moves the affectionate term outside the clause, replacing the term with a second person singular pronoun, as in (6b). He may have regarded the original construction in Van Dyk's

[141] Blacks that rank high on the social ladder such as house servants and overseers occasionally use Dutch words and expressions in their speech in the playlet in Van Dyk's guide (c1765).

guide (c1765) too formal for the event depicted in the dialogue, that is a meeting between two friends of equal social status.

(6) a. *Hoe fa mi matti tan* (VD c1765: 93)
Q manner 1S friend stay
['Hoe vaard myn beste Vriend.']
'How is my friend?'

b. *O fa joe tam matie?* (Wey 1798: 96)
Q manner 2S stay friend
['Hoe vaart myn beste vriend?']
'How are you, friend?'

In Eastern Maroon Creole politeness can be expressed by using generic nouns and noun phrases as terms of address, but the use of the second person non-singular with a singular addressee is much more common (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 463). This may be a relatively recent development, reflecting the less complex societal structure of a tribal community from the point of view of a highly complex and multi-layered societal structure of a plantation community of Europeans and people of West-African descent as well as those of mixed background.

Different types of **commands** can be projected on a stylistic dimension, see section 5.4. Bare imperatives are typical of the informal end of the dimension, whereas imperatives with a personal pronoun denoting the addresssee in sentence-initial position may be more formal (but recall that the latter can be used alternatively to simply emphasize the adressee). Furthermore, certain *meki-* and *mu*(*su*)-imperatives appear to be more formal. They include imperatives in which non-causational *meki* 'make; allow; let' is combined with a first person subjective pronoun (singular or non-singular) heading the sentential complement, as well as declarative clauses with the auxiliary *mu*(*su*) 'must' in combination with the second person non-singular subjective pronoun that function as imperatives. Their more informal equivalents are bare basic imperatives.

The colloquial – literary contrast is further exemplified by the use of various functional items in literary texts, whereas these items may be optional in more colloquial texts. A case in point is the marking of tense. Unmarked verbs can convey a sense of the perfect as was illustrated with an example from Van Dyk's (c1765) guide in section 4.1. However, Weygandt (1798) adds the **relative past tense marker *ben*** in his version of the same dialogue.

(7) a. *Mi zi hem wan plessi* (VD c1765: 31)
1S see 3S.OBJ a place
['Ik heb hem ergens gezien.']
'I have seen him somewhere.'

b. *Mie ben sie em na wan plesie* (Wey 1798: 97)
1S PST see 3S.OBJ LOC a place
['Ik heb hem ergens gezien']
'I have seen him somewhere.'

The use of the **future marker *sa*** in combination with the auxiliary *mu(su)* expressing Obligation and Need/Necessity ('must') may be another example of a feature that characterizes a more formal variety; *mu(su)* without *sa* would be its informal equivalent. The future marker is used most likely to soften the imperative nature of the auxiliary verb. As this combination is found in the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty of 1762 and Weygandt's manual (1798) but not in any of the other sources of Early Sranan or in Eastern Maroon Creole, *sa musu* may be typical of formal or literary *Bakratongo*. See section 4.1.4 for details and illustrative examples.

Furthermore, the use of functional items such as **sentential coordinators** and **subordinators** including complementizers appears to be indicative of style.[142] Coordinators and complementizers were discussed in sections 6.1 and 6.2 respectively. Coordinators such as (variants of) *kaba* 'and; but, *en* 'and', *dan* 'then', *efi* and *ofu* 'or', *ma(ra)* 'but' and *toku* 'but; yet' and complementizers such as *taki* 'that' and *dati* 'that' appear to occur more frequently in more formal texts such as Weygandt's manual (1798) and the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty of 1762, whereas they seem to be found less frequently in the more informal and colloquial varieties represented in Van Dyk's (c1765) guide and Schumann's dictionary (1783). More examples of stylistic differences will be discovered once the study of style in creole languages is developed further.

7.1.3 The social dimension

Thoughout the book I have used the terms *Ningretongo* and *Bakratongo* to identify the extreme poles of a continuum of varieties of Sranan that became more and more complex in the course of the 18th century. In short, *Ningretongo* is a cover term for those linguistic features that can be associated with the vernacular of the black population of Suriname, in particular the enslaved people on the plantations. *Bakratongo* is used to denote the linguistic features that were associated with the European population and the free people of mixed racial background. My hypothesis is 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 influence from the mother tongues of the West-African slaves including the Kikongo and Gbe languages among others, whereas *Bakratongo* exhibited more influence from Dutch, the official language of Suriname. While it is still under debate whether Suriname Dutch, a local variety of Dutch with distinctive non-Dutch features, existed already in the 18th century (see DeKleine 1999, 2002; Essed-Fruin & Gobardhan 1992; Gobardhan 1995), I assume that the majority of the free population

[142] Following Finegan & Biber (1994, 2001) sentential coordinators and subordinators are taken "as exemplars of expressed (rather than contextually implied) relationships among clauses" (Finegan & Biber 2001: 258).

of African, European or mixed descent was at least bilingual at that time, speaking varieties of Sranan and Dutch and/or other European languages in varying degrees of competence.

In addition to a *Ningretongo* variety and a *Bakratongo* variety of Early Sranan, several intermediate varieties are assumed to have existed throughout the 18th century and onwards, including those with primarily neutral variants, exhibiting neither *Ningretongo* or *Bakratongo* features; those with combinations of *Ningretongo* and *Bakratongo* features, that can be interpreted as code-mixing or code alternation; and those that consist of combinations of *Ningretongo* and *Bakratongo* features, that lead to redundancy or hypercorrection rather than to alternation.[143] Examples of forms and constructions that are reminiscent of these types of intermediate varieties are occasionally found in the sources of Early Sranan. They contain several forms and constructions that have a clear *Ningretongo* or *Bakratongo* equivalent (see below). The alternation between the second person singular personal pronoun and the third person singular personal pronoun in (5) above - repeated below for convenience-, may illustrate the second type of intermediate variety.

(8) *Odi* myn heer *hoe fa* *joe* *tan* *gran* *tanki* *fo* myn heer *a* *komi* *ja*
howdy my lord Q manner 2S stay many thanks to my lord 3S come here

fo loeke da da pranasie *wan trom* (VD c1765: 93)
to look LOC the plantation one time
['Goeden Dag myn Heer hoe Vaard uwe al, ik Bedank uw met een dat je zoo goed bent en bekykt de Plantagie eens.']
'Goodday, Sir, how are you? Many thanks to Sir, (that) he has come here to look at the plantation on this occasion.'

Furthermore, the use of the future marker *sa* in combination with the auxiliary *mu(su)* expressing Obligation and Need/Necessity ('must') that was presented above as an example of a more formal variety of Early Sranan, may also constitute a case of hypercorrection, thus illustrating the third type.

In addition to these types of intermediate varieties, several intermediate varieties may have existed that were coherent systems showing stratified yet regular linguistic behavior as opposed to the intermediate varieties discussed above. They may have been embedded in well-defined user groups (house slaves, travelling craftsmen etc.) and settings (the house, the marketplace etc.). However, little linguistic evidence is found for these varieties.

In the remainder of this section an overview of forms and constructions that have a *Ningretongo, Bakratongo* and/or intermediate variant is presented. I have identified 36 linguistic variables (forms and constructions) at the morpho-lexical, morpho-syntactic and syntactic level that have a *Ningretongo* and/or a *Bakratongo* and/or intermediate variant. They are represented in table 7.1. on the following pages.

[143] This division is adapted from Escure (1994).

Table 7.2 *An overview of* Ningretongo *and* Bakratongo *forms and constructions*

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	<

intermediate	source	> *Bakratongo*	source	section
POSSR (*fu*) POSSE	CR, HL, SPT, VD, N, SCH, WEY	> POSSR (PRON) POSSE	WEY	2.1.1
		> SUBJ = POSSR	WEY	5.5
no		> no	WEY	2.2.1
PRON-*srefi*		> PRON-*srefi*	WEY	2.2.2
		> PRON-*srefi*	WEY	2.2.3
		> *hati*	VD, N, SCH,WEY	2.3.1.3
		> 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	2.3.1.4
naki (*OBJ.)	VD	> *fom* (OBJ.)	VD, WEY	2.3.1.5
indeterminate	HL	> complement of copula	N, WEY	2.4
		> *grün/groen* 'green'	SCH, WEY	2.5.1
		> *geel/geelie* 'yellow'	SCH, WEY	
		> *twinting, twenti*	N, WEY	2.5.2
use cardinal numeral	VD, SCH			2.5.2
		> *iderwan*	VD	2.5.3
		> *pikinso*	WEY	2.5.3
		> N-*srefi* (bound), *srefi* (free)	VD, WEY	2.5.4
		> *arede* 'already'	VD, SCH	2.5.5
		> *baka* NP	WEY	2.6
		> *ini* NP	VD	
		> (LOC) *fesi* NP	SCH	
LOC *middri/ondro* NP	SPT	> LOC *ondro* NP	WEY	
		> *-tien*	N	3.1
		> redup. of N for emphasis	SCH, WEY	3.3
		> *bigin (fu)* (Ingress. Aspect)	WEY	4.1
		> *habi vandu* (Need)	SCH	4.1
wanni (Desire)	HL, SPT, VD, N, SCH, WEY	> *wensi* (Desire)	VD, WEY	4.1
Particle Comparative (*na*)	SCH	> Particle Comparative (*leki*)	SPT, VD, SCH, WEY	5.6
da NP/PP SUBJ. V (OBJ.)	VD, SCH, WEY	> *da* NP REL SUBJ. V (OBJ.)	WEY	5.10
simple juxtaposition	VD, SCH, WEY	> *dan* marks temp. sequence	WEY	6.1.1
(da) so	VD, SCH, WEY			6.1.1
		> *ofu*	SPT, VD, WEY	6.1.2
		> *dati* (COMP)	SPT, CR, VD, WEY	6.2.1.1
		> manip. verb with *fu* compl.	SPT, VD, WEY	6.2.1.2
headed by *datem*	SPT, VD, SCH, WEY			6.4.1

The findings reported in this table show that variation is not restricted to one particular sub-domain of the linguistic system; variant forms can be morphological, lexical and syntactic in nature.

7.2 Diachronic dimension

7.2.1 Introduction

As the sources date from the beginning, middle and end of the 18th century, thus spanning an entire century, some variation in the sources of Early Sranan can be accounted for in terms of language change: differences in the meanings, functions and uses of a feature in different sources of Early Sranan can be regarded as representing different stages in the features' development. The features listed in the previous sections differ from those presented here in that their meanings, functions and uses are primarily associated with a particular location, style, social class or ethnicity.

A rather simplified view of creole genesis and subsequent developments is that creole formation proper is mostly motivated by external linguistic models (i.e. the mother tongues of the enslaved Africans), whereas post-emergence changes are not induced by language contact (with the mother tongues of the enslaved Africans). They result from language-internal change. As these changes occur after the formative phase, they are not regarded as part of creole formation proper. However, language-internal changes can alter the grammar of the developing creole in ways that are almost as drastic as those changes that take place in the initial stages of creole formation. What is more, no hard and fast criteria exist that accurately distinguish between processes of creole formation and those underlying post-emergence changes (Migge 2003). Thus, creole formation and creole development cannot be distinguished on the basis of the outcomes of the types of change involved, that is language-internal or contact-induced change (Migge 2003, Winford 2006). Moreover, contact-induced and language-internal change often go hand in hand. For example, the multiple uses of *kaba* and *taki* result not from grammaticalization (a type of language-internal change) that took place within Sranan, but rather from transfer of its grammaticalized equivalents from the native languages of the enslaved Africans (Bruyn 1995, 1996, 2003).

In the sources of Early Sranan several examples of language-internal and contact-induced changes are found, as well as changes that, at present, cannot not be categorized as more research is needed. Some have already been discussed by Arends (1986, 1989), Smith (1987), Plag (1992, 1993, 1996) and Bruyn (1993, 1995, 1996). Others are summarized in subsequent sections. Note that the findings reported in these sections should be regarded as suggestions for further research rather than conclusions. As this study is mostly descriptive and comparative in nature, further research is needed to substantiate the changes observed below.

7.2.2 Examples of change

7.2.2.1 Contact-induced change

One type of contact-induced change that is encountered in the sources of Early Sranan is the replacement of English- and Portugese-derived forms and constructions with borrowings from Dutch or other forms and constructions. Some examples are presented in table 7.3. Note that there is some overlap with table 7.2 above. For obvious reasons Dutch-derived features are expected to occur in *Bakratongo* first and then spread to *Ningretongo*, if they spread.

Table 7.3 *Examples of contact-induced change (European)*

section	feature	Portugese-derived	English-derived	Dutch-derived
2.2.3	reciprocality			*makandra*
2.2.6	indef. pronouns		NEG + *wan tem* 'never'	*nembre* 'never'
2.5.1	color terms		*redi* 'red; yellow, brown'	*geli* 'yellow'
			blaka 'black; blue'	*blau* 'blue'
			lala 'green' (< Engl. *raw*)	*grun* 'green'
2.5.2	numerals		*neni* 'nine'	*negi* 'nine'
2.5.4	intensifier		*belle* 'very'	*heelie* 'very'
2.5.3	quantifier		*alla* 'all; every'	*hele* 'all'
2.6	preposition		-	*sondro* 'without'
			middri 'among'	*ondro* 'among'*
4.1.1	Tense: Future		*wil* 'shall; will'	*sa* 'shall; will'*
4.1.2	Aspect: Compl.	*kaba* 'already'	*arede* 'already'	
	Aspect: Ingress.		*setti* 'start; begin'	*bigin (fu)* 'begin (to)'*
4.1.3	Mood: Need		*habi wroko* 'need'	*habi vandu* 'need'
4.1.3	Mood: Desire		*wanni* 'want', *lobbi* 'love'	*wensi* 'want; wish'
6.1.1	conjunction	*kaba* 'but'	*noso* 'otherwise; if not'	*ma(ra)* 'but'; *tog* 'but'
6.1.2	conjunction		*efi* 'if; or'	*ofu* 'if; or'
6.2.1.1	complementizer		*taki* 'that'	*dati* 'that'*
6.3.1	serial verb constr.		*komoto* 'come out'	*komopo* 'come out'

* Note that the source forms of these items are not clear: they could be Dutch-derived or English-derived.

Another type of contact-induced change arises as the result of transfer or imposition by the enslaved Africans; meanings and uses of forms and constructions that are European in origin are sometimes modelled on equivalent constructions in the blacks' native languages. Although this study did not include a systematic comparison of Early Sranan forms and constructions and their (17th and 18th century) European and

African equivalents, new examples of possible substrate influence occasionally have come up. Some are listed in table 7.4.

Table 7.4 *Examples of contact-induced change (African)*

section	feature
2.2.1	logophoricity
2.3.1.3	body state expressions that consist of a verb meaning 'eat' ((*n*)*jam*) selecting a body part as its subject and a pronoun as its object
2.3.1.3; see also 5.5	*kisi* 'get; catch; have' takes a subject denoting a bodily function or a mental/physical state
2.5.1	the use of the color term *repi* or *lepi* 'ripe; be ripe; become ripe'
3.1	the nominalizing gender-neutral suffix *-man*
3.3	stative reduplication
5.6	the Allative Comparative
5.10	constructions with clefted verbs

Note that this overview is by no means complete for reasons already stated above. Proven examples of substrate influence in the Suriname Creoles can be found in the works of the participants of the NWO program 'A Trans-Atlantic Sprachbund? The structural relationships between the Gbe languages of West-Africa and the Surinamese Creole Languages'[144], as well as those of Migge (1998, 2003), Huttar (1981, 1985) and others.

7.2.2.2 Other types of change

In this section some examples of types of change other than contact-induced change are presented, including those resulting from language-internal change (via reanalysis and extension) and those resulting from simplification and levelling. Table 7.5 lists several features that exemplify non-contact induced change from a diachronic perspective. The features and the changes are described in more detail in the sections listed.

[144] See the work of Pieter Muysken, Norval Smith, Enoch Aboh, Felix Ameka, James Essegbey, Adrienne Bruyn and myself.

Table 7.5 *Other examples of change*

section	feature
2.2.2	PRON + *srefi* reflexive pronoun
2.2.3	PRON + *srefi* expressing reciprocality
2.3.1.1	weather verbs that can take expletive subjects
2.3.1.5	obligatory complement verbs *meki, kili, pulu, fom* and *naki*
2.5.4	intensifying *srefi* and intensifying diminutive *boi*
2.5.5	time adverbs *somtem* and *jusnu,* the manner adverb *soso,* the degree adverb *pikinso*
2.6.1.3	preposition *langa* > *nanga*
2.6.2.3	*na ini* NP 'inside' (locative) > *na ini* NP 'in' (temporal)
3.1	affix *–plesi* > *-pe*
5.11	*dasnotti* 'it is not important' > *danotti* 'forgiveness'

7.3 Variation in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

Throughout the book the findings on Early Sranan are compared with Eastern Maroon Creole. While in most cases Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole are very similar, several forms and constructions differ between these languages, as well as certain uses and meanings of similar forms and constructions. Some examples are listed in table 7.6 below.

Table 7.6 *Differences between Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole*

section	feature	Early Sranan	Eastern Maroon Creole
2.1.1	possession	-	*di fu* PRON NP 'my [NP]' *a* NP *di fu* PRON 'my [NP]'
2.2.6	indefinite pron.	*nemre* 'never'	*noiti* 'never'
2.5.1	color terms	*redi* 'red, yellow, brown'	*lebi* 'red'; *taya, donu* 'yellow'; *sukaati* 'brown'
2.5.2	card. numerals	*neni* 'nine'	*neigi(n)* 'nine'
	ord. numerals	CARD. NUM.	*di/du fu* + CARD. NUM. (+*toon* 'time')
2.5.3	quantifiers	*fulu* 'many'	*ipi* 'many'; *tyaipi* 'many'
2.5.4	intensifiers	- *kwetti* 'at all; very' (distribution: + pos. stat.; + neg. stat.) NP_i (...) *srefi*	*tuu* 'true' *kwetti* 'not at all' (distribution: – pos. stat.; + neg. stat.) NP_i *srefi*
2.6	adpositions	*leki* 'like' *na* (NP) *sey* (NP) 'beside' - -	*moo eeke* 'like' *na* (NP) *se/bansa* (*se*) (NP) 'beside' *boiti* 'besides; except' *na* (NP) *mofu/ede/sikin* (NP)
3.1	derivation	-	$[V–pe]_N$
4.1.1	Tense	*sa* (relative future tense)	*o* (relative future tense)

4.1.2	Aspect	*de* (optional; expresses Imperfective, Habitual, Progressive, Ingressive and Continuous Aspect)	*e* (obligatory; Imperfective, Habitual, Progressive, Ingressive but not Continuous Aspect)
		kom 'come'/ *bigin (fu)* 'begin' + stat. pred.; + non-stat. pred.	*kon* 'come'/*bigin (fu)* 'begin' - stat. pred.; + non-stat. pred.
		arede/*kaba* (Completive Perfect)	*kaba* (Completive Perfect)
4.1.3	Mood	*man fu* 'can'	*man (fu)* 'can' or *poi* 'can'
		mu(su) 'must' (need/necessity/obligation)	*mu* 'must' (obligation) *musu* 'must' (logical necessity)
		habi fan doe/*wroko* 'need'	-
4.2.1.3	valency	*meki* causatives have an animate agent	the causer is often not a personal agent, but a situation
		sori 'show' + IO (recipient/ beneficiary) + DO; both recipient and beneficiary can alternatively be expressed as PPs headed by *gi* or *na* and *na* respectively.	*soi* 'show' + IO (recipient/ beneficiary) + DO; beneficiary can alternatively be expressed through a PP headed by *gi;* recipient can only be IO.
		leni 'borrow; lend' + IO/DO + PP; PP headed by *na* or *fu* expresses source ('borrow') while *gi* expresses recipient ('lend'). NB. *Ningretongo* equivalent *juru.*	*leni* + IO + DO 'lend'; *leni* + DO + PP 'borrow'. PP headed by *(n)a.*
5.3	question words	**hu di*	*on-di* 'which?'
		fu hu(sanni) heddi 'why?' and *ver wate* 'why?'	*saide* 'why?' in addition to *(fu) san ede* 'why?'; *saanti* 'why?' and *san pasa* 'why?'
		if an element of a subordinate clause is questioned, the question word occurs at the beginning of the subordinate clause	if an element of a subordinate clause is questioned, the question word occurs at the beginning of the main clause
5.4	imperatives	-	imperatives can begin with the imperfective aspect marker *e*
5.5	pred. nominals	several types of copula-less predicate nominals are encountered	copula-less predicate nominals are limited
		proper inclusion and equation are marked by different copulas from the late 18th century onwards	proper inclusion and equation are not differentiated
5.6	comparative	-	Exceed-2
		-	Mixed Comparative (double *moo*)
		Exceed-1: *moro (leki)*	Exceed-2: *moo (eke)* or *pasa*
5.9	dislocation	left dislocation	left and right dislocation

5.10	clefting	relativizers, conjunctions and complementizers can introduce the non-focused constituent	relativizers, conjunctions and complementizers cannot introduce the non-focused constituent
6.1	coordination	-	(*da*) *soseefi* 'also'
		(da) so 'in this way; thus'	-
		nanga/langa 'and'	*anga (fu)* 'and'
		kaba 'and; but'	-
		noso 'otherwise; if not'	-
6.2	subordination	*dati* 'that' (complementizer)	-
6.3	serial verb const.	-	*pasa* 'to pass' (V2 in motion/change of location-type SVC)
		-	*poti* 'to put' (V2 in motion/change of location-type SVC)
		-	*teki* 'take' (V2 marks causative role)
		-	*tya* 'carry' (V2 marks comitative role)
6.4	adverbial clauses	*datem* 'when'	-
		befo 'before'	*fossi* 'before'
		-	*fu/fi* 'if' (conditional clause)
		concessive clauses follow the positive main clause; occasionally marked by the conjunction *alwassi* 'although; even though'.	concessive clauses precede the negative main clause; marked by the conjunctions *anga ala (fa)* 'although' and *(a)wansi (fa)* 'even though'.

Some of these differences listed in table 7.6 can be accounted for in terms of language-internal change, occuring in both Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole independently. Thus, we find for example *on-di* in Eastern Maroon Creole, and *hu-disi* in Early Sranan. Others result from contact-induced change: In some Sranan cases Dutch-derived forms and constructions are used whereas their Eastern Maroon Creole equivalent are English-derived. In a few cases Dutch-derived forms appear in Eastern Maroon Creole that are not encountered in Early Sranan. Instead English-derived forms are used in the Early Sranan sources, or there is no documented Early Sranan equivalent. Some differences between Eastern Maroon Creole and Early Sranan disclose that not every feature of Early Sranan is represented in the sources of Early Sranan, see for example the expression of possession and serial verb constructions.

7.4 Creole formation

In the debate on creole formation, creole features (items, constructions, paradigms etc.) have been interpreted at different levels: they are viewed as linguistic outcomes of developments in individual speakers' minds as well as elements of a newly formed community language. The former are cognitive in nature, the latter are social. Contact

linguists studying creole formation often adress one or the other: Supporters of the Bioprogram hypothesis (Bickerton 1981, 1984) and the Relexification hypothesis (Muysken 1981, Lefebvre 1998) focus on creole features as outcomes of mental processes, whereas proponents of the Gradualist model (Singler 1990, Arends 1993) focus on these features as social constructs. Often these theories appear as opposing views, as their proponents claim that the process of creole formation was completed at different times and through different agents: proponents of cognitivist theories of creole formation claim that creole formation is an instantaneous process that is completed within one generation, while proponents of socio-cultural theories of creole formation assume that creole formation is a gradual process, continuing for several generations. Furthermore, supporters of the Bioprogram hypothesis see children as the main agents of creole formation, whereas those in favor of the Relexification hypothesis and the Gradualist model argue that adults are the main agents. If children are the main agents, then the processes of creole formation are linked to first language acquisition processes, whereas in the case of adults creole formation involves second language acquisition. Note that in the case of adult second language acquisition, creole formation is not regarded as imperfect second language learning, but resulting from the same processes that make second language acquisition possible.

If we for the moment ignore the claims concerning the duration of the creole formation process and the main agents of creole formation, we see that these types of theory are really in complementary distribution, that they are not mutually exclusive: While cognitivist theories of creole formation focus on what happens at the level of the individual's mind, social theories of creole formation investigate the development of a shared linguistic code of a community, that is the cumulation of the linguistic outcomes of individual mental processes.[145] In this context, DeGraff (1999) proposes the terms I-creole and E-creole along the lines of Chomsky's (1986) distinction between I-language and E-language: the term I-creole refers to the relatively stable grammar in the mind of an individual speaker that shows a certain typological distance from the grammars of the languages in contact, whereas the term E-creole refers to the new community language. "In this view, E-creoles are epiphenomenal upon I-creoles insofar as the former are by-products of the "spreading" of parameter settings associated with the latter; such spreading takes place via further instances of acquisition as (speakers endowed with) I-creoles become more numerous, thus more influential in the makeup of the linguistic environment for the emerging creole community and its language acquirers" (DeGraff 1999: 9). Both adults and children play a role in DeGraff's model of creole formation: Adults function as introducers of unstable and variable innovations to the linguistic environment, whereas children, guided by Universal Grammar (UG), function as regulators, as they impose structure and/or uniformity on these innovations. Thus, children play the crucial role in creole formation, as "only children seem capable of attaining stable, UG-consistent, native-like systems relatively effortlessly and in rather short periods, even in the presence of unstable and restricted P[rimary] L[anguage] D[ata]" (DeGraff 1999: 526). The role of

[145] Several scholars have pointed this out already, in particular DeGraff (1999), but see also Bruyn (1995), Roberts (1998) and Mufwene (2001) among others.

children in creole formation has been heavily debated. With regard to the formation of the Suriname creoles, Arends (1993, 1995) has shown that locally-born children of African descent were only a small minority among the plantation slaves throughout the 18th century, and that, therefore, their role in (E-)creole formation is rather limited. This is not to say that there were no children among the enslaved Africans from the late 17th century onwards: In chapter 1 we saw that 8 boys and 7 girls under the age of 12 were among the 66 Africans living on the Surimombo plantation of Basseliers in 1684. Most likely they were African-born (see also Arends 1995, Smith 2001b), although a minority may have been locally-born. I assume that, by Labov's Uniformitarian principle, their varieties of the local community language may be more stable and more systematic than those of the adults in the community. Thus, I-creole may have existed already in the 1680s, if not earlier. As a result, I-creole features are expected to occur in the feature pool from which adults and children, Europeans and Africans, select linguistic material to construct their idiolects.[146] However, I-creole features certainly do not outnumber the features that are unstable, variable and possibly non-UG-consistent in the Surimombo feature pool of 1684. What is more, I-creole features never outnumber these unstable and variable features in the Surimombo feature pool or in the general Suriname feature pool in the 18th century. Arends (1995, 1998, 2002) shows that throughout the 18th century Suriname-born blacks were outnumbered by new arrivals from Africa. For example, three out of every four blacks (excluding the Maroons) had been born in Africa in 1750. Thus, for three quarters of the slave population, Sranan was a second rather than a first language. In the feature pool of 1750, like the Surimombo feature pool of 1684, unstable and variable features must have outnumbered I-creole features. If the proportion of I-creole features and non-I-creole features was the sole indicator of the emergence of a stable and invariable, native-like E-creole, then a stable and invariable, native-like E-creole would not have emerged in Suriname in the 18th century. Indeed, several of our findings illustrate that even the 18th century *Ningretongo* variety of the E-creole was not native-like: For example, property items can be verbal or adjectival, the imperfective aspect marker *de* is optional rather than categorical, and adverbs as well as scope particles have no fixed position in the main clause. Non-native speakers of contemporary Eastern Maroon Creole and Sranan display similar constructions in their speech whereas native speakers of these languages do not (Migge & Van den Berg, in prep; see also Winford 2000). Other findings illustrate that the E-creole was variable and unstable, in the sense that over time certain features changed under the influence of language contact and/or language-internal factors, see section 7.2 above. See also Arends (1986, 1989), Bruyn (1995, 1996) and Smith (1987, 2000).

On the other hand, our study of the Early Sranan texts also reveals that a number of primary features of Early Sranan must be regarded as stable, invariable and native-like, as they are used consistently in all sources of Early Sranan and they resemble their native contemporary Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole equivalents. See for example chapters 5 and 6 on single and complex clauses as well as chapter 3 on morphology and various items discussed in chapter 2. How can this be? Can a

[146] The notion of a feature pool is derived from Mufwene (2001, 2002). It is an analogue of the gene pool in biology.

relatively stable, invariable and native-like E-creole emerge through speech accomodation?

Awaiting further research that investigates the role of speech accomodation in language development, I propose the following scenario of the formation of Sranan, based on insights from recent studies on second language acquisition and second language use as well as koineization (Muysken 2001; Siegel 1999, 2001, 2003, Kerswill 2002). As stated in chapter 1, the restructuring that lead to the formation of the *Nengretongo* variety of Early Sranan first occurred on the plantations at the Upper-Suriname River in the 1680s. In addition to restricted access to the European languages of the planters due to dramatic expansion of the slave force, I assume that accomodation by the Europeans may have increased the distance between the European languages and the newly emerging contact varieties on these plantations.[147] As new enslaved Africans came from different regions and from different ethnic backgrounds, they needed not only a language to facilitate communication with the Europeans but also a means of communication among themselves, which resulted in the expansion of the language that was used for communication with the Europeans to the extent that it could facilitate communication in several sorts of situations and settings. The oldest Sranan text known to date, that is the dialogue between Mingo and Waly in the Court Records of 1707, shows that this new language was no longer restricted to interethnic communication in the early 18th century and that, by that time, it had (covert) prestige in that it marked local identity: Even though Waly and Mingo share the same ethnic background (they are referred to as brothers in the records), they communicate in Sranan instead of their shared mother tongue. Its prestige as a marker of local identity may have been an important factor in the development of both the *Bakratongo* and the *Nengretongo* variety of the language, but this needs to investigated in more detail.[148]

Note that expansion, which may take place at different times and different rates with different outcomes on different locations, entails that some features are eliminated from the feature pool, while others are retained and, in some cases, altered structurally and semantically. They can be reduced and simplified and subsequently can be assigned new meanings, uses and functions, including stylistic and social functions. These processes of levelling[149], reduction[150] and simplification[151] on the one

[147] Voorhoeve (1983) claims that the Dutch learned their slaves a form of English for contact, using Dutch only among themselves and keeping it as a caste language which slaves were not allowed to know. Our findings presented in chapter 1 suggest that a variety of what later became known as Sranan was spoken not only by the Africans and their descendents, but also by the Europeans in the early 18th century (*Bakratongo*). What is more, we know that Dutch was used by freemen of African descent, so Dutch could not have been a caste language of just the European planter families. Even though these findings do not falsify Voorhoeve's claim, they do show that the actual language situation was much more complex than claimed by Voorhoeve (1983).

[148] See Roberts (2000, 2004) for the influence of prestige as a marker of local identity on the development of Hawaiian Creole English.

[149] Levelling is the elimination of some variants from the pool of variants and the retention of others (Siegel 2003).

[150] The term reduction is used here in the sense of Mühlhäusler (1980). It refers to those processes that lead to a decrease in the referential or non-referential potential of a language. Thus, reduced vocabularies or fewer stylistic devices are outcomes of reduction (Kerswill 2003).

hand and reallocation[152] on the other lasted an extended period of time for a variety of reasons, including the absence of a prescriptive linguistic standard and the instability of the speech community caused by a high mortality rate, a low birth rate and continuous influx of new enslaved Africans, as well as the growth of the slave population per plantation and the concomitant change in the social structure of that plantation (Arends 1995, 2003). This is not to say that the processes of levelling, reduction, simplification and reallocation have the same effect in initial and subsequent developmental stages of the E-creole: I assume that, at first, the E-creole is made up of the most common shared features in the feature pool after reduction, simplification, levelling and some reallocation. Relatively idiosyncratic features are not selected in the emerging contact variety, instead the most common shared features are retained. Frequency also plays a role: As certain features are used more frequently than others, their chances of retention increase. (Note that the most common shared features are also the most frequently used features.) Frequency also determines which features are levelled out and which features are subjected to reallocation: less frequently used features are less likely to be reallocated whereas they are more likely to be levelled out than more frequently used features. A feature's frequency in use may affected by its naturalness, lack of typological markedness, semantic transparency etc.

The native languages of the speakers contributing to the feature pool also play a role in the selection process: They can influence the restructuring process that underlies the simplification and reallocation of a certain feature through transfer. What is more, if a restructured feature displays transfer of a certain language, and this language is shared by many of the speakers contributing to the feature pool, the chances of retention of this feature are quite high. Speakers of the same native language will be attracted to this restructured feature and use it, as its meanings, functions and uses are, in some sense, familiar. As a result, its frequency goes up, as do its chances of retention. Indeed, some of our findings can be explained in terms of transfer from the native languages of the enslaved Africans, see section 7.2.2. Other features, however, are very different from those present in these languages.

The above scenario is particularly plausible in situations in where there is no alternative feature available: An individual may have coined an innovative feature to meet a communicative demand or out of a desire to express a message of greater complexity than the existing linguistic system could cope with. Subsequently this feature is picked up by other members of the speech community. However, the scenario outlined above can also occur in situations where an alternative feature does exist: Speakers continuously add new features to the feature pool for socio-stylistic reasons, even though alternatives with similar meanings, functions and uses are available. Some are retained in the E-creole, others are not. Thus, different varieties of

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[151] The term simplification refers to those processes that cause an increase in regularity or a decrease in markedness, resulting in, for example, a decrease in irregularity in morphology and an increase in invariable word forms as well as the loss of categories such as gender, the loss of morphologically marked cases, simplified morphophonemics and a decrease in the number of phonemes (Kerswill 2003).

[152] Reallocation refers to the 'refunctionalisation' of a feature after levelling: It survived the levelling process, but it is assigned a new social or linguistic function in the newly emerging language variety (Trudgill 1986 in Kerswill 2003; see also Siegel 1999, 2001, 2003).

the E-creole are created, that mark different speaker identities. In particular features that exhibit transfer in second language use can become markers of non-native speaker identity, performing at the same time as markers that give the nonnative variety its covert prestige (Siegel 2003). For example, while reduplication is used mainly a means to express intensification or multiplicity in the *Bakratongo* variety of Sranan, it has many more functions in the *Nengretongo* variety of Sranan that can be accounted for in terms of transfer from the enslaved Africans' native languages, see section 3.3. Not only do these functions enable the speaker to express a message of greater complexity, they also underline the ethnic identity of the speaker: Speakers with same or similar backgrounds are more likely to recognize and copy this behavior than those who come from very different backgrounds, for example those speaking non-reduplicating languages or languages in which reduplications have different meanings, functions and uses. Note that even though the findings on reduplication date from the second half of the 18th century, both types of reduplication may have existed already in the first half of the 18th century. In the light of the socio-demographic development of Suriname it is likely that both *Bakratongo* and *Ningretongo* features occurred already as early as the early 1700s, see section 1.2.

7.5 Suggestions for further research

This book presents a detailed linguistic description of a variety of features of Early Sranan and compares them primarily with their Nduyka and, to a lesser extent, Paamaka equivalents. However, these languages are not the only creole languages of Suriname, which further include the varieties of Eastern Maroon Creole spoken by the Aluku-Boni and Kwinti as well as the Western Maroon Creole varieties Saramaccan and Matawai.[153] I suggest for further research a detailed and systematic comparison between all of these languages for the following reasons. First, it will deepen our understanding of the linguistic relationships between the Surinamese creole languages. While we know on the basis of anthropological as well as historical studies that the ancestors of the people who speak these languages fled the Suriname plantations at different times and settled in different places and we are aware of some of the similarities and the differences between these language, it is not clear how these facts are related. Some of the similarities between these languages could be explained in terms of a common origin. Others could be the result of similar but independent developments resulting from language-internal change. Alternatively, language-internal change may account for some of the differences between these languages in addition to other factors. For example, Saramaccan appears to be very different from Sranan in terms of phonology, morphology, syntax as well as pragmatics whereas the differences between Sranan and Kwinti are less dramatic. The first clan of the Saramaccan tribe can be traced back to the 1690s. It is not known when the first people who would later be known as the Kwinti escaped, but they had established settlements in almost inaccessible swamps bearing the name of *Duivelsbroekzwamp* (Devil's Swamp) before 1750 (Hoogbergen 1992). It is generally agreed that the Kwinti tribe was formed at a later date than the other Maroon tribes. Thus, it appears that some of the differences

[153] In addition, some 50,000 people speak Guyanese Creole English in Suriname (SIL Ethnologue).

between Saramaccan and Kwinti reflect differences between late 17th century Sranan and early mid-18th century Sranan. At the same time, the mother tongues of the enslaved Africans who formed the Saramaccan and the Kwinti tribe seem to have had different effects on the emerging Maroon creole languages. In part, this may be explained as late 17th century Sranan appears to have been less stable, invariable and native-like than its early mid-18th century equivalent. A comparison of all of these languages would greatly expand our knowledge of the relationships between the Suriname Creoles on the basis of linguistic evidence as well as advance our understanding of the processes that underly language formation and language development. What is more, the speakers of these languages will benefit from this type of research as the detailed linguistic descriptions of these languages that are needed to set up the comparison, will enable them to preserve and promote their linguistic and cultural heritage.

Since the 1990s several scholars at the universities of Amsterdam, Leiden and Nijmegen have been collecting and digitalizing historical documents on the Suriname Creoles. These documents are currently prepared for inclusion in the Suriname Creole Archive (SUCA) that is under construction at the Radboud University of Nijmegen in cooperation with the Max Planck Institute. Note that only some of the documents that will be stored in SUCA have been used here. Others, however, have not yet been investigated in detail, in particular the 18th Saramaccan texts that were collected by Jacques Arends. These texts include dictionaries, gospel texts and songbooks composed by Moravian brothers as well as letters written by native speakers of Saramaccan. I strongly suggest that these texts are investigated for the same reasons as the Early Sranan texts: They provide an invaluable window on the language as it was used in the 18th century. Fortunately, Marleen van de Vate started last year with her research on the Saramaccan verbal system from a diachronic perspective (Van de Vate in prep.).

Furthermore, the SUCA texts can be compared with historical texts in and on other contact languages, for example Guyanese Creole (Rickford 1987), St. Kitts Creole (Baker & Bruyn 1998), Hawaiian Creole English (Roberts 2000, 2004), Sierra Leone Krio (Huber 1999), East Australian Pidgin English (Baker & Huber 2000) and Chinese Pidgin English (Baker & Huber 2000) among others. As earlier scholarship often overstated the similarities among creoles and ignored key properties unique to individual ones, I suggest that both unique and shared features are addressed.

The SUCA texts will be lemmatized, glossed and tagged for parts of speech. This way the historical documents are opened up to the scientific community as well as other interested parties while at the same time it provides them with the necessary tools to appreciate the documents. What is more, SUCA contributes to a new, less biased perspective on language formation and language development introduced by Tagliamonte (1998), as annotated texts can more easily be examined using quantitative variationist techniques and multivariate analysis.

Another line of inquiry that can be pursued now that most linguistic aspects of Early Sranan are described involves a comparison of these findings with their 17th and 18th century equivalents in the standard as well as non-standard varieties of languages that contributed to the Suriname Creoles. Arends (2002) lists a number of

relevant 17th and 18th century West-African texts that could be used as a basis for this comparison. The corpus of Early English Correspondence[154] as well as the Dutch in Transition corpus[155] may also be interesting, even though there is an overrepresentation of respectively royal and government officials among the authors of the documents in these corpora. Since royal and government officials were not the majority of the Europeans that colonized Suriname, private letters by people who were less high on the social ladder are to be preferred. The products of their pens, however, are not often preserved. Some 38.000 letters by Dutch men and women, mostly sailors and their relatives, form the remarkabe exception to this rule. Originally, these letters were found on board of thousands of Dutch ships seized by the English during a period of over 200 years from the early 17th until early 19th century. As the ships and their contents were never returned, the letters are now in the National Archives in London, where they were recently rediscovered. The Dutch historian Roelof van Gelder made an inventory and found that about half of the correspondence is with the former colonial settements in the Atlantic region, including Suriname.[156] Van Gelder further selected one of the letters from Suriname for publication. This letter, written by a woman named Jetie in Paramaribo in the first months of 1795, is a heartfelt cry to J. W. Krafft, who most likely resided in Rotterdam (NRC Magazine Juli 2006). Not much is known about Jetie, but the contents of the letter reveal several interesting things about her: Most likely she was of mixed African-European descent and was Krafft's concubine. The influence of those of European and African-European descent on the developing creole language has hardly been investigated, but to really understand creole genesis and creole development, it should be taken into consideration: Even though Sranan emerged first as an interethnic medium of communication between enslaved Africans and European planter families on the Suriname plantations in the late 17th century, it developed into a language spoken on the plantations and in the city, by enslaved and free blacks as well as whites and those of mixed descent during the 18th century. I will therefore end this section with an excerpt from Jetie's letter, as it shows that for her, and presumably for many others, Sranan was the language of the heart:

> "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.*"[157]

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[154] The corpus of Early English Correspondence is compiled by the Sociolinguistics and Language History Project Team at the Department of English, University of Helsinki.

[155] The Dutch in Transition corpus is compiled by the Variation and Standardisation Project Team at the English department of the Radboud University of Nijmegen.

[156] The inventory was carried out as part of the Sailing Letters project under the supervision of the National Library of the Netherlands.

[157] I hereby express my gratitude to Roelof van Gelder, as the excerpt is based on a copy of the original letter that he kindly made available to me.

"Bye my best soul mate. And do not leave me: Rember 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 bosom friend. Farewell. Return soon. *Give your children (my) greetings*."

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Samenvatting (Summary in Dutch)

Dit proefschrift geeft een overzicht van de basiskenmerken van het Oud Sranan, de achttiende-eeuwse voorloper van het hedendaagse Sranan. Het hedendaagse Sranan, ook wel bekend as Surinaams, Sranantongo of Nengretongo, is de moedertaal van veel Creolen van West-Afrikaanse origine in Suriname en Nederland, al wordt het niet alleen door deze etnische groep gesproken. In Suriname wordt het Sranan veel gebruikt als interculturele omgangstaal, naast onder andere het Nederlands en het Surinaams Nederlands. Zo is het Sranan ook ooit begonnen, al waren de omstandigheden destijds nogal verschillend: het Sranan is ontstaan als interculturele omgangstaal tussen tot slaaf gemaakte Afrikanen enerzijds en Europeanen anderzijds aan het eind van de zeventiende eeuw.

De beschrijving van de basiskenmerken van het Oud Sranan is grotendeels gebaseerd op historische bronnen, al is het gebruik hiervan voor dit doeleinde niet zonder problemen. In **hoofdstuk 1** worden de gebruikte bronnen besproken. Ook wordt in dit hoofdstuk behandeld welke problemen men tegen kan komen bij het gebruik van historische bronnen, en hoe deze kunnen worden ondervangen. Het voornaamste probleem is dat de bronnen onderling verschillen met betrekking tot de grammatica, de semantiek en de spelling. Deze verschillen kunnen het gevolg zijn van taalverandering, maar ze kunnen daarentegen ook het gevolg zijn van verschillen tussen de taalbeheersing van de verschillende auteurs. Daarnaast kunnen de verschillen tussen de bronnen het gevolg zijn van werkelijke regionale, sociale of stylistische variatie. Niet alle verschillen tussen bronnen geven dus een waarheidsgetrouw beeld van de ontwikkeling van het Oud Sranan. Dit probleem wordt in dit proefschrift ondervangen door de toepassing van de volgende onderzoeksmethode. Verschillende typen historische bronnen worden op tal van kenmerken met elkaar vergeleken om zoveel mogelijk verschillen en overeenkomsten tussen deze bronnen in kaart te brengen. Deze kenmerken van het Oud Sranan worden vervolgens vergeleken met het Ndyuka (ook wel bekend onder de namen Okanisi of Aukaans), en soms met het Paramakaans en het Saramakaans. Dit zijn aan het Sranan verwante talen die door verschillende groepen Marrons, ook wel Bosnegers of Boslandcreolen genoemd, worden gesproken. Ze zijn uit het Oud Sranan ontstaan. Vooral de vergelijking met het Ndyuka is belangrijk., omdat de voorouders van de Ndyuka aan het begin van de achttiende eeuw wegvluchtten van de plantages en zich vestigden in het binnenland van Suriname. Over het algemeen wordt aangenomen dat de fundamenten van het taalsysteem van het Sranan toen overeind stonden. Omdat het Ndyuka veel minder dan het Sranan in contact heeft gestaan met het Nederlands, ga ik er van uit dat het Ndyuka veel minder door externe factoren beïnvloed is. Als gevolg hiervan staat het Ndyuka dus dichter bij de taal van de 18e eeuwse slaven staat dan het hedendaagse Sranan. Overeenkomsten tussen een kenmerk van een historische bron en het Nduyka kunnen dus een aanwijzing vormen dat het desbetreffende kenmerk werkelijk tot de taal van de slaven behoorde. We moeten echter wel in het achterhoofd houden dat taalverandering niet alleen door externe factoren veroorzaakt wordt. Taalverandering kan ook door taal-interne factoren tot stand komen. Overeenkomsten en verschillen tussen het Oud Sranan in de bronnen

en het Ndyuka hoeven daarom niet per sé te betekenen dat een kenmerk wel of niet tot het Sranan van de slaven gerekend mag worden. De verschillen tussen het Oud Sranan en het Nduyka, die door taalverandering als gevolg van taal-interne factoren in het Ndyuka zijn ontstaan, zijn echter vaak te herkennen. Dit type taalverandering verloopt namelijk meestal volgens voorspelbare patronen. In dit proefschrift heb ik daarom zowel de verschillen als de overeenkomsten tussen het Oud Sranan en het Ndyuka onderzocht op basis van wat er bekend is uit de taaltypologie en over taalverwerving en taalverandering.

Hoofdstuk 2 behandelt de bouwstenen van het Oud-Sranan en het Ndyuka, zoals zelfstandig naamwoorden, voornaamwoorden, werkwoorden, enzovoorts.

De morfologie van het Oud-Sranan wordt besproken in **hoofdstuk 3**. Uitkomsten van verschillende woordvormingsprocessen zoals afleiding, samenstelling en reduplicatie komen aan bod. Er zijn allerlei overeenkomsten en verschillen tussen het Oud-Sranan en het Ndyuka, die in dit hoofdstuk uitgebreid worden behandeld. Zo komt bijvoorbeeld in zowel het Oud-Sranan als in het Ndyuka het gebonden morfeem *–pe* voor. In het Ndyuka vormt het in combinatie met een werkwoord een nieuw zelfstandig naamwoord dat een locatie aanduidt (afleiding). In verschillende historische bronnen van het Oud-Sranan kan het echter alleen gecombineerd worden met functiewoorden zoals lidwoorden en vraagwoorden. Er zijn geen voorbeelden van combinaties van *pe* met een werkwoord. Een Oud Sranan werkwoord kan daarentegen wel gecombineerd worden met *plesi,* dat is afgeleid van het Engelse *place* 'plaats'. Op basis van deze bevindingen concludeer ik dat *plesi* aan het begin van de 18e eeuw gebruikt werd om zowel complexe functiewoorden als plaatswoorden te vormen, en dat de grammaticalisatie van *plesi* tot *pe* in het Oud-Sranan en het Ndyuka afzonderlijk van elkaar heeft plaatsgevonden.

Hoofdstuk 4 behandelt een aantal aspecten van het werkwoord, zoals de uitdrukking van Tijd, Modaliteit en Aspect. Tijd, Modaliteit en Aspect worden onder andere uitgedrukt door middel van hulpwerkwoorden voor het werkwoord. De hulpwerkwoorden die hiervoor in het Oud Sranan gebruikt worden vertonen echter nogal wat verschillen met hun hedendaagse equivalenten in het Nduyka en het Sranan. Zo markeert de vorm *sa* - waarschijnlijk afkomstig van het Engelse *shall*, al is het Nederlandse *zal* ook een mogelijke bron - in het Oud-Sranan de toekomende tijd, terwijl *sa* in het Ndyuka voornamelijk wordt gebruikt als een hulpwerkwoord van Modaliteit. Het gebruik van *sa* in het Nduyka geeft aan dat de spreker niet zeker weet of datgene waar hij het over heeft daadwerkelijk zal gaan gebeuren. In dit hoofdstuk wordt ook de werkwoord-argumentstruktuur van het Oud-Sranan besproken en vergeleken met dat van het Ndyuka.

In **hoofdstuk 5** komen verschillende typen zinnen aan bod, waaronder bewerende zinnen, vraagzinnen, imperatieven en vergelijkingen. Ook behandel ik een aantal processen die de zinsstructuur kunnen veranderen. Dit hoofdstuk wordt afgesloten met een bespreking van een aantal uitroepen, verwensingen en beledigingen.

Complexe zinnen, dat wil zeggen constructies die uit meer dan één zin bestaan, worden in **hoofdstuk 6** besproken. Het gaat hier onder andere om samengestelde zinnen, ondergeschikte zinnen en bijwoordelijke bijzinnen en de

elementen die daar een rol in spelen. Een vergelijking van de voegwoorden die complexe zinnen aan elkaar verbinden tussen het Oud-Sranan en het Ndyuka levert interessante resultaten op. In de historische bronnen treft men *ofu, efu* en *efi* aan om een keuzemogelijkheid uit te drukken. Ook in het Ndyuka komen deze varianten voor. *Noso* and *kaba* zijn gegrammaticaliseerde voegwoorden die een tegenstelling uitdrukken in het Oud-Sranan. Deze voegwoorden komen niet in het Ndyuka voor. Het onderschikkende voegwoord *dati* blijkt veel ouder te zijn dan gedacht, als is het ook weer niet zo oud dat het ook in het Ndyuka gevonden wordt. *Dati* is geen Ndyuka voegwoord. Ook het gebruik van *taki* 'zeggen' als een voegwoord ('dat') blijkt, anders dan soms wordt aangenomen, geen recente ontwikkeling te zijn. Verder worden in dit hoofdstuk verschillende werkwoorden besproken die een zin als argument aannemen. Ook seriële werkwoordconstructies en andere combinaties van werkwoorden worden hier behandeld. Slechts een beperkt aantal werkwoorden wordt in de historische bronnen in een seriële werkwoordconstructie aangetroffen, terwijl het aantal werkwoorden dat in het Ndyuka en het hedendaagse Sranan in een dergelijke constructie kan voorkomen veel groter is. Deze ondervertegenwoordiging is waarschijnlijk het gevolg van de onbekendheid van de auteurs met dit verschijnsel.

In **hoofdstuk 7** worden de verschillen tussen de historische bronnen onderling en de verschillen tussen de bronnen en het Ndyuka uit de voorafgaande hoofdstukken samengevat en op verschillende dimensies uitgezet. Zo ontstaat een duidelijk overzicht van regionale, sociale, stilistische en diachrone taalvariatie in het Oud Sranan.

Curriculum Vitae

Margot van den Berg (born in Hilversum, the Netherlands on april 24, 1975) began her studies at the Radboud University of Nijmegen, known at that time as the Catholic University of Nijmegen, in 1993. After completing the *propedeuse* in Dutch Language and Literature in 1995, she switched to General Linguistics. During her study she developed an interest in language formation and language contact, which led her to take several courses on this subject at the University of Amsterdam, including a course on codeswitching by prof. dr. Pieter Muysken. In 2000 she completed her master's thesis titled "'Mi no sal tron tongo" Early Sranan in court records, 1667 – 1767' that was based on archival research in the National Archives in The Hague, The Netherlands under the supervision of dr. Leon Stassen (Radboud University of Nijmegen) and dr. Jacques Arends (University of Amsterdam). From 2000 to 2006 she held a PhD position at the Linguistics department of the University of Amsterdam under the supervision of prof. dr. Pieter Muysken (Radboud University of Nijmegen) and dr. Norval Smith (University of Amsterdam), participating in the NWO research programme 'A Trans-Atlantic Sprachbund? The structural relationships between the Gbe languages of West-Africa and the Surinamese Creole languages'. In 2003 she conducted fieldwork in Suriname, studying word formation procesess with elderly people in Paramaribo and Para as well searching the archives of the Evangelische Broeder Gemeente Suriname (EBGS) for new data on Early Sranan. From 2003 to 2004 she visited several universities in the U.S. on a NWO traveling scholarship. Currently she is working on the NWO project 'The Suriname Creole Archive (SUCA)', a joint project of the Max Planck Institute, the Radboud University of Nijmegen and the University of Amsterdam.