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A

***A Morphosyntactic Analysis of Surinamese Dutch as Spoken by the Creole  
Population of Paramaribo, Suriname***

by

**Christina Mary de Kleine**

**A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Linguistics in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New  
York.**

**1999**

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Linguistics in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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## Table of Contents

Acknowledgements .....	v
Table of Contents .....	vi
List of Tables .....	ix
List of Abbreviations .....	x
<b>CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.0. THE STUDY OF SURINAMESE DUTCH .....	1
1.1. METHODOLOGY .....	5
1.2. THE PILOT STUDY .....	6
1.3. THE PRESENT STUDY .....	9
1.3.1. RESTRICTING THE STUDY TO ONE ETHNIC GROUP: THE CREOLES .....	9
1.3.2. SELECTING INTERVIEWERS .....	10
1.3.3. SELECTING INFORMANTS .....	15
1.3.4. THE DATA .....	17
<b>CHAPTER TWO: AN OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON SURINAMESE DUTCH.....</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>CHAPTER THREE: THE HISTORY OF THE USE OF DUTCH IN SURINAME .....</b>	<b>38</b>
3.0. INTRODUCTION .....	38
3.1. THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY .....	40
3.2. THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY .....	43
3.3. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY .....	51
3.4. THE TWENTIETH CENTURY .....	59
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: THE CURRENT SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION IN SURINAME .....</b>	<b>67</b>
4.0. INTRODUCTION .....	67
4.1. LANGUAGE USE AMONG THE VARIOUS ETHNIC GROUPS .....	69
4.1.1. THE AMERINDIANS .....	69
4.1.2. THE EAST INDIANS .....	71
4.1.3. THE JAVANESE .....	71
4.1.4. THE CHINESE .....	72
4.1.5. THE CREOLES .....	74
4.1.6. THE MAROONS .....	74
4.2. THE USE OF DUTCH .....	75
4.3. LANGUAGE CHOICE AMONG CREOLES: DUTCH VERSUS SRANAN .....	85
4.4. CODESWITCHING .....	89
<b>CHAPTER FIVE: THE VERB PHRASE .....</b>	<b>94</b>
5.0. INTRODUCTION .....	94
5.1. FUTURE TENSE MARKING .....	95
5.1.1. FUTURE TENSE MARKING IN ED .....	95
5.1.2. FUTURE TENSE MARKING IN SD .....	100
5.1.2.1. THE USE OF <i>GAAN</i> .....	100
5.1.2.1.1. TEMPORAL USE OF <i>GAAN</i> .....	100
5.1.2.1.2. ASPECTUAL USE OF <i>GAAN</i> .....	110
5.1.2.2. THE USE OF <i>ZULLEN</i> .....	115

5.2. PAST TENSE MARKING.....	122
5.2.1. PAST TENSE MARKING IN ED .....	122
5.2.2. PAST TENSE MARKING IN SD .....	124
5.2.2.1. THE USE OF PRESENT FORMS.....	124
5.2.2.2. THE USE OF PLUPERFECT FORMS .....	139
5.3. CONDITIONAL SENTENCES .....	147
5.3.1. CONDITIONAL SENTENCES IN ED.....	147
5.3.2. CONDITIONAL SENTENCES IN SD.....	148
5.4. MODAL VERBS .....	154
5.4.1. THE USE OF <i>GAAN</i> REPLACING A MODAL VERB .....	154
5.4.2. THE USE OF <i>MOETEN</i> INSTEAD OF <i>HOEVEN</i> .....	156
5.4.3. THE USE OF MODAL <i>KOMEN</i> .....	156
5.4.4. PAIRED MODAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS .....	157
5.5. PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS .....	158
5.6. HIGHLIGHTING.....	160
5.7. REFLEXIVE VERBS.....	163
5.8. TRANSITIVITY .....	164
5.9. VERB CONJUGATIONS .....	168
<b>CHAPTER SIX: THE NOUN PHRASE.....</b>	<b>172</b>
6.0. INTRODUCTION .....	172
6.1. THE ARTICLE.....	173
6.1.1. THE USE OF <i>DIE</i> .....	173
6.1.2. THE USE OF THE ZERO ARTICLE.....	178
6.2. PLURAL MARKING.....	184
6.3. GENDER .....	191
6.4. PRONOUNS .....	195
6.4.1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.....	195
6.4.1.1. THE USE OF <i>HET</i> .....	195
6.4.1.2. THE USE OF <i>HU</i> AND <i>ZIJ</i> .....	197
6.4.1.3. THE USE OF <i>DAT DING</i> .....	198
6.4.1.4. THE USE OF <i>DIE MANNEN</i> .....	200
6.4.2. RELATIVE PRONOUNS .....	201
6.4.3. THE ABSENCE OF ED PRONOMINAL <i>ER</i> .....	204
6.4.4. RESUMPTIVE PRONOUNS.....	208
6.4.5. IDENTIFYING CONSTRUCTIONS.....	209
<b>CHAPTER SEVEN: CLAUSE STRUCTURE.....</b>	<b>212</b>
7.0. INTRODUCTION .....	212
7.1. MAIN CLAUSES.....	213
7.1.1. MULTIPLE CONSTITUENTS IN PREVERBAL POSITION .....	213
7.1.2. ABSENCE OF A CONSTITUENT IN PREVERBAL POSITION .....	216
7.2. SUBORDINATE CLAUSES.....	222
7.2.1. SVO WORD ORDER .....	222
7.2.2. THE USE OF <i>ZEG</i> .....	225
7.2.3. THE USE OF <i>VAN</i> .....	228
7.2.4. THE USE OF <i>ALS</i> VS. <i>OF</i> .....	229

<b>CHAPTER EIGHT: THE FORMATION OF SURINAMESE DUTCH .....</b>	<b>233</b>
8.0. INTRODUCTION .....	233
8.1. INTERNAL CHANGE .....	235
8.1.1. SIMPLIFICATION THROUGH LOSS OF FORMS .....	237
8.1.2. SIMPLIFICATION THROUGH CHANGE OF FORMS .....	238
8.2. EXTERNAL CHANGE .....	241
8.2.1. SRANAN INFLUENCE .....	243
8.2.1.1. TRANSFER OF GRAMMATICAL FUNCTIONS IN SD .....	244
8.2.1.2. TRANSFER OF GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURES IN SD .....	250
8.3. ED INFLUENCE.....	252
8.4. CONCLUSION.....	254
<b>CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSIONS.....</b>	<b>257</b>
<b>APPENDIX A.....</b>	<b>262</b>
<b>APPENDIX B.....</b>	<b>272</b>
<b>APPENDIX C.....</b>	<b>281</b>
Bibliography.....	290

## List of Tables

TABLE 1. THE INTERVIEWERS .....	13
TABLE 2. THE INFORMANTS.....	24
TABLE 3. POPULATION OF SURINAME IN 1787 (NASSY ET AL. 1791, PART 2: 31/32).....	43
TABLE 4. "HOW WOULD YOU RATE YOUR COMMAND OF DUTCH?" .....	79
TABLE 5. "WHICH LANGUAGE WAS SPOKEN TO YOU AT HOME WHEN YOU WERE RAISED?" .....	80
TABLE 6. "WHICH LANGUAGE WAS SPOKEN TO YOU AT HOME WHEN YOU WERE RAISED?" .....	81
TABLE 7. "WHICH LANGUAGE DO (DID) YOU SPEAK TO YOUR CHILDREN?" .....	82
TABLE 8. "WHICH LANGUAGE DO YOUR CHILDREN SPEAK AMONG THEMSELVES (WITH NO PARENT PRESENT)?" .....	83
TABLE 9. THE FUTURE TENSE IN ED .....	99
TABLE 10. ARTICLE USAGE IN SRANAN.....	183

## List of Abbreviations

AAVE	African-American Vernacular English
Am. Eng	American English
ART	Article
Br. Eng	British English
CE	Creole English
COMP	Complementizer
COP	Copula
DIM	Diminutive
ED	European Dutch
Eng.	English
FUT	Future tense
HAB	Habitual aspect
HI	Highlighter
INCHO	Inchoative aspect
INF	Infinitive
NP	Noun phrase
PAST	Past tense
PL	Plural
PREP	Preposition
PROG	Progressive aspect
PRON	Pronominal form
REFL	Reflexive
SD	Surinamese Dutch
SE	Standard (American) English
SG	Singular
SOV	Subject-Object-Verb
SVO	Subject-Verb-Object
TMA	Tense-Mood-Aspect
VP	Verb phrase

## ***Chapter One: Introduction***

### **1.0. The study of Surinamese Dutch**

This dissertation analyzes morphosyntactic features that distinguish the variety of Dutch spoken by the Creole population in Suriname from standard Dutch as it is heard in Europe. Despite its 300-year-history, to date there has been little information on Surinamese Dutch (henceforth SD).<sup>1</sup> Slowly this has begun to change, most notably with the publication of a dictionary in 1977, of which a second (extended) edition appeared in 1989 (Van Donselaar 1989). Nevertheless, systematic and detailed information on the phonological and morphosyntactic characteristics of SD, a variety which to a certain extent has developed independently from European Dutch (henceforth ED), is still lacking.

This dissertation attempts to (partly) fill this void by presenting a qualitative analysis of some of the more prominent morphosyntactic features that distinguish SD from standard ED, focusing on the verb phrase, the noun phrase and clause structure. It is demonstrated in this study that differences between ED and SD are more far-reaching than has been indicated in the literature so far (cf. chapter 2). As will be shown in subsequent chapters, this is in part due to grammatical forms having assumed different functions in SD, resulting in identical surface structures in ED and SD, which for that reason have gone undetected until now.

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<sup>1</sup> Note that in this dissertation Surinamese Dutch is defined in geographical and social terms, i.e., as the variety of Dutch spoken in Suriname by native-born Surinamese, rather than in linguistic terms, i.e., as the variety

It should be emphasized that this dissertation presents a qualitative rather than quantitative analysis of SD. As such, it does not address the variation that reportedly exists within SD (cf. Van Donselaar 1989: 14, Koefoed and May 1980: 261, Wekker 1989: 199, Van Bochove and Kleberg 1990: 2, Healy 1993: 280, Sluisdom 1993: 8), which was indeed significant in the data as well. Instead, in this dissertation features are described that occurred repeatedly in the data, in the speech of either single or several informants, without a detailed indication as to how often they occurred in the speech of an informant. (Information is presented, however, as to how many informants used a particular feature.) It should then be stressed that *this dissertation does not claim to describe morphosyntactic features that are necessarily shared by all Creole speakers of Paramaribo*. Put differently, this dissertation does not analyze a (relatively) uniform dialect used by the Creole population of Paramaribo; in fact, no such uniform language variety exists.

Additionally, it should be noted that this dissertation does not address the phonological features that set SD apart from ED, which to my knowledge have to date not been described in detail, nor does it discuss the lexicosemantic characteristics of SD, of which Van Donselaar (1989) has provided a detailed description.

Detailed study of (the morphosyntax of) SD is important in several respects. There are three countries in the world that recognize Dutch as (one of) their official language(s): the Netherlands, Belgium, and Suriname. Of the first two, there is a vast amount of

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possessing for instance particular phonological characteristics.

literature on the use of Dutch, both on the standard<sup>2</sup> as well as non-standard varieties (Weijnen 1966). In contrast, detailed information on Dutch as spoken in Suriname, in particular its phonology and morphosyntax, is not available, but for some studies rather limited in scope (cf. chapter 2). Significantly, the authoritative grammar on Standard Dutch, the *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst* (Geerts et al. 1984), altogether fails to mention Surinamese Dutch, including only information on Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch (i.e., Flemish), of which constructions particular to the latter are typically labeled “regional”. In fact, until recently hardly any literature on Dutch and its varieties has even mentioned Dutch being spoken in Suriname, let alone dealt with SD as a distinct variety (Van Donselaar 1989: 19). Thus, in order to provide a more complete portrayal of Dutch and its different varieties, a description of SD is badly needed.

Secondly, there is a strong need for descriptions of SD in order to be able to decide on a new standard variety of Dutch appropriate for Suriname, as a number of linguists, both in the Netherlands as well as Suriname, have indicated (De Ziel 1964, Wekker 1989, Essed-Fruin 1990, Van Bochove and Kleberg 1990, Gobardhan-Rambocus 1993). Today, Dutch is the language of instruction in the educational system in Suriname. The standard used is supposedly ED<sup>3</sup> (Van Donselaar 1989:19), although research has shown that teachers in their correction behavior with regard to grammatical forms tend to deviate to a certain extent

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<sup>2</sup> Both Belgian Dutch (Flemish) and Netherlandic Dutch recognize the same standard, as laid down in the *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst* (Geerts et al. 1984).

<sup>3</sup> This concerns the lexicon and syntax only (Eersel in Charry 1983: 166), and does not include pronunciation, for which ED is clearly *not* the standard (Essed-Fruin 1964: 6, Charry 1983: 139).

from ED, accepting certain SD forms (Van Bochove and Kleberg 1990, Sluisdom 1992). More importantly, undoubtedly teachers themselves use many SD forms in the classrooms. Hence, the ED standard is extremely artificial, and near impossible to attain for students, leading to serious language problems (Essed-Fruin 1990: 57, Van Donselaar 1989: 18, 19, Van Bochove and Kleberg 1990: 13, Wekker 1989: 200, Van Wel and Vervoorn 1974: 13), while also causing enormous language insecurity, among students as well as teachers. As a result of this problematic situation, for more than 30 years now linguists in Suriname have called for the standardization of SD (De Ziel 1964, Essed-Fruin 1983: 122, Essed-Fruin 1990: 59, Essed-Fruin and Gobardhan-Rambocus 1992: 16, Gobardhan-Rambocus 1993: 157, Van Bochove and Kleberg 1990: 1). In this light, an initial description of SD may aid in providing models to ultimately determine a new standard for Dutch in Suriname. It has to be pointed out with emphasis, though, that no suggestion is made here that the descriptions presented in this study presents should form (part of) the basis for a new standard; it is merely proposed that this study may contribute to the information needed to establish such a standard.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, an analysis of SD sheds light on the development of Dutch in a multilingual environment, and as such, provides valuable information on language change as a result of language contact (Wekker 1989: 200), which includes a history of large groups of non-native speakers. As a result of the latter, new features have entered the language due to massive second language learning, while normal transfer from other native languages,

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<sup>4</sup> Whether and how this can be done is the kind of judgment to be made by appropriate experts in Suriname, for

primarily Sranan (sometimes also referred to as *Sranan Tongo*, *Suriname Creole English*, *Surinaams*, or *Taki-Taki*), has also had a significant effect on the formation of SD. By analyzing the forces then that have resulted in this unique variety of Dutch, a contribution can be made to our understanding contact-induced language change.

The dissertation is organized as follows. In the remainder of the present chapter the methodology used in this project is discussed in detail. Chapter 2 presents an overview of the literature, followed by a sketch of the history of the use of Dutch in Suriname in chapter 3, while chapter 4 discusses the current linguistic situation in Suriname. Following these introductory chapters, the morphosyntactic characteristics of SD are analyzed in detail in chapter 5, which analyzes the verb phrase, chapter 6, which focuses on the noun phrase, and chapter 7, which discusses clause structure. Finally, chapter 8 presents a discussion of the linguistic processes that have contributed to the formation of SD, which is followed by brief concluding remarks in chapter 9.

### **1.1. Methodology**

The corpus on which the analysis in the present study is based consists of transcriptions of spontaneous speech recorded by Surinamese interviewers. This section discusses several crucial issues regarding the methodology employed to obtain these data, the motivating force behind the decision that the ultimate objective was for data to represent the most natural speech styles. With this objective in mind, the data collection process will

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both practical as well as political reasons.

be justified, with special emphasis on selection procedures of both interviewers and informants. It is also in this context that the motivation for restricting the present analysis to a particular subset of the recordings will be explained. First, however, a brief discussion will be presented of the pilot study that preceded the present study, and which led to the decision to limit the informant group to the Creole population of Paramaribo.

## **1.2. The pilot study**

In order to obtain an initial sampling of spoken SD, a pilot study was conducted in Paramaribo in the Fall of 1994. I considered such an initial project necessary because several recent publications on SD indicated that SD is characterized by significant variation (Healy 1993, Van Bochove and Kleberg 1990: 2, Van Donselaar 1989: 14, Wekker 1989: 199). This variation is reportedly ethnic (Helman 1954: 89, Gobardhan 1993: 148, Van Donselaar 1989: 15), as could be expected in an environment where various ethnic groups have maintained their original native languages, as well as regional, with an urban variety (in Paramaribo) on the one hand, and various rural varieties on the other (Van Wel and Vervoorn 1974: 11, Healy 1993: 288, Essed-Fruin 1990: 56). In addition, social variation has been reported (Deprez and De Bies 1985, Helman 1954: 89, Van Donselaar 1989: 14, Healy 1993), with a distinction between lower class and higher class speakers. In view of this enormous variation, then, it seemed desirable to determine a feasible focus for this

project, as a description including all regional, ethnic and social varieties was most likely unmanageable for a dissertation.

During a period of five weeks, I conducted 23 interviews in Paramaribo, ranging from 15 minutes to 90 minutes. Apart from two group interviews, most were one-on-one conversations. The topics of these varied, but they were such as to elicit natural speech, which for most people in 1994 was the difficult economic situation. The speakers were of various ethnic backgrounds, including Creoles (i.e., those of African, or mixed African and European ancestry), East Indians, Chinese, Javanese and Saramaccans (one of several Maroon groups). They also came from various social backgrounds, and were of various ages, ranging from 18 to 60. I decided to limit my research to speakers in Paramaribo, and therefore all lived in the city. As discussed in chapter 4, Surinamese living in Paramaribo typically experience more exposure to Dutch, if not within their families, then within the schools, whereas in the rural areas speakers experience more exposure to those languages associated with their particular ethnic groups, and much less to Dutch. Possibly even more significantly, while Dutch has been the language of instruction in education in Paramaribo since the previous century, it does not have as long a history in the rural areas, and is used less often (Essed-Fruin 1990: 56). For these reasons, as well as mere feasibility, I chose to restrict this study to Paramaribo.

In addition to interviews, other data collected as part of the pilot study consisted of notes made of any grammatical constructions I heard that struck me as different from ED,

my first language. I also visited two high schools in Paramaribo, sat in on Dutch classes, and afterwards questioned a number of teachers of Dutch on problems they encountered in the classrooms as a result of the discrepancies between SD and ED, asking which SD constructions by students they regarded as unacceptable.<sup>5</sup>

The pilot study yielded several interesting results.<sup>6</sup> The number of differences between ED and SD turned out to be impressive indeed, warranting further detailed investigation. As could be expected in a context with speakers of a variety of native languages, there appeared to be variation between different ethnic groups, an observation that was also confirmed by several Surinamese teachers, linguists and other native speakers of SD that I questioned on this subject. Within this variation, the results of the pilot study indicated that the speech of Creoles diverged the least from ED,<sup>7</sup> whereas Dutch spoken by East Indians and Javanese displayed more grammatical differences as compared to ED.<sup>8</sup> Yet, the strongest pattern that emerged was one of linguistic variation correlating with social class, with more SD forms being used by lower class informants.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Teachers would sometimes tell me that a particular SD construction would not be accepted by them in the classroom, only to use that very same construction in their own speech a little later!

<sup>6</sup> The quantity of data did not justify detailed quantitative analysis, and thus the patterns discussed here are merely tentative impressions.

<sup>7</sup> I interviewed only two Maroon speakers, both of whom were fairly well-educated, whose speech was less divergent from ED than that of many speakers from other groups, but this number was too small to make generalizations.

<sup>8</sup> My sample included only two Chinese informants, both of a higher social class, of whom one spoke a variety fairly close to ED, while the other informant's speech was characterized by more diverging features.

<sup>9</sup> There were some very obvious exceptions though. For instance, a very well-educated, former high-ranking

### **1.3. The present study**

#### **1.3.1. Restricting the study to one ethnic group: the Creoles**

Based on the preliminary results of the pilot study, which confirmed the enormous variation, and highlighted the significant number of differences between ED and SD, I concluded that it was indeed beyond the limits of this dissertation to describe and analyze all social and ethnic varieties of SD in detail. As a consequence, the decision was made to limit this project to one ethnic group, the Creoles.

Although any decision to limit oneself to one population group is to some extent an arbitrary one, there are good reasons to elect the Creole population group for an initial study. The Creoles have by far the longest tradition of using Dutch in Suriname, dating back as far as 300 years (at least for part of this group, cf. chapter 3), which is clearly much longer than any of the other ethnic groups, who arrived much later, and upon arrival often did not assimilate to the Dutch-speaking culture as readily as the Creoles traditionally did. Furthermore, when Suriname gained more independence from the Netherlands in 1954, it was the Creoles who set the tone as far as language policy was concerned, continuing to support Dutch as the country's official language, while at the same time providing most educators (Gobardhan-Rambocus 1993: 150). Due to their political and educational

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politician that I interviewed used numerous typical SD constructions, many more than most informants of his (high) social class. I had the very strong impression that in his case it was a matter of expressing his Surinamese identity, a behavior possibly reinforced by the fact that he was part Dutch, and part Surinamese Creole.

dominance, then, the Creoles have been the most influential group with regard to the use of Dutch in Suriname. Hence the choice was made to focus on the Creole group in this study, although this is certainly not to imply that the study of SD as spoken by any other ethnic group would be less relevant for the Suriname language situation, or less interesting for that matter.<sup>10</sup>

### 1.3.2. Selecting interviewers

One issue of crucial importance in a study of this nature is that the data collected represent natural speech, or what Labov has labeled the “vernacular,” a term referring to a speaker’s least carefully monitored speech style (Labov 1972b: 208). For several reasons the vernacular is considered the most appropriate speech form for structural analysis (Milroy 1987a: 58/59). It is the speaker’s vernacular that tends to be the most systematic, and in which innovative variants appear first. Furthermore, it is in the vernacular that we find least the tendency to move in the direction of the standard. This last observation is of crucial importance in a study that intends to analyze forms that are perceived as non-standard, as SD forms typically are.

There are several problems researchers are likely to encounter when trying to capture the vernacular, the most important being the researcher’s presence resulting in more monitored speech, which Labov referred to as the “observer’s paradox”, since the most

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<sup>10</sup> Alternatively, a case could have been made for instance for selecting the East Indian group for an initial study, based on the fact that today the East Indians constitute the largest ethnic group in Suriname.

reliable data collection requires the researcher's presence, which ironically makes the data less reliable (Labov 1971: 171). This issue was particularly relevant for me since the forms that I intended to analyze were exactly those that would tend to be left out in more monitored speech, as many SD forms are stigmatized. To make matters worse, my physical appearance is strikingly different from almost all Surinamese, thus confirming my outsider status. Possibly most damaging though might have been my native variety of Dutch, which is unmistakably a variant of ED.<sup>11</sup> Although it is impossible to be absolutely certain, I had learned while conducting the pilot study that my presence did indeed alter most speakers' speech at least to some extent, pushing it in the direction of ED. This became obvious when I observed people's speech in group situations. Especially in the presence of other Surinamese with whom the informant had a close relationship, e.g., a relative or friend, certain informants would produce many more SD forms than they had with me in a previous one-on-one situation. This method employing group dynamics to gain access to the vernacular is well-documented in the literature (see Milroy 1987a: 63), and was in fact originally developed by Labov as a means of solving the observer's paradox. Thus, unless I was to employ methods using group dynamics to neutralize the effect of my presence, I would have to resort to other speakers to record conversations, whose presence would not result in an adjustment of speech. This seemed the preferable strategy, since recording groups was bound to cause more technical problems, while there would still be the effect of

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<sup>11</sup> Even though a variant of ED, it is characterized by a northern accent. This at times confused the Surinamese, many of whom are typically used to ED spoken in the Randstad area (in the western part of the country), where most Surinamese immigrants live today.

my presence, though reduced. Hence, I chose to employ Surinamese interviewers. An additional, even more significant advantage of this strategy would be that I could have them record conversations with people within their own social networks, preferably speakers they knew well. This would reduce the social distance between the interviewer and informant, producing more reliable data.

Recruiting talented and reliable interviewers turned out to be a challenging task. The first two interviewers working for me turned out to be quite unreliable, teaching me an important lesson early in the process: I had to use several more interviewers so as to limit the risk that they would not collect data as promised. An additional advantage of this strategy that I had not fully anticipated was that certain interviewers proved to be significantly more skilled in eliciting natural speech than others (I will return to this issue below), with the result that I would be able to select conversations from the most talented interviewers. Mostly through the informal social contacts that I made in Paramaribo, I eventually found seven different women who were willing to record daily-life conversations for me.

It soon became clear that the interviewers varied widely in terms of their ability to elicit natural conversations. Some interviewers had an ability to create a relaxed and natural atmosphere during the conversation, ensuring that the conversation did not assume the characteristics of an interview. One of my seven interviewers, Agnes Pinas (AP), had an incredible talent for achieving this effect. As a result, the bulk of data (15 out of 22

conversations) comes from her recordings. Other interviewers, possibly under the influence of the tape recorder, or simply because they were aware that these data were going to be used for research, were unable to draw the informant into a natural conversation and thereby transcend a formal atmosphere. Based on their individual talents to obtain natural data, then, I finally selected the data collected by four out of seven of the Surinamese interviewers.

Because the pool of informants was limited to those of Creole background, the logical choice was made to use interviewers who also identified themselves as Creoles.

Table 1 presents further relevant information on the interviewers.

Inter- viewer <sup>12</sup>	Age	Occupation	Education	Languages	Area of residence	Social class <sup>13</sup>	Number of interviews used
AP	32	Administrative assistant	College <sup>14</sup> (unfinished)	Ndjuka Sranan Dutch	A (see note 20 for explanation)	L (=lower class)	15
BO	20	Student	College (unfinished)	Sranan Dutch	A	L	5
SR	21	Student	University (unfinished)	Sranan Dutch	B	H (=higher class)	2 (one with JV)
JV	Middle- aged	Teacher	College (finished)	Sranan Dutch	B	H	2 (one with SR)

*Table 1. The interviewers*

<sup>12</sup> Initials are used here instead of their full names.

<sup>13</sup> See 1.3.4. for a discussion how social class was determined. I lack data on the parents' occupations of two interviewers, and thus social class was determined without factoring in this component. However, as I got to know the interviewers fairly well during my stay (as opposed to the informants, most of whom I never even met), I am confident that the assessment of their class backgrounds is accurate.

<sup>14</sup> Suriname has one university, where a four-year education normally leads to a B.A. degree. There are also several other post-secondary institutions, referred to as "college" here, which offer degrees fairly similar to a B.A. degree in the United States.

As can be seen in Table 1, all interviewers had at least some college education, and thus were fairly well-educated. Two of them lived in lower class neighborhoods, which gave them natural access to informants of a lower class background. The interviewers' native languages were Dutch and Sranan, although AP and BO used Sranan relatively more often in their daily social interactions than SR and JV. In addition, AP also spoke Ndjuka (a language spoken by one particular Maroon group by the same name) as a result of her parents being of Maroon descent. However, like all other interviewers, she had grown up in Paramaribo, and spoke Ndjuka only with those speakers who clearly preferred it to either Sranan or Dutch, who were typically of Maroon descent as well. This particular interviewer, though fluent in all three languages, displayed an obvious preference for Sranan to Ndjuka though, even speaking Sranan with her own sisters.<sup>15</sup>

The instructions given to the interviewers were minimal. I would tell them I was studying language use in general in Suriname, and that I was interested in obtaining recordings of daily-life conversations, emphasizing the importance of the conversations being as natural as possible. No special instructions were given regarding the topic of conversation, although I suggested to them that in order to draw the informant into a lively conversation as much as possible, it might be a good idea to select a topic that was likely to interest and perhaps even arouse the informant. This was not difficult, since in most cases

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<sup>15</sup> She spoke Dutch as well with her sisters, but it is doubtful whether Dutch as such competed with the use of Ndjuka, as these languages are typically associated with different social situations and functions, Ndjuka and Sranan being used in comparable contexts (cf. chapter 4 for a discussion on language choice).

the interviewer knew the informant quite well. In order to preserve the natural character of the conversations, I never instructed the interviewers explicitly to use Dutch, although the interviewers, interestingly, clearly assumed that the language to be employed in the first place was Dutch, and hence they typically initiated the conversations in Dutch. If they raised the issue with me, I would tell them that they were allowed to use other languages as well if the informant or they themselves preferred to do so at any point in the conversation.<sup>16</sup>

All interviewers were female, reflecting a conscious decision not to use male interviewers. As discussed in detail in chapter 4, in informal situations there is a strong tendency in Suriname for men from all social classes to use Sranan with other men, whereas women are more likely to use Dutch, both with men and women, certainly in the higher social classes. Thus, the notion of a natural conversation among two men in an informal setting is often incompatible with the use of Dutch, making it less desirable to use male interviewers to collect data on (informal) Dutch.

### 1.3.3. Selecting informants

As pointed out in the previous section, one considerable advantage of employing Surinamese interviewers to collect data was the possibility to directly tap into their social networks to find informants. Needless to say, the closer the relation between an informant

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<sup>16</sup> Both AP and BO raised this issue, while it was never discussed with SR and JV. Interestingly, the conversations recorded by the latter do indeed contain less Sranan. A relevant question then is whether this was caused by the latter's assumption that they had to use Dutch, or whether it was the fact that they felt less of a need to use other languages than Dutch that caused them to never even raise the issue with me. As JV and SR relied relatively much less on Sranan in their normal daily interactions, I hold the second explanation to be

and interviewer, the greater the likelihood of eliciting the speaker's vernacular. With this rationale in mind, I instructed the interviewers to select speakers with whom they had an existing social relationship, preferably a close one, for instance with a relative, a friend, or a neighbor. Additionally, since I was interested in the language use of adults, the informants had to be over 18 years of age. Due to the reported discrepancy between Dutch in the city and Dutch elsewhere in Suriname, I furthermore told my interviewers to record speakers who had lived in Paramaribo all their lives. This turned out to be a requirement that my interviewers sometimes failed to meet, possibly in part as a result of a lack of knowledge about the informant's history. Hence, occasionally informants were included who had spent a significant part of their lives in towns such as Moengo, Albina and Nickerie (of which a few were eventually included in this study, cf. 1.3.4.). Apart from these, no other instructions were given regarding the selection of informants.

Deliberately, no attempt was made to select a socially stratified sample of speakers, representing for instance different age levels and social groups. Apart from problems typically associated with this approach as regards balancing a realistic number of informants while maintaining representativeness (Milroy 1987a: 22), it was my judgment that this would very likely have been at the expense of the quality of the conversations, since this undoubtedly would have meant that certain informants would have been selected on the basis of their speaker characteristics primarily to fill a particular "cell", rather than their social relationship to the interviewer. In other words, I considered it more important that the

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more plausible.

interviewer recorded speakers closest in her social network, a choice that was reinforced by the fact that this is a qualitative, rather than a quantitative, study.

#### **1.3.4. The data**

Over a period of three months in 1995, seven interviewers recorded a total of 85 conversations, each ranging from 10 to 45 minutes. The majority were a minimum of 30 minutes in length though, since the interviewers had been instructed to record between 30 to 45 minutes of each conversation.

Ultimately 22 conversations were selected upon which the analysis in the present study is based. There were several reasons why these were included, while others were not. First, a fair number of conversations were excluded on technical grounds, typically when the quality was too poor to transcribe the text accurately, as a result of for example batteries running out during a recording, or background noise from traffic or a heavy tropical rainstorm. In a few instances, the informants were not willing to provide additional information in a questionnaire that was given to them after the recording, leaving me with no information on the speaker. However, the most significant criterion for inclusion was whether the informant seemed relaxed during the recording, resulting in a natural and informal conversation characterized by a casual speech style. A clear indicator of this speech style was the informant's fluency, which often coincided with other characteristics, such as for instance a specific topic of discussion. For example, in one particular recording

two interlocutors (with two other individuals in the background) discussed the reason why a friend of theirs had been left by his wife. In discussing the cause of this friend's problem, which was of a sexual nature, the speakers did nothing but ridicule him, phrasing and rephrasing his problems in very creative ways, resulting in a hilarious conversation with much laughter. There were quite a few conversations that took a humorous turn at some point, and, not surprisingly, these typically gave an impression of informality and naturalness. Another topic that elicited informal speech (from at least a number of speakers, though not all) was the poor economic situation in Suriname, which tended to result in speakers becoming very excited and angry. Codeswitching (typically between SD and Sranan) was also a good indicator of an informal and natural conversation, whereby a conversation with an informant who codeswitched repeatedly would, almost without exception, give an impression of informality (although a conversation without codeswitching did not necessarily mean a formal style). Finally, the setting in which the conversation took place sometimes provided clues as to speech style. To illustrate, one recording was made while the informant was straightening a friend's hair (not the interviewer's), carrying on a conversation with the interviewer, while at the same time interacting with the other friend, for instance responding emotionally when something went wrong with the straightening procedure. Such an informal atmosphere, with a focus on another activity, most likely encouraged the informant to forget the fact that a recording was being made, resulting in a casual speech style.

Of each of the 22 conversations that presented the least monitored speech styles, 20 minutes were transcribed for further analysis. Typically this was the final 20 minutes of each conversation, when informants (who may initially have been inhibited by the possibly intrusive presence of the tape recorder) had become more relaxed. As pointed out in chapter 4, codeswitching occurred in all but one conversation, often at least to a small extent, though sometimes informants would switch to Sranan for as long as a few minutes. Although nearly all codeswitching was to Sranan, one informant occasionally codeswitched to Ndjuka.

As emphasized earlier, utmost priority was given to capturing speakers' unmonitored speech styles. In order to do so, the choice was made to record natural conversations, as opposed to interviewing informants, which would undoubtedly have led to a more formal context, significantly increasing the likelihood of self-monitoring. Had it been possible, eliciting information using additional techniques would have been extremely helpful. After all, when analyzing morphosyntactic characteristics of a language variety through recordings of spontaneous speech, there is no guarantee that one has captured all possible forms, and this can logically never be guaranteed, no matter how many hours one analyzes. Due to the inherent connection between syntax and speaker meaning, the possibility simply always exists that a speaker will fail to use a particular feature as the result of a lack of (semantic) need for this feature, rather than it being absent in his or her

linguistic system. Thus, using elicitation techniques which would focus on particular gaps in the data, provided gaps could be clearly identified, would have been desirable.

Unfortunately however, this was deemed impossible in the Surinamese situation. When employing elicitation techniques, information is gathered on the linguistic intuitions of native speakers, whereby they are asked to provide grammaticality judgments, either explicitly or implicitly. In order for elicitation techniques to render reliable data, it is assumed that the grammaticality judgments reflect the speaker's actual usage of a form. However, negative speaker attitudes towards a variety or particular form may provide the speaker with an incentive to not report his intuitions accurately, resulting in unreliable claims. This is particularly relevant in case of features that are perceived to be non-standard, whereby it is likely that the informant reports forms that he or she considers "correct" based on the (perceived) standard (Milroy 1987a: 150), as opposed to those the informant may actually use. Specifically in Suriname, where for reasons pointed out earlier language insecurity is widespread, the use of elicitation techniques was therefore considered of little use, and so the choice was made not to employ them.<sup>17</sup>

After the conversations had been recorded, personal information was collected about the informants' social and linguistic background, as presented in Table 2.

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<sup>17</sup> A discrepancy between speakers' claims regarding their own language use versus their actual language use was confirmed repeatedly by my own observations.

Informant	Age	Occupation	Parents' occupation	Education	Area of residence	Area of present residence	Social class <sup>21</sup>	Recorded by	
Th	30	Homemaker	F: Civil servant M: Home maker	A1	Sranan Dutch Ndjuka	A	A	L	AP
Li	31	None <sup>22</sup>	F: Manual worker M: Street sweeper	A1	Sranan Dutch	A	A	L	AP

Table 2

<sup>18</sup> Codes are used to protect the informants' identities.

<sup>19</sup> As part of the Dutch legacy, Suriname has many different educational institutions. The following codes represent various school types and levels in Suriname:

A1: lower-level secondary  
A2: medium-level secondary  
A3: higher-level secondary

B1: lower-level post-secondary  
B2: higher-level post-secondary

The level of an A3 education is approximately equivalent to a B1 education, although the latter has a stronger vocational orientation. As can be seen, all informants have at least some secondary school education, reflecting the relatively strong educational tradition of Suriname (at least among the Creoles).

<sup>20</sup> With the help of one of my interviewers, AP, neighborhoods were divided into two categories: lower class (poor) neighborhoods (A) and higher class neighborhoods (B).

<sup>21</sup> A speaker's social class was calculated as follows. Four factors were determined to contribute to class distinctions: occupation, parents' occupations, education and (present) area of residence (also see below for a discussion how to determine class in Suriname). All were giving ratings of either L (lower) or H (higher), which were then averaged. A1 and A2 type education was given an L rating, while types A3, B1 and B2 resulted in an H rating. Likewise, occupations were, sometimes with the help of my interviewers, given an L or H rating, although at times occupation could not be factored into the calculation when informants indicated "civil servant" for either their own or their parents' occupation, but failed to indicate whether the individual was a high or low ranking civil servant. Area of residence was designated L for an A type neighborhood, and H for a B type neighborhood.

<sup>22</sup> Sometimes informants reported "no occupation". Most likely this meant they were homemakers.

Jo	34	None	F: Security officer M: Home maker	A1	Sranan Dutch	A	A	L	AP
Br	21	Student	F: Civil servant M: Fashion designer	A2	Sranan Dutch	A	A	L	AP
Cr	28	None	F: Journalist M: Teacher	A3	Sranan Dutch	A	the Netherlands (ages 0-3) B (ages 3-12)	L	AP
Ne	31	Homemaker	F: Carpenter M: Agricultural worker	B1	Sranan Dutch Ndjuka Saramaccan	A	A	L	AP
Am	35	Secretary	F: Book keeper M: Home maker	B1	Sranan Dutch	A	Nickerie (ages 0-20) A	L	AP
Gr	24	Teacher	F: Teacher M: Teacher	B1	Sranan Dutch	A	A Nickerie (ages 8-16) Coronie (ages 16-17, 21-23)	H	AP
Pl	29	Civil servant	F: Teacher M: Teacher	B2	Sranan Dutch	A	A	H	AP
Ma	23	Student	F: Civil servant M: Home maker	B1	Sranan Dutch Ndjuka	A	A	L	AP

Table 2 continued

Info- name	Age	Occupation	Gender Occupation	Class	Language	Class	Place (G) of origin	Social class	Record by
Ca	29	Entrepreneur	F: Manual worker M: Home maker	A1	Sranan Dutch	A	A	L	AP
Ed	31	Teacher	F: Civil servant M: Civil servant	B2	Sranan Dutch	B	the Nether- lands (one year, age 10) B	H	JV
Ko	55	Teacher	F: Manager M: Home maker	B2	Sranan Dutch	B	Plan- tation outside Parama- ribo (ages 0-6) B	H	JV/SR
Na	19	Student	F: Con- struction worker M: Bank employee	A2	Sranan Dutch	A	A	L	BO
Ru	20	Salesman	F: N.A. <sup>23</sup> M: N.A.	A1	Sranan Dutch	A	A	L	BO
Ug	21	Student	F: Manager M: Secretary	A3	Sranan Dutch	B	B	H	BO
Ol	64	Civil servant	F: Carpenter M: Home maker	B1	Sranan Dutch	A	A Bensdorp (interior) (ages 21- 27), Albina (ages 27- 55)	L	BO
Ch	19	Student	F and M: Store owners	B1	Sranan Dutch	B	Albina (ages 0- 5) B	H	BO

Table 2 continued

<sup>23</sup> This informant grew up in an orphanage.

Informant	Age	Occupation	Gender	Education	Language	Class	Class	Class	Recorded by
De	30	Operator	F: Construction worker M: Cleaning lady	A2	Sranan Dutch Ndjuka	A	A	L	AP
Gi	25	Student	F: Teacher M: Administrative assistant	B2	Sranan Dutch	A	A	H	SR
Or	31	Unknown	F: Welder M: Home maker	A2	Sranan Dutch	A	A	L	AP
Se	22	None	F: Civil servant M: Cleaning lady	A2	Sranan Dutch Ndjuka	A	A	L	AP

*Table 2. The informants*

Determining a person's social class can be problematic (Milroy 1987a: 31/32, Trudgill 1983: 35). The crucial question in this determination has to do with which factors constitute class, and these can vary from society to society. While it has been argued by many social scientists that occupation is the best indicator (Chambers 1995: 47), other factors have commonly been used in linguistic research. Labov (1966), for instance, in his study of New York City speech, used education and family income in addition to occupation

to indicate a person's social class, to which Trudgill (1974) in his study of English as spoken in Norwich, England, added housing type, area of residence and father's occupation.

In Suriname, too, social class is hard to define. Using income as an indicator is useless given the present economic situation. Suriname has experienced severe inflation in recent years, and as a result society has become divided into people who work for the government, whose salaries have not kept pace with inflation, and those who work in the private sector, particularly those who have access, either directly or indirectly, to foreign currency. To present an extreme but not too rare example, a person selling fruit in the street may have a higher income than a high-ranking civil servant, in which case income is obviously not reflective of class distinctions as they are perceived in the Surinamese society.

After consulting several Surinamese on the problem of identifying social class in their society, I reached the conclusion that education, occupation, both the informant's as well as his or her parents', and current area of residence were more reliable indicators of social class in Surinamese society. Based on these, an informant's social class was determined as either lower (L), or higher (H), all factors being weighed equally.

In sum, the analysis in this study is based on 22 recordings of conversations of 20 minutes each, with adult informants of varying social, and to a limited extent regional, backgrounds. Finally, it should be noted that the speech of the interviewers was included in the analysis.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> The interviewers never dominated the conversations, although they often did participate to a great extent, as can be expected in a natural conversation.

## ***Chapter Two: An Overview of the Literature on Surinamese Dutch***

Until well into the twentieth century it was denied that a distinct variety of Dutch had developed in Suriname (Gobardhan-Rambocus 1993: 148, Van Donselaar 1989: 18). In fact, it was the general opinion that in Suriname a rather “pure” variety, i.e., identical to standard ED, was spoken. An encyclopedia on the Dutch West Indies from the beginning of this century, for instance, mentions that Dutch as heard in Suriname was relatively pure (‘Het Nederl. wordt in Suriname vrij zuiver gesproken’, Benjamins and Snelleman 1914-1917: 503). The authors add that “regional expressions” are heard though, which are traced to the different regions in the Netherlands that the colonists originally came from, as well as “impurities” (Du. ‘onzuiverheden’), which in turn are traced via Sranan to French, Portuguese and English, all of these presumably being lexical items. In addition, there are a fair number of lexical items, labeled “peculiarities” (Du. ‘eigenaardigheden’), which are not used in ED and have no ED equivalents because they refer to entities that are particularly Surinamese by nature. Finally, the authors mention differences in word and sentence stress, as well as a small number of pronunciation differences. In the authors’ opinion all these “mistakes” can be overcome easily and are disappearing. In short, according to this early account of Dutch spoken in Suriname, there were few significant differences, and to the extent that these existed, they were regarded as deficiencies, and their number was too limited to speak of a distinct variety.

It is during this same period that the renowned Dutch linguist Van Ginneken publishes his *Handboek der Nederlandsche Taal* ('Handbook of the Dutch Language'). In this elaborate work on different varieties of Dutch including Afrikaans and Negerhollands, he also devotes a section to what he refers to as Surinamese Dutch. Ironically, however, he does not acknowledge the existence of such a distinct variety of Dutch in Suriname. Without explicitly recognizing any regularized characteristics that might set it apart from ED, he merely presents two short SD documents: a note written by a Carib girl, and a religious poem containing what he labels "typical creole language mistakes" (Du. 'Creoolse taalfouten') (Van Ginneken 1913: 275). These, however, do include the deletion of pronominal *er*, and the use of transitive verbs without a phonetically realized object, both of which are common features of SD today.

In two articles, Menkman (1932/33, 1937) criticizes Van Ginneken for his limited account of the features that could be found in SD, claiming that the number of SD features was far greater at the time. Although his articles focus on predominantly lexical differences, he discusses a number of grammatical features as well, including gender issues, the use of *gaan* for future tense, the deletion of pronominal *er*, the deletion of the direct object with certain verbs, the use of a different preposition with certain verbs, and the absence of the adverb *naartoe* when it is required in ED. All of these, as will be seen, are still features of modern SD. Still even though he holds the opinion that the differences between SD and ED have been underestimated, he does not regard SD a variety of Dutch in its own right.

Rather, he labels the differences “deviations”, “irregularities” and “mistakes”, while emphasizing that these differences do not jeopardize the purity of Dutch in Suriname (Menkman 1932/33:244). Interestingly, the author in addition comments on the negative attitude towards “Surinamisms”, which probably accounts for the defensive tone in the two articles, and at the same time explains the limited number of publications on the subject, particularly in the first half of this century.

Schoonhoven (1939) echoes that the differences between ED and Dutch as spoken in Suriname are a sensitive issue. He reassures the (supposedly Dutch) reader that Dutch as heard in the colony is of a “pure” nature, quoting the Dutch governor J. Staal’s claim of “the exact correspondence between Dutch over there [i.e., in Suriname] and in the Netherlands itself” (Du. ‘de zuivere overeenstemming tusschen het Nederlandsch ginds en dat in Nederland zelf’ [ibid. 89]). Despite this view, this article addresses some of the typical SD “deviations” in more detail than had been done up to that point. Included are some grammatical characteristics, such as the use of *gaan*, the deletion of *er*, intransitive verbs becoming transitive, gender issues and subordinate clauses that lack SOV order.

In a general article on language use in Suriname and the Dutch Antilles, Hellinga (1949) is the first to acknowledge the existence of SD as a distinct variety of Dutch (ibid. 489). Without discussing specific characteristics of SD, he traces the different nature of SD to the bilingual environment in which it has developed during several generations, and is the first linguist to refrain from labeling the differences “deviations”, let alone “mistakes”.

Hellinga, like all authors that had written on SD so far, was a Dutch linguist. For, even as late as 1949, Surinamese intellectuals were not yet open to the view that SD had developed into a separate variety (Gobardhan 1989: 67). Presumably, they still believed that anything unlike ED must be inferior.

This view of SD started to change by 1954, when Albert Helman, one of Suriname's best-known authors, published a translation of Mark Connelly's play "Green Pastures" (written in Black English) into a form of SD that is at times strongly influenced by Sranan. Before justifying this choice, he states in the introduction:

Er is de laatste jaren, vooral in onderwijskringen, nogal wat geharrewar geweest over het al of niet rechtens bestaan van een idiomatisch Surinaams Nederlands. Zonder op deze kwestie met haar pedagogische implicaties in te gaan, mag veilig worden vastgesteld dat er "een" Surinaams Nederlands bestaat. Er is zelfs meer dan een Surinaams Nederlands want het Nederlands dat in dit land gesproken wordt, is vaak gekleurd—fonetisch, morfologisch, idiomatisch en syntactisch—al naar de sociale en ethnische klasse (die soms samenvallen) waartoe de gebruiker behoort. (Helman 1954:89)

'In the last few years there has been quite a bit of discussion, particularly among educators, as to whether or not an idiomatic Surinamese Dutch exists. Without

going into this matter and its pedagogical implications, it can be safely said that a form of SD exists. There is even more than one form of SD, for Dutch that is spoken in this country is often colored—phonetically, morphologically, idiomatically and syntactically—according to the social and ethnic group (which sometimes coincide) the speaker belongs to.’

Helman's extremely skillful translation reflects the variation that exists in SD, both within the speech of a single speaker, as well as among speakers from different social classes. It contains SD features that had been mentioned in the literature up to then, but most were newly acknowledged, including the use of *als* ‘if, whether’ instead of *of* ‘if, in case’, the deletion of the subordinator *dat* ‘that’, the deletion of the article, different use of prepositions, the lack of subject-verb inversion, and a highlighter construction.

The acknowledgment that SD had indeed developed into a separate variety became more widespread, and was confirmed in an M.A. thesis by Eva Essed-Fruin in 1956 (which was not published until 1983), in which she analyzes 112 essays written by middle and upper class students of Creole origin in Paramaribo. It discusses noun gender differences, reflexive verbs becoming non-reflexive, intransitive verbs becoming transitive, the lack of *naartoe* with directional verbs, some differences in TMA such as the use of *gaan* for the future and the more limited use of the simple present, and the use of the active voice when ED speakers would have used a passive voice. This study was unique in that it was the first

to examine the grammar of SD in a systematic way, whereas previous studies of SD had primarily focused on its separate lexicon, mentioning grammatical differences only sporadically. It still had a preliminary character though, as it was based on a limited amount of written material, with interviews primarily serving to check whether a particular feature was generally accepted. This resulted in a study that was very far from comprehensive, the number of SD features analyzed being rather limited. (The author herself was very aware of this, indicating which elements of grammar her written materials did not elicit, and therefore, in her opinion, might prove most fruitful to research in the future, e.g., the unique verbal system of SD). Yet this study constituted an initial acknowledgment of SD having its own grammar.

During this period Voskuil (1956) conducted a similar (though more comprehensive) research project, in which he analyzed 195 essays written by Surinamese students of East Indian background. This study focused on identifying transfer from other languages, primarily Hindi.<sup>25</sup> Probably as a result of this focus, many of the grammatical features Voskuil discusses are different from those discussed in other studies, including the present one. Unlike Essed-Fruin, Voskuil labels many of the constructions he identifies in his study as “mistakes”, and thus does not recognize them as SD features.

At the time of Essed-Fruin's and Voskuil's research, ED was still used as the standard in education. But, not surprisingly, this proved to be unrealistic and increasingly

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<sup>25</sup> This study seems misguided in that the author's main source of comparison to identify transfer features is (standard) Hindi, rather than Sarnami—the language actually spoken by the East Indian population of Suriname (cf. chapter 4).

problematic. At a 1964 conference for language teachers it was finally officially acknowledged among educators that SD was truly different from ED, and there was a subsequent call for the standardization of SD (Gobardhan 1993: 150).

Despite this call, the next study of SD did not appear until ten years later, when *Het Nederlands in Suriname* 'The Dutch language in Suriname' (Van Wel and Vervoorn 1974) was published. This book consists of two parts. The first, rather incoherent part identifies the speakers of SD, as well as some of the educational problems related to the multilingual situation in Suriname. The second part deals with SD features as these can be found in twentieth century literary works. It analyzes lexical items extensively, discussing loans from English, Sarnami (the language used predominantly by Surinamese of East Indian descent) and Sranan (the lingua franca of Suriname, originally associated with the Creoles), as well as lexical items from ED that have acquired new meanings in SD. Interestingly, a complete chapter on grammatical features is included, but unfortunately the description (and often superficial analysis) hardly goes beyond the most obvious SD features that other studies had already identified.

In 1977 the first dictionary of SD was published, with a later revised and extended version (Van Donselaar 1989). This dictionary was the first comprehensive study of SD, at least on the lexical level, although this study, too, is based on written sources. In his introduction, Van Donselaar presents the notion that SD consists of a continuum of gradually overlapping lects, ranging from a basilectal variety, which is most non-standard

and heavily influenced by Sranan, to an acrolectal variety, which is closest to ED. The acrolectal variety according to Van Donselaar is typically spoken by educated Surinamese, whose mother tongue it is, whereas the basilectal variety is typically heard among lower class Creoles whose native language is Sranan (Van Donselaar 1989: 14). Nevertheless, most users of SD have a command over a range of lects rather than merely one, the typical pattern being the more formal the situation, the more acrolectal the variety, i.e., having fewer Sranan elements (ibid. 14). This continuum model has subsequently been assumed to adequately represent the varieties of SD by several linguists (Koefoed and May 1980: 261, Wekker 1989: 199, Van Bochove and Kleberg 1990: 2, Healy 1993: 280, Sluisdom 1993: 8), although Gobardhan-Rambocus (1993: 148) has criticized it for its failure to take into account speakers with an additional language background other than Sranan. Nevertheless, it remains to be confirmed by solid data whether the different varieties of SD can be mapped onto such a two-dimensional continuum model as has been argued, in which lects are arranged according to the principle of implicational scaling whereby the presence of one feature entails the presence of all other features below it in the hierarchy.

Charry et al. (1983) is a general work on the different languages of Suriname, and also devotes a chapter to SD, which includes the M.A. thesis by Essed-Fruin (1983) discussed earlier. Apart from that study, another study by Charry is included which investigated SD pronunciation and speaker attitudes towards SD pronunciation among Surinamese speakers living in the Netherlands. Interesting results of his study are that a

typically SD pronunciation is not only accepted but carries higher prestige than a ED pronunciation, which is generally rejected among Surinamese. Furthermore, his informants label the difference between SD and ED relatively insignificant (Charry 1983: 152), and do not consider SD a distinct variety in its own right. Accordingly, SD should not have its own standardization independently from ED. A few elements would be accepted (Charry does not specify which), but a grammatical construction using the auxiliary *gaan* to mark future tense in combination with the main verb *gaan* 'go', which is ungrammatical in ED but very often heard in SD, is generally rejected (ibid. 151-152).

In a review of the second edition of Van Donselaar's dictionary, Wekker (1989) calls for the study of the grammar of SD, adding some SD features that had not been identified in the literature, such as pro-drop constructions (as he labels these) and cleft sentences. This call is repeated in Van Bochove and Kleberg (1990), who studied error corrections by teachers with respect to lexical and syntactical non-ED features in essays written by students in the tenth grade. Their study concludes that there is enormous variation regarding the acceptance of SD features. Accordingly, they echo the call for further study of SD for the purpose of standardizing the variety and thus to end the confusion which students are subjected to.

More recently, Sluisdom (1992) examined the acceptability of a fairly limited number of lexical as well as a few grammatical elements in written SD. This study provides some interesting insights into which elements typically used in SD are found acceptable

Dutch by some of the “standard-setting” speakers of SD (leaders of the society, who determine the norm in Suriname, as Sluisdom argues), such as teachers, journalists and politicians, and which SD elements are generally rejected. It is interesting to note that despite the fact that a number of grammatical SD features are accepted by a majority, the obvious tendency is for SD grammatical features to be far less accepted than SD lexical features.

In an article on Sranan and SD, Healy (1993) proposes a parallel continuum model incorporating both Sranan and SD, in which both languages range from Sranan-influenced varieties spoken by rural, less educated speakers to SD-influenced varieties spoken by urban, more educated speakers.<sup>26</sup> The article presents merely a sketchy account of a limited number SD features though, mentioning the use of future *gaan*, the use of the pluperfect form for past tense, the use of transitive verbs taking on a passive meaning, and the use of a highlighter form.

The most recent study to date is 's Jacob (1996), which examines future and past tense marking in SD. In order to disclose differences between ED and SD, 's Jacob presented 15 short narratives to secondary school students of various schools in Paramaribo, in which a total of 49 verb forms had been deleted; the students were asked to fill in the correct verb forms. In addition, the students were asked to assign realis vs. irrealis interpretations to events in two short narratives. 's Jacob also analyzed essays written by the

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<sup>26</sup> Thus the claim is made that SD has lects that are SD-influenced, which seems awkward.

students, and made notes during her stay in Paramaribo on tense marking characteristics that she noticed were different from ED. Unfortunately, despite elaborate discussion, the study fails to uncover the distinguishing characteristics of the SD tense marking system, which is mostly due to the methodology used, resulting in data that did not accurately reflect spoken SD. As mentioned before, in Suriname there is no clear standard for Dutch. In schools teachers seem to adhere to predominantly ED as the standard, although typically they themselves speak a form of SD in the classroom, and often, understandably, accept SD forms the students use, while at other times rejecting these, based on the ED model (Van Bochove and Kleberg (1990), Shuisdom (1992)). Needless to say, this has led to enormous language insecurity, whereby students are likely to (try to) avoid forms that are grammatical in their variety of Dutch, but are considered incorrect by their teachers. Instead they may use ED forms, or they may use forms that they believe are ED, but are in fact hypercorrected forms. Thus, asking these students in an educational setting to produce “correct” verb forms in a formal, written format as 's Jacob used, is guaranteed to produce results that are unreliable. The study confirms this: at times the percentage of hypercorrected forms is as high as 41.2, clearly suggesting that the results do not represent spoken SD forms accurately. As a result, these data did not display a coherent system of tense marking, and not surprisingly, 's Jacob's study is unable to transcend a superficial analysis of seemingly unrelated features.

To conclude then, all studies done have primarily focused on written SD as opposed to spoken SD, and in addition most of them have been predominantly lexical. Furthermore, apart from Van Donselaar 1989, they have tended to have a preliminary character, typically analyzing only a limited number of features. No comprehensive study has been done to date to establish the exact nature of spoken SD, which is all the more surprising when we realize that the need for the standardization of SD was first expressed as long as 30 years ago.

### ***Chapter Three: The History of the Use of Dutch in Suriname***

#### **3.0. Introduction**

The history of the Dutch language in Suriname dates back to 1667, when the region first became a Dutch colony. Ever since then, Dutch has been used in Suriname, including its use as an official language. However, throughout its history, several other languages have been used in Suriname alongside Dutch. Most notable of these is Sranan, the English-based creole language developed among the earliest slaves on the Surinamese plantations.

In order to explain why the Dutch language as used in Suriname has developed the way it has, it is necessary to set it against the history of the Dutch speech community in Suriname. Identifying the speakers of Dutch during the last three centuries is by no means an easy task, as conflicting accounts illustrate. Roughly speaking, two views can be distinguished concerning past use of Dutch in Suriname. One view holds that, until the late nineteenth century, when a law made Dutch the compulsory medium in all education, the speakers of Dutch in Suriname were white, Dutch-born colonists who typically resided in Suriname only temporarily. In addition to Dutch, which they reserved for use among themselves, these colonists typically learned Sranan to communicate with the slave population, who as a result did not acquire Dutch (Benjamins and Snelleman 1914-1917: 503, Einaar 1963: 3).

In contrast, others have argued that the core of the Dutch-speaking community in Suriname consisted of a group of locally-born speakers of mixed European and African ancestry who emerged in the course of the eighteenth century. This group soon began to form a new middle class in Paramaribo and, in an eager attempt to assimilate into the Dutch community, they assumed the language of the Dutch (Essed-Fruin 1990: 55, Essed-Fruin and Gobardhan 1992: 10).

This chapter will weigh the evidence in support of these opposing views. Even though the present study is not of a diachronic nature, an understanding of the socio-historical facts can shed light on forces that have shaped present-day Surinamese Dutch. If the main speakers of Dutch were indeed Dutch colonists during the greater part of its history, and particularly if the Dutch-speaking community was relatively transient, this would imply a much less long-standing influence of Sranan on the Dutch language, suggesting that the formation of a distinct Surinamese variety of Dutch did not emerge until the late nineteenth century at the earliest. On the other hand, a scenario in which the main group to carry on the Dutch language constituted of native-born Surinamese almost from the beginning would push much further back in time the influence of Sranan, and thereby the formation of SD, possibly as far as the beginning of the eighteenth century. Such a scenario would also suggest much stronger influence of Sranan, as this native-born community, unlike the transient Dutch community, must have grown up speaking Sranan as well, and would thus have been truly bilingual.

In tracing Dutch language use in Suriname through the centuries, the ethnic groups that are discussed are those of mixed European and African descent, who ultimately formed the Creoles,<sup>27</sup> and those of Asian descent. The last group consists of in particular of the East Indians and Javanese, important as a consequence of their having a history of language use that included Dutch, and being numerous enough to have affected the formation of the Dutch language in Suriname.

### 3.1. The seventeenth century

With the exception of two temporary trading posts on the Suriname and Corantijn rivers in 1613 (Hiss 1943: 76), Dutch presence in Suriname dates back to 1667, when a Dutch fleet led by Abraham Crijnsen captured the colony from the English, who had settled it in 1651. Subsequently, as part of the Treaty of Breda, it was agreed that the Dutch were to maintain their possession of the colony in exchange for New Amsterdam (New York, U.S.A.), which was ceded to the English.

In spite of Suriname being a Dutch colony from 1667 onwards (with brief interruptions from 1799 until 1802 and 1804 until 1816 when the English recaptured the colony), the group of colonists in Suriname in those early years was by no means exclusively Dutch. Rather, the Dutch colony had a distinctly international character (Van

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<sup>27</sup> Members of the various Maroon groups, who used to be referred to as *Bosnegers* in Dutch, are now called *Boslandcreolen*. However, in this dissertation, these groups are not included when reference is made to the *Creoles*.

Lier 1977: 24), which, as we will see, it continued to have until well into the twentieth century.

First of all, from the middle of the seventeenth century on there was a significant (non-Dutch) Jewish population in Suriname. In 1664 around 200 Portuguese Jews from Cayenne had been granted permission to settle in Suriname by the British (Voorhoeve and Lichtveld 1975: 3, Van Lier 1977: 62). In addition, a small group of German Jews had settled in Suriname by 1694 (Van Lier *ibid.*). Steegh et al. (1993: 25) estimate the total number of Jewish residents at 600 towards the end of the seventeenth century.

Furthermore, there was a significant number of French in Suriname in the late seventeenth century. Van Sommelsdijck, Suriname's first governor, who had a French wife, brought with him several hundred French colonists when he arrived in Suriname in 1683 (Van Sypensteyn 1855: 112). In an attempt to bring additional Europeans to the colony in the years following, he convinced two other (probably smaller) groups of French to settle in Suriname: a Jesuit group, the so-called Labadists, and a group of Huguenots, both of whom had left France for religious reasons (Van Lier 1977: 25). Finally, although most British had left when the Dutch seized the colony, not all had done so, and thus there was still a small group of British as well, numbering less than forty by 1680 (Voorhoeve and Lichtveld 1975: 3).

Tax documentation indicates that in 1684 a total of 579 Christians (i.e., non-Jewish whites) lived in Suriname, but it remains unclear how many of those were Dutch. Yet,

despite the lack of specific information, the evidence clearly indicates that the Dutch were outnumbered by non-Dutch colonists during this period (Van Lier 1977: 24, Essed-Fruin 1990: 55).

As a consequence of the colony's international composition, several other European languages were spoken in addition to Dutch (which functioned as the official language from the beginning). These included Portuguese and Spanish, which were spoken by (part of) the Jewish community (Nassy et al. 1791: A2), and German, English and French. Indeed, the use of languages other than Dutch was so common, even in official correspondence, that the colony's government deemed it necessary to publish an ordinance in 1688 stating that documents in languages other than Dutch would no longer be accepted, as the frequent submission of such documents had given the government great difficulties (Essed-Fruin 1990: 54/55).

Furthermore, communication with and among the slave population of African descent, which by the end of the century had grown to around 7,500 (Voorhoeve and Lichtveld: 3), was in Sranan, the English-based creole that had begun to develop during the early British colonial period. The custom among the colonizers of using the creole language with the slaves had been continued after the English left, partly as a result of the lack of a common language among the European plantation directors and overseers (Rens 1953: 87).

In brief then, during the seventeenth century, even though Dutch was the official language, the size of the Dutch-speaking community was very limited.

### 3.2. The eighteenth century

The linguistic situation that characterized the last quarter of the seventeenth century persisted throughout the eighteenth century, whereby Dutch remained restricted to a small group of speakers. Tax documentation reveals that the white population numbered 1288 in 1736 (Beeldsnijder 1991: 26), but it remains unclear how many of these were Dutch-born. A publication by a group of Jewish settlers (Nassy et al. 1791) provides detailed information about population numbers in 1787, presented in the following table:

	in Paramaribo	in the countryside
<b>Whites:</b>		
Portuguese Jews	615	219
German Jews	430	47
Non-Jews	955	1090
Total	2000	1356
(Total whites: 3356)		
<b>Non-whites:</b>		
Mulattos and free blacks	650	
Slaves	6-8,000	45-50,000

*Table 3. Population of Suriname in 1787 (Nassy et al. 1791, Part 2: 31/32)*

When discussing in detail the white population of Suriname in the eighteenth century, it is important to distinguish between non-Jewish and Jewish colonists, as the latter did not employ Dutch (Nassy et al. 1791: A2), and thus the Dutch-speaking population must be sought among the non-Jewish group. Nassy et al. indicate that the non-Jewish white

population living in the countryside was spread out over 545 plantations, typically with between one and four whites on each plantation, though the majority of plantations had only one white person in command (ibid. part 2: 31). As pointed out in the previous section, communication with the black population on the plantations was in Sranan, and thus it has to be concluded that the non-Jewish white population on the plantations, though a number of them were originally native speakers of Dutch, are not likely to have used that language on a regular basis while in Suriname. For the purposes of this discussion then, the population living in the countryside will not be considered, and the focus will be on the city population.

As Table 3 shows, the number of non-Jewish whites living in Paramaribo numbered 955 in 1787, which is less than half the white population of the city. No exact figures are available as to how many of this group were actually Dutch-born, but there is ample evidence suggesting that the colony continued to have a highly international character throughout the eighteenth century, including remarkably few Dutch (Van Lier 1977: 24, Steegh et al. 1993: 27). Van Lier (ibid.) presents information from a missionary based in Suriname, who in a document listing the various nationalities of the colony altogether fails to mention the Dutch; in addition, Steegh et al. (1993: 27) report a German visitor's reaction to the many Germans he encountered in Suriname in the second half of the eighteenth century, claiming it would be more appropriate to label Suriname a German colony. As Steegh et al. indicate, this must have been an exaggeration, but it nonetheless emphasizes that the number of Dutch in the colony at the time was limited. The most convincing proof

illustrating the predominantly non-Dutch character of the colony at the time is found in an official statement by Suriname's governor from 1742 till 1751, Mauricius, who officially complained about the fact that the majority of the white colonists were foreigners (Van Lier 1977: 28).

In short, the evidence suggests that no sizable Dutch speech community of any significance ever developed in Suriname among the colonists during the eighteenth century. Furthermore, these colonists were often transient, as most went to Suriname with the intention of accumulating wealth in a short time, after which they typically returned to their home countries (with the notable exception of the Jews, who settled permanently) (Van Lier 1977: 29). Moreover, many colonists were single males (*ibid.* 31), and therefore there were very few Dutch families with children, thus removing a strong motive among the Dutch-born colonists for the use of the Dutch language (Rens 1953: 90). In fact, as Rens argues, it is quite plausible that the Dutch-born colonists used Sranan for the most part rather than Dutch (*ibid.*). While it is well-attested that, in order to emphasize the social distance between black and white, the white colonists often deliberately refrained from using Dutch with the black slave population, using Sranan instead (*ibid.*), even among themselves the colonists may very well have employed mainly Sranan, as some have argued (Eersel 1987: 127, Van Trier-Guicherit 1991: 35). An observation from Gabriel Stedman, author of the well-known account of the Maroon wars in the eighteenth century, confirms this: "the genteelst Europeans speak little else [but Sranan]" (as cited by Eersel 1987: 128). Given

the multilingual character of the European community, it is quite plausible that the white population indeed resorted to Sranan as opposed to Dutch, which many of them would have had to learn in addition to Sranan, as their native languages were other European languages.

Additional evidence lending support to the predominant use of Sranan among the colonists comes from two early teaching manuals for Dutch speakers to learn Sranan, by Van Dijk (ca. 1765) and Weygandt (1798). These include many dialogues that serve as examples for possible conversations. Significantly, several of these are between white speakers, in situations both on the plantation and in the city, suggesting that Sranan was used among whites (Eersel 1987: 128, Van Trier-Guicherit 1991: 35). Finally, school regulations dated 1726 officially stated that it was forbidden for children to use Sranan in class (Oudschans Dentz 1955: 176), also illustrating the general use of Sranan among the white colonists. For the need for such a statement clearly suggests that the (few) white children in the colony, who were the only ones to receive any education at that time (Parabirsing 1972: appendix 1-2), may have preferred Sranan.

The above would lead one to believe that an actively Dutch-speaking community may have been virtually non-existent throughout the eighteenth century in Suriname, with Dutch merely functioning as the official language of government, and, for the Dutch-born population, education (which was very limited at that time (Van Lier 1977: 61)) and religion. It was rather Sranan which served as the medium of social interaction among most

of the white population. According to this scenario then, the foundations of the distinct variety of Dutch that developed into modern SD are not likely to have emerged until later.<sup>28</sup>

However, there is an alternative scenario that in the course of the eighteenth century a new social class emerged consisting of free blacks and people of mixed (i.e., African and European) racial background, who numbered 650 by 1787, but increased rapidly towards the end of the century (Van Lier 1977: 71). Some have argued that as a means of distinguishing themselves from the slave population, this non-white population deliberately chose to speak Dutch (Essed-Fruin and Gobardhan 1992: 10). Although no explicit information is available to support such a claim (Gobardhan 1995, personal communication), there is some indirect evidence for this hypothesis. In an in-depth study of the life of Elisabeth Samson, a free black woman who entered the annals of history as the first black woman in Suriname to be given permission to marry a white man, McLeod (1994) shows that as early as the eighteenth century there were free blacks who held prominent positions in Surinamese society, and managed to accumulate great wealth, as Samson did. Archival material indicates that Samson conducted her own correspondence with her business representatives in Holland, and even went there to clear her name in a defamation suit in a Dutch court of law (McLeod 1994). It is obvious then that she had to have had at least a reasonable command of Dutch, and that she was literate in the language. Although Elisabeth Samson's position as a wealthy free black woman was no doubt

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<sup>28</sup> One could argue, though, that in itself this scenario might support the early development of SD, precisely because of the predominant use of Sranan by the whites. However, the problem with it obviously is that it has hardly anyone using SD.

exceptional, historical documentation shows that in the eighteenth century there were in Suriname numerous people of mixed racial background with education, high social position, and wealth (McLeod 1994: 96). It is almost inconceivable that these people, given their education and social position in a society that used Dutch as official language, would not have had a good command of Dutch. Quite plausibly then, this group was functionally bilingual in Sranan and Dutch, and may very well have used the latter regularly in social life, if only as a way to distinguish themselves from other less fortunate non-whites. In such an admittedly speculative scenario, it is likely that a distinct and frequently-used variety of SD would have developed in the course of the eighteenth century among this Surinamese-born bilingual group.

One of the teaching manuals mentioned earlier, Van Dijk (ca. 1765), lends further support to the possibility of a distinct variety of Dutch having emerged as early as the eighteenth century. In the Van Dijk work several dialogues are presented in Sranan, along with Dutch translations. Quite interestingly, these Dutch translations are rather awkward, at times clearly Sranan-influenced (Van Trier-Guicherit 1991: 35), and generally do not seem to represent any variety of ED (De Kleine 1994). For instance, ED is generally considered a SOV language (Koster 1975), whereby verbs are placed in clause-final position in subordinate clauses. In the Van Dijk document, however, word order in subordinate clauses often (though not always) follows a SVO pattern:

ik geloof hy hoord het al  
 I beliefe he hears it already  
 'I beliefe he has heard it already'  
 (Van Dijk ca. 1765: 61)

Although there is no conclusive evidence that no past (eighteenth century) dialect of ED ever allowed SVO order in subordinate clauses, variation regarding verb position points to Van Dijk not having been a native speaker of ED. For example, among his translations sentences are found containing two coordinated subordinate clauses, in which the verb in the first clause is in final position, while the verb in the following clause is not:

maak dat ze de sloot terdeeg schoon maaken  
 make that they the ditch properly clean make  
 en haalen de wortels wel uit de grond  
 and take the roots indeed out the ground

'make sure that they clean the ditch properly and that they take the roots out of the ground'  
 (Van Dijk ca. 1765: 58)

This kind of variation would be hard to account for if Van Dijk were a native speaker of a variety of ED, and gives the strong impression of the author merely attempting to use ED constructions but failing to do so consistently. Interestingly, it is quite common on the other hand to find subordinated clauses with SVO order in modern SD (cf. chapter 7).

Additionally, the author often omits the subordinator *dat* 'that' in his translations (which is never allowed in ED); this feature, too, is quite often found in modern SD (cf. chapter 7).

Similarly, certain verbs that are intransitive in ED are transitive in Van Dijk's translations, such as *schelden* 'to yell at (someone)', a verb that was also found used transitively in our

data (cf. 5.8.). The reverse pattern, whereby verbs that have a transitive character in ED are used intransitively, is also common in Van Dijk's translations, particularly in constructions in which a direct object is implied but not overtly realized. The latter, too, is regularly encountered in modern SD.

There are several possible explanations for these grammatical features.

Unfortunately, no personal information is available on Van Dijk (Van Trier-Guicherit 1991: 33), and thus we lack data on his ethnic and linguistic background. One possibility is that he was Dutch, spoke a variety of ED and learned Sranan, presumably as an adult, in Suriname. This seems unlikely though, as his excellent Sranan syntax, e.g., his use of the completive marker *kaba*, gives the strong impression of being that of a native speaker (Stewart 1994, personal communication).<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, as already pointed out, some of the variation found in his translations suggests he may have been a non-native speaker of ED. If so, and the linguistic evidence certainly favors this explanation, then he quite likely grew up in Suriname, and thus almost certainly acquired Dutch in Suriname, suggesting that his translations actually reflect the variety heard in Suriname at the time. This is not necessarily the case though; after all, it is possible that these grammatical structures merely represent Van Dijk's idiolect, and that no sizable Dutch-speaking community existed yet that had started to develop their own variety of Dutch. However, the similarities between Van Dijk's Dutch and modern SD are so striking at times, that in my view there is a good possibility

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<sup>29</sup> Stewart says that the impression of some (e.g., Voorhoeve and Doncie 1963: 31-32) that Van Dijk spoke Sranan poorly comes from his representations of unstressed vowels, especially his use of e for Weygandt's a, i, oe, and o (Weygandt 1798). But this may have been Van Dijk's way of representing greater vowel variation in

that this document provides us with a glimpse of a variety of Dutch that may have been the precursor to modern SD.

### 3.3. The nineteenth century

Surinamese society experienced a number of significant changes during the second half of the nineteenth century, which ultimately affected the use of Dutch in the colony significantly. Initially, however, the sociolinguistic situation that had existed throughout the eighteenth century persisted into the nineteenth. A census in 1811 reported a population of a total of 5,104 free persons (Oudschans Dentz 1949: 36), most of whom lived in Paramaribo, including 3,075 free non-whites (Van Lier 1977: 71). By 1830, the number of free non-whites had grown to 5,041, of which 3,947 were of mixed racial origin (ibid.). Of this number a mere 399 was found outside Paramaribo. In contrast, the number of whites totaled only 2,638 by 1830 (Lammens 1982: 10), of whom 2,043 resided in Paramaribo. Thus, free non-whites had begun to outnumber the white population in Paramaribo, a trend which persisted throughout the remainder of the century.

As in the eighteenth century, the white population continued to be composed of a multitude of European nationalities during the nineteenth century. The Dutch remained a minority among the Europeans, representing less than a quarter in 1830 according to a highly reliable source, as reported by Steegh et al. (1993: 27). As a result, the European community in Suriname lacked cultural as well as linguistic coherence, maintaining their

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the constantly re-pidginizing Sranan of the interior plantations in his day.

various original languages (Lammens 1982: 117-119). Furthermore, as a consequence of a serious decline in the Surinamese economy in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the white community had become even more transient, including even fewer families and more single men than before (Van Lier 1977: 30-31). Thus, for similar reasons as in previous centuries, the social structure of the white population of Suriname, and in particular Paramaribo, did not provide good support for the development of a white, Dutch-speaking community.

While the evidence is not fully conclusive as to whether a distinct Dutch-speaking community developed among non-whites in Suriname during the early eighteenth century, it is clear that by the end of that century a Dutch-speaking community had started to emerge from within the non-white population of Paramaribo. As early as in 1760, the first school for non-whites had opened its doors, presumably using Dutch as the medium of instruction. For it is from then on that non-whites are increasingly encountered in clerical positions, for which a knowledge of Dutch must have been a prerequisite (Van Lier 1977: 81). In addition, starting in the nineteenth century, children from well-to-do families of mixed racial backgrounds were often sent to Holland for further education, again attesting to the fact that members of this ethnic group must have had a solid command of Dutch. It is also in the early nineteenth century that a class of non-white Surinamese intellectuals emerged who typically received at least part of their education in Holland. Some of these held prominent positions in Surinamese society, and even published in Dutch. There was, for instance,

Hendrik Focke, who was the co-founder (together with a few prominent Dutch in Suriname) of the journal *West-Indië*. He is probably best-known for his *Neger-Engelsch woordenboek* (1855) ('Negro-English dictionary'), its excellent quality clearly illustrating his bilingual background (Voorhoeve and Lichtveld 1975: 7). In other words, an elite social class had started to emerge among the non-whites, who without any doubt were native speakers not only of Sranan, but also of Dutch.

Despite the relatively small size of this elite bilingual group, quite probably this newly emerged social class exerted a substantial influence on the development of Dutch in Suriname. Most importantly, albeit not equivalent to the European-born upper class, members of this elite group held high social status, often having accumulated wealth and occupying prominent positions in the colony, enabling them to exert linguistic influence as well. In addition, quite unlike the transient white community, they resided permanently in Suriname, and were thus able to develop a stable Dutch-speaking community.

This social group, which most likely provided the backbone of the Dutch-speaking community of Suriname in the first part of the nineteenth century, must have experienced a great amount of exposure to ED. As has been mentioned, they often sent their children to Holland for education. Moreover, there may have been an increasing amount of social interaction with the upper-class white community, which was largely European Dutch-speaking, and the elite non-white community (Van Lier 1977: 83). This must have been so, even though conflicting accounts exist to the extent of such contact, ranging from claims

that social interaction between the two remained virtually non-existent, with whites generally showing great contempt for non-whites (Lammens 1982: 57), to claims that contacts were limited to professional interactions (Steegh et al. 1993: 87), through to argumentation that the two groups interacted on a personal level, including marriages between non-whites and whites (Van Lier 1977: 83).

Thus far education had had a limited impact on the use of Dutch in Suriname, but this was ultimately to change drastically in the nineteenth century. Until then, only private education had been available, which was very limited and its quality was generally of a very low level (Parabirsing 1972: appendix 1-1, Van Lier 1977: 61, 81, Van Dijk and Getrouw 1965: 67). As a result of a lack of governmental regulation, the quality of the teachers and instruction in general had left much to be desired, suggesting that education might not have had much of an influence on language use in the colony until then. However, the situation changed in 1817 when the government began regulating elementary and secondary education, setting clear standards for teachers and subject matter to be taught, thereby improving quality significantly. Two teachers who were educated in Holland, Johannes Vrolijk (born in Suriname of mixed racial background) and Corstaan Aert Batenburg (a Dutchman), are known to have contributed greatly to the improvement of education in Paramaribo (Oudschans Dentz 1955: 182). The first opened a school in Paramaribo in 1809, while the latter headed a secondary school from 1816 on (*ibid.*, Van Dijk and Getrouw 1965: 68). These schools used Dutch as the medium of instruction, and although no

information is available on other teachers' educational and language backgrounds during that period, of the two teachers mentioned above, Batenburg must have spoken ED, while Vrolijk may very well have done so too as he was educated in Holland, and thus those who received an education, which was still only the free minority, were quite likely exposed to ED in the classroom. The slave population, on the other hand, was officially forbidden to receive education until 1844. In that year the government allowed European missionaries to set up schools for slave children, which they did both in Paramaribo and on the plantations (Van Dijk and Getrouw 1965: 68), where the slave children were taught in Sranan, though the number of slaves receiving an education remained very small until the abolition of slavery (Van Lier 1977: 212).

In short, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the large majority of children, the slave children, did not receive any education, and if they did, this occurred in Sranan, while a small free minority of children in the city was educated using Dutch as the medium of instruction.

This situation changed dramatically in 1876, when following the abolition of slavery in 1863, emancipating a total number of 32,911 slaves (Steegh et al. 1993: 79), the Dutch government introduced compulsory education for every child aged 7 to 12. More significantly, the Dutch government now started to pursue an active policy of assimilation in Suriname, with the intention to transform Suriname into another Dutch province. As its most powerful tool, the Dutch government decided to make Dutch the only medium of

instruction, both in public as well as religious schools. Thus, after two hundred years of reserving the Dutch language for a small elite, the colonial government now went to the other extreme by forcing a Dutch-only policy onto the Surinamese, actively suppressing the use of Sranan in education (Rens 1953: 134).

The effect on education and Dutch language use in Suriname of this change in policy can hardly be overestimated. Until 1876, children receiving education in Dutch had typically acquired Dutch as a first language, possibly along with Sranan. By contrast, from 1876 onwards the great majority of pupils entering the school system had a language background that did not include Dutch, resulting in the massive second-language learning of Dutch.

As could have been expected, the transition was difficult for many schools. Those established by the missionaries, which had been using Sranan, experienced difficulties changing to Dutch, as apart from having to educate children in a language foreign to them, their teachers were often not fluent in Dutch, and their instructional materials were printed in Sranan (Voorhoeve and Lichtveld 1975: 8).

The new law stipulating that only Dutch was to be used was implemented rigorously. The colonial government, determined to force its Dutch assimilation policy onto Suriname, threatened to withhold subsidies if schools did not comply,<sup>30</sup> after which in 1890 the religious schools established by the Moravians were the last to also officially introduce

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<sup>30</sup> The only schools that were exempted from the law were Maroon schools in the interior, which were permitted to use Sranan (Essed-Fruin 1990: 55, Voorhoeve 1982: 39).

Dutch (Essed-Fruin 1990: 55). This policy may well have found strong support among parents, who, as Voorhoeve and Lichtveld point out (1975: 8), realized that the Dutch language was now more than ever the ultimate vehicle for advancement in society. Yet, in 1891 the board of the Moravian schools still deemed it necessary to send a letter out to its teachers, urging them to speak Dutch with their pupils, both in and outside the classroom, as they realized Sranan was still widely used in their schools (Fontaine 1985: 94).

Eersel (1987:131) estimates that it took another twenty-five years after 1876 for Dutch to take hold in social life as well, partly due to the time lag between children entering school and becoming part of society in a professional capacity. Moreover, the initial lack of schools after the enactment of the compulsory education law may have delayed education for many, particularly in the countryside (*ibid.*).

In addition, the introduction of Dutch on a large scale through education was delayed by the arrival of many new Asian immigrants. By the second half of the nineteenth century, the plantation owners, supported by the government in Suriname, began to seek new agricultural laborers, in part in anticipation of the abolition of slavery of 1863, and in part as a deliberate attempt to create a labor surplus in order to keep (future) wages low (Steeh et al. 1993: 96-97). Between 1853 and 1874 a total of around 2,600 Chinese contract laborers were recruited from China and what were then the Dutch East Indies, of which a third eventually returned (Man A Hing 1993). This was followed by larger-scale immigration from then-British India as well as Java, then part of the Dutch East Indies.

Between 1873 and 1917, 34,024 East Indians were recruited in India, while 32,620 Javanese arrived in Suriname between 1891 and 1938 (Van Lier 1977: 160).<sup>31</sup>

The Asian immigrants settled in the countryside, where they largely stayed on as small-scale farmers after the expiration of their contracts. Although officially they were subject to the new laws regarding compulsory education in Dutch for every child between the ages of 7 and 12, for the East Indians an exception was made in 1890 by the then-Governor Lohman, who held the opinion that this group could not be forced to be educated in Dutch (Steegh et al. 1993:112-113), as they were expected to reside in Suriname only temporarily (Essed-Fruin and Gobardhan-Rambocus 1992: 13). As a compromise, the so-called 'koelieschools' were established for East Indian children, where education was provided by East Indian teachers in Hindi and Urdu (ibid.). As a result, the East Indians were largely unaffected by the Dutch assimilation policy, as were the Javanese, though for slightly different reasons. Consequently, the Dutch language did not penetrate into these Asian immigrant communities until much later.

It was therefore mostly the population of (part) African decent, the Creoles, that by the end of the nineteenth century was receiving instruction in Dutch. A relevant question for the purposes of the discussion of the development of Dutch in Suriname is what kind of language models the students were exposed to in those days. As the majority obtained Dutch input primarily in the classroom, teachers would have provided their primary

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<sup>31</sup> Of the East Indians, 34% ultimately returned upon completion of their contractual obligations, which typically consisted of a five-year labor contract, while 22% of the Javanese went back to Java (Van Lier 1977: 160).

language models. If these were mainly recruited in Holland, then obviously their models would have been forms of ED, whereas if the teachers were born in Suriname, the language they heard in the classroom might have included variants further removed from ED. Van Lier (1977: 208) states that “many knowledgeable Dutch teachers were sent to Suriname”, at first mostly for the secondary school established in 1887, as they, presumably unlike their Surinamese counterparts, were certified to teach at this level (Van Dijk and Getrouw 1965: 69, Van Lier 1977: 208). Furthermore, the Moravian schools recruited teachers from Holland to replace those who had previously taught in Sranan (Fontaine 1985: 93). Hence, a number of them must have been ED-speaking, but it remains unclear how great this percentage actually was. On the other hand, as early as 1877 a teacher training college was founded in Suriname (Hellinga 1955: 13), and thus some of the teachers were quite likely recruited locally by the late nineteenth century.

### **3.4. The twentieth century**

In discussing speakers of Dutch in Suriname in the twentieth century, an important distinction needs to be made between those that acquired Dutch as a first language and those who acquired it as a second language. As discussed previously, an elite group had formed in the nineteenth century among the Creoles in Paramaribo, which was bilingual in Dutch and Sranan. This group continued to speak Dutch at home, and thus the children of this upper class acquired Dutch as a first language. In addition, Creoles of a middle class

background, most of whom lived in the city as well, emphasized Dutch language use in the home from the late nineteenth century on, as this group, too, viewed Dutch as the vehicle for social advancement now that Dutch had become the instructional language in schools (Eersel 1987: 131). Often children from middle and upper class families were altogether forbidden to speak Sranan, and were severely punished when caught violating this rule (Voorhoeve and Lichtveld 1975: 9).<sup>32</sup>

Another group that needs mentioning among those that acquired Dutch as a first language is the Dutch-born community. Numerically this group, like the European-born population in Suriname in general, shrank to insignificance during the first half of the twentieth century; the number born outside the Netherlands roughly equaled the Dutch-born population, together forming less than 1% of the total population during the first half of the twentieth century (Schoonhoven 1939: 83, Hiss 1943: 190, Oudschans Dentz 1949: 98).<sup>33</sup>

In contrast, the descendants of the slaves, who after abolition relocated in the city, forming the lower classes among the Creoles, remained predominantly Sranan-speaking (Veer 1962: 22, Reinecke 1937: 445, Hellinga 1955: 16). They mostly acquired Dutch as a second language in the classroom, and so their command of Dutch was not equivalent to those speakers who acquired it as a first language. This fact created a linguistic gap between the higher and the lower social classes—a process that was exacerbated by the school

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<sup>32</sup> Several middle-aged and older Surinamese confirmed this when I asked them about language use in their childhood.

<sup>33</sup> A number of different languages continued to be spoken by the non-Dutch European inhabitants, including French, German, Portuguese and English (Schoch 1903: 109, Schoonhoven 1939: 83, Steinberg 1933: 9)

system. By the late 1940s, a distinction was introduced between A type elementary schools, for which tuition fees had to be paid and which were generally attended by students from Dutch-speaking families, and B type elementary schools, which were free and typically frequented by students who came from non-Dutch speaking families (Hellings 1955: 20, Van Wel and Vervoorn 1974: 12).<sup>34</sup>

In addition to class differences related to the command of Dutch manifested among the Creoles, an even sharper distinction developed with respect to the city vs. the countryside during this century, and along with this, a distinction between ethnic groups. From the late nineteenth century onwards, the ex-slave population, after having left the plantations, moved to the city in increasing numbers, while the new immigrants of Asian descent replaced them in the countryside. Consequently, until the middle of the twentieth century, a disproportionate number of Creoles lived in the city, while the majority of Asians, in particular the East Indians and Javanese, were found in the countryside (Hellings 1955:10). The latter groups lived in relative geographical as well as cultural isolation, maintaining the use of their ancestral languages. Furthermore, until well into the twentieth century, education for East Indians was provided in their group language, first in the form of the previously mentioned “koelieschools” (although these were closed in 1906 as they obviously collided with the governmental assimilation policy as regards the use of Dutch in education) and later at schools already established in the countryside, where until 1929 East Indian teachers were allowed to teach in their own language (Essed-Fruin and Gobardhan

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<sup>34</sup> The distinction between A and B schools was discontinued by the 1960s (Veer 1962: 22).

1992: 113). The practice of teaching in students' first languages was sometimes unofficially continued on a smaller scale among both East Indians and Javanese (Hellinga 1955: 92), in addition to an official experiment in 1939 to provide education for Javanese students in their first language in the form of the so-called "dessa schools" (Essed-Fruin and Gobardhan 1992: 13). Thus, Asian immigrants in the countryside experienced little exposure to Dutch in the first few decades of the twentieth century, and after that, only limited exposure, solely through education, as Dutch was not generally heard in the streets to the extent that it was in the city (Van den Bosch 1930: 339).

Reinecke (1937: 444) reports that another reason for the discrepancy between the city and the countryside was that by the mid 1930s (and possibly earlier) children in the city were introduced to Dutch in kindergarten, thus putting them at an advantage over the children from the countryside, who were not exposed to Dutch in the classroom until entering elementary school at the earliest. Yet another factor contributing to less use and consequently more limited command of Dutch among those living in the countryside was school attendance rates, which were relatively low. This was particularly true in the first half of the twentieth century, with an average truancy percentage as high as 36 in 1946 (Hellinga 1955: 65), which was due to various reasons such as poor road conditions, socio-economic conditions requiring children to work as opposed to attending school, and parents failing to appreciate the value of education for their children (Hellinga 1955: 91).

In short, although a number of speakers acquired Dutch in Suriname as a first language, for a much greater number it was a second language. In an educational system using a sink-or-swim system that did not prepare for a smooth transition from native to instructional language, this caused serious problems for many Surinamese students, who often failed to acquire a proper command of Dutch, as an extensive research project done by researchers from the University of Amsterdam in the period 1949-1950 clearly revealed (Hellinga 1955: 101).

After the Second World War the East Indian population began to immigrate to the city (Brons 1952: 25), thereby gaining more exposure to Dutch. Over time an increasing number of East Indians in the city decided to employ Dutch at home so that their children would not be at a disadvantage at school (Van Wel and Vervoorn 1974: 20). In more recent times, among other ethnic groups too, such as the Javanese, and most recently the Maroons, there has been a tendency to move to the city, thus increasing their exposure to Dutch.

Yet, many of the overall patterns regarding the use and command of Dutch that were established in the first half of the twentieth century have persisted into the second half: the discrepancy between city and countryside has continued to exist (Van Wel 1974: 11, Essed-Fruin 1990: 56), as has the gap between the lower classes, using predominantly Sranan and their other respective group languages, and the higher classes, among whom Dutch is more common (Parabirsing 1972). In general, for many Dutch continued to function as a second language, prompting the Ministry of Education in 1974 to officially declare Dutch a second

language in the Surinamese school system, and urge educators to treat it as such (Gobardhan 1989: 68).

Despite the limited presence of Dutch-born residents in Suriname from the beginning of this century on, it should be emphasized that the influence of ED has nonetheless been very significant throughout most of the twentieth century. Until Suriname became an autonomous state within the Dutch Kingdom in 1954, high governmental positions were typically occupied by Dutch-born residents, as were other prominent positions. More significantly, a great number of teachers in post-elementary education, particularly those that taught on the secondary level and at teachers colleges, were typically recruited in the Netherlands. (Apparently few Surinamese had the appropriate credentials.) This practice continued up to independence in 1975.<sup>35</sup> Thus, students receiving education beyond the elementary level, which included most middle and upper class children, were primarily exposed to ED in the classroom until as recently as the 1970s.

When Suriname gained independence in 1975, Dutch presence virtually came to an end. One would expect this momentous political change to have had a significant linguistic effect, and to a certain extent it indeed has, as positions formerly occupied by ED speakers, including those of high governmental officials and teachers, were now filled with Surinamese-born speakers. Additionally, during the period of military dictatorship in the

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<sup>35</sup> A Surinamese teacher informed me that as many as three quarters of all teachers at the Christian Teacher's College (one of two such institutes in Paramaribo) were from the Netherlands in 1973. Thus, even though elementary teachers were usually hired locally, and thus speakers of SD, they themselves had typically been trained by native speakers of ED. After independence, however, the Minister of Education urged the institute to discontinue recruiting teachers from overseas, threatening to withhold funds if they failed to comply with his

1980s in particular, an increasing number of speakers of lower class background were found in leadership positions in society, and thus SD forms generally perceived to be more non-standard were increasingly heard in public communication and specifically in the media, a situation that has continued into the 1990s (Morroy 1994, personal communication). On the other hand, many of the speakers who used to form the (predominantly Creole) elite group in Suriname, who spoke a variant of SD that was probably closest to ED, have left the country since independence.

Paradoxically though, to a certain extent independence has also resulted in increased exposure to ED. Since the mid 1970s a large number of Surinamese have emigrated to the Netherlands. As a consequence, today approximately a third of the Suriname-born population resides in the Netherlands, thus creating strong ties between the two countries, as almost everyone in Suriname now has relatives overseas. Moreover, many second generation Surinamese immigrants in the Netherlands now speak a variety of ED, to which their Surinamese-born relatives are obviously exposed when communicating with their family members. In addition, in the media ED can be heard on a daily basis, as some radio stations in Paramaribo broadcast news excerpts copied directly from Dutch media sources. Finally, as Suriname's university as of yet does not offer a full range of academic programs, Surinamese students continue to travel to the Netherlands for further education, albeit in reduced numbers due to the economic situation the country finds itself in in the 1990s.

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wishes.

**To conclude, despite ever weakening political relations between Suriname and the Netherlands, the influence of ED persists up to the present day.**

## ***Chapter Four: The Current Sociolinguistic Situation in Suriname***

### **4.0. Introduction**

Modern Surinamese society is highly multilingual, with estimates ranging from 18 to 22 different languages spoken<sup>36</sup> (Morroy 1990: 1), by a total population of merely 408,000.<sup>37</sup> The current linguistic situation of Suriname is partly explained by the ethnic composition of the country, since all ethnic groups, due to either past or present social isolation, have to some extent maintained their own group languages. Thus, the linguistic situation is to a great extent reflected in the ethnic divisions. Steegh et al. (1993: 9) provide the following recent figures on the various population groups:<sup>38</sup>

East Indians (Du. <i>Hindostanen</i> )	40%
Creoles (Du. <i>Creolen</i> )	27%
Javanese (Du. <i>Javanen</i> )	15%
Maroons (Du. <i>Boslandcreolen</i> )	10%
Amerindians (Du. <i>Indianen</i> )	2.7%
Whites	2%
Chinese	1.7%
Guyanese	no information available
Haitians	no information available <sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Below 19 languages are discussed. The main reason why estimates can vary is that some counts include languages that are not generally spoken (as a first language) in Suriname, such as English, which is typically learned as a second language in schools, or Sanskrit, which is solely employed in East Indian religious ceremonies. Such languages have not been included here.

<sup>37</sup> Source: afdeling Demografische Statistieken van het Centraal Bureau Burgeradministratie (CBB), as reported in *De Ware Tijd*, October 10, 1995.

<sup>38</sup> The last census that recorded ethnic differences was done in 1971, and thus these percentages, which are estimates, may not be fully accurate (Steegh et al. 1993: 97).

<sup>39</sup> The Guyanese and the Haitians represent the so-called "guest workers" (Du. *gastarbeiders*), who arrived in Suriname in the seventies in pursue of work. Due to the present economic situation though, many have

In addition to the specific group languages, which will be discussed in the following sections, Sranan (the creole English originally associated with the Creoles) and Dutch are the languages spoken across ethnic boundaries, by the majority of the population. Sranan functions as the lingua franca in informal settings, while Dutch, the country's official language, is typically employed in more formal settings, including in the media, in government and in education. Nevertheless, as many speakers (predominantly those of Creole origin, as we will see) also employ Dutch along with Sranan in the home, we cannot, as has sometimes been claimed (cf. Gobardhan-Rambocus 1993: 142-143), speak of a classic diglossia situation as originally defined by Ferguson (1959), whereby the language with higher prestige, Dutch, is learned primarily through formal education, while the language associated with lower prestige, Sranan in this case, is acquired in the home. Furthermore, to the extent that the use of Dutch and Sranan are indeed still associated with the traditional domains of a higher prestige language versus a lower prestige language, a shift has taken place in more recent times, with Sranan becoming more acceptable in formal situations in which it was once avoided, such as in professional settings (Westmaas 1983: 177), resulting in Dutch experiencing increased competition from Sranan. The use of Dutch and Sranan will be discussed in more detail in sections 4.2. and 4.3.

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returned to their home countries (Steeh et al 1993: 9). Official numbers on these groups are not available, since most of these guest workers, in particular Haitians, are illegal (Gobardhan 1989: 65). Grimes (1996), however, reports that the Summer Institute of Linguistics estimated the number of Guyanese at 50,000 in 1986. I suspect that a reasonable number is still there; I can remember encountering groups of Guyanese (who clearly lived locally) in a bar outside Paramaribo.

## **4.1. Language use among the various ethnic groups**

### **4.1.1. The Amerindians**

The original inhabitants of Suriname consist of several groups of Amerindians. Of all ethnic groups in Suriname, these have been the least integrated into modern Surinamese society. Not unsurprisingly then, their original languages have been maintained, despite the fact that some Amerindian tribes have very few members.

Today, there are six different Amerindian tribes in Suriname.<sup>40</sup> In the Coastal area stretching from Venezuela to French Guyana we find the Caribs, speaking a Cariban language, referred to as Kalincha or Carib, and the Arawaks, who speak a language called Lokono or Arawak, which is unrelated to the languages from the Cariban family (Eersel 1969).

In the interior of Suriname the Wayanas, Trios and Akurios can be found. The Wayanas speak another Cariban language, and live in two geographical areas in South-East Suriname, along the Litani River and along the Tapanahoni and Palomeu Rivers, while the

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<sup>40</sup> The following information on group size was compiled by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Grimes 1996), and is the most recent available. It has to be born in mind that these are rough estimates:

Caribs:	2,500
Trios:	800
Akurios:	40-50
Arawaks:	700
Wayanas:	600
Warau:	“a very small number in Suriname”

These numbers include only those Amerindians that still live in tribal organizations, and do not include the inhabitants of Amerindian descent that live in Paramaribo today, which make up around half of the Amerindian

Trios, who also speak a Cariban language, live in two villages, Alalaparoe on the Coroenie Creek and Peloeloe Tepoe on the upper Tapanahoni River (Eersel 1969). In addition to the traditional Amerindian languages, a pidgin language used between the Trios and Wayanas on the one hand, and the Trios and Ndjukas on the other has been reported (Holm 1989: 603-604). As a result of efforts by American missionaries to integrate the Akurios, originally a nomadic tribe, into the Trio tribe, part of the Akurio group has now merged with the Trios, though a small number has chosen to continue their nomadic lifestyle. The latter speak a language which according to some sources is mutually intelligible with the Trio language (Steegh et al. 1993: 16), while others dispute this (Grimes 1996); in either case, the languages are clearly related.

Finally, there is a group of Amerindians named the Warau (Eersel 1969, Gobardhan 1993, Grimes 1996), who live on the banks of the Corantijn River (which forms the natural border with Guyana), though Eersel (*ibid.*) emphasizes that the group has only very few members living on the Surinamese side. As a result of living in the border area with Guyana, these Amerindians reportedly speak Guyanese CE as well (Grimes 1996). Their original Amerindian language is apparently not related to either the Arawak or to the Cariban languages.

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population of Suriname (Steegh et al. 1993: 16).

#### 4.1.2. The East Indians

Of all groups of Asian origin in Suriname, East Indians are by far the most numerous. The language particular to the East Indians is Surinamese Hindustani, today commonly referred to as *Sarnami*, which developed out of several northern Indian dialects related to Hindi spoken by the original immigrants, predominantly the Bhojpuri, Awadhi and Hindustani dialects (Kishna 1983: 70). Along with Sarnami, the East Indian community also employs (standard) Hindi and Urdu, mainly for religious purposes, in the media and in education,<sup>41</sup> with Hindi typically used by Hindus, while Urdu is employed by Muslims.<sup>42</sup> As such, Urdu and Hindi, which carry higher prestige, can be said to exist in a diglossic relationship with Sarnami, the lower prestige variant, which, unlike Hindi and Urdu, is mostly employed in informal situations (and as such has started to compete with Sranan among younger (mostly male) speakers, and among intellectuals (Kishna 1983: 87)), although recent revaluation of Sarnami has led to more acceptance of the latter in formal situations (Damsteegt 1984: 19, Kishna 1983: 86).

#### 4.1.3. The Javanese

The Javanese have, like all other Asian groups, maintained the use of their original language, although not surprisingly, by now Javanese spoken in Suriname has developed

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<sup>41</sup> The reference here is to private education, since all public education is in the official language, Dutch.

<sup>42</sup> In addition, Sanskrit and Arabic texts are used in religious ceremonies by respectively Hindus and Muslims, but explanation of such texts typically occurs in Hindu and Urdu (Kishna 1983: 72/73).

into a variety quite distinct from the Javanese heard in Java. This relatively independent development has been reinforced in part by a lack of strong ties to the original home country,<sup>43</sup> a situation quite unlike the East Indians' use of (standard) Hindi, which is often heard in Suriname in films and other media (Van Wel and Vervoorn 1974: 23, Westmaas 1983: 173).

#### 4.1.4. The Chinese

The Chinese form the only ethnic group with immigrants still arriving until recently; when describing language use within this ethnic group then, a distinction has to be made between those Chinese born in China and those born in Suriname (Westmaas 1983: 176). The latter have to a certain extent maintained the language of the original immigrants, the Hakka dialect of Chinese, while the former group has brought Mandarin Chinese to Suriname (ibid.).

The China-born immigrants, who speak Chinese to their children, tend to learn Sranan quickly, as many of them are shopkeepers, often using Sranan with their clientele. In addition, many have acquired a passive knowledge of Dutch (Westmaas 1983: 176). The Suriname-born Chinese, in contrast, usually speak Dutch among themselves, and avail themselves of Chinese only with their parents and other first-generation Chinese immigrants. Their preference for Dutch over Sranan can be accounted for by the fact that

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<sup>43</sup> Even if such ties still existed, the influence out of Indonesia would most likely be limited since Bahasa Indonesia has become the national language of Indonesia since the Javanese immigrated to Suriname.

many of them have advanced into the ranks of the higher social classes (*ibid.*), which, as we will see, have a stronger tendency to use Dutch.

Estimates vary as to what percentage of the Chinese still speak Chinese; Westmaas (1983: 176) states that a Chinese person living in Suriname that has no command of Chinese “is still a relative rarity”, the claim being that even second and third-generation immigrants, although they usually speak Dutch in the home, additionally use Chinese with their children (who may even take Chinese classes). Grimes (1996), on the other hand, reports that as many as half of the Chinese no longer speak Chinese, a claim which, if indeed true, could historically (at least in part) be explained by the fact that the immigrants who arrived in the nineteenth century typically chose to leave the plantations to start small businesses in the city as soon as their five-year labor contracts expired. Thus, this group began to become integrated into the mainstream society earlier and to a greater extent than the other Asian groups, who did not move to the city until after the Second World War. Combined with the fact that the percentage of Chinese immigrants has always been much lower than that of the other Asian groups, this resulted in a situation that fostered interracial marriages, thus contributing to a higher degree of integration, possibly leading to the loss of the use of Chinese in the home.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> The explanation for the discrepancy between Westmaas’ and Grimes’ claims then ultimately seems to lie with a different definition regarding ethnic group membership. Westmaas apparently refers to persons of exclusive Chinese ancestry only. Another way to determine ethnicity is by self-identification, which then could include individuals who are most likely predominantly Chinese, and/or grew up in Chinese families with traditions associated with this ethnic group, but may have non-Chinese ancestors as well. This, then, would be a larger group, and is presumably the group Grimes discusses, although she makes no such explicit claims.

#### 4.1.5. The Creoles

The lingua franca of Suriname, *Sranan*, or *Sranan Tongo* (lit. ‘Surinamese language’) as it is commonly referred to in Suriname, originated among the Creole population, and is still the language predominantly associated with this ethnic group, who use it alongside Dutch, each language having its own domain (to a certain extent). See section 4.3. for further discussion of Sranan versus Dutch language choice among this ethnic group.

#### 4.1.6. The Maroons

The Surinamese population also includes six Maroon communities<sup>45</sup> (Steegh et al. 1993: 68), consisting of the descendants of slaves that fled the plantations during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (Holm 1989: 438). Linguistically, these communities are divided into two groups, both speaking English-based creole languages,

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<sup>45</sup> Steegh et al. (1993: 68) provide the following numbers, to which I have added estimates given by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Grimes 1996) whenever these deviated significantly (indicated in parentheses):

Saramaccans	16,979 (SIL: 22,000)
Ndjukas	14,353
Mataway	906
Paramaccans	1156 (SIL: 2,000-3,000)
Alukus	332 (SIL: 1,000-2,000)
Kwintis	133 (SIL: 200-500)
<i>Total</i>	33,915

However, these figures should be treated with caution since they date back to the 1980 census, and since then an unknown (but significant) number of Maroons fled to Paramaribo and French Guyana in the 1980s as a result of a civil war being fought in the interior of Suriname.

but only one of whose language varieties displays strong Portuguese influence. To the latter group belong the Saramaccans, living along the upper Suriname River and around the Brokopondo Lake, and the Mataway, who can be found along the upper Saramacca River. The other group, which uses English-based creoles that do not display similar Portuguese influence, includes the Ndjukas (Du. *Aucaners*), who live along the Cottica, Marowijne and Tapanahoni Rivers, and the Paramaccans, who are found along the middle reaches of the Marowijne River. Also included in this group are the Aluku (sometimes called *Boni*), who live along the Lawa River (Eersel 1969), as well as the Kwinti, dwelling along the Coppename River, whose creole language is now classified as belonging to this same group, although it was long believed to be more closely related to Saramaccan and Mataway instead due to its higher proportion of Portuguese words (Holm 1989: 442). All these communities, though more influenced by the Western world today than before, still live in relative isolation from mainstream Surinamese society, which in part accounts for the preservation of their distinctive creole languages.

#### **4.2. The use of Dutch**

As mentioned, apart from the group languages discussed so far, Dutch functions as official language in Suriname, and as such, along with the lingua franca, Sranan, its use is more widespread than any of the group languages. Yet, despite being the official language,

and the language of education, speakers' use and level of command of Dutch varies significantly.

Among those more isolated from mainstream society, who typically live in the countryside, Dutch is used much less, if at all, which is hardly surprising. The Amerindians, who mostly resort to Sranan for communication outside their group, have little need for Dutch. However, about half of all Amerindians today live in the city, an environment with different linguistic requirements. No specific information is available on this group regarding their command of the Dutch language.

The Maroons find themselves in a comparable situation, usually using Sranan to meet their linguistic needs outside their respective tribes. Although many do learn Dutch as the medium of education, its use is restricted to the classroom and tends to be rather artificial; as a result, Saramaccaners living in the interior are typically very far from fluent in Dutch.<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, among the Maroons that have moved to the city in recent times (mostly during the eighties as a result of the civil war in the interior) many have acquired (more) Dutch. Unfortunately, no information is available as to how many speakers in this group have a command of Dutch, and to what extent. Westmaas (1983) observed that lower class Maroons in the city mostly use their group languages whenever possible, while

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<sup>46</sup> One of my Saramaccaner friends, who attended the first three years of elementary school in the interior (in Malobi), told me that during the first six months instruction at the school he attended was in Saramaccan, after which the teachers, who were all Saramaccan as well, switched to Dutch; often, however, explanations were still in Saramaccan out of necessity, since this "sink-or-swim" method was problematic for many students, as he recalls. It was not uncommon in his experience for people not to be able to have a conversation in Dutch once they moved to the city (after having finished at least elementary school in the interior), which leaves one to wonder to what extent these children actually acquired Dutch in the schools.

generally using Sranan (as opposed to Dutch) with members of other ethnic groups. This is confirmed by my own observations.<sup>47</sup>

The Suriname-born Chinese, unlike other groups of Asian origin, quite often use Dutch in the home, as has already been mentioned. Not surprisingly, then, this group typically prefers Dutch over Sranan for intergroup communication, while the latter is resorted to when the interlocutor speaks neither Chinese nor Dutch (Lie 1983: 64, Westmaas 1983: 176).

More detailed information is available on the use of Dutch among the East Indians and Creoles, and to some extent the Javanese. First, in 1969 a research group from the University of Amsterdam set out to gather data on the educational situation in Suriname (the results of which are reported in Mijs 1974, as cited by Koefoed and May 1980). Included was an investigation of Dutch language use among approximately 500 families of Creole, East Indian and Javanese backgrounds; the heads of the households were asked about the languages they were familiar with and the use of these in their homes. The results indicated that a total of 68% of those interviewed had an active knowledge of Dutch. For the Creoles, 55.7% employed this language in the home, as contrasted to a mere 11% for the East Indians, and only 6.7% for all Javanese families (Koefoed and May 1980: 262).<sup>48,49</sup> Oddly,

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<sup>47</sup> In contrast, those Maroons who have acquired a higher-level education tend to have a good command of Dutch for obvious reasons. Nevertheless, as Westmaas (1983: 175) points out, by far the majority of the Maroons belong to the lower classes of Paramaribo, typically having a lower-level education.

<sup>48</sup> No distinction was made between speakers from Paramaribo and the rural areas.

<sup>49</sup> Koefoed and May (*ibid.*: 263) question the extent to which these numbers are truly representative of the

when children were questioned about the primary language spoken in the home, the percentages claimed for Dutch were higher, particularly by the Creoles and the Javanese. Of the Creole children, 82.7% reported Dutch as the home language, while 14.3% East Indian and 15.5% Javanese children claimed to speak Dutch at home. As Koefoed and May speculate, the Creole and Javanese children may have overreported Dutch use as a result of its social desirability, Dutch having higher prestige than Sranan and Javanese, while the East Indian children may have taken more pride in their group language, thus having less incentive to report any language other than Sarnami in the home.

The most recent and detailed research to date on the use of Dutch was done by Deprez and De Bies (1985), as part of a project that investigated the knowledge and use of Dutch, Sranan and Sarnami, as well as attitudes towards these languages among Creoles and East Indians. Their findings are based on interviews with a total of 61 informants, of whom 34 were of Creole origin and 27 of East Indian origin, and who were balanced in terms of gender and education.<sup>50</sup> At the time of the interviews all informants lived in Paramaribo, though an unspecified number had been raised in the countryside. Table 4 presents speakers' self-reported knowledge of Dutch:

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population at large.

<sup>50</sup> Given the relatively low number, the representativeness regarding the overall population should be viewed critically.

	Lower class	Upper class	Total	Percentage
Perfect to very good	6	35		3
Good, neither good nor bad, bad <sup>51</sup>	94	65	100	97
Very bad, no command at all				

Table 4. "How would you rate your command of Dutch?"

Table 4 shows a serious discrepancy between Creole speakers from lower class backgrounds and those with higher class backgrounds regarding their command of Dutch, with the latter claiming to have a better command of Dutch.<sup>52</sup> This is echoed by Westmaas (1983: 171), although she refines this generalization somewhat by noting that among the lower classes a distinction needs to be made between a group which indeed uses primarily Sranan, and another which prefers to employ Dutch with the children. Among the latter, Westmaas asserts, parents tend to have more ambitions for their children, and recognize that Dutch is the ultimate vehicle to realize these higher ambitions. Additionally, it is of interest to note, Table 4 shows that *all* speakers, lower class included, claim to have at least a certain level of command of Dutch.

Table 5, which also reflects social background, illustrates in which languages the informants were addressed when growing up:

<sup>51</sup> The researchers reduced the original seven-point scale to a three-point scale in their publication, resulting in one very broad category ranging from good to bad, thus severely limiting the usefulness of these percentages in my opinion. Nevertheless, I have included this table, as it does show certain clear tendencies.

<sup>52</sup> In this study social background was defined by education only.

	Creoles	East Indians	Other	Total
Only or predominantly Dutch	59	88	23	36
Only or predominantly Sranan	35	12		7 <sup>53</sup>
Sranan, Dutch and Sarnami (equally)				29
Predominantly Sarnami			62	14

Table 5. "Which language was spoken to you at home when you were raised?"<sup>54</sup>

The researchers undoubtedly chose the wording of the question carefully, inquiring which language they were addressed in by their parents (or caregivers), rather than what language was used in the home, since in Suriname it is quite common for parents to speak to their children in one specific language, while the children respond in another (this issue will be taken up in the next section), or while the parents employ another language among themselves or with other adults. As can be seen in Table 5, for both social groups the percentage of individuals primarily addressed in Dutch is much higher among the Creoles than it is among the East Indians, confirming that Dutch use is most widespread among the Creole group. Again, a gap can be noticed with respect to the different social classes.

The following table poses the same question, but differentiates between informants who grew up in Paramaribo and those who were raised in the countryside:

<sup>53</sup> It seems very odd that any percentage of speakers of higher class East Indians would have been raised with predominantly Sranan (this figure is hardly relevant for the present study though).

<sup>54</sup> It can be seen that the percentages do not always add up to 100%. The authors do not provide an explanation for this.

	Creole Paramaribo	Creole Countryside	English Paramaribo	English Countryside
Only or predominantly Dutch	80	56	47	8
Only or predominantly Sranan	20	33	20	
Sranan, Dutch and Sarnami (equally)			7	25
Predominantly Sarnami			20	58

*Table 6. "Which language was spoken to you at home when you were raised?"*

Clearly, the tendency was for Dutch to be used more frequently with children in the city. Although systematic research has not been done since 1950, and thus recent information is not available, several publications have claimed that there is a significant distinction between speakers' command of Dutch in the countryside vis-à-vis the city (Essed-Fruin 1990: 56, Van Wel and Vervoorn 1974: 11, Healy 1993: 288), with speakers in the city having a significantly better command. Even though this discrepancy has been traced to the fact that Dutch historically has been used less in schools outside Paramaribo (Essed-Fruin: *ibid.*), the lower percentage of rural children addressed in Dutch at home will no doubt also have contributed to this difference.

Finally, Table 7 provides information with respect to the languages spoken by the informants to their children:

Only or predominantly Dutch	77	100	42	75
Only or predominantly Sranan	8		8	
Sranan and Dutch (equally)	15			
Only or predominantly Sarnami			42	8
Sranan, Dutch and Sarnami (equally)				17
Sarnami and Dutch (equally)				
Sarnami and Sranan (equally)			8	

*Table 7. "Which language do (did) you speak to your children?"*

Interestingly, it shows that *the great majority of Creoles* employ Dutch when addressing their children; in fact, a full 100% of Creoles with a higher social class background speak predominantly or exclusively Dutch to their children. Furthermore, only 8% of Creoles with a lower class background claim to address their children predominantly in Sranan.

Nevertheless, the language used in the home is not necessarily restricted to the language used by and with parents (caregivers), and obviously also includes the language used among siblings. In fact, Deprez and De Bies show that the percentages of siblings using Dutch among themselves are lower than the percentages of parents using Dutch when addressing their children (with the exception of East Indians of the higher social class):

	Creole	Dutch	Sranan	Sarnami
Only or predominantly Dutch	38	90	20	78
Only or predominantly Sranan	38	10	20	
Sranan and Dutch (equally)	23			
Only or predominantly Sarnami			30	
Sranan, Dutch and Sarnami (equally)			20	
Sarnami and Dutch (equally)			10	22

*Table 8. "Which language do your children speak among themselves (with no parent present)?"*

Despite the relatively lower percentages for Dutch use among siblings, the research by Deprez and De Bies shows that Dutch is firmly established among the Creole population of Paramaribo. A clear majority of Creoles are raised in primarily Dutch-speaking homes, a trend which is even more pronounced in Paramaribo.

All this is in rather sharp contrast, however, with statements made by other linguists familiar with the Surinamese linguistic situation. Morroy, for instance, quoting unpublished research by Bakker-Pengel done in the early 1970s, states that 75% of all parents of elementary school children do not speak Dutch to their children, while another 66% of parents of secondary school children do not use Dutch in their homes (Morroy 1990: 3).<sup>55</sup> Wekker (1984: 30), too, claims that, compared to Dutch, Sranan is the language in which

<sup>55</sup> Morroy does not clarify whether these percentages include students living outside Paramaribo. However, even if they did, the discrepancy between these and those quoted by Deprez and De Bies would still be too great to be accounted for solely by those students living in the countryside since the majority of students is found in Paramaribo.

many Surinamese are better able to express themselves, which, of course, is odd if a majority is truly raised hearing predominantly Dutch. In a similar vein, Gobardhan-Rambocus (1993: 143) calls Dutch the mother tongue of only a small number of Surinamese (Gobardhan-Rambocus 1993: 143), suggesting that it is not spoken in the home by many.

One tentative explanation for at least some of the discrepancies between these statements on the one hand, and the high percentages of Dutch use reported by Deprez and De Bies on the other, is that their informants, either knowingly or unknowingly, may not have provided truthful information. Particularly in a country like Suriname, where language choice is a sensitive issue (Koefoed and May 1980: 259), speakers may very well overreport Dutch language use, as it is the language with high prestige, associated with sophistication in general, and education specifically. In fact, Westmaas (1983: 183) detected a similar disparity in her research between claims made by lower class Creole informants regarding their supposedly predominant use of Dutch and their actual predominant use of Sranan as she observed later. Thus, it is not altogether inconceivable that the percentages reported in the study by Deprez and De Bies suffered from a similar effect, and are therefore inflated. However, the percentages in the Deprez and De Bies study are so high that one would have to assume massive misrepresentation on the part of the informants if Sranan is indeed the language primarily used among (lower class) Creoles, which does not seem very plausible. Therefore, even though the numbers reported by Deprez and De Bies are quite possibly not fully reliable, the conclusion is nevertheless justified that the majority of Creole speakers in

Paramaribo are exposed to a significant amount of Dutch in the home, and thus can be said to acquire Dutch natively.

It is undisputed, though, that Sranan is also used extensively within the Creole community. The next section will deal with factors that determine the choice between these two languages.

#### **4.3. Language choice among Creoles: Dutch versus Sranan**

Within the Creole group, as several publications on the topic of language choice have indicated (Deprez and De Bies 1985, Eersel 1971, Koefoed and May 1980, Westmaas 1983), the distribution of the use of Dutch and Sranan is fairly intricate. The choice between these two languages is governed by a number of subtle factors, most of which have previously been identified in the literature on societal multilingualism (cf. Hoffmann 1991, Wardhaugh 1992).<sup>56</sup>

The first, perhaps most basic, factor to consider is a speaker's command of the language. Almost needless to say, if a speaker has a much better command of Sranan than Dutch, or vice versa, the person may choose to use his or her dominant language for this reason.

In addition, as the official language, and therefore the language of social and economic advancement, Dutch, in particular the variety closest to ED (Healy 1993: 280), is

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<sup>56</sup> The following discussion is based on publications of in-depth research, but all factors discussed here were confirmed by my own observations (to the extent I was in the position to make these observations), as well as my discussions with many Surinamese on this subject.

associated with higher social status (Eersel 1971: 317, Gobardhan-Rambocus 1993:142). Consequently, between speakers of different social status, the speaker of lower social status typically addresses the speaker with higher social status in Dutch in order to display proper respect (Koefoed and May 1980: 271, Deprez and De Bies 1985: 196), including situations of children addressing their parents, in which it would be considered inappropriate for children to use Sranan, even if the parents do not fully understand Dutch (Eersel 1971: 318). The parents, on the other hand, have greater freedom to opt for Sranan, although they may often not do so for other reasons, and thus in the same conversation it is possible for a child to address the parent in Dutch, with the parent responding in Sranan. Conversely, in general a speaker is likely to address a speaker of lower social status in Sranan, irrespective of the question whether the addressee has a good command of Dutch.

Age is another factor that may play a role in determining language choice. Lower class speakers are especially likely to address older speakers in Sranan (Deprez and De Bies 1985: 198), presumably due to the assumption that older speakers tend to be less fluent in Dutch among this group, a plausible assumption given the fact that Dutch use is more widespread in the city today than it once was.

Research by Westmaas (1983: 186) has shown that language choice may also be correlated to the level of intimacy between speakers. In her research she detected a strong tendency among higher class (particularly male) speakers to employ Sranan in close relationships, while lower class speakers displayed an inclination to use Dutch in social

situations characterized by distance. Conversely though, the use of Sranan among lower class speakers, and Dutch among higher class speakers, did not appear to be related to the level of intimacy between the speakers, Dutch in this respect arguably being the “neutral” language for higher class speakers, with Sranan fulfilling this function for lower class speakers.

Still another factor that may determine language choice, which is obviously related to the level of intimacy, is the topic of a conversation, Sranan being used for informal topics, and Dutch tending to be preferred for relatively more formal topics (Koefoed and May 1980: 269). An excellent example is the expression of humor, for which Sranan is almost exclusively used. Similarly, with emotional topics speakers often display a preference for Sranan, as Koefoed and May (*ibid.*: 6) have pointed out. This is of course hardly surprising when we consider that, in general, Dutch is associated with a more formal atmosphere whereas Sranan tends to be used more frequently in informal settings. Morroy (1988) has argued that, as a consequence, it is common for Creole bilinguals in Paramaribo to have style gaps: they control the language associated with more formal speech styles in Dutch (which are acquired in a formal educational setting), but lack command of a range of informal speech styles in this language, while the reverse pattern obtains for Sranan. In this interpretation then, it would be a sheer lack of command forcing a choice onto the language user.

Additionally, the speaker's gender is reported to play a significant role in language choice, with a strong preference among men to use Sranan. As Koefoed and May (1980: 274) notice:

Het eerste dat opvalt is dat S [Sranan] heel sterk gezien wordt als de taal van mannen en jongens. N [Nederlands] wordt, afgezien van zijn officiële en formele functies, gezien als de taal van vrouwen en meisjes.

'The first observation that stands out [in a comparison between the use of Sranan and Dutch] is that Sranan is very much considered to be the language of men and boys. Dutch is, apart from its official and formal functions, considered to be the language of women and girls'

Furthermore, if a man initiates a discussion with a woman, particularly if he does not know her very well, he will most likely do so in Dutch; in fact, failure to use Dutch initially would be considered rude by many women.<sup>57</sup> However, the speaker could quickly decide to switch to Sranan, depending on additional factors as discussed in this section. This distinction between the sexes might be more pronounced among the higher social classes, as Koefoed and May suggest (1980: 274), which could be explained by the fact that Sranan is used relatively more among lower class women to begin with. Quite surprisingly, despite

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<sup>57</sup> In addition, as several Surinamese men assured me, this would be a very poor strategy if a man wanted to pursue a woman in whom he is romantically interested.

similar general observations in other publications (Eersel 1971: 318, Westmaas 1983: 172, 186), the in-depth research project by Deprez and De Bies discussed earlier failed to uncover any significant differences related to the speaker's gender, detecting merely a slightly greater tendency for women to use Dutch (Deprez and De Bies 1985: 196).

Finally, there is a tendency particularly among male speakers to use Sranan more frequently from adolescence onwards; this can often be noticed in family settings whereby the father starts using Sranan with his son once he enters puberty, thus marking initiation into adulthood (Koefoed and May 1980: 270).

As can be expected, it is often a complex interplay between a multitude of factors rather than one single factor that determines a speaker's ultimate language choice, and the relative importance of one factor is likely to vary as the social situation varies. Therefore, in reality it may be difficult to pinpoint the precise factor(s) that determined a certain choice in a particular situation.

#### 4.4. Codeswitching

In a multilingual speech community in which specific languages tend to be associated with specific domains or social contexts, it is fairly common for codeswitching to occur.<sup>58</sup> Especially in a context with a multitude of variables determining language choice,

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<sup>58</sup> Various definitions have been proposed for codeswitching. For the purposes this discussion, I will adhere to Grosjean (1982: 145), who defines codeswitching as "the alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation". Following Myers-Scotton (1997: 23/24) and Romaine (1989: 114), I do not make a distinction between codeswitching and codemixing, the latter which is sometimes used to refer to intrasentential codeswitching (cf. Appel and Muysken 1987: 121); as Romaine (ibid.) and Myers-Scotton (ibid.) convincingly

where a change in any of those variables may trigger a switch in language choice, codeswitching seems inevitable. Not surprisingly then, in the Creole community of Paramaribo, codeswitching between Sranan and Dutch is extremely common (Essed-Fruin and Gobardhan-Rambocus 1992: 18).<sup>59</sup> This is further confirmed by the corpus analyzed in the present study: with the exception of one informant, codeswitching between Dutch and Sranan occurs in conversations among all informants.

Nevertheless, in many instances the variables determining language choice discussed in the previous section fail to account for the codeswitching behavior manifested in the recordings, which may in part be related to the nature of the conversations. In many of the recordings, the only persons present at the time of the conversation were the interviewer and the informant, resulting in a social context that almost by definition did not change during the recording. Thus, factors pertaining to the participants themselves and social situation were stable, and could therefore not trigger codeswitching. (The exception to this was the topic of conversation, which occasionally led to codeswitching, though not often.)<sup>60</sup> Possibly as a consequence of this somewhat artificial situation, in the majority of codeswitching instances it was clearly factors other than any of the variables discussed

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argue, there is little theoretical ground on which to base such a distinction.

<sup>59</sup> This does not imply that codeswitching is restricted to the Creole group, or to Sranan and Dutch. In fact, brief code-switching to English also occurred in the data of 3 informants. However, a discussion of additional codeswitching patterns and behavior in Suriname is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

<sup>60</sup> It is well-attested in the literature that the topic of conversation may determine language choice in a multilingual community (Wardhaugh 1992: 106).

earlier that induced the switch. Sporadically, the speaker quotes another speaker in Sranan, in which case the quote is in Sranan, after which the speaker reverts back to Dutch (cf. Romaine 1988: 148). Yet, in most instances where codeswitching to Sranan occurred, the impression emerges of fairly “random” language switching, which does not appear to fit any of the patterns described so far. This is exemplified by the following excerpt, in which the informant describes how she was sent to a secondary school that she did not want to attend.<sup>61</sup>

L: Meisje, dus..eh dus ik, ik kan je niet zeggen hoe ik me voelde maar ik dus..*mi prakzeri tak m'e go omdat den wan mi g'na skoro*, maar ik zet me niet in

A: En dan moet je daar eigenlijk ook-

L: Op

A: Gaan

L: Dus dan ben ik gegaan. Eerste jaar heb ik echt niets uitgevoerd. Ok, maar die jaar was een instroom, en eh doorstroming dan ben ik doorgestroomd naar de tweede klas. Tweede jaar *baka mi no du niks!* Dus echt op dat *mi no man*, <XXX> *mi no man du pe mi wani*. OK, je ziet hoor, doe ik niet hoor. OK, tweede jaar *mi tan sdon*. Dan *now m'o besef en*. Want op de lagere school ben ik nooit blijven zitten toch, *i si toch*. Dan *mi kri, mi kri, mi kri*. Daar had ik echt spijt van. Dan *mi tak no man*, dit wil ik echt niet. (Li, 4:10-21)

'L: Girl, so ..uh..so I cannot tell you how I felt but so I ..*I thought I was going because they wanted me to go to school*, but I won't [wouldn't] make an effort

A: And then you should really also-

L: At-

A: Go-

L: So I went. [The] first year I really didn't do anything. OK, but that year was a bridge year, and uh a bridge year, then I went on to the second grade. [The] second year *again I did nothing at all!* *So really there I couldn't do it*. <XXX> *I couldn't do it where I wanted to*. OK, you see, I do [did] not do [anything], right. OK, [the] second year *I was held back*. Then *now I was going to realize it*. Because in elementary school I was never held back, you see. Then *I cried, I cried, I cried*. That I really regretted. *Then I said this cannot be, I really do not want this.'*

<sup>61</sup> This excerpt is not representative of the average amount of codeswitching to Sranan in the data, which tends to be less.

The social situation during this conversation is stable; the interviewer and her friend are the only participants in the conversation, with a clearly established relationship. Hence, changes in the social situation cannot have caused the switching, leaving the speaker's command of the language as the only variable that could have brought about the codeswitching, i.e., the informant resorts to Sranan when her command of the Dutch language is insufficient. While it is impossible to exclude this possibility altogether, this explanation does not seem very plausible given her fluent speech when she does in fact use Dutch, which is most of the time. Furthermore, regularly when codeswitching is encountered in the data, the informants repeat particular phrases and/or clauses in the other language, as is shown in the following example, thus casting further doubt on the lack of command being the reason for this type of codeswitching:

Dus ik had eigenlijk gepland om in...we zijn in oktober toch...ik had eigenlijk gepland om in juli..weg te gaan, in de vakantietijd, toch...september. Maar het is niet gelukt. Die mensen die me zouden laten halen, *a no luk den*, dus *so den go tak me zeg* nog niet of wat weet je, en ik was ook nog niet klaar (Th, 1:5-8)

'So I had really planned in.. we are in October, right.. I had really planned to leave in July, in the vacation, right...September. But it didn't work out [ i.e., they didn't manage]. Those people who were going to have me picked up, *they didn't manage*, so *so they told me* not yet or something like that you know, and I wasn't ready yet'

The informant uses the Dutch clause *het is niet gelukt* first, while in the next sentence producing a close rendition of that same phrase in Sranan, *a no luk den*. It seems rather improbable then that the speaker's codeswitching behavior is caused by her limited command of Dutch, as she has already produced the clause (correctly) in Dutch.

In Paramaribo it is not uncommon to encounter conversations in which codeswitching is extremely frequent, with the informant employing as much Dutch as Sranan, raising the question as to which language, if either, could be considered the base language of such a conversation (Essed-Fruin 1977).<sup>62,63</sup> All conversations analyzed in the present study, however, were predominantly in Dutch, and thus there is little need to pursue this question any further here. Yet, with the exception of all but one conversation, switching to Sranan always extended beyond the use of single lexical items.

In brief, the factors that govern language choice in general can only partly be extended to explain codeswitching behavior of Sranan-Dutch bilingual Creoles. From the present data it cannot be determined what triggers language choices within the same conversation, and thus further research is needed.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> It has been argued by some that from a theoretical point of view it is useless to try to determine a base language (Romaine 1989), while others, starting with Weinreich (1953), and more recently Myers-Scotton (1997), have maintained that it is indeed viable to distinguish a base language.

<sup>63</sup> Breinburg (1983) studied language use among a group of secondary school students in the Netherlands who were bilingual in Sranan and Dutch, and found similar extensive codeswitching.

<sup>64</sup> It has to be questioned, though, to what extent the codeswitching behavior of the informants in the present study can be considered a truly reliable representation of codeswitching patterns between Dutch and Sranan, justifying in-depth analysis. As was discussed in chapter 1, the interviewers, though instructed to use Sranan if they wished to do so, would typically initiate a discussion in Dutch. I had shared with them that the purpose of my study was language use, presumably in general, but probably the fact that they were gathering data for an "official" research project prompted them to use Dutch; in addition, the fact that my knowledge of Dutch as a native speaker was obviously much better than that of Sranan may also have contributed to their automatic assumption that Dutch was the most appropriate language to be used. As a result, the interviewers, and thereby the informants in response, may have used more Dutch in these conversations than they would normally have done, thus negatively affecting possible codeswitching behavior. Furthermore, not having been present at the recordings, and thus not having detailed knowledge of the social context in which the conversations occurred, prevents me from analyzing the subtle social and emotional factors that often underlie codeswitching behavior, thus casting further doubt on the value of these data for such analysis.

## ***Chapter Five: The Verb Phrase***

### **5.0. Introduction**

In a comparison between the verb phrase in SD and ED, the differences relating to the TMA systems are the most salient.<sup>65</sup> Both the SD system of future tense marking as well as past tense marking are remarkably different from ED; in addition, there are a number of verb forms that are similar to ED, but carry different TMA functions in SD. As a result of forms being identical though, there has been a tendency for such forms to go unnoticed despite the fact that the differences in meaning are often quite significant, as will be shown in this chapter. Apart from its TMA system, other features will be discussed in this chapter that set the VP in SD apart from its European counterpart. These include a highlighter that occurs in SD, which has no equivalent in ED, as well as a passive construction that appears in ED but is lacking in the linguistic systems of some SD speakers. This chapter also deals with some verbs that have lost their reflexivity in SD, and others that distinguish themselves from ED in terms of their transitivity. Finally, some observations are made regarding verb conjugations, although, as will be argued, these differences are incidental and do not represent a fundamental difference between SD and ED.

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<sup>65</sup> In this dissertation the term “verb phrase” is used to refer to the verb complex.

## 5.1. Future tense marking

One of the more striking differences between ED and SD is the latter's extended use of the auxiliary *gaan* 'to go' to mark future tense. Unlike many other SD features, the use of *gaan* has often been mentioned in the literature on SD, dating back as far as Menkman (1932/33). In the data in the present study, too, the different use of *gaan* in SD as compared to its use in ED turns out to be very obvious.

### 5.1.1. Future tense marking in ED

In ED there are several uses of the auxiliary verb *gaan*, one of them being to indicate future tense, and in that function it is similar to the auxiliary *zullen* 'shall', which can also express future. However, the most common form to express future tense in ED is through the simple present form, in which case the situation and/or context clarifies the time reference (Geerts et al. 1984: 473).

Claims vary slightly in the literature as to what distinguishes these three future forms. But although Geerts et al. (1984) hold the opinion that in ED *gaan* can be used as a neutral future marker, i.e., with no additional modal or aspectual properties, the predominant claim is that the simple present form is the primary form to express neutral future tense (Fenoulhet 1983: 112, Trim and Matter 1984: 79). In this view, whenever *gaan* or *zullen* is used, it adds aspectual or modal qualities to the verb phrase. Providing examples of which some are represented below, *gaan* is then claimed to express intention (Shetter 1988: 124,

Trim and Matter 1984: 79), as in (1), while *zullen* is used for promise, as in (2), or suggestion (the latter typically with a first person pronoun), as in (3) (Trim and Matter: 79), or, as Geerts et al. (1984: 473) and Shetter (1988: 124) assert, to express likelihood, as in (4):

1. **Ga** jij nog koffiedrinken? (Trim and Matter: 79)  
'Are you still going to drink coffee?'
2. **Ik zal** het haar vragen (Trim and Matter: 79)  
'I will ask her'
3. **Zal** ik dat even doen? (Trim and Matter: 79)  
'Shall I do that?'
4. **De trein zal** om kwart over twee aankomen (neem ik aan)  
(Geerts et al. 1984: 473)  
'The train is going to arrive at a quarter past two (I assume)'

By contrast, in (4) the use of the simple present form, which is the neutral future marker, would have expressed a much higher degree of certainty as to what time the train is supposed to arrive (Geerts et al. *ibid.*).

In addition, in ED *gaan* is also capable of expressing inchoative aspect (Geerts et al.: 540, Shetter 1988: 125, Trim and Matter 1984: 79), as in:

5. **Kijk, het gaat** regenen! (Geerts et al. 1984: 540)  
'Look, it is starting to rain!'

The analyses proposed so far are problematic to the extent that neither the notion of intention nor the expression of inchoative aspect can account for instances of *gaan* as in the following:

6. **De situatie gaat veranderen**  
 ‘The situation is going to change’

Geerts et al. account for this use of *gaan* by claiming that *gaan* as a future marker is sometimes used when an event or situation that is to take place in the future is somehow clearly rooted in the present (Geerts et al. 1984: 474). This, so they argue, also explains the use of *gaan* in:

7. **Jan gaat volgende maand trouwen**  
 ‘John is going to get married’

where it concerns the present decision to get married. Or in:

8. **Er gaat een matige tot krachtige zuidwestelijke wind waaien**  
 ‘There will be [lit. blow] a moderate-to-powerful south-westerly wind’

the use of *gaan* is explained by the fact that to some extent today’s weather pattern will determine what the weather will be like tomorrow (Geerts et al. 1984: 474-475).

The explanations provided by the authors discussed above require invoking a whole set of varying semantic notions to account for the differences between the three future forms. Instead, in this dissertation it will be argued that the semantic claims these authors have made can often be traced to the contextual meaning rather than being an inherent part of the verb form, and that a more elegant explanation can be provided for the basic differences between these forms.

Of all three forms, it is argued here that the simple present form is the neutral form, devoid of additional modal properties. As such, it sets itself apart primarily from *gaan*,

which usually carries the notion of intention on the part of the subject, provided the subject is animate. As a result, a sentence like:

9. Hij gaat dat vergeten  
'He will forget that'

would be considered ungrammatical in ED, as the meaning of the sentence, in specific the verb *vergeten*, is incompatible with the notion of intention on the part of the subject. *Zullen*, on the other hand, resembles the simple present more closely in that it does not carry additional modal properties, and as such is often interchangeable with the simple present, although the latter is used more frequently in ED.

Yet, in a number of instances the simple present cannot be used to express futurity. For instance, in sentences (1)-(3) the use of the simple present would be far less likely in a future context. The reason for this is that, apart from being employed to express future, the simple present form can be used with a number of different semantic (aspectual) notions, most notably progressivity and habituality, which may result in competing interpretations. Furthermore, if a certain aspectual property is incompatible with a future interpretation, this automatically cancels out the future interpretation in favor of a present tense reading. This, then, explains the use of *gaan* and *zullen* in examples (1)-(3), as these three sentences would all have assumed a present tense interpretation (most likely all progressive) if a simple present form had been used. Similarly, it accounts for the uses of *gaan* in (6) and (8). Thus, in such instances, *zullen* and *gaan* (the latter only as long as it does not conflict with the notion of intention if the subject is animate) are employed in ED to disambiguate between a

present and future reading when the context does not provide sufficient information on the time framework of the sentence. Put differently, *gaan* and *zullen* are used as default future tense markers when the simple present form is not available, with *gaan* additionally carrying the notion of intention (with animate subjects), while *zullen* functions as a truly neutral default marker. Table 9 sums up the basic claims made here:

Form	Function
Simple present	neutral
<i>Gaan</i>	marking intention disambiguating
<i>Zullen</i>	neutral disambiguating

Table 9. *The future tense in ED*

Finally, in ED there is a purely grammatical restriction with respect to the use of auxiliary *gaan*. It can never be used in combination with the verbs *hebben* 'to have', *zijn* 'to be', *gaan* (as a main verb), any modal verb, or *(be)horen* 'should, ought to', *dienen* 'should, ought to', and *durven* 'dare to' (Geerts et al. 1984: 475). In addition, it cannot be used in combination with *worden* 'become'.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Arends points out to me that certain regional dialects, particularly in the southern part of the Netherlands, are less strict with respect to not combining *gaan* with a modal verb and/or *worden*.

## 5.1.2. Future tense marking in SD

### 5.1.2.1. The use of *gaan*

With the exception of one informant,<sup>67</sup> all informants in this study use forms of *gaan* in sentences where these would have been unlikely, if not altogether unacceptable in ED, resulting in a pattern quite unlike that found in ED.

#### 5.1.2.1.1. Temporal use of *gaan*

In the data numerous instances can be found where auxiliary *gaan* is used in combination with one of the verbs mentioned earlier that can never be combined with *gaan* in ED (where ED as a result would have to use a simple present form, or alternatively a form of *zullen*). For instance, it is used with modal verbs, such as *moeten* ‘must, have to’:

10. Is, is te open, je **gaat** veel te luid **moeten** zingen (Ug, 9:5)  
‘That is too open, you are going to have to sing too loudly’
11. Kijk, bijvoorbeeld die <X> van Michael Jackson **ga** je natuurlijk toestemming **moeten** hebben (Ug, 7:27-28)  
‘Look, of course for the <X> by Michael Jackson you are going to have to have permission’
12. ik heb die, die donkerbruine al, dus dat **ga** ik dan, **ga** ik dan die zwarte **moeten** kopen (Ma, 8:3-4)  
‘I have the, the dark brown one already, so that I then will, I then will have to buy the black one’

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<sup>67</sup> The topics of the conversation with this elderly informant, who was recorded by her granddaughter, were all related to life in Paramaribo when the informant was a young girl, and so they were all related to the past. Therefore, the reason why this informant did not use *gaan* is accounted for by the fact that she did not need any future forms since she did not discuss the future. There is one exception to this in the conversation, where she used *zal*, the SD future form carrying the additional notion of less certainty (cf. 5.1.2.2.).

Along with *moeten*, *gaan* is also found in combination with the modal verb *kunnen* ‘can, be able to’:

13. ... misschien is die man ook getrouwd met een Creoolse vrouw omdat hij dacht, denkt met een Creoolse vrouw ja, **ga** ik misschien dingen **kunnen** doen die ik niet met die Hindoestaanse vrouw kan doen (Am, 8:23-25)  
‘... maybe the man is also married to a Creole woman because he thought, thinks with a Creole woman I am going to be able to do things that I cannot do with an East Indian woman’
14. Als ik je vertelt over dit **ga** je het echt niet zo **kunnen** opvatten net als hoe ik het voel (Se, 5:9-10)  
‘If I tell you about this you are not going to be able to understand how I experienced it’
15. nou, ik moet eigenlijk voor je brengen want Jenny **gaat** je toch niet **kunnen** wijzen (Ug, 8:12-13)  
‘well, I should really bring it for you because Jenny is not going to be able to show you’

In addition, instances are also found where *gaan* is used with the modal verb *willen* ‘want to’:

16. op den duur **ga** je niet **willen** stoppen (Ru, 3:23)  
‘in the end you are not going to want to stop’
17. Ik denk het niet, want je gaat..hoe meer geld je hebt, hoe meer je **gaat willen** kopen, weet je (Th, 12:21-22)  
‘I do not think so because you are going to.. the more money you have, the more you are going to want to buy, you know’
18. Misschien **ga** je me niet **willen** geloven (Br, 4:4)  
‘Maybe you are not going to want to believe me’

Additional modal verbs in Dutch are *mogen* ‘may, be allowed to’ and *(be)hoeven* ‘have to’, neither of which happen to occur in the data in combination with *gaan*.

*Gaan* was also not encountered with any of the additional three verbs which in ED cannot be combined with *gaan*, *(be)horen*, *dienen*, and *durven*. However, *(be)horen* and *dienen* were not encountered in the data at all, while *durven* showed up a total of only eight times, in the speech of four (out of twenty-two) informants. None of the tokens were in future contexts, making it impossible to draw any conclusions from these data with regard to possible combinations of any of these verbs and *gaan*.

Apart from *gaan* being used with modal verbs, in the data it is also found in combination with *hebben*, another verb with which *gaan* cannot be used in the same verb phrase in ED:

19. Maar ja, door teleurstellingen ga je weer niet het vertrouwen hebben in een man, weet je (Am, 9:16)  
'But as a result of a series of disappointments you are not going to have faith in a man, you know'
20. God heeft het beste met je voor, en hij gaat je gebruiken, kijk uit, en ga er nooit spijt van hebben (Ru, 3:11-12)  
'God has the best in mind for you, and he is going to use you, watch out, and never be sorry about it'
21. ...maar wie zou het nou willen dat iemand met z'n vriendin, met iemand anders een one-night stand gaat hebben, niemand gaat dat hebben toch? (Ug, 4:23-24)  
'...but who would want that someone with his girlfriend, with someone else is going to have a one-night stand, nobody is going to have that, right?'

Similarly, *gaan* can also be combined with *zijn* in SD:

22. Want anders ga je bij die mensen van Pontbuiten zijn? (Jo, 16:18)  
'Because otherwise you are going to be with those people from Pontbuiten?'

23. Spaans, ik kon niet, ik haatte Spaans, op de MULO als je iets haat, **ga** je niet goed **zijn** (De, 1:25-26)  
 ‘Spanish, I could not do it, I hated Spanish, at the MULO [a type of secondary school] if you hate something, you are not going to be good at it’
24. dus eigenlijk vanmiddag **ga** ik niet meer **zijn** (De, 13:20)  
 ‘so really this afternoon I am not going to be there anymore’

Likewise, *worden* occurs in combination with *gaan*:

25. dan **gaan** ze allemaal bang **worden** (Ko, 9:14)  
 ‘then they are all going to be scared’
26. Dus dat **gaat** een probleem voor me **worden** (Ch, 7:28)  
 ‘So that is going to be a problem for me’
27. Wanneer **gaat** het land goed **worden**? (Jo, 2:20-21)  
 ‘When is the country going to be better?’

Finally, *gaan* can also be used in combination with the main verb *gaan*:

28. Want morgen **ga** ik weg**gaan** (Th, 15:16)  
 ‘Because tomorrow I am going to go away’
29. vanmiddag **ga** ik **gaan** (De, 13:20)  
 ‘this afternoon I will go’
30. het licht begint te knippen, van eh het **gaat** uit**gaan** (Ko, 18:16-17)  
 ‘the light starts to flicker, like uh it is going to go out’

In addition to these combinations in which auxiliary *gaan* would not have been used in ED, many other instances of future *gaan* can be found which could not have occurred in the same sentence and/or context in ED. The data indicate that it is not only a matter of grammatical restrictions that fail to apply in SD, it is first and foremost *gaan*’s function that is different in SD. As has been argued, ED *gaan* is used in future contexts only when it is

needed as disambiguator to prevent a sentence from acquiring a present tense reading, and, in case of sentences with animate subjects, when the notion of intention is conveyed. By contrast, in SD *gaan* is the neutral form to indicate future tense. As such, it is found in many more future contexts than it would have in ED. This is nicely illustrated in the following sentence:

31. Er *gaat* een nieuwe [TV station] komen, een vijfde heb ik gehoord (Th, 8:22)  
 'There is going to be a new [TV station], a fifth one I heard'

From the context it is obvious that the informant, who discusses various TV stations in French Guyana, uses the verb form *gaat* with no additional modal properties. In other words, the verb *gaan* is used here as a neutral future marker. ED, on the other hand, would have used a simple present form, as there is no need for disambiguation here (i.e., this sentence is not at risk for assuming a present tense reading). The following clause with a form of *gaan*, however, would in ED have acquired a present tense interpretation had a simple present form been employed instead, and thus requires a disambiguating future form. Yet, in ED it cannot be a form of *gaan*, as this form when used with animate subjects additionally carries the notion of intention, thus resulting in a highly awkward sentence from a ED perspective:

32. ...een Creoolse vrouw als ze een andere volk moet kiezen toch, moet ze even bepaalde dingen nagaan, want het is mij persoonlijk overkomen, van eh, *gaan* we op bijvoorbeeld, op een geloofsgebied overeenkomen (Am, 6:7-10)

**'...a Creole woman when she has to choose a different people [i.e., ethnic group], right, she should consider a few things, because it happened to me personally, like uh, for instance are we going to agree as far as religion is concerned'**

In the interview from which this excerpt was taken, the informant discusses her (negative) experiences with an interracial marriage. She advises the listener to consider whether one's future partner is going to be of the same religion. Assuming that religious preference is to a great extent determined by religious background, as the speaker does, it would be odd to use *gaan* here in ED, as it is an aspect of one's life that one usually influences only partly intentionally.

The following sentences, too, illustrate that it is particularly when *gaan* is used with animate subjects that the different use of *gaan* in SD and ED is highlighted:

33. **Maar ik denk dat hij het toch wel even gaat voelen hoor want ik ben met z'n geld gegaan, z'n vijfduizend gulden (Cr, 11:16-17)**  
**'But I think that he is going feel it because I went with his money, his five thousand guilders'**
34. **...dan moet je kijken, ga je alles zien (Ug, 8:13)**  
**'...then you should look, [and] you will see everything'**
35. **...dus dat gaat een probleem voor me worden man (Ch, 7:28)**  
**'...so that is going to be a problem for me'**
36. ***yu no man stop,*<sup>68</sup> op den duur ga je het zo heerlijk vinden om te bidden,**  
**'you cannot stop, in the end you are going to love praying,**  
  
**je gaat het zo heerlijk vinden, zo heerlijk..**  
**you are going to love it so much, so much..**

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<sup>68</sup> Parts in Sranan are italicized.

en dan **ga** je God's tegenwoordigheid voelen,  
and then you will feel God's presence,

je **gaat** daar komen, je wilt toch de Heer aanraken,  
you will get there, you want to touch the Lord right?

dan **ga** je zijn warmte voelen, en dan **ga** je weten zeg hij is langsgegaan,  
Then you will feel his warmth, and then you will know he came by,

hij is hier, hij is hier, hij is hier, *alma de dya*, je **gaat** het weten  
he is here, he is here, God is here, you will know

want hij **gaat** het je ook bekend maken zeg, hé ik ben hier  
because he will let you know, hey I am here'  
(Ru, 3:27, 4:2)

37. ...ik **ga** die dingen verwaarlozen man, het **gaat** me zeker niet lukken (Ch, 8:16-17)  
'...I will neglect those things, I am definitely not going to manage'

In ED the use of *gaan* in all sentences above would be highly awkward. The reason for this is that *gaan* automatically carries the notion of intention on the part of the (animate) subject in ED; in these sentences, however, it is quite clear that the notion of intention is incompatible with their overall meaning, as the clauses containing these forms of *gaan* typically express predictions with respect to the future, with the speaker and agent often not being identical.

The emphasis so far on the use of *gaan* to mark future in SD does not imply that in SD the simple present form can never be used in a future context. In fact, though relatively infrequently, the simple present form expressing future tense is found in the speech of a total of twelve (out of twenty-two) informants. This use tends to occur primarily with the verbs

*gaan, worden, zijn, krijgen* ‘to get’ and *komen* ‘to come’, resulting in sentences equivalent to

ED:

38. Straks **komen** er verkiezingen (Li, 8:24)  
‘Soon there will be elections’
39. OK, wanneer het land beter wordt (Jo, 2:7-8)  
‘All right, when the country gets better’
40. Misschien volgend jaar ga ik op kniples gaan hoor, ja, ik **ga** op kniples (Jo, 16:22-23)  
‘Maybe I will take a sewing course’
41. Na 10 jaar **is** er niet eens meer een grote boom die staat (Ne, 10:1-2)  
‘After 10 years there will not be a big tree anymore that is still standing’

However, even within the speech of several single informants, the data show a lot of variation with respect to whether future *gaan* is actually employed or not with these particular verbs, as can already be seen in (40) where both forms are used by the same informant in the very same sentence. It would thus be inaccurate to state that an inherent quality of these verbs prohibits their combination with *gaan*. This can also be seen in the following sentence, which closely resembles (39) (and comes from the same informant):

42. ...wanneer **gaat** het land goed worden, wanneer.. (Jo, 2:20-21)  
‘...when will the country be good again, when..’

Interestingly, some of these verbs, such as *zijn, worden* and *gaan* are never used with future *gaan* in ED, and thus it may be the ED standard that is influencing SD speakers. Certainly the use of auxiliary *gaan* in combination with the main verb *gaan* is strongly discouraged in education in Suriname, as teachers of Dutch at different secondary schools pointed out to

me, the standard with respect to this form apparently being ED. In the case of the verbs *komen* ‘come’ and *krijgen* ‘get’ it may be the meaning that accounts for the absence of future *gaan*. Possibly these verbs are already felt to indicate a process of development from one state to another (in the future), and are therefore not perceived to need a future marker. This could, alternatively, also account for the use of the simple present in future contexts with the verb *worden*.

Finally, future *gaan* can be found in conditional sentences expressing real conditions,<sup>69</sup> in which case the apodosis may contain *gaan*.<sup>70</sup> This type of sentence typically occurs with *als* ‘if, when’ to introduce the protasis, along with *dan* ‘then’ to introduce the apodosis, although the latter is optional when the apodosis follows the protasis:

43. En als je niet weet, als je niet weet wat arm is betekent, **ga** je geen gevoel ervoor hebben, ja toch? Als je nooit arm bent geweest, **ga** je nooit weten (Li, 10:23)  
 ‘And if you do not know, if you do not know what being poor means, you will not understand, right? If you have never been poor, you will never know’
44. Weet je, want als ik zeg, ik weet niet, ik ben..misschien **ga** je me niet willen geloven, als ik je iets zeg, ik weet niet hoe je **gaat** reageren, maar als je iets vraagt dan, als ik je zeg bijvoorbeeld ik word nooit boos, nooit boos, wat **ga** je me zeggen? (Br, 5:4-6)  
 ‘You know, because if I say, I don’t know, I am..maybe you won’t want to believe me, if I say something to you, I don’t know how you are going to react, but if you ask something, then, if I tell you for instance I never get angry, never angry, what are you going to say to me?’

<sup>69</sup> Following Winford (f.c.(a)), a distinction is made here between conditionals expressing real conditions (“if I get rich, I’ll give you some money”) versus those expressing unreal conditions (“If I were rich, I would give you some money”).

<sup>70</sup> One could argue that this use of *gaan*, too, simply follows from its function as a neutral future marker.

45. ...het probleem is eh als de vr-, de man die vrouw niet bevredigt, **gaat** die vrouw uitlopen (Or, 8:13-14)  
 ‘...the problem is uh if the wo-, the man does not satisfy the woman, the woman is going to be unfaithful’
46. Kijk om dan **ga** je zien van wie (Na, 3:28)  
 ‘Look behind you, then you will see who’

In ED similar conditional sentences typically have a simple present form in the apodosis, although *zullen* is sometimes also possible; *gaan*, however, cannot be used in sentences of this type in ED. In the corpus this conditional construction is also regularly found without *gaan* though, including in the speech of informants who use *gaan* in conditional sentences elsewhere, as can be seen in (47), which came from an informant who used *gaan* in (43):

47. Als je goed nakijkt, dan zie je wel dat ... (Li, 9:8)  
 ‘If you really check, then you will see that ...’
48. Als je niet gaat, dan geef je het aan Front (Ne, 10:14)  
 ‘If you do not go, then you give it to Front’
49. Als zo een persoon je een voorstel geeft, dan koop je met zo’n voorschot vijf vaten (Ca, 1:20)  
 ‘If such a person makes a proposal, then you will buy five barrels with an advance’

Interestingly, there is a strong tendency for these apodoses without *gaan* to occur either in clauses with modal verbs, or with main verbs that are forms of *zijn*, *gaan*, *worden* or *hebben*; in other words, exactly those verbs which cannot be used in combination with *gaan* in ED. Therefore, it may very well be that ED influence is responsible for this pattern.

Finally, conditional sentences are occasionally found in the data containing *zullen* (although in these cases there could very well be a difference in meaning, an issue to which we will return in 5.1.2.2.):

50. Als die vrouw een rijke vrouw dan is zal ik wel trouwen (Or, 3:13)  
‘If the woman is a rich woman, then I will get married’

#### 5.1.2.1.2. Aspectual use of *gaan*

Apart from functioning as a tense marker, the data show that auxiliary *gaan* has a number of aspectual uses that are specific to SD. In 5.1.1. *gaan*’s function as inchoative marker in ED as identified by Geerts. et al (1884) was already briefly mentioned. In this respect, ED and SD do not differ; in SD *gaan* can also signal inchoative aspect:

51. ...maar zij als ze gingen liggen vielen ze direkt in slaap (Ko, 16:19)  
‘...but when they (go-PAST) lie down [lit. started to lie down] they would fall asleep immediately’
52. ...toen ging hij onder die stoel zitten (Ch, 3:12-13)  
‘...then he (go-PAST) sit down [lit. started to sit down] under the chair’

However, in SD *gaan* can be used in combination with other aspectual meanings that it cannot occur with in ED. One such aspectual interpretation is that of present habituality, as the following examples containing adverbs of frequency demonstrate:

53. Ze gaan je altijd afkraken dat je denkt dat je geweldig bent (Gi, 9:7)  
‘They (go) always put you down like you think you are great’
54. Oh, dus af en toe gaat ze teruggaan? (Ne, 3:7)  
Oh, so once in a while she (go) goes back?’

55. Wanneer er geen boten zijn, dan moeten ze altijd blikjeswaren gebruiken, en dan, dat vinden ze, eh, echt eh vervelend om telkens dit een eh weer te gaan gebruiken (Ca, 5:9-11)  
 ‘When there are no boats, then they always have to use canned food, and then, they, uh, really uh do not like to (go) use that again and again’

Note, however, that (55) also shows that habitual aspect is not necessarily expressed through *gaan*, as the clause *dan moeten ze altijd blikjeswaren gebruiken*, which carries habitual aspect but does not contain a form of *gaan*, clearly illustrates.

Many other instances can be found which lack explicit adverbs of frequency, yet clearly refer to habitual actions:

56. ... alle stukken over huisvesting moeten bij hem komen, hij gaat het naar ons sturen (Pl, 10:4-5)  
 ‘...all documents on housing come to him, he (go) sends them to us’

In this example, the informant describes a procedure on her job, whereby her supervisor routinely sends particular documents to her office. It is thus very obvious that the reference is not to a single event, but a recurring event. The next example, too, illustrates this use of *gaan*. It is taken from a conversation about crossing the border to French Guyana, in which the informant discusses the practices of the customs officials, explaining how hard it is to get into the country without being hassled by the customs officers. She clarifies that this is mostly the result of people not having passports. The interviewer then responds by asking whether the officers will not question people as thoroughly if they are in the possession of a passport, thus obviously referring to a habitual event rather than a single event:

57. Daar gaan ze niet veel vragen? (Jo, 7:13)  
 ‘There they do not (go) ask a lot?’

The following example may illustrate this use of *gaan* even more clearly. The topic of discussion in this excerpt is the differences between French, spoken in French Guyana, and Dutch; the speakers are questioning each other about translations of specific phrases in French:

58. Wat eh.. wat zeggen ze voor laten we zeggen, wij gaan zeggen ‘Pardon, mag ik <er?> langs’ (Jo, 6:23-24)  
 ‘What uh..what do they [French Guyanese] say for let’s say, we (go) say, “Excuse me, can I pass by?”’

In the clause containing *gaan* the speaker discusses how a speaker of Dutch will typically phrase this request, hence without a doubt referring to a habitual action.

Clearly, in all these examples it concerns particular events that occur repeatedly over a period of time. The time framework for these actions is general, and although the reference includes future time, it is certainly not limited to that. In ED habitual aspect is typically expressed by the simple present form, and employing *gaan*, as for instance in (56), cancels out the habitual reading in favor of a future tense reading, and thus carries a different meaning in ED, referring to a single event (‘he is going to send the documents to us’). However, in SD *gaan* is apparently capable of carrying habitual aspect in addition to future tense.

Additionally, past forms of the verb *gaan*, *ging(en)*, are encountered in the data that have an aspectual function, instead of marking future tense in past contexts, as would be expected (but for which function *zou(den)* is used, which will be dealt with in the next

section). In a number of instances these forms carry inchoative aspect, as they also would in ED, as was already illustrated in examples (51) and (52). More interestingly though, in the speech of two informants a number of instances of *ging(en)* show up that cannot be accounted for in the same way, as is clear from the context:

59. ...vroeger alleen dokter **gingen** mooie auto's rijden (De, 5:18)  
 '...in the old days only doctors (go-PAST) drive [used to drive] beautiful cars'
60. Een kennissen van onze oom, weet je, **ging** rijden. (Th, 1:24)  
 'An acquaintance of our uncle's, you know, (go-PAST) drive [was driving]'

There is little doubt from the context that in (59) the verb phrase conveys habitual aspect. In (60) on the other hand, though it is quite plausible judging from the context that the informant refers to a habitual action, alternatively it is possible that the verb phrase conveys progressive aspect. The remaining verb phrases found in the data containing *ging(en)* definitely all convey progressive aspect, as the context in each instance clearly shows that the action described is ongoing:

61. ...want dan wilde ik die ander verassen want iedereen dus en.. eh **ging** naar me uitkijken want ik kom aan (Th, 3:15-17)  
 '...because then I wanted to surprise the others because everyone.. uh (go-PAST/PROG) look [was looking] out for me because I arrive[d]'
62. Heb ik gezegd dan **ging** die ziekte op me loeren om weg te gaan. Dat ik ben gegaan diezelfde dag, laten we zeggen diezelfde uren *en nak en*  
 'I said then that disease (go-PAST/PROG) wait [was waiting] for me to leave. That I left that same day, let's say the same hour it hit him' (Th, 4:17-18)

63. Ik **ging** terugdenken zeg hé hoe gaat het, hoe gaat hij het maken (Th, 4:20)  
‘I (go-PAST/PROG) think back [was thinking back] like hey how is it going,  
how is he going to feel’
64. ...want die golven **gingen** helemaal naar hun komen.(Th, 7:16)  
‘because the waves (go-PAST/PROG) come [were coming] all the way over  
to them’
65. Ja, in Cayenne hoor, heel mooie dingies..ik **ging** m'n ogen uitkijken. Odeurs  
hier, spray (Th, 13:3)  
‘Yes, in Cayenne right, beautiful things..I (go-PAST/PROG) stare [was  
staring] my eyes out. Perfumes here, sprays’
66. Dus die man **ging** racen (Th, 15:25)  
‘So the man (go-PAST/PROG) drive [was driving] very fast’

The above instances of *ging(en)* were the only ones (i.e., apart from the forms carrying inchoative aspect) encountered in the data, and moreover, there were only two informants that employed these aspectual forms. Thus, despite a clear pattern in the above examples, it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions as to what exactly governs the use of *ging(en)* in SD. It seems obvious that, at least for the particular informant who produced the above examples, this form has acquired the function of progressive marker. For the informant who produced (59) it is plausible that *gingen* can function as a habitual marker. The development of this function of *ging(en)* may have resulted from a similar use of *gaan* (i.e., conveying habitual aspect) in present contexts, and by analogy then, this informant may have transferred this function, along with the appropriate past form, to past tense contexts. On the other hand, the form occurred in the data only once, and therefore this form may merely have been an aberration in his speech. In the speech of the informant who produced

the remaining examples (60)–(66) this explanation is far less plausible, the forms being too numerous, and their function too consistent. To conclude, it seems then that this use of *ging(en)*, for some speakers at least, has developed into a marker of habitual and/or progressive aspect in the past, for which ED, unlike Sranan, has no distinct grammatical forms.<sup>71</sup>

#### 5.1.2.2. The use of *zullen*

Although it is predominantly *gaan* that is used to mark future tense in SD, *zullen* is also found occasionally. Essed-Fruin (1983 [1956]) already expressed the view that these two future markers seemed to differ in SD, her hypothesis being that *zullen* and *gaan* functioned like Sranan *sa* and *go* respectively, whereby *go* generally conveys an element of certainty, while *sa* conveys uncertainty (Wendelaar and Koefoed 1988: 73). This general tendency is confirmed by the data in this study: *zullen* tends to be used when the speaker is not quite sure whether a state or an event will be realized in the future, whereas *gaan* is typically used when something is considered highly likely to happen in the future (as would be expected with a neutral future marker). While it is sometimes hard to assess an

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<sup>71</sup> Whenever I asked fellow linguists, teachers in secondary schools, or friends in Paramaribo about this use of *ging(en)*, which to me as a native speaker of ED sounded so unusual, they would typically know immediately which use of *ging(en)* I referred to, and usually label this usage as ‘incorrect’. In fact, one linguist told me stories of teachers correcting students using *ging(en)*, including the use of *ging(en)* that is acceptable in ED (!) (Shuisdom 1995, personal communication). Usually people whom I asked told me that this is a form only younger speakers acquiring Dutch tend to use. One Surinamese linguist, for instance, told me that his teenage son uses this form (as opposed to a simple past tense verb form) ‘all the time’ (Van der Hilst 1994, personal communication). However, as the examples show, these forms did show up in the corpus, and none of my informants were children. In addition, I heard this form regularly, and my social interactions were almost exclusively with adults, and so the use of this form is certainly not restricted to children.

informant's commitment as to his judgment whether a particular event will take place in the future, in several instances the context provides some valuable clues, for instance in the form of adverbs expressing uncertainty:

67. ...misschien in december zal ik het doen (Ma, 7:9)  
'...maybe in December I will do it'

More often the context expresses future uncertainty when an informant explicitly states that he or she does not know whether a future state or event will actually take place:

68. Ik weet niet, ik weet niet hoor, maar ik ben wel uit het huis gegaan, dus ik weet niet of dat een probleem zal zijn (Am, 11:3-4)  
'I don't know, I don't know, but it was me who left the house, so I don't know whether that will be a problem'
69. Ik weet niet zozeer wat die dame ermee zal doen (Gi, 3:25)  
'I do not really know what the lady will do with it'
70. Luister, als ik m'n LO in m'n handen heb, m'n diploma in m'n handen heb, of m'n getuigschrift of wat dan ook, dan zal ik kijken of ik verder ga, dan zal ik het echt wel zien, ik weet het echt nog niet (Cr, 6:3-6)  
'Listen, when I have my LO [teacher's diploma] in my hands, or my certificate or whatever, then I will see whether I will continue, then I will see, I really don't know yet'
71. Maar als de mens iets gaat zeggen, weet die persoon niet of het werkelijk zal gebeuren (Se, 9:25)  
'But when a person says something, that person will not know whether it is actually going to happen'
72. ...dus denk ik dat het niet opvallend zal een eh lijken dat ik niet meer hoesel (Ca, 11:26-27)  
'...so I think that it is not going to be noticeable that I do not hustle anymore'

Even though not always as explicitly as in the examples above, often the general context still shows that the informant is not sure whether the event will occur in the future:

73. Ja, ik heb ook het gevoel dat ik naar IOL zal eh gaan (Ch, 8:1)  
 ‘Yes, I also have the feeling that I will uh go to the IOL [Teacher’s College]’
74. Maar kon je dan niet een andere partij zoeken, die toch, waarvan je denkt van die zullen het beter doen want NPS is een oude partij (Gi, 7:2)  
 ‘But couldn’t you find another [political] party, which still, of which you think they will do a better job because NPS is an old party’
75. ...want in de bijbel staat geschreven over de toekomst bijvoorbeeld dat God een paradijs aarde zal brengen, wel ik, ik geloof er in, ja (Se, 9:27-28)  
 ‘...because in the Bible it says about the future for instance that God will bring paradise to earth, well I, I believe in that, yes’
76. Vanaf nu augustus ongeveer, ik zal ervoor zorgen dat ik een huis krijg (Pl, 8:27-28)  
 ‘From now on August approximately, I will make sure that I get a house’

In (76) the use of *zullen* is appropriate because the informant has expressed earlier in the conversation that it will be very hard for her to find a house, and hence it is very uncertain whether she will actually manage.

Particularly the sentences that contain both future *gaan* and *zullen* are revealing:

77. ...ze gaat boos op je worden, misschien maanden lang. Maar ze zal eens inzien dat je gelijk had, toch? (Ed, 4:4-5)  
 ‘...she is going to get mad at you, maybe for months. But one day she will see that you were right, right?’
78. Maar ik weet van m'n ouders gaan bekeren zeg maar wanneer ik terugkom, ze gaan me elke keer weer uitschelden ervoor, maar ze zullen me weer-[accepteren] (Ne, 5:10-11)  
 ‘but I know my parents will change their minds, say when I come back, they will yell at me again and again, but they will [accept] me’

79. Dan wat **gaan** jullie dan zeggen? Hebben we gezegd we **gaan** het repareren. Hij **gaat** ons niet doodmaken daarvoor. Nee! Hij **zal** het wel begrijpen. (Th, 15:17-18)  
 ‘Then what are you going to say? We said we are going to fix it. He is not going to kill us for that. No! He will understand’

The contexts in all these cases clarify that the use of one form versus the other is definitely not simply a matter of random variation. In (77) it is obvious that the informant is positive that the person will get angry, although whether the person will ever see that the informant’s conversation partner was right is definitely a lot less certain. In (78), too, the speaker seems to be very sure of the future when she refers to her parents’ reaction to her getting married to a person from a different ethnic group, but whether her parents will ever fully accept her again is less certain. Finally, (79) is an excerpt taken from a conversation in which the informant explains how she and a relative had borrowed their uncle’s moped without his permission. Unfortunately, the moped broke down, and now the informant and her relative are reminded by their aunt that they will have to confess to the owner. The first and second forms of *gaan* express neutral future tense, the second form implying a strong commitment on the part of the speaker to repair the moped. Obviously, the uncle is not going to kill them for doing what they have done, which accounts for the third form of *gaan*, but whether he will show understanding for the situation is, understandably, less certain, which explains the switch to a form of *zullen*.

As with many other SD features, there is variation among different informants regarding the use of *zullen*. Of a total of twenty-two informants, in the speech of four

informants no forms of *zullen* could be found. Theoretically, this could be accounted for by the informants simply lacking a semantic need to use these forms expressing uncertainty. In the case of two informants this is doubtful though, since forms of *gaan* can be detected in sentences that clearly convey a sense of uncertainty with respect to the future event or situation. Particularly in the speech of one of these two informants, these occurrences are in fact quite common:

80.    *misschien in maart zelf zo ga ik weggaan* (Jo, 5:28)  
       ‘maybe in March I will go away myself’
81.    ...want *misschien ga je zeggen mi tak' no bai a bruku f'vijfhonderd yere* (Jo, 10:23-24)  
       ‘...because maybe you will say I said do not buy a pair of pants for five hundred’
82.    ...wanneer ik veertig jaar word *misschien ga ik daar wonen hoor* (Jo, 20:6)  
       ‘...when I turn forty maybe I will move there’

The repeated occurrences of *gaan* in combination with the adverb *misschien* ‘maybe’ obviously convey the notion of uncertainty in all these examples. The second informant whose speech does not display any forms of *zullen* also uses *gaan* in a context expressing future uncertainty:

83.    ...want ik weet niet wat ze precies *gaat krijgen* (Gr, 8:22)  
       ‘...because I do not know what exactly she is going to get’

It may very well be then that *zullen* is simply not part of these informants’ linguistic systems; in other words, these informants do not possess distinct forms for future uncertainty and certainty. In addition, in the speech of one other informant, sentences of

*gaan* were also found in combination with the adverb *misschien*, which thus obviously expressed uncertainty. But unlike the previous two informants, his speech shows forms of *gaan* along with *zullen*, as in the following example:

84. ...ik ben bezig met heel wat zaken, zingen, en dansscholen en dit, dan zal ik nog één ding erbij gaan doen, misschien gaat het een beetje teveel..[worden] (Br, 2:22-24)  
 ‘...I am working on several things, singing, and dance schools and this, then I will do another thing on top of that, maybe it will [be] too much’

Therefore, in this case we cannot reach the same conclusion that this informant’s linguistic system has only one form. Since this is the only occurrence of a form of *zullen* in the recording, it is hard to draw conclusions with regard to his particular use of *zullen* vs. *gaan*. By contrast, one other informant’s speech contains several examples of forms of *zullen*, which do not seem to imply the notion of uncertainty, as the adverbs *altijd* ‘always’ and *nooit* ‘never’ in the sentences show:

85. ...ze wedijveren met elkaar, ze zullen nooit iemand die op de universiteit zit [...] hun kind zover proberen te krijgen, ze gaan je altijd afkraken dat je denkt dat je geweldig bent (Gi, 9:6-7)  
 ‘they compete with each other, they will never try to get someone that is at the university [...] their child to go to the university, they will always put you down like you think you are great’
86. ...en dan zal ze het altijd ter sprake brengen (Gi, 9:12-13)  
 ‘...and then she will always bring that up’
87. Hij zal dus nooit met iemand, nou niet nooit, niet graag met iemand over z’n persoonlijke zaken praten of een probleem of wat dan ook (Gi, 2:16-18)  
 ‘He will never, well not exactly never, but rather not talk with anyone about his personal affairs or a problem or whatever’

The use of the adverbs in these examples leaves no doubt as to the level of certainty the speaker intends to convey, which is obviously incompatible with the hypothesis that *zullen* is used to express uncertainty in SD. The three examples above, however, are the only such ones that can be found in the corpus, and all come from the same informant. It could therefore be that this informant uses these forms for another reason, these forms of *zullen* possibly being hypercorrections.<sup>72</sup> Interestingly, in (85) this speaker uses both *zullen* and *gaan*, each with an adverb that reinforces the notion of certainty, *nooit* and *altijd* respectively. This definitely points in the direction of instability and/or random variation in the speech of this informant, which could support the theory that the *zullen* forms are in fact hypercorrections.

Thus far we have shown that in the data *zullen* is predominantly used to convey the notion of uncertainty. It should be added, however, that in order to express future tense in past time context, it is in fact past forms of *zullen* that are employed, as opposed to past forms of *gaan* (which is similar in ED):

88. ...half tien zou dat feestje beginnen (Na, 6:12)  
 ‘...at half past nine the party was going to start’
89. Zeventig miljoen zou men aan hem besteden voor die twee, of die dag dat hij  
 in Suriname was (Ne, 9:5-6)  
 ‘Seventy million they were going spend on him for those two, or that day  
 that he was in Suriname’

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<sup>72</sup> In this scenario this informant uses *zullen* in an attempt to produce a form of Dutch that is in his mind closer to ED. I have the impression that *zullen* is used less in SD, possibly because of its different function. Therefore, certain speakers of SD may (mistakenly) take this form for a typically ED form, and in an attempt to produce a language variety closer to ED, they may overextend its use.

90. ...wanneer er begraven zou worden dan werden er lange afstanden afgelegd,  
toch (Ol, 1:11-12)  
'...when someone was going to be buried people would walk long distances'

These past forms of *zullen* then do not carry the notion of uncertainty, but function as neutral past forms.

## 5.2. Past tense marking

In the data many examples are found of verbs which have past time reference, yet are not marked for past tense. Elsewhere in the corpus verbs can be found in past time contexts which are indeed marked for past tense, but unlike the way this would have been done in ED. Clearly, in SD past tense marking follows a different set of rules.

### 5.2.1. Past tense marking in ED

In ED the past time reference can be expressed by four different verb tenses (Geerts et al. 1984: 454-455):

#### a) the present perfect:<sup>73</sup>

Mijn vrouw heeft laatst een tasje met duizend gulden gevonden  
My wife has recently a purse with thousand guilders found  
'My wife recently found a purse with thousand guilders in it'

#### b) the simple past:

Het lag op een bank in het plantsoen  
It lay on a bench in the park  
'It was lying on a bench in the park'

<sup>73</sup> Depending on the main verb, the present perfect and the pluperfect are formed either by using a form of *hebben* 'to have', or a form of *zijn* 'to be'.

## c) the pluperfect:

De kinderen hadden veel werk gemaakt van de zilveren  
 The children had a lot of work made of the silver  
 bruiloft van hun ouders  
 wedding of their parents

'The children had done a lot of work for their parents' silver wedding anniversary'

## d) the simple present:

Gisteren kom ik Linda tegen. Ik zeg tegen haar...  
 Yesterday come I Linda across. I say to her...

'Yesterday I ran into Linda. I told her...'

The present perfect in ED, unlike the present perfect in English for instance, does not necessarily imply that the event or state continues up to the moment of speaking; in fact, very often it does not. Thus, the simple past and present perfect, of which the latter is used more frequently, are often interchangeable in ED, though not always. The differences between these two forms are subtle, and vary from speaker to speaker (Geerts et al. 1984: 459), sometimes relating to narrative style. The pluperfect is used when the speaker's point of orientation lies before the moment of speaking, and thus is clearly distinguished from the other past forms. The fourth form, the so-called historic present, is a highly marked form and constitutes the only possibility for ED to leave the past tense unmarked. It has a stylistic function of representing a particular past event as more vivid, as if it were happening right at the present moment, thus creating a dramatic effect.

## 5.2.2. Past tense marking in SD

### 5.2.2.1. The use of present forms

In the data from all but one informant, verb forms show up that are not marked for past tense, despite their clear reference to past states or events. At times, these unmarked forms (in bold type) resemble the historic present in ED:

91. En ik zei nog aan, aan die zuster haar dochtertje  
 ‘And I said to the sister [i.e., woman]’s young daughter

“kijk wat geloof kan doen”,  
 “see what faith can do”,

en ik **begin** die hond in z’n ogen aan te kijken,  
 and I **begin** to look that dog in the eye,

ik **maak** die poort open,  
 I **open** the gate,

weet je wat de ho-, hond begon te doen?  
 do you know what the dog started to do?

Die hond **deinst** naar achteren, die hond **loopt** achteruit  
 The dog **bounces** back, the dog **walks** back

en z’n poten, ik **kijk** die hond in z’n ogen aan, dat eist geloof,  
 and its paws, I **keep looking** the dog in the eye, that requires faith,

en ik **klim** de trap op, of die hond **rent** weg.  
 and as soon as I **climb** up the stairs, the dog **runs** off.

Hij **blaft** wel maar hij **rent** weg,  
 He is **barking** but he **runs** off,

ik bleef die hond in z'n ogen aan tot ik op die balkon komt  
 I kept [looking] the dog in the eye until I get to the balcony

en rustig te zitten,  
 and quietly sit down,

of die hond komt en likt m'n voeten, dat eist geloof  
 when the dog comes up to me and licks my feet, that requires faith'  
 (Ru, 1:6-11)

In this excerpt, it could be argued that the simple present verb forms with past time reference are used to create a vivid effect. Most of the verb forms relating to this rather frightening incident of the speaker being threatened by a dog are in fact not marked for past tense, while the story is introduced by a clause containing a verb that is a past tense form, *zei* 'said'. The first switch back to a past tense verb is in line 5, where the storyline is interrupted when the speaker asks his conversation partner a question. The speaker then continues his story, reverting back to present verb forms. The one exception to this use of present verb forms is the use of *bleef* 'keep' in line 10. Regarding the use of the historic present in American English, Wolfson (1979: 181) has argued that the use of these present forms in past contexts is in itself of little significance. Rather, she argues, it is the switch from past to present forms and vice versa that carries a significant function, namely that of organizing the narrative, whereby the different type of verb forms represent actions with different levels of importance (*ibid.*: 178). Applying this theory to the above excerpt, we see that the speaker switches exactly when he arrives at the turning point in the story, which is when the dog

walks away. It could be claimed then that, at least in this particular sample, forms similar to the historic present as we know it in ED were used.

However, numerous additional present verb forms in past contexts can be attested in the data which cannot be labeled historic present, and would not have occurred in similar contexts in ED. For instance, the data show sentences containing embedded clauses which are left unmarked for tense once the matrix clause in the sentence has been marked for past:

92. dus ik moest wachten maar op een dag plotseling hebben ze me gebeld zeg ik **moet** komen met vakantie dus ik had haast (Th, 1:10-11)  
'so I had to wait but all of a sudden one day they called me to tell me that I **have to** come over for a vacation so I was in a rush'
93. Dus iedereen mocht nemen wat die hebben **wil**, wat die lustte enzo, weet je? (Th, 2:14)  
'So everyone was allowed to take what he **wants**, what he liked, you know?'
94. Nou, en m'n vader had gaslampen maar geen enkele gaslamp bleef na tien uur, m'n vader vertikte, m'n vader vond we **zijn** niet bang, we **moeten** gewoon opstaan in het donker en naar het toilet gaan (Ko, 3:22)  
'Well, and my father had gas lamps but all gaslamps were turned off at ten, my father refused [to keep any lit], my father thought we **are** not afraid, we **must** simply get up in the dark and go to the bathroom'
95. OK ben ik gewoon naar die wagen gelopen, want ik was al klaar met eten, dus dan was ik even naar z'n zus geweest om te vragen waar 'ie is (Na, 2:22-23)  
'OK I just walked to the car because I had finished eating, so then I went to see his sister to ask where he **is**'
96. Ja, 's morgens moest ik opstaan, je kan zeggen vijf uur en als ik als ik wakker **ben** dan ging je eerst in het bad (Ol, 2:14-15)  
'Yes, in the morning I had to get up, you can say five o'clock and if I **am** awake then I would take a bath first'

As can be seen in all of the above examples, the present verb forms in the subordinate clauses are either forms of *zijn*, or of modal verbs, reflecting a similar tendency in the data, while other verbs in subordinate clauses are typically marked. The second example, for instance, shows this: the verb in the first subordinate clause, a modal verb, is unmarked, whereas the verb in the following subordinate clause, *lustte* 'liked', is marked. This is not to imply, however, that whenever a form of *zijn* or a modal verb is used these are always unmarked; in fact, many counterexamples can be found in the data. It is rather the reverse: whenever an unmarked form is encountered in a subordinate clause, it tends to be either a modal verb or a form of *zijn*.

The pattern described above creates the impression of SD being a language variety that has a system in which tense is optionally marked once past time reference has been established, as opposed to ED, which requires a distinct past tense verb form whenever the state or event described preceded the moment of speaking. This is confirmed in the data by additional present forms with past tense reference that are not found in subordinate clauses, but instead appear in narrative contexts where the time framework has already been established (and which by far outnumber the present forms in subordinate clauses). This is shown in the following excerpt, taken from a conversation in which the informant talks about a trip she made at a certain point in the past to French Guyana. After having discussed some general characteristics of the country, she switches to talking about what she

did there during her stay, using *was* to establish past time reference, but continuing with present forms to describe her activities:

97. Daarna, ja OK ..als ik..het was m'n gewoonte 's avonds **kijk** naar TV, ik eet, ik **ga** niet direkt slapen. We **gaan** in ons kamer..we **gaan** lekker babbelen, weet je, naar platen luisteren (Th, 8:26-28)

'After that, OK..when I ..it was my habit in the evening I **watch** TV, I eat, I do not go to sleep right away. We go to our room..we are going to chat nicely, you know, listen to albums'

These forms can definitely not be labeled historic present either. By definition, the historic present is used when referring to one particular event, or a series of various events that happened in the past, and as such it is incompatible with the habitual nature of a recurring past event, as the events described in the above example all are. The same pattern can be seen in the next excerpt, where the informant also uses present forms with past reference when discussing a particular evening routine, thus referring to habitual activities:

98. Ja toch, weet je en, en, en, ja, je had niks daar  
'Right, you know and, and, and, yes, there wasn't anything there

dus hij bleef aldoor in de omgeving, jij **speelt** daar enzo,  
so he stayed around all the time, you **play** there and so on,

en dan we mochten opblijven  
and then we were allowed to stay up

totdat het **begint** te knip-, het licht **begint** te knipperen,  
until the light **starts** to fli-, the light **starts** to flicker,

van eh het **gaat** uitgaan,  
like uh, it **is** going to go out,

dan zegt hij “zo, alle spulletjes opbergen, naar bed”,  
then he says “right, put away all things, to bed”,

en dan begint het want alle lichten gaan uit,  
and then it begins because all the lights go out,

geen enkele lamp blijft aan,  
not one single lamp remains lit,

<XXX> m'n moeder zegt “laat nou”.hij zegt “nee!”.  
<XXX> my mother says “leave it”..he says “no!”.

Hij heeft een flashlight,  
He has a flashlight,

m'n moeder heeft een flashlight onder het kussen, en dan dat was het (Ko,  
17:15-20)  
my mother has a flashlight under her pillow, and that was it'

The corpus contains a great number of such present forms, either describing single events or recurrent events. The patterns that emerge from the data show that the rules for past tense marking in SD, unlike ED, are governed by discourse rather than grammar.

Significantly, Sranan (like many other creole languages, e.g., Haitian Creole, cf. Spears 1993) shows similar discourse-governed past tense marking, whereby tense marking is used to distinguish between background information relevant to a particular story versus the chronological events that constitute the story itself, usually referred to as 'backgrounding' and 'foregrounding' respectively (cf. Wilner 1984: 41, Winford f.c.(b)). As Winford (ibid.) convincingly illustrates, in Sranan, the past form *ben*

marks situations that provide a kind of backdrop against which the main story-line develops. The events that make up the main narrative are conveyed by unmarked

verbs, whose time reference is already established as past by the context .. (Winford, *ibid.*)

Analyzing the present SD data, we find that in a significant number of instances this seems to be the case for SD as well. For instance in (98), the verb forms *had en bleef* are marked, and as would be expected, it is indeed background information here that is provided. Then the informant starts to describe what would typically happen in the evening, using present forms. The only instance where she breaks this pattern with a past tense form is in line 2 (*mochten*), when she explains something that is outside the time line of events. Finally, when she ends this particular narrative, she employs a marked form, once again stepping away from the main line of events in the story.

In the next example a similar pattern can be detected. Here the time framework has already been established in the preceding part of the conversation (which was in Sranan):

99. ...dan rent hij naar me toe.  
'...then he comes running to me.

"Thelma, Thelma", want daarmee *yep en* toch?

"Thelma, Thelma", because with that you help him, right?

"Nee, jullie moeten hem niet slaan, jullie zijn niet goed!

"No, you should not hit him, you are no good!

Hij is de jongste. Hij is de laatste. Is jullie broertje!"

He is the youngest. He is the last one. He is your little brother!"

weet je,  
you know,

dan vond hij het leuk want soms zeg ik hem ook zeg  
 then he liked it because sometimes I say to him

“nee je moet niet zo koppig zijn”, ja komen die anderen zeggen  
 “no, you should not be that stubborn”, yes the others [come] say

“is goed Thelma gaat weggaan, dan gaan we je leren!”  
 “it is good Thelma is going to go away, then we’ll teach you [a lesson]!”

Dan maakt hij bullebak voor ze, weet je,  
 Then he sticks his tongue out to them, you know,

OK, dat was oh een beetje van [name]. (Th, 9:12-16)  
 OK, that was a bit about [name].’

In this excerpt, too, the verb forms relating to the events that constitute the story, *rent*, *zeg*, *komen* and *maakt*, are unmarked, and thus foregrounded, whereas the verb forms that provide background information, *vond* and *was*, are marked. Or consider the following:

100. T (informant): [on the phone] Hallo, goeienavond! [laughter] *Mi de, fa y'e go?* [a phone conversation follows with a cousin in Sranan—apart from the use of ‘weet je’ once]  
 ‘T: hello, good evening! [laughter] I’m OK, how is it going?’

A (interviewer): Ja, vertel het door  
 A: Yes, go on

T: Dus, ik was even aan die telefoon. M’n nichtje had gebeld,  
 T: So, I was on the phone for a minute. My cousin had called,

dus ik moet even een breakje nemen [someone interrupts]  
 so I have to take a break [someone interrupts]

Oh..dus ik moet even een breakje nemen.  
 Oh..so I have to take a little break.

Dus dat waren zo’n beetje een gesprek..  
 So that was [lit. were] more or less a conversation..

dat waren een paar dingen..dat was m'n telefoontje..  
 those were a few things..that was my telephone conversation..

ja, bijna *m'e kon* in de war want, weet je,  
 yes, I'm almost getting confused because, you know,

'k kan *tak* met *omeni sma* tegelijk.. (Th, 10:5-11)  
 I can only talk with so many people at a time..'

The past time is first established by using the forms *was* and *had gebeld*, when the informant provides background information, i.e., she sets the scene. She then switches to unmarked forms when referring to what happened, i.e., she had to take a break. It is obvious from the context that the break she refers to was the break she had to take from the conversation with the interviewer, which is over at the moment of speaking because she has returned to the conversation, and thus the verb must refer to the past, even though it is not marked for past tense. After that, she switches back to using marked past forms when commenting on the event itself, the telephone conversation.

Despite clear patterns in parts of the data, there is not such a pattern in every past narrative whereby marked forms are used to provide background information, with present forms for events relating to the main line of the story. In fact, at times there is total lack of present forms in narratives, in which case the informant may simply not have sought to create the stylistic effect which the contrast of the present forms versus the past tense forms produces. Elsewhere in the data, narratives can be found in conversations in which the informant switches back to using past tense forms before the story has finished, or

alternatively the informant does not revert to present forms immediately after the background information has been provided, but instead waits until later in the story, as in the following example:

101. na een tijdje ook op de [name] school,  
 'after a while also at the [name] school,
- zat hij op de [name] school, iedere keer als hij op het erf kwam,  
 he attended the [name] school, every time he entered the school grounds,
- op het moment dat hij in de klas kwam was hij ziek.  
 the moment he entered the classroom he was very sick.
- Dood, doodziek, hij begon over te geven, ze-  
 Sick, very sick, he started to throw up, they-
- die meneer brengt hem naar huis, als hij thuis komt,  
 the man takes him home, when he gets home,
- dan is hij weer beter. Maar als hij in die klas komt,  
 he is no longer sick. But when he enters the classroom,
- hij is voor de school, voor schooltijd is hij prima,  
 before school, before school starts he feels fine,
- komt hij in de klas, begint hij ziek te worden.  
 [but when] he enters the classroom, he starts to get ill.
- Toen laatste..hij was Blankendaal was toen leerkracht  
 Then last... he was Blankendaal was the teacher'  
 (Ko, 6:6-7)

The story that the informant tells here begins after she has provided the relevant background information, i.e., she tells us that her son was at a particular school at some point in the past. She then turns to the main events of the story, recounting how her son used to get sick, and

what would happen afterwards. Thus, according to the theory that claims that unmarked forms are used with events that pertain to the main story line, we would expect her to use unmarked forms starting at the very latest with the verb *begon* in line 4, but she does not switch until *brengt*. A tentative explanation for the pattern here is that unmarked forms have an additional stylistic function: apart from distinguishing the events in a particular story from background information relevant to the story, they can also be used when the informant wishes to highlight a particular part of the story.<sup>74</sup> This is confirmed elsewhere in the data, as in:

102. N (informant): Heb ik gezegd “je weet ik hou niet van Rian,  
 ‘N: I said “you know I do not like Rian,  
  
 of ik ik heb niets met 'r hoor of zo, dus dat ik 'r groet of zo,  
 there is nothing going on between her and me, so I would greet her or so,  
  
 maar ik denk echt niet dat jij hand in hand  
 but I really don't think that you while walking hand in hand  
  
 naar mij toe zou komen met dat Javaanse meisje  
 would come up to me with that Javanese girl  
  
 en Clinton en Rian helemaal achterop ergens naar mij zouden komen  
 zoeken”,  
 and that Clinton and Rian all the way in the back somewhere would come  
 looking for me”,

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<sup>74</sup> Winford (f.c.(b)), quoting Pollard (1989), also discusses the Sranan use of the unmarked verb in past time contexts as a means of signaling information as more “relevant” or “salient”. However, he equates this to his observations regarding foregrounding and backgrounding, i.e., he appears to assume that it is necessarily the events related to one particular storyline that are all unmarked and thus foregrounded, whereas in the present SD data it is within the same storyline that we find verbs both marked and unmarked for past, the latter which create the highlighting effect discussed here.

zei hij van “ja, nou *man*,  
then he said “yes, well,

maar gewoon ik zou je kennis laten maken met ze [laughter]  
but I was just going to introduce you to her!”

ik zou je kennis met 'r laten maken!”  
I was going to introduce her to you!”

Nog mooier en weer.. o, leuk, leuk, leuk, enzo  
Even better and again... oh, nice, nice, nice, and so on

want dan ben ik hem gewoon voorbij gelopen  
for then I just walked past him

want hij schreewt Nancy, Nancy, Nancy!!  
for he is yelling Nancy, Nancy, Nancy!!

“Je vermoeit je stem”, ik kijk hem niet eens aan  
“You’re wearing out your voice”, I am not even looking at him

B (interviewer): Daar op Colakreek, waar al die mensen waren  
B: There at Colakreek, in the presence of all those people

N: Heeft Clinton hem gezegd, *hé boi, i faya, i faya, i faya!*  
N: Then Clinton told him, hey boy, you are angry, you are angry, you are angry!’ (Na, 3:14)

In this excerpt the informant describes how at a resort she runs into her boyfriend, who is spending the day with another woman. He claims he has a platonic relationship with the woman, and that he was about to introduce the woman to her. She does not believe him, and is furious with him. The verb forms describing this incident are all marked for past tense (apart from the verbs in the direct quotes), until she arrives at the point in the story when she gets extremely angry and walks off, ignoring him, which in turn infuriates him, at

which point he starts shouting. This part clearly constitutes the climax of her story, and therefore is highlighted by using unmarked forms.<sup>75</sup> In the next excerpt of a narrative a similar effect is achieved:

103. “Die mensen zijn moeilijk” zei die dame,  
 “Those people are difficult” said the lady,

en het was een nainschrijving,  
 and it was past the registration deadline,

dus een dag ervoor had ik beslist dat ik naar het IOL wilde gaan.  
 so the day before I had decided that I wanted to go to the IOL [a teacher’s college in Paramaribo].

En toen las ik in de krant van nainschrijving is dinsdag  
 en woensdag,  
 And then I read in the newspaper that the post-deadline registration period is  
 on Tuesday and Wednesday,

en het is al maandag,  
 and it is already Monday,

dus heb ik alles zo snel gedaan,  
 so I did everything so fast,

heb ik gewoon..ik was blij dat ik eh binnen kon komen  
 I just.. I was happy that I was admitted’  
 (Cr, 1:28-30, 2:1)

The first unmarked verb form *is* could still be accounted for by being in an embedded clause (with the matrix clause marked for past tense), but the second form *is* cannot. It is obvious from the context, though, that this part of the narrative is the most significant, when the

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<sup>75</sup> Rickford and Theberge Rafal (1996) also discuss tense shifting in AAVE with a similar function, i.e., to highlight the climax of a narrative. In their study of preadolescent speakers of AAVE, however, the shift is from the simple past to the pluperfect instead of the simple present (without the pluperfect signaling a shift in orientation on the part of the speaker as it does in SE).

informant suddenly realizes that it is already Monday and the final days for registration at the college are the following two days, and hence she chooses to highlight it. In the next example, too, the informant assigns more importance to a particular part of the story by using unmarked forms:

104. Dan zou ze krijgen, maar dan kent ze alles, want ik weet niet precies wat ze gaat krijgen, dus en eh, ze kwam met een cijfer, een tien (Gr, 7:22-23)  
 ‘Then she would get [it], but then she knows everything, because I do not know exactly what she is going to get, so and uh, she came back with a grade, a ten’

In this example the informant, a teacher, tells us how she prepared a young pupil from another class for an exam, for which the student got the highest grade possible. The most important piece of information, though, was the fact that the pupil had been fully prepared for the exam by the informant, which accounts for the unmarked forms. Similarly, in the next example it is the most important information that contains verb forms unmarked for past tense:

105. Kijk hoe ik eh m’n studie heb afgemaakt, ik weet dat ik dat wil worden, dus heb het gedaan (Gr, 8:6-7)  
 ‘Look how I finished my studies, I know what I want to become, so I did it’

From the context it becomes obvious that when the informant mentions her knowing what future career she wanted to pursue (teaching), she refers to a point in the past since at the moment of speaking she has already been working as a teacher for a few years. Therefore, the unmarked forms cannot be accounted for by present tense reference. Instead, in the

conversation she emphasizes that she knew what profession she wanted in the future, and thus these unmarked forms, too, are best accounted for by semantic highlighting principles.

It should be emphasized that there is a significant amount of variation regarding past tense marking in the data. In the speech of some informants we find a great number of unmarked forms, whereas in the speech of others these are far fewer, although, as was said earlier, unmarked forms were indeed found in the speech of all but one informant. There are several possible explanations for this variation. It could very well be that due to the nature of the conversation, i.e., the presence of narratives, certain informants felt a much stronger need for these forms than others. Alternatively, it is possible that the speech of certain informants is influenced to a greater extent by ED, which as we have seen does not allow unmarked forms like SD does, or, one could argue, whose speech is influenced to a lesser extent by Sranan, which has a system of optional tense marking. There is additional evidence that some informants may actually be mixing linguistic systems. A number of times examples can be detected in the corpus where the informant corrects him/herself:

106. Ze hebben me gewezen waar Amana is, ik wist nooit waar Amana is, Amana was! (Th, 2:24-25)  
 ‘They showed me where Amana is, I never knew where Amana is, Amana was!’
107. ..hij is, hij was Hindoe. Opvoeding van de kinderen, ik kon m'n kinderen niet eens dopen enzovoorts, enzovoorts, want hij wilde niet, hij was Hindu, hij vind zeg zijn kinderen moeten ook een Hindu, moesten ook Hindu zijn. (Am, 6:10-12)  
 ‘..he is, he was Hindu. Raising the children, I could not even have my children baptized and so on, and so on, because he did not want to, he was Hindu, he thinks that his children must also be Hindu, also had to be Hindu’

108. Maar ja voor die anderen was het.. ze hebben verschrikkelijke leuke herinneringen daar en zo weet je, OK er waren leu- wanneer het met mensen dan gaan, dan gingen we hengelen, ik wou gaan hengelen, je, we konden overdag heleboel dingen doen weet je (Ko, 20:13-16)  
 'But for the others it was.. they have very good memories there you know, OK there were nice- when with people then we go, then we went fishing, I wanted to go fishing, you, we could do a whole lot of things during the daytime you know'

With the exception of one instance, such corrections are all unmarked forms which are then changed into marked forms. These corrections are likely to be indicative of the mixing of more than one linguistic system of tense marking, whereby the informants use the unmarked forms first, and then correct it according to most likely ED tense marking rules.<sup>76</sup>

#### 5.2.2.2. The use of pluperfect forms

Despite the numerous unmarked forms in the data, many verb forms in past contexts are marked. As has been pointed out earlier, in ED past time reference can be expressed in three different verb phrase constructions: the simple past, the present perfect, and the pluperfect. In the SD data it is also these three types that are found. The function of these forms, nevertheless, sometimes varies from ED. Particularly the pluperfect form,<sup>77</sup> which in

<sup>76</sup> Such corrections are found in the speech of three informants. Oddly, a significant number of these corrections, as is reflected in the examples, occur with the verb *zijn*. It may be then that particular verbs, for reasons unclear to me at this point, are more susceptible to being left unmarked than others. This seems to be confirmed by an additional, though small, number of unmarked verbs in past contexts found in the data which cannot be accounted for by any of the discourse patterns discussed. These unexplained instances, along with forms of *zijn*, occur predominantly with the verbs *denken* 'to think' and the modal verbs *kunnen* 'can, to be able to' and *moeten* 'must, to have to'.

<sup>77</sup> It should be emphasized that the term 'pluperfect' is used here to refer to a form rather than function, i.e., *had/hadden* or *was/waren* + past participle. The function discussed here is in fact quite different from the

ED serves to shift the speaker's point of orientation from the moment of speaking to a point in the past, has another function for at least a number of informants in this study. Consider for instance the following excerpt:

109. Is jammer dat, jammer dat ze haar één jaar terug hadden gestuurd, ik vind het nog steeds verschrikkelijk (Cr, 7:7-8)  
 'It's a shame that, a shame that they held [lit. had held] her back one year, I still think it is awful'

This statement was made by an informant referring to her friend's daughter who was held back in school. In ED the use of the pluperfect would absolutely have been inappropriate in this sentence, as no previous point of orientation in time was established by the informant in the discourse, thus possibly justifying this pluperfect use. In fact, at the moment of speaking the daughter is still in the grade in which she was held back, with the school year just having started.

Many similar pluperfect forms can be found that lack the function the pluperfect form serves in ED, and therefore it can be concluded that for a number of speakers of SD this form serves another function. It has been argued that this function is one of expressing past tense, the claim being that in SD this form has replaced the (present) perfect and simple past forms that ED employs for this function (Healy 1993: 287). The data, however, unequivocally contradict this claim: numerous perfect as well as simple past forms are encountered in the data; in fact, these forms, in particular the perfect form, outnumber the pluperfect forms by far.

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function traditionally associated with this form.

Analyzing the instances of the pluperfect forms in the data, all have one characteristic in common: they refer to states or events which have clearly come to an end by the moment of speaking, suggesting that this form is used to mark completive aspect.<sup>78</sup> Quite possibly, the development of this form has been influenced by the presence of an aspectual marker with a similar semantic function in Sranan (Winford f.c.(b)), *kaba*, a function not grammatically distinguished in ED. Thus, whereas in ED this form is purely a tense marker, in SD it can also function as an aspectual marker. This can be seen in the following two examples, where the context does not indicate a shift in point of orientation, but instead the informants emphasize the completion of particular events in the past:

110. Het is heel erg moeilijk want ja, we zien het ook in de kerk,  
 'It is very difficult, because yes, we see it in the church as well,
- het is een buurt, iedereen in de gemeente kent elkaar,  
 it is the kind of neighborhood, everyone in the congregation knows each other,
- en men waardeert je niet,  
 and people do not appreciate you,
- stel je voor dat je in de kerkeraad zou komen,  
 suppose you become a member of the church council,
- en je had in het verleden iets gedaan,  
 and you have done [lit. had done] something in the past,
- je buurvrouw is ook in de kerk,  
 your neighbor is also a church member,
- en dan zal ze het altijd ter sprake brengen (Gi, 9:12-13)  
 and then she will always bring it up'

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<sup>78</sup> 's Jacob (1996) mentions similar use of pluperfect forms in SD.

111. ...ik ben zo toch blij met hetgeen wat ik gekregen had. (Br, 2:3)  
 'like this I am happy anyway with what I got [lit. had gotten]'

It is not merely the context here that provides clues as to the different function of the pluperfect construction. In both examples the remaining clauses contain present tense verbs, which rules out the possibility of these pluperfect forms having the function associated with the pluperfect in ED, i.e., of shifting the point of orientation further into the past, since these verbs do not have past reference to begin with. In many other instances, though, it is primarily the overall context that indicates the completive function of the verb phrase, as it does in the following examples:

112. ...hoe heet het weer, een eh oh je was niet geweest naar dingen, is [name] van de sporthal, ze hadden een dans uitgevoerd, ja... (Ma, 6:20-22)  
 '...what's it called again, uh oh you weren't [lit. had not been] there at so and so, it is [name] from the sports center, they held [lit. had done] a dance, yes...'
113. ...want ik was eerst bezig met een advocaat waarbij ik zelf betaald had (Am, 11:12-13)  
 '..because first I was working with a lawyer with whom I paid [lit. had paid] myself'

In the latter example, for instance, we know from the context that the informant did not pay her lawyer in advance, and hence this pluperfect form has to have a different function than shifting the point of orientation further back into the past; yet it is quite clear that the transaction with the lawyer was finished at the moment of speaking. The following example probably serves best to illustrate that it is the notion of completion that these forms express.

In this conversation, the informant is under the impression that the interviewer still lives in the same neighborhood as he does. However, she moved away years ago:

114. D (informant): Je woont die kant, *no*?  
 A (interviewer): Ik **had** gewoon, jaren terug (De, 12:15)  
 ‘D: You live on that side, don’t you?  
 A: I lived there [lit. **had lived**], years ago’

What is revealing about this example is that the speaker pronounces the word *had* with a lot of emphasis, indicating that it is primarily this form that conveys that she no longer lives there<sup>79,80</sup> (whereas a native speaker of ED would have had to resort to additional wording, e.g., an appropriate adverbial phrase).

One puzzling aspect regarding this pluperfect form with its completive function is the variation between this form and other past tense forms. As pointed out earlier, perfect forms occur with great regularity in the data, along with simple past forms (though these are far less frequent), and both of these forms can also be found with a completive interpretation. It is not clear then what, if anything, governs the variation between these forms. It is conceivable that in SD the verb phrase is optionally marked for completion, emphasizing this aspectual quality when the pluperfect form is actually used. Alternatively, it may be that for some informants the pluperfect is the only form to express completion in

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<sup>79</sup> The use of *jaren terug* could lead one to suspect that alternatively this form might serve the function of signaling distant past (as opposed to recent past), but this hypothesis is contradicted by many pluperfect forms in the data where the pluperfect form refers to an event that happened in the very recent past, as for instance the use of *had gebeld* in (100) shows, where the pluperfect form refers to an event that took place in the very recent past, only a very short while before the utterance.

<sup>80</sup> This use is remarkably similar to the use of stressed *been* in AAVE. However, no claim is made here that SD possesses two forms of *had(den)*, one stressed and one unstressed, as has been argued for AAVE (Rickford 1975).

their linguistic systems, other forms in their speech, in particular the perfect, being hypercorrections which are mistakenly taken to be the form that is always correct in ED. A fairly strong argument against this explanation, though, would be that no conversations can be found in which the number of pluperfect forms outnumber the perfect forms, which seems odd if these are indeed hypercorrections. On the other hand, in the speech six informants (five of whom had used pluperfect forms which could not be interpreted as tense markers) perfect forms were found where a native speaker of ED would always have used a pluperfect form. In fact, close to a quarter of all forms that would have been different in ED consist of such hypercorrected forms, as in:

115. T (informant):....we konden die anderen niet meenemen, weet je  
 A (interviewer): Oh, ik dacht dat die anderen mee konden gaan met scooter  
 T: Nee. Ze hebben geen..ze hebben niet..want hij heeft zelf van eh kennissen van hem geleend (Th, 8:1-2)

'T: We couldn't take those others along, you know  
 A: Oh, I thought that those others could (have) come along on the scooter  
 T: No. They do not have ...they do not have..because he himself had borrowed [lit. has borrowed it] from uh acquaintances of his'

From the context we know that the person borrowed and returned the scooter at an earlier point in time, and thus here the informant shifts back to a point further into the past, which would have prompted the use of the pluperfect as a tense marker in ED. Such forms are without a doubt hypercorrections, and can be accounted for by an avoidance strategy regarding pluperfect forms, suggesting that in these speakers' linguistic systems the pluperfect form is the appropriate one in completive contexts.

Finally, it should be pointed out that in a minority of instances we find excerpts in which it seems that the pluperfect forms have a discourse-related function, whereby the first verb phrase of a past narrative is a pluperfect form, while the following are perfect forms. In these instances the pluperfect forms give the impression of organizing the narrative, as the following excerpt shows:

116. Nee, ze weet het niet, ze **had** gewoon een wond, een kleine puistje gehad, d'r hele vinger was opgezwollen, ze had pus erin, ze hebben het uitgeperst, ze hebben een of ander verbandje erop gezet met iets en ze had ook een grote steenpuist, hebben ze trekzalf gezet (Cr, 10:21-23)

'No, she does not know, she just had [lit. had had] a wound, a little pimple, her complete finger was swollen, she had pus in it, they popped it, they put some sort of little bandage on it with something on it and she also had a big boil, they put salve on it'

First, the context provides evidence that there is no shift in point of orientation that could account for the pluperfect form. More significantly, all following verb phrases (both simple past forms and perfect forms) refer to completed states and/or events too, thus creating a contrast between the pluperfect form and the remaining past forms that cannot be explained by differences in meaning. This pattern is reminiscent of the use of different verb forms for discourse purposes of backgrounding and foregrounding that was described earlier, the difference being that in this case we are not dealing with present vs. past forms, but rather with different forms marked for past tense reference. Thus, it may very well be that for some speakers the use of the pluperfect form can acquire a discourse-related function as shown above, in which case the conjugated form of the pluperfect verb phrase (either

*had/hadden* or *was/waren*, depending on the verb) may very well be a calque on the Sranan anterior marker *ben*, as was suggested earlier by Healy (1993: 287). Nonetheless, such patterns are found only occasionally in the data, and therefore this explanation certainly cannot account for all variation among the various past forms.

Finally, pluperfect forms with a completive aspectual function were found in the speech of eleven (out of twenty-two) informants. Still, it is difficult to determine whether that means that only half of the informants actually use this form with an aspectual function, thereby implying that the remainder of informants when employing this form used it with a temporal function. The problem lies with the fact that when a speaker employs this form with a temporal function, he shifts his point of orientation into the past, and this shift then typically results in a completive reading; thus, the notion of completion is inherent to the pluperfect. Consequently, while it is easy to distinguish a pluperfect tense form from a pluperfect form conveying completive aspect, because in the case of the latter we do not see a shift in point of orientation, to establish whether a pluperfect form really has an aspectual as opposed to a temporal function is virtually impossible. In other words, an informant may solely have intended to convey the notion of completion, whereby a possible shift in point of orientation could be merely coincidental. The following example serves to illustrate this. The informant uses a pluperfect form, but there are no contextual clues as to whether it has a temporal function, emphasizing that the event was finished at an earlier point in the past, or

an aspectual function, “merely” expressing the completion of the event at the moment of speaking:

117. Ja, zo een lange reis was het, en dan *mi sdon, mi blo even, mi go wasi, ze hadden gekookt* bruine bonen met dingen... (Th, 4:2-3)  
 ‘yes, it was such a long trip, and then I sat down, I took a breather, I washed myself, they **had cooked** brown beans with things...’

Such instances have not been analyzed as aspectual in the present analysis, but the possibility cannot be excluded that in some cases they actually are. It is therefore conceivable that there are more than the eleven informants that have been identified in this study as using this form with an aspectual function.

### 5.3. Conditional sentences

In this dissertation a distinction is made between conditional sentences expressing real conditions (“if I get rich, I’ll give you some money”) versus those expressing unreal conditions (“If I were rich, I would give you some money”) (cf. Winford f.c.(a)).

Conditional sentences expressing real conditions were discussed in 5.1.2.1.1., and therefore it is only those expressing unreal conditions that will be dealt with in the following section.

#### 5.3.1. Conditional sentences in ED

In ED conditional sentences expressing unreal conditions are typically formed by using past tense verb forms in both clauses:

**Als ik geld had, ging ik op reis (Geerts et al. 1984: 467)**  
 ‘If I had money, I would go [lit. went] on a trip’

In addition, ED offers the option to employ a form of *zou(den)* (‘would’) in the apodosis, or in the protasis, or in both (Aarts and Wekker 1987: 209), without the meaning of the sentence being altered, as the following example shows:

**Als ik geld zou hebben, zou ik op reis gaan**  
 ‘If I had [lit. would have] money, I would go on a trip’

Even though past forms are used in conditional sentences of the unreal type, these verb forms possess a modal quality only, and thus the above sentences do not have past time reference. A conditional sentence with past time reference can be formed though, and requires the use of pluperfect forms in both clauses, to which a form of *zou(den)* is optionally added in either one or both clauses:

**Als ik geld had gehad, was ik op reis gegaan**  
 ‘If I had had money, I would have gone [lit. had gone] on a trip’

**Als ik geld gehad zou hebben, zou ik op reis gegaan zijn**  
 ‘If I had had [lit. would have had] money, I would have gone on a trip’

### **5.3.2. Conditional sentences in SD**

The overall pattern in SD of possible constructions in conditional sentences expressing an unreal condition varies in a subtle, yet significant manner from ED. One of the basic patterns in ED to form a conditional sentence of the unreal type, as we have seen,

is by using past forms of the main verb in both clauses.<sup>81</sup> In SD, however, the verb phrases in a similar sentence construction would automatically acquire not only a modal reading of unreality, but past time reference as well. As a result, the following conditional sentences, while grammatically perfectly possible in ED, carry a different meaning in SD, as they have past reference:

118. *Ik bedoel zeg zijn schoolkinderen..als de leiding nog strenger was..me bedoel if den ben controleer den skoro pikin he, misschien voor schooltijd of zo, dan kon het zo, niet zo ver komen. (Li, 1:18-20)*  
 [ED: ... dan had het zo, niet zo ver kunnen komen]  
 'I mean these kids are schoolchildren..if the school management had been even stricter..I mean if they had checked the schoolchildren, maybe before school starts, then it could not have come to this' [ED: 'It would not come to this']
119. *En als je niet zoveel bij je had? (Cr, 10:3-4)*  
 [ED: En als je niet zoveel bij je had gehad?]  
 'And if you had not had that much money on you?'  
 [ED: 'And if you didn't have that much money on you?']

Thus, in SD one possibility to form an unreal conditional sentence with past time reference is by employing past verb forms in both the protasis and apodosis. In addition, other patterns are found in such conditional sentences with past time reference. Most commonly used in these conditional sentences is a past form in the protasis, while the apodosis contains a pluperfect verb form:

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<sup>81</sup> A conditional sentence usually has one kind of time reference only, but this need not always be the case. For instance, in the following sentence a shift can be detected: the subordinate clause has past time reference, whereas the main clause has future time reference:

*Als ik gekozen had voor het onderwijs, ik zou het doen (Li, 5:13-14)*  
 'If I had opted for education, I would do it'

The present analysis focuses on conditional sentences with uniform time reference though.

120. Als het aan mij lag, had ik een brief voor d'r geschreven (Pl, 5:12)  
 [ED: Als het aan mij had gelegen, ...]  
 'If it had been up to me, I would have written a letter to her'
121. als ik in jouw plaats was, had ik dat gedaan (Ne, 6:19)  
 [ED: als ik in jouw plaats was geweest, ...]  
 'if I had been in your position, I would have done that'
122. Als het niet om ons was, was ze daar gebleven. (Ko, 15:25)  
 [ED: Als het niet om ons was geweest, ...]  
 'If it had not been for us, she would have stayed there'
123. Oh, *san*, als ik wist, had ik wel .. anders, had ik toch iets anders gezegd  
 hoor (Br, 3:29)  
 [ED: Oh, wat, als ik het geweten had, ...]  
 'Oh, what?!, if I had known, I would have .. differently, I would have said something else'

Alternatively, a form of *zou(den)*+infinitive can sometimes be found in the apodosis, and although this construction usually has a present tense reading, at times from the context it is clear that these constructions can also have a past tense reading in SD (unlike ED), as shown below:

124. Ik zou een slipper aantrekken als ik ging slapen (Ko ,11:18)  
 [ED: Ik zou slippers aangetrokken hebben als ik ging slapen]  
 'I would have put on slippers [lit. a slipper] when I went to bed'
125. Dus als er niet veel mensen er was, in die auto, dan zou het iets anders zijn.  
 Trouwens, dan zou hij niet komen (Th, 3:4-5)  
 [ED: Dus als er niet veel mensen waren geweest, in die auto, dan zou het iets anders geweest zijn. Trouwens, dan zou hij niet gekomen zijn]  
 'So if there had not been a lot of people, in that car, then it would have been different. Besides, then he would not have come'
126. Als het om hun ging, dan zou ik nog niet komen (Th, 5:27)  
 [ED: Als het om hun gegaan was, dan zou ik nog niet gekomen zijn]  
 'If it had been for them, I would not have come'

Another, though less common, SD pattern is one where a pluperfect form is used in the protasis:

127. **dus als ik geen afspraak had gemaakt, mi no b'o go** (Th, 4:14-15)  
 [ED: identical]  
 'so if I had not made an appointment, I would not have gone'
128. **als je die sma had gehoord** (Na, 5:29)  
 [ED: identical]  
 'if you had heard those people'

These instances are rare, and such subordinate clauses found in the data are often not accompanied by main clauses, thus making it difficult to determine whether there is a typical verb pattern in the apodosis that is combined with it, although a form of *zou(den)+infinitive* was found in the protasis of two such sentences:

129. **als we een Boslandcreoolse naam hadden gekozen van [name] of [name], dan denk ik dat ik wel.. dat we zouden winnen hoor** (Gi, 4:27-28)  
 [ED: als we een Boslandcreoolse naam hadden gekozen van [name] of [name], dan denk ik dat ik wel.. dat we hadden gewonnen hoor]  
 'if we had chosen a Maroon name like [name] or [name], then I think that I..we would have won'
130. **als ik niet had gebarbequed toch zou het me echt spijten** (Na, 9:4-5)  
 [ED: als ik niet had gebarbequed toch zou het me echt hebben gespeten]  
 'if I had not cooked out on the grill, I would have been very sorry'

In the data no conditional sentences were encountered with pluperfect verb forms in both the protasis and apodosis, which, as has been pointed out, is the basic pattern in ED to create a conditional sentence expressing an unreal condition with past time reference.

Since the construction employing past forms of the main verb in both clauses, which ED uses for present time reference, is not available for this function in SD, SD has to resort to other options to create conditional sentences of the unreal type with present time reference. Probably as a result of this limitation, all conditional sentences in the data with clear present time reference contain at least one form of *zou(den)*, which either occurs in the apodosis, as in (131)-(132), or the protasis, as in (133), and even more frequently in both clauses, as in (134)-(135):

131. **mijn god als ik geld had, zou ik het kopen** (Ma, 2:15)  
 [ED: identical]  
 ‘my god if I had money, I would buy it’
132. **als ik van de kweekschool kwam, zou ik het niet erg vinden om op de lagere school les te geven** (Cr, 6:12-13)  
 [ED: identical]  
 ‘If I came from the teacher’s college, I would not mind teaching at an elementary school’
133. **als bijvoorbeeld er ministers zijn die er/het<?> zouden doen, dan kon hij zeggen van “kijk het is niet mijn schuld”** (Pl, 4:2-3)  
 [ED: identical]  
 ‘if for instance there were ministers who would do it, then he could say “look, this is not my fault”’
134. **Als ik minister zou worden, als ik minister zou worden, als ik minister zou worden, zou ik eerst aan de<die?> arme mensen denken omdat ik zelf uit een arme familie kom** (Li, 10:19-20)  
 [ED: identical]  
 ‘If I were to become, if I were to become minister, if I were to become minister, I would think of the poor people first because I come from a poor family myself’

135. **als je die film zelf zou gaan kijken, dan zou je die hechte band kunnen zien tussen die vader en, en die zoon (Se, 5:10-12)**  
**[ED: identical]**  
 ‘if you were going to see that movie yourself, then you would be able to see the close relationship between the father and, and the son’

Intraspeaker variation is fairly common regarding the use of these different verb options, and sometimes a speaker can even be heard to alternate between forms within one conditional sentence, as in the following sentence, in which the speaker uses *zou* in the first protasis, but continues with a past form in the second protasis:

136. **Dus als jij dat geld zou wisselen daar, dus als jij dat geld daar naar mij hier bracht, zou jij niet hetzelfde kunnen kopen als wat je daar kan kopen? (Th, 12:19-20)**  
 ‘So if you exchanged [lit. would exchange] the money over there, so if you brought the money from over there to me here, wouldn’t you be able to buy the same things as you would over here?’

It is important to point out that the above sentences, apart from being perfectly acceptable in ED as well, also convey the same meaning in ED. The difference between ED and SD, then, lies with the fact that whereas forms of *zou(den)* are optional in conditional clauses expressing unreal conditions in ED, in SD at least one such form is obligatory for the sentence to assume an unreal reading with present time reference, since otherwise the sentence would not just imply an unreal condition, but in addition would acquire past time reference.

## 5.4. Modal verbs

When comparing the modal verb inventory and its functions in SD to ED, a general pattern emerges showing that SD is relatively similar to ED. Nevertheless, some tendencies can be detected in the data that indicate slight differences between the two language varieties.

### 5.4.1. The use of *gaan* replacing a modal verb

In SD the verb *gaan* ‘to go’ can be encountered in sentences where ED would have opted to use *kunnen*, expressing ability, as in:

137. Ik werk niet..waar **ga** ik vinden?  
 ‘I do not work..where am I going to/ could I find [work]?’

A similar tendency can be detected with the notion of possibility, as in:

138. ...en niemand **gaat** me zeggen dat ze geen liefde nodig hebben  
 ‘...and nobody is going to/ can tell me that they do not need love’

However, to claim that in SD the modal categories of ability and possibility are conveyed using *gaan* as opposed to the modal verb *kunnen*, i.e., that *gaan* has assumed a modal function here, would be incorrect in my view. Rather, it seems that SD using *gaan* in such instances emphasizes strong future likelihood, at the expense of its modal quality. In ED, since *gaan* is not typically used to convey strong future likelihood, the speaker does not have this option, and as a result, the above sentences strike the native speaker of ED as unusual.

Similarly, SD shows a tendency to employ *gaan* in sentences expressing strong obligation, where ED would have used the modal verb *moeten* 'must, have to'. This was first attested by Healy (1993: 286/287), and I found evidence of this in materials gathered during preliminary research in 1994 (De Kleine 1995: 18), and in fact heard it regularly during my stay in Suriname:

139. Je *gaat* voor mij nog meer van zulke woorden opzoeken  
 'You have to look up more of those words for me'  
 [A teacher to her students]

Nonetheless, the data in the present study show no such use of *gaan*. This is most likely primarily caused by the nature of the conversations though, in which the interviewer typically conducts a conversation in a relaxed atmosphere of relative equality, and thus it would have been highly inappropriate for one of the two conversation partners to give strong commands to the other. The one exception in the data consists of one informant, who is heard giving a command to a third person present (a child), using *moeten* instead of *gaan* though. This merely shows that *moeten* can also be used for strong obligation in SD, and as such confirms my impression, but, of course, does not provide any clues as to whether *gaan* can be used as an alternative with the same function as *moeten* in ED.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Sluisdom (1995, personal communication) claims that when *gaan* is used for strong obligation, it is so strong that there is hardly any escape from the obligation, whereas *moeten* carries a connotation of urgent advice rather than strong obligation.

#### 5.4.2. The use of *moeten* instead of *hoeven*

On the other hand, SD sometimes employs the form *moeten* when ED would not. In ED, *moeten* is typically replaced by *hoeven* when a negative element is present in the sentence, such as for instance *niet* ‘not’, *nooit* ‘never’, or *niemand* ‘nobody’ (cf. Geerts et al. 1984: 551). In the data, though, some informants can be heard using *moeten* when ED would have required *hoeven*, as in:

140. ...dus ze **moesten** ons alleen maar zeggen “ja” (Pl, 3:26)  
 ‘...so they only had to tell us “yes”’

In this sentence it is the adverbs *alleen maar* ‘only’ which prompt the use of *hoeven* in ED. As with so many other features that set SD apart from ED, variation (both intraspeaker as well as interspeaker) is common with respect to this use, the majority of forms being of the verb *hoeven* nonetheless.

#### 5.4.3. The use of modal *komen*

In addition to the set of modal verbs that SD shares with ED, SD possesses an additional modal verb, *komen* ‘to come’, which can be used to express indignation:

141. En dan **kom** je me vragen over huizen! (Pl, 6:9)  
 ‘And then you come and ask me about houses!’

It is important to note that such a sentence is not ungrammatical in ED; it is rather that in ED the verb *komen* is not capable of conveying indignation, and instead retains its literal meaning of ‘to come’. Interestingly, this modal use of the SD verb ‘to come’ is comparable

to the use of this verb in AAVE (cf. Spears 1982), though to my knowledge no such use has been attested for Sranan.

Furthermore, one informant used the verb *komen* with a seemingly different function:

142. En daar, daar en eh..ben je die die, die meisjesinternaat **komen aantreffen** in de Gravenstraat? (Ol, 6:5-6)  
 ‘And there, there, uh, uh..did you come across the boarding school for girls in the Gravenstraat?’

This use of *komen* occurs four times in the conversation with this particular elderly informant, and it seems significant that in each instance the verb following *komen* is *aantreffen* ‘to encounter, to come across’. It is possible that the informant modeled this form after the separable verb *tegenkomen* ‘to come across’, as used in *Ik kom X tegen* ‘I come across X’, combining the two distinct forms, which are identical in meaning, into one: *komen aantreffen*. Alternatively, the possibility exists that this is a literal translation of the Sranan phrase *kon miti* (lit. ‘come meet’).

#### 5.4.4. Paired modal verb constructions

Apart from functional differences, a grammatical difference regarding the use of modal verbs can be found in the data, which constitutes a construction whereby a modal verb is used in the matrix clause followed by an embedded clause which contains a modal verb that repeats the modal quality expressed by the verb in the matrix clause, as in the following examples:

143. **Die wilde niet dat die met die moest gaan (Ne, 6:6)**  
 ‘That one did not want that one to go [lit. **must go**] with that one’
144. **Maar als je zo graag wilt dat je je haar snel moet drogen... (Ma, 5:5)**  
 ‘If you want your hair to dry fast...’ [lit. ‘that you **must** dry your hair fast’]

In ED, the use of the modal in the matrix clause prevents the use of another modal verb with the same meaning in the embedded clause. Thus, the use of *moeten* is not merely felt to be superfluous; it actually makes the sentence ungrammatical.

Since Sranan allows a similar construction employing paired modal verbs, using *wani* ‘to want’, and *musi* ‘must’, respectively in the matrix and embedded clause, it is most likely that the use of this paired construction in SD is influenced by Sranan.

Such paired constructions have only been found in the corpus with the modals *willen* ‘to want’, in the matrix clause, accompanied by a form of *moeten* ‘must’, in the embedded clause. However, given the low frequency of such forms in the data, the possibility cannot be excluded that a similar paired construction is also allowed with other modal verbs.

### 5.5. Passive constructions

Several authors in describing grammatical features of SD have noticed the possibility in SD to employ an active verb phrase in a sentence with a passive reading, in which the subject is the patient of the action instead of the agent (Essed-Fruin 1983: 134, Healy 1993: 287). Such sentences also appear in the corpus:

145. Want m'n tante vertelde me ook laatst zeg je hebt het nog goed meisje want ik moest elke keer gaan opensnijden (Ch, 5:14-16)  
 'For my aunt also told me recently "you are lucky girl because I had to have it [lit. I had to go] cut open every time"
146. J (informant): Ze moet een grote eh..-  
 A (interviewer): Operatie?  
 J: Operatie gaan doen, weet je toch?
- 'J: She has to.. uh.. a big-  
 A: Operation?  
 J: Have an operation, you know [lit. go do an operation]'

As both Fruin-Essed (ibid.) and Healy (ibid.) have argued, these constructions are most likely strongly influenced by similar constructions in Sranan, a language that does not distinguish a passive (Voorhoeve 1962: 41, Essed-Fruin ibid. 136). This can be seen in the Sranan sentence *a man dopu*, which, depending on the context, can be interpreted either with an active meaning, 'the man has baptized (X)', or a passive meaning, 'the man has been baptized'. By contrast, ED requires the verb phrase to be marked for passive, using a form of the verb *worden*. It appears then that, at least for some SD speakers, a form of *worden* is not required to passivize a sentence, as is illustrated in the examples above, in which case it is the context that determines the interpretation.

Judging from its frequency in the data, this SD feature does not appear to be widely used at all: it was encountered in the speech of merely three informants. This stands in contrast to Essed-Fruin's claim that this feature is commonly heard, among speakers of all social classes (ibid.). An explanation for this discrepancy could be found in the fact that Essed-Fruin's observation dates back forty years, whereas the data for the present study

were collected recently; it might be then that this feature used to be more widespread than it is today.

### 5.6. Highlighting

As has been previously discussed by Wekker (1989: 199), SD displays structures that seemingly have a pro-drop character, which are also encountered the data:

147. Hij zegt het altijd mooi, **is** een Amerikaan (Pl, 9:26-27)  
 ‘He always puts it nicely, [he] is an American’

In so-called pro-drop languages, when the referent has been established, either explicitly or implicitly, ‘subject pronouns may be freely absent’ (Van Riemsdijk and Williams 1986: 163). Typically, languages are characterized as either pro-drop or non pro-drop, ED falling into the latter category. Pro-drop structures as in (147) are abundant in the data, occurring in the speech of all but one informant, with the clause typically introduced by *is*. Although far less frequently, other forms of the verb *zijn*, either past or plural, can also be found in constructions of a similar nature:

148. We **zijn** met lantibus gegaan, en **was** alvast een hele kiek (Gi, 1:9)  
 ‘We took a public transportation bus, and [that] was already quite a scene’
149. ..want ze **zijn** goed op mekaar, **zijn** opgegroeid samen (Na, 8:5-6)  
 ‘..for they get along very well, have [lit. are] grown up together’

There are several factors, however, which cast serious doubt on whether these constructions can rightfully be analyzed as pro-drop. First, in the corpus it is always a form of the verb *zijn* functioning as the main verb in these subject-free clauses; in pro-drop languages, on the

other hand, a subject can be absent irrespective of the semantics of the main verb, a pattern obviously not reflected in the data. Furthermore, the function of this form is clearly different. With pro-drop constructions, as we have seen, the absence of an overtly realized subject is typically found after the subject referent has been established, whereas the data show that this pattern may actually be the reverse in SD:

150. *Is geen herinschrijving, het is opnieuw inschrijving* (Ch, 2:14-15)  
 ‘[It] is not a registration renewal, it is a new registration’

Both clauses have the same subject referent, but it is the first clause rather than the second that lacks a phonetically realized subject, which is the exact opposite of what would be expected in a pro-drop scenario, suggesting a different function.

An alternative, more plausible analysis of this type of construction is that these forms of *zijn* are calques on a cleft construction found in Sranan, whereby a highlighter element, a form identical to the equative copula, *na*, precedes a fronted element, as in:

151. *Na brede mi e nyan* (Sordam and Eersel 1985: 31)  
 HI bread I PROG eat  
 ‘[It] is bread I’m eating’

In Sranan, as in several other creoles (Veenstra and Den Besten 1995: 305-306), a highlighter form identical to the copula is found, which is typically used to assign special emphasis to a following fronted phrase. The data confirm that whenever this form is encountered in SD, the discourse indeed shows that it is quite plausible that the informant intended to give special emphasis to the element following the form of *zijn*, and thus it is best argued that this form functions as a highlighter in SD.

Although typically found followed by merely a single phrase, incidentally this form can be encountered in more complex sentences:

152. **Is erg hoor! Is tante is getrouwd met m'n oom (Br, 10:8)**  
 '[It] is bad! [It] is aunt [who] is married to my uncle'
153. **Zijn die mensen van talen zijn vreselijk moeilijk zei die dame (Cr, 26:1)**  
 '[These] are the people from the language departments [who] are very difficult said the lady'

Similar cleft constructions have been identified previously in SD by Healy (1993: 287) and Wekker (1989: 199), both of whom classify these as highlighting constructions, tracing it to a similar use of *na* in Sranan. In the data such sentences, too, invariably have a form of *zijn* as their main verb.<sup>83</sup>

Judging from its frequent use among almost all informants, speakers of SD do not seem to consider the use of this form of *zijn*, particularly when followed by a single phrase only, to be heavily stigmatized. One could even doubt whether the average speaker of SD is aware how fundamentally SD sets itself apart from ED in this respect, the more so because the difference between a sentence with a highlighter in SD and its closest equivalent as far as form is concerned in ED is often merely the use of the pronoun *het* 'it', which seems lacking in such constructions in SD. Furthermore, this pronoun is typically contracted with the verb in fast speech in ED, resulting in /tis/, which is phonetically relatively close to /is/. This superficially minimal difference as far as phonetic form is concerned, then, may explain both ED and SD speakers' relative unawareness of this fundamental functional

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<sup>83</sup> Wekker (1989:199), however, provides two examples of sentences with main verbs other than forms of *zijn*.

difference, as well as the general acceptance this highlighter form has gained. In addition, ED does not possess an equivalent grammatical highlighting form to allow the speaker to focus on a particular element in the discourse, and as a result would require more elaborate paraphrasing in order to achieve a similar effect, which has probably facilitated the development of a highlighter form in SD.

### 5.7. Reflexive verbs

Several authors have pointed to the lack of reflexivity of verbs in SD that are reflexive in ED (Essed-Fruin 1983: 130, Van Bochove and Kleberg 1990: 2, Gobardhan-Rambocus 1993: 147), raising the question whether this reflects a more general pattern of reflexive verbs in ED being non-reflexive in SD. The data suggest that it probably does not; only six verbs could be detected that were not reflexive in SD which always take a reflexive form in ED: *bemoeien* ‘to meddle, interfere’, *bewust worden* ‘to become aware’, *vervelen* ‘to be bored’, *herstellen* ‘to recover’, *specializeren* ‘to specialize’, and *gedragen* ‘to behave’, thus creating the impression that it is a limited set of verbs that have lost their reflexivity in SD.<sup>84</sup> This is confirmed by the three publications referred to above, all of which only mention the verb *bemoeien* to which Essed-Fruin adds *verbeelden* ‘to imagine’, a verb not encountered in the present corpus. Furthermore, in the pilot study conducted earlier, it was *bemoeien* and *vervelen* that were found of those that had lost their reflexivity,

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<sup>84</sup> On the other hand, the possibility cannot be excluded that it is simply the higher frequency of certain verbs that has resulted in the impression that it is only those verbs that are found in non-reflexive form, i.e., other verbs may also have lost their reflexivity in SD, but were not encountered in the corpus.

in addition to *permitteren* 'to afford'. On the other hand, in the speech of many informants several other verbs could be found that are indeed reflexive (as they would have been in ED), which are not forms of the particular verbs mentioned above (with one exception whereby an informant uses *bemoeien* reflexively once).

Thus, judging from the relatively limited variation found with respect to which verbs have lost of their reflexivity, as well as the occurrence of other verbs that do take a reflexive form, it can tentatively be concluded that it is probably a small and fairly well-established set of verbs that have lost their reflexivity for most SD speakers. This development has quite possibly at least partly been influenced by corresponding lack of reflexivity in Sranan.

### 5.8. Transitivity

Another feature relating to the verb phrase in SD that has been noticed previously is the transitive character of certain verbs which are used intransitively in ED (Schoonhoven 1939: 156, Van Wel and Vervoorn 1974: 56, Essed-Fruin 1983: 130, Van Bochove and Kleberg 1990: 2), as well as vice versa (Gobardhan-Rambocus 1993: 147). Interestingly though, in the data it is predominantly the reverse pattern that is found: verbs that are always used transitively in ED can be found as intransitive verbs in SD, giving the impression that the phonetic realization of a direct object, once such referent has been established in discourse or the identification of a specific referent is simply not relevant, is optional in SD.

154. Hij kan zich ook niet voorstellen nu.. (Ed, 14:11)  
 'He cannot imagine [that] either right now...'

155. Niemand merkt op wanneer ik geld heb en wanneer ik niet heb (Ca, 11:24-25)  
 'Nobody notices when I have money and when I don't have [money]'

In this respect SD behaves like Sranan, which often allows verbs that might be transitive otherwise to appear without a phonetically realized object (Wilner 1984: 48). This is quite unlike ED, in which by far the majority of verbs are used either exclusively intransitively or transitively (Geerts et al. 1984: 414), although ED also possesses a number of verbs that can be used both transitively and intransitively (for details see Geerts et al. 1984: 415-416). In SD, nevertheless, this set of verbs turns out to be far more numerous than in ED, extending for instance to verbs as *hebben* 'to have', as in (155), which can never be used without an overt direct object in ED. In other words, whereas the distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs is fairly rigid in ED, SD displays much more flexibility. The nature of the data, however, leaves open the question whether all verbs that would be used transitively in ED and are found as intransitive verbs in the data can be used both transitively and intransitively in SD, or whether there is a set of verbs that has taken on a permanent intransitive character for certain speakers of SD.

Intransitive use of verbs that are transitive in ED is very common in the data: all but one informant's speech displays this feature, and typically numerous instances can be detected. A few hypercorrections suggest that some speakers are aware of the difference between SD and ED forms (or non-standard vs. standard use, as they may perceive it):

156. Ja, vertel **het** door...(Th, 10:7)  
yes, keep on talking/telling...

In ED the verb *vertellen* ‘to narrate, tell’ is typically used transitively, while *doorvertellen* takes on a different meaning depending on whether it is used transitively, ‘to pass on information’, or intransitively, ‘continue to narrate’. In the above example it is the latter meaning the speaker wants to convey, but as a result of the use of *het* ‘it’, which is probably accounted for by the speaker’s awareness of *vertellen* (without the preposition) being a transitive verb, the sentence acquires an inappropriate reading. Similar hypercorrections are few in the data though, suggesting that many speakers may have a limited awareness of the difference between ED and SD as far as this grammatical feature is concerned, which would also explain its regular occurrence.

The reverse pattern whereby intransitive verbs are used transitively is far less common in the data, which is somewhat surprising in light of the earlier attestations by several other authors, one of whom even claims that such instances (in the 1950s) “occurred very frequently” in the speech of her informants (Essed-Fruin 1983: 130). In fact, only a total of seven (out of twenty-two) informants used such forms, of whom only two used these more than once. In a few instances this concerns verbs belonging to a class which in ED have an intransitive form and a transitive counterpart to which the prefix *be-* or occasionally the prefix *ver-* is added, with no change in meaning. Of such verbs it is sometimes the form without the prefix that is encountered in SD, while it is nevertheless used transitively:

157. Al **kijk** [ED: **bekijk**] je dames zo begerig is een zonde (De, 7:25-26)  
 'Even if you just **look at** women in such a lustful way, that's a sin'

Other verbs that are used intransitively in ED but transitively in the data are *schreeuwen* 'to yell', *schelden* 'to curse', and *bidden* 'to pray', of which both *schreeuwen* and *bidden* were found repeatedly, the latter by several informants, suggesting the possibility that here, too, this phenomenon may in fact be reflected only in a limited set of verbs in SD. Other publications seem to corroborate this observation: Gobardhan-Rambocus (1993: 147) and Schoonhoven (1939: 156) both provide *schreeuwen* as the only example of this feature, while Essed-Fruin (1983: 130) mentions *zakken* 'to fail (an exam)', and both Van Bochove and Kleberg (1990: 2) and Van Wel (1974: 57) provide the same verb, *oversteken* 'to cross (the road)' as the only example. This then calls into question Essed-Fruin's earlier observation that this phenomenon is heard very frequently,<sup>85</sup> the more so when one considers that the verbs mentioned above are not the most common ones in the language. Nevertheless, in the case of ED transitive verbs with a prefix dealt with earlier, particularly the verbs with *be-*, the situation may be somewhat different. These were also encountered repeatedly in an earlier pilot study, and it is possible that for certain speakers at least, this prefix is not part of their linguistic systems, resulting in a collapse between intransitive and transitive forms of all such verbs.

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<sup>85</sup> During my stay in Paramaribo I cannot remember noticing this feature very frequently either.

### 5.9. Verb conjugations

Sporadically, the data show verb forms which are deviant from the ED verbal paradigm. In ED regular verbs are conjugated by using a root form to which *-en* is added to create a plural verb form, which is identical to the infinitive form; the only exception is the second person formal plural form, *u*, whose conjugation is similar to its singular counterpart. Singular forms are created with a *-t* inflection for the second and third persons, while the first person singular form is identical to the root form:

Ik werk	'I work'
Jij / u werkt	'You work'
Hij/zij/het werkt	'He/ she/ it works'
Wij werken	'We work'
Jullie werken /u werkt	'You work'
Zij werken	'They work'

*werken* 'to work'

Several different types of verbal inflections that diverge from the above pattern are found in the data. First, singular subjects are sometimes found with plural verb forms,<sup>86</sup> both in case of regular as well as irregular verbs (for details on irregular verb conjugations, see Geerts et al. 1984: 432-446):

158. ...wat ik niet verstandig van velen van ze **vinden** [ED: vind].. (Ca, 8:16)  
'...what I do not find sensible of them..'
159. Het **zijn** [ED: is] een van die bemoeizuchtige mensen van de JS hoor! (Gi, 7:27)  
'It is one of those meddlesome people from the JS [an organization called the Jesus Students] mind you!'

<sup>86</sup> Alternatively these verb forms could also be analyzed as infinitives, although the irregular plural past verb form in (160), *waren*, suggests that this analysis is less plausible (*zijn* being the infinitive).

160. **Wat waren** [ED: was] met discipelen gebeurd? (Ru, 1:20)  
‘What happened to the disciples?’
161. **of je zeggen** [ED: zegt] “nee ik ga niet lang daar blijven” (Jo, 7:14)  
‘or you say “no, I am not going to stay there for a long time”’

Vice versa, plural subjects occur in combination with singular verb conjugations:

162. **Water er in zet** [ED: zetten] die men-, mensen van hier (Jo, 5:10)  
‘Water people from around here put in it’
163. **...en al die dingen lag** [ED: lagen] daar [laughter] ... **lag** daar soms in het kanaal (Ko, 8:25)  
‘... and all those things lay there [laughter]... lay there sometimes in the canal’
164. **Die mensen dus, ze, ze, ze kan** [ED: kunnen] het gewoon, [correcting herself:] ze kunnen het gewoon leren (Ca, 8:3)  
‘These people, they, they, they can-SG just, they can-PL just learn it’

In addition, in a few instances a speaker uses an infinitive form where in ED a past participle would have been used:

165. **Ja, wat was er gebeuren** [ED: gebeurd]? (Br, 4:12)  
‘Yes, what happened?’
166. **Maar je weet je bent bij iemand, bij iemand gaan** [ED: gegaan] (Th, 5:14)  
‘But you know, you stayed with [visited] someone’

At other, fairly rare, instances speakers are found to use a conjugated verb form, when an infinitive form would be expected:

167. **Weet je hoe laat gaat** ik daar **arriveer** [ED: arriveren]? (Jo, 18:18)  
‘Do you know at what time I am going to arrive there?’
168. **Je moet ook een paar dingen kan** [ED: kunnen] kopen (Th, 5:15)  
‘You have to be able to buy a few things’

169. En dan ga je ziet [ED: zien] zeg ... (Ru, 4:29)  
‘And then you will see that ...’
170. ...daar ik m'n tijd neem om het dan los te maken, zou ik het dan voor een tweede keer kan [ED: kunnen] doen, kan [ED: kunnen] gebruiken (Ma, 7:23-24)  
‘...because I take the time to undo it, I would be able to do it, be able to use it for a second time’

In every example above, the first verb in the verb phrase (which is underlined) has already been conjugated, and thus it is odd to find another conjugated verb in the same verb phrase. These may very well be instances of hypercorrection on the rule that, unlike in Sranan, in which the verb phrase is uninflected, verbs need to be conjugated, incorrectly applying the rule to infinitive forms as well.

Additionally, the data show forms where the speaker has used a *-t* inflection to form a first person singular verb form, which, in ED at least, is only required for second and third person singular forms, thus overextending the rule, again resulting in hypercorrected forms:<sup>87</sup>

171. Ik doet [ED: doe] ook een beetje aan James Brown (Br, 2:8-9)  
‘I do a little James Brown as well’
172. Als ik naar een feestje gaat [ED: ga] ...  
‘When I go to a party ...’

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<sup>87</sup> In correspondence with Surinamese friends of mine, at times I have noticed the (sometimes fairly systematic) absence of the *-t* endings for second and third person singular verb forms. This could signal that in the linguistic systems of certain speakers these two singular forms have collapsed into one, with no ending added to the root. It is hard to determine whether some of my informants may not have made a distinction between these two singular verb forms at all, since often this ending is barely phonetically realized, particularly in consonant clusters (this, incidentally, is also the case in many ED dialects), while the forms that do show a *-t* ending (including the ones for second and third person) may have been hypercorrections in their linguistic systems.

173. Als ik je vertelt [ED: vertel] over dit ... (Se, 5:9-10)  
 'When I tell you about this ...'

Having pointed out these verb conjugations that certainly deviate from ED,<sup>88</sup> it is important to note that by far the majority of verb conjugations is similar to ED, raising serious doubt as to whether there is any fundamental difference between the verbal paradigm in ED and SD. More likely, these are deviations in SD as well, quite possibly influenced by Sranan, which does not display verbal inflection.

The observation that the majority of verb conjugations are identical to ED holds true for all informants. Nevertheless, it is interesting to observe that in the speech of a total of no less than sixteen informants deviant conjugations were detected, although to varying degrees, as could be expected.

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<sup>88</sup> It should be kept in mind that I am referring to standard ED here; there are non-standard dialects in ED, such as a (lower class) dialect spoken in the city of Leiden, in which for example the *-t* conjugation for the first person singular is often heard.

## ***Chapter Six: The Noun Phrase***

### **6.0. Introduction**

Although the existing literature on SD mentions some of the NP features that distinguish SD from ED, a significant number of non-ED characteristics of the NP in SD have gone unnoticed so far. Quite ironically, these include some of the most commonly occurring differences, such as the use of *die*, a demonstrative determiner in ED that nowadays functions as article in SD, and the SD use of the pronoun *het* for inanimate nouns of common gender, which is restricted to inanimate nouns of neuter gender in ED. As with many of the differences that have not been observed in the literature thus far, these constitute grammatical forms which also occur in ED; however, they carry different functions in SD.

The present chapter starts off with a discussion on article usage in SD, an area in which some of the most striking NP differences between SD and ED (both qualitative and quantitative) are found. This is followed by an account of plural marking in SD, which sometimes varies from that of ED. Differences related to gender will also be discussed, which manifest themselves in several ways in the NP. Finally, differences related to pronoun use will be analyzed, including a discussion of two pronominal forms found exclusively in SD.

## 6.1. The article

### 6.1.1. The use of *die*

ED distinguishes two definite article forms, *de* and *het*, of which *de* is used for singular nouns of common gender (which account for the majority of nouns) as well as all plural nouns, while *het* is reserved for singular nouns of neuter gender. For both classes of nouns the same indefinite article is employed, *een*.

While the ED articles are also commonly encountered in SD, additionally the very frequent use of *die* introducing an NP stands out in SD. In ED this form functions as the demonstrative determiner ‘that’; in SD, however, its function often resembles that of a definite article rather than a demonstrative, and as such it can occur in more contexts than in ED.<sup>89</sup>

First, in SD *die* can be used for nouns with generic, i.e., non-specific, reference. As such it is incompatible with the use of a demonstrative, which by definition has a deictic function, denoting a specific referent. Consider the following example:

174. Je haalt al *die* [ED: de/Ø] vitamien van *die* [ED:de/Ø] vis weg (Jo, 20:24)  
‘You take away all the vitamins in the fish’

The informant discusses preparing fish, explaining that a certain way of cleaning fish will decrease its vitamin content. Thus, the references to *die vitamien* ‘vitamins’ and *die vis* ‘fish’ are undoubtedly generic. As a result, in ED *die* would not have been used in either of

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<sup>89</sup> As Holm (1988: 191) points out, “definite articles have evolved from demonstratives in a number of cases of language change, such as the transition from Latin to the Romance languages and from Proto-Germanic to German and English”. Interestingly, Afrikaans also employs the form *die* as an article, the difference being that in Afrikaans the original ED articles are no longer used. In Negerhollands (a Dutch-based creole), too, this

these NPs, as it would cause the NPs to take on specific reference. Instead, ED in such cases may use either a definite article (*de* or *het*, depending on gender and number), or a zero article (only with plural nouns and non-count nouns). Similar use of *die* is found in the following examples:

175. O (informant): Ja, ik heb het meegemaakt, ja, want men leunt, men leunt nog steeds aan-  
 A (interviewer): Ja  
 O: Te zwaar op *die* eh *die*, *die* [ED: de] bakra toch? (Or, 12:14-16)  
 ‘O: Yes, I have experienced that, yes, because people rely on, people still rely on-  
 A: Yes  
 O: Too heavily on the uh the, the Dutch, right?’
176. *die* [ED: de/Ø] jonge dame van tegenwoordig.. (Jo, 14:20)  
 ‘the young women of today’
177. Omdat *die* [ED: de/Ø] ouders eerst willen zien hoe gaan ze eerst met de oudste om (Ed, 2:2-3)  
 ‘Because parents first want to see how they deal with the oldest’

In (175) the NP *die bakra* ‘Dutch person’ has generic reference, as the informant does not refer to one (particular) Dutch person, but to Dutch people in general. In (176) the postmodification phrase *van tegenwoordig* shows that this NP also has generic reference. Likewise, in (177) the NP *die ouders* ‘parents’ has generic reference, as the speaker makes a statement regarding parents in general when she claims that all have a harder time raising their first child.

Nevertheless, many more instances in the data of NPs containing *die* have specific instead of generic reference. Yet, many of these *die* forms, too, would not be permitted in

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form is found functioning as article (De Josselin de Jong 1926).

similar contexts in ED. In ED the demonstrative typically refers to a definite entity, of which the identity is known not only to the speaker but also to the listener. This is exactly where SD departs from ED, as the former also allows *die* to be used with nouns denoting an indefinite referent, as illustrated below. By contrast, ED only employs a zero article for plural nouns with specific reference, and an indefinite article, *een*, for singular nouns with specific reference.

178. je moet **die** [ED: Ø] tools ook hebben om **die** [ED:Ø] mensen tot **die** [ED:Ø] motivatie te krijgen (Gi, 9:17)  
 ‘you have to have tools too to motivate people’

The informant, a social worker in training, discusses changing people’s lives in the poor neighborhood where he lives. While *die mensen* may refer to the people in his neighborhood (though this is not perfectly obvious from the conversation), it is not clear at all to the listener to what kind of tools or motivation he refers, thus rendering the use of demonstrative *die* inappropriate in ED. The following example, too, illustrates the use of *die* with an indefinite referent, since the context clarifies that the referent of *die dame* ‘the lady’, though known to the speaker (as she has met the woman in question), is clearly obscure to the hearer:

179. zijn **die** mensen van talen zijn vreselijk moeilijk zei **die** [ED: een] dame (Cr, 1:26)  
 ‘it’s those people in the language department that are so difficult the lady said’

Summing up, in SD *die* can be employed with nouns with generic reference as well as indefinite reference, whereas in ED this form is only employed as a demonstrative, and as such is only found with NPs with definite and specific reference.<sup>90</sup>

Significant variation is encountered in the data with respect to the use of *die* versus other articles (as ED would also have used them), raising the question what governs the use of *die* as an article in SD. From the data no patterns emerged with respect to this variation, which often seemed random. This is illustrated in the following example, in which the informant uses a NP with exactly the same meaning twice in the same sentence, once employing *de*, while using *die* the second time:

180. Nou, *de* thema was in de eerste plaats duidelijker, en de groep kon er beter op inspelen, en het was dus, het was duidelijk hoe je *die* thema in jouw leven kon toepassen (Gi, 4:12-13)

‘Well, first of all the theme was clearer, and the group was better able to respond to it, and it was, it was clearer how you could apply the theme in your life’

In the following sentence the informant also uses both *die* and *de* forms, variation which cannot be accounted for in terms of a semantic difference:

181. *die* andere Hollander, *die* andere Hollanders en *die* Javanen en *de* Creolen hebben daar gewoon gewoond (Ko, 20:11-12)  
‘the other Dutch, the other Dutch and the Javanese and the Creoles just lived there’

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<sup>90</sup> No claims are made here with respect to the use of *die* with nouns that have both specific and definite reference. The use of *die* is also found with such nouns in SD, but it is harder to argue here that there is in fact a difference between SD and ED, as ED also allows *die* with such nouns, in its capacity as demonstrative determiner. Put differently, it is more difficult in such cases to determine whether the speaker actually intended to use a definite article rather than a demonstrative determiner.

What makes it problematic to account for the use of *die* versus *de* in this sentence is that the reference to *Hollander(s)* and *Javanen* is similar to *Creolen*, in the sense that it is specific (as opposed to generic) as well as indefinite, i.e., it is unclear to the listener to which particular groups of *Dutch*, *Javanese*, or *Creoles* the speaker is referring. Or consider the following example:

182. AP (interviewer): ..hij dacht, denkt met een Creoolse vrouw, ja, ga ik misschien dingen kunnen doen die ik niet met die Hindoestaanse vrouw kan doen  
 A (informant): Ja  
 AP: Dat gebeurt soms  
 A: Dat ook mmm  
 AP: Nou ja, zien ze dat een Creoolse vrouw even veel gevoel heeft als een, een Hindoestaanse vrouw. (Am, 8:29, 9:1)
- ‘AP: ..he thought, thinks with a Creole woman, yes, I may be able to do things that I cannot do with the [an] East Indian woman  
 A: Yes  
 AP: That happens sometimes  
 A: That too mmm  
 AP: Well, they see that a Creole woman is just as sensitive as an, an East Indian woman.’

In this excerpt the references to *een Creoolse vrouw*, *die Hindoestaanse vrouw*, and *een Hindoestaanse vrouw* are to Creole and East Indian women in general; nevertheless, the interviewer alternates between the use of *een* (the form ED would also have used) and *die*.

Now and then variation patterns clearly give the impression of being self-corrections by the informant:

183. dan komen zij twee samen met die, met de andere dames (Th, 17:26-27)  
 ‘then the two of them arrive with the, with the other ladies’

184. als ze zich niet wil houden aan de regels van *die*..van *de* vader van het huis dan moet ze maar uit het huis (Ed, 1:22-23)  
 ‘if she does not want to stick to the father’s rules [lit. the rules of the.. of the father] then she will have to leave home’

As *die* is used much more frequently in SD, while *de* is used relatively more often in ED, it seems reasonable to suspect that the informants replace *die* with *de* in an attempt to produce language forms that resemble ED more closely. Support for this explanation comes from the fact that the direction of the correction is typically from *die* to *de*.

Finally, it should be noted that the typical SD use of *die* as described here is a feature found in the speech of every informant in this study, confirming my impression that it is one of the most widely used SD features.

### 6.1.2. The use of the zero article

In ED NPs occurring with a zero article are either plural count nouns or singular non-count nouns, in which case they typically have either indefinite and/or non-specific reference. In SD, however, the zero article can also be used with singular count nouns (where ED would have required the use of an article). By far the majority of such NPs in the data have definite reference, as illustrated in the next examples:

185. ... want  $\emptyset$  [ED: *de*] laatste keer toen hij het zei was ik nog daar (Pl, 10:3)  
 ‘.. because the last time that he said it I was still there’
186. En toen las ik in *de* krant van  $\emptyset$  [ED: *de*] nainschrijving is dinsdag en woensdag (Cr, 1: 29-30)  
 ‘And then I read in the newspaper that post-registration is [was] Tuesday and Wednesday’

187. Op  $\emptyset$  [ED: het] moment dat ik wakker werd ... (Ko, 21:4)  
 'The moment I woke up ...'

Often reference is not merely definite but even unique:

188. ... omdat ik in  $\emptyset$  [ED: het] AZ [Academisch Ziekenhuis] heb gewerkt (De, 4:7)  
 '... because I worked in the academic hospital'
189. ... naar  $\emptyset$  [ED: het] gasfabriek toe (Ol, 7:21)  
 '... to the gasfactory'

In Suriname there is only one *AZ* and *gasfabriek*, and hence there is little doubt as to the unique reference of these NPs. Or consider the use of the zero article in the following excerpt:

190. A (interviewer): En je eerste school was op Coronie, waar je werkte?  
 G (informant):  $\emptyset$  [ED: de] Salem school?  
 A: En je tweede school is  $\emptyset$  [ED: de] Welleschool?  
 G: Nee, dat is  $\emptyset$  [ED: de] K. school  
 A: Waar is  $\emptyset$  [ED: de] K. school? (Gr, 5:29, 6:1-4)
- 'A: And your first school was in Coronie, where you worked?  
 G: The Salemschool?  
 A: And the second school is [was] the Welleschool?  
 G: No, that is [was] the K.school [name]  
 A: Where is the K.school?'

As the speakers use the names of the particular schools, the definite article would have been required with these NPs in ED.

Less frequently, zero article use is encountered in NPs with indefinite reference, as in:

191. Maar als zo een persoon je Ø [ED: een] voorschot geeft ... (Ca, 1:20)  
 ‘But when such a person gives you a monetary advance ...’
192. ... dan kregen we Ø [ED: een] uniform (Ol, 4:14)  
 ‘... then we got uniforms/ then we each got a uniform’
193. ... want ik heb toch Ø [ED: een] afspraak met die mensen gemaakt (Th, 4:12-13)  
 ‘... because I nevertheless made an appointment with those people’
194. ... dus soms maken ze Ø [ED: een] heel nieuw lied (Ug, 5:29, 6:1)  
 ‘... so sometimes they compose a completely new song’

Apart from singular nouns, a few rare instances of plural nouns with definite reference were encountered with a zero article:<sup>91</sup>

195. kijk ik heb ook goed contact met die jongens van RSC, je kent die groep nog toch? Ø [ED: de] Jongens van eh ... (Ug, 9:29, 10:1)  
 ‘look, I am also on good terms with the boys from RSC [a musical group], you know that group, don’t you? The boys from uh ...’
196. Ø [ED: de] Mensen hebben me gezegd “nee nog niet” (Th, 3:10-11)  
 ‘The people told me “no, not yet”’

In the first example it is clear that the informant is discussing a specified group of young men who belong to a particular musical group. In the second example the informant refers to a specified group of people that had promised to give her a ride to French Guyana, who informed her that they were not yet going to depart. Thus, in both sentences presented above ED would have required the use of a definite article.

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<sup>91</sup> However, I may have misinterpreted other plural nouns with a zero article as having indefinite reference when the context did not provide me with sufficient information to realize that they actually had definite reference.

Finally, zero articles sometimes occur in expressions where ED, as part of a set phrase, would not use them:

197. toen was hij over  $\emptyset$  [ED: de] tachtig (Ko, 9:3)  
‘then he was over eighty’
198. dus op een gegeven ogenblik zat hij in  $\emptyset$  [ED: de] schulden (Ko, 13:13-14)  
‘so at a certain moment he was in debt’
199. als je bijvoorbeeld in  $\emptyset$  [ED: de] open lucht staat (Ug, 9:9-10)  
‘when for instance you are outside in the open air’
200. voor  $\emptyset$  [ED: de] rest heb ik niets meer hoeven te brengen (Ch, 2:17-18)  
‘for the rest I did not have to bring anything anymore’

*Over de tachtig* ‘over eighty’, *in de schulden zitten* ‘to be in debt’, *in de open lucht* ‘in the open air’, and *voor de rest* ‘for the rest’ are all invariant phrases in ED, requiring the use of the definite article.

As with other article use, the data show seemingly random variation regarding the SD use of the zero article, as can clearly be seen in the following excerpts, in which the same NPs (with identical referents) are used both with and without articles:

201. Dus het kan zijn dat je het achterlaat, dus tenzij die persoon een boodschap voor je achter laat dan, dan laat je zoiets voor hem achter, maar gebeurt het niet dat die persoon  $\emptyset$  boodschap voor je achterlaat ... dan verkoop je eh dingen (Ca, 1:27-28)

‘So it is possible that you leave it behind, so unless the person leaves a message for you, then, then you leave such a thing behind, but if the person does not leave [a] message for you ... then you sell uh whatever’

202. Ja, ik heb ook het gevoel dat ik naar Ø IOL zal eh gaan, ik heb het gevoel ook, en vanaf het begin zei ik, toen ik eh..informatie eh had genomen toch, wat je kan doen, dacht ik van ik denk dat ik naar het IOL ga (Ch, 8:1-3)

‘Yes, I also have the feeling I will go to [the] IOL [Teachers College] , I have the feeling too, and from the beginning I said, when I uh ... had received uh information, right, [about] what you can do [study], I thought I think I will go to the IOL’

203. ik stem voor Ø Here Jezus! Ik ga niet stemmen. Ik stem voor de Here Jezus (Jo, 22:7)

‘I vote for Jesus [lit. Lord Jesus]! I am not going to vote. I vote for Jesus, the Lord [lit. the Lord Jesus]

Occasionally the data contain forms showing the opposite pattern, in which SD uses an overtly expressed article, where ED would have used a zero article:

204. *m' tak ai boi* dit is een melk (Jo, 5:11)  
‘I said, boy, this is milk!’
205. Ik zeg eh eh praat een Negerengels (Jo, 6:10-11)  
‘I said uh uh speak Sranan’
206. Ja, je maakt het schoon met een borstel en dan een heet water (Jo, 20:13)  
‘Yes, you clean it with a brush and then hot water’
207. dus als je een bloed gaat geven (De, 4:15)  
‘so when you donate blood’

The nouns *melk* ‘milk’, *Negerengels* ‘Sranan’, *water* ‘water’ and *bloed* ‘blood’ are all non-count nouns, and therefore would not take an overt article in ED. In the data such forms clearly constitute exceptions, and hence these are most likely hypercorrections by informants attempting to avoid zero article use. Similar article usage can be found in set phrases, as in:

208. je moet gewoon **de** zin ervoor hebben (Ug, 8:29)  
‘you just have to feel like it’
209. Ik vermoed dat die wel goed in **het** bed was (Or, 6:14)  
‘I suspect that he was good in bed’

The phrases *zin hebben in* (‘to feel like’) and *goed in bed zijn* (‘to be good in bed’) invariably appear with a zero article in ED, and thus these definite articles may very well be hypercorrections too.

While hypercorrections are encountered in the speech of only five informants, the use of the zero article in SD where ED would not have permitted such use is found in the speech of all informants.

Given the apparent lack of an obvious system in zero vis-à-vis non-zero article usage in SD in the speech of some informants, it is worthwhile to consider the possibility of Sranan influence on zero article usage in SD. In Sranan, articles are typically used with specific NPs, while non-specific NPs do not contain articles, as the chart below shows (taken from Wilner 1984: 54):

	Singular	Plural
<b>Definite</b>	a/na	den
<b>Indefinite</b>	wan	wantu
<b>Non-specific</b>	∅	∅

*Table 10. Article usage in Sranan*

Thus, it is plausible that it is primarily the distinction between specific (i.e., definite and indefinite in the chart) and non-specific plays a role in the overt realization of an article, rather than the distinction between singular and plural, as in ED.

Analyzing the data along these lines, however, does not result in a clear pattern. In case of Sranan influence, the prediction would be for generic NPs to be found without an overt article, while specific NPs would be expected to show a tendency for containing overt articles. Such patterns are not substantiated by the data, however. In fact, the typical pattern is for NPs with generic reference is to be used with *die*, as already discussed in the previous section, while NPs with zero articles tend to have specific reference. Nevertheless, it is possible on the other hand that the SD use of an overt article in the form of *die* for specific and indefinite NPs, rather than the use of a zero article as is possible in ED, as shown in the previous section, can indirectly be traced to the Sranan article system. Such speakers may use *die* in an attempt to avoid zero article usage with specific NPs, as for those speakers a zero article may be felt to indicate that the referent is non-specific (as in Sranan).

## 6.2. Plural marking

Apart from a handful of exceptions, in ED NPs with plural reference are marked, usually by the suffix *-en*, or in case of polysyllabic nouns ending in unstressed syllables, by the *-s* suffix (Smits 1996: 60). In the speech of a number of informants in this study, however, NPs are found that are unmarked for plural, while the context indicates that their

referents are indeed plural entities. This can be seen in the following sentences, in which the relevant noun is preceded by a numeral, thus clearly showing plural reference:

210. je had dan twee **pater** [ED: paters] (Ol, 5:4)  
 ‘then you had two priests’
211. ... dan kan je misschien zes, laten we zeggen al is het misschien drie **stel** [ED: stellen] **kopen**, laten we niet overdrijven drie **stel**, drie goeie **stel** met schoen kan je kopen (Th, 12:25-27)  
 ... then maybe you can buy six, let’s say even if it is three pair[s], let’s not exaggerate, three pair[s], three good pair[s] with shoes you can buy’
212. ik kan eh drie **kop-**, **kopje** [ED: kopjes] melk drinken (Jo, 5:3-4)  
 ‘I can uh drink three cup-, little cup[s]’

Often the sentence, or otherwise the context in general, clarifies its plural reference, as in:

213. ik heb d'r meer **vraag** [ED: vragen] gegeven dan (Gr, 8:20)  
 ‘then I asked her more question[s]’
214. ik hou van..meestal van zulke **film** [ED: films] (Se, 4:9)  
 ‘I usually like such film[s]’
215. Ze hadden, ze exporteerden koffie, rijst, eh **sinaasappel** [ED: sinaasappels] weet je? (Ko, 9:9)  
 ‘They had, they exported coffee, rice, uh orange[s] you know?’

In instances where the unmarked plural NP is the subject of the clause, the verb is sometimes conjugated as if the NP were plural:

216. vroeger alleen **dokter gingen** mooie auto's rijden, dokter (De, 5:18)  
 ‘...in the old days only doctor[s] used to drive beautiful cars, dokter[s]’

At other times the verb form is singular, possibly because the informant treats the head of the NP as a non-count noun:

217. **Dan werd er sinaasappel gedumpt (Ko, 9:18, 10)**  
 ‘Then orange[s] was [were] dumped’
218. **alle soort muziek boeit me (Ug, 2:24)**  
 ‘all type[s] of music fascinates [fascinate] me’

Occasionally singular forms appear in the data that are not easily analyzed as unmarked plurals as they are preceded by indefinite articles, creating the impression that the informant intended to use a singular form. Yet, they seem to refer to plural entities, and would be marked as such in ED, as in:

219. ... met zestig franc kunnen ze veel van zo'n [zo een] **schoen** kopen hier.  
 (Th, 12:7-8)  
 ‘... with sixty francs they can buy many such shoes [lit. a lot of such a shoe] here’
220. **Ik zou een slipper aantrekken als ik ging slapen (Ko, 11:18)**  
 ‘I would put on a slipper[s] if I went to bed’
221. **Dan moet je een schoen van vijfduizend gulden betalen (Jo, 1:13-14)**  
 ‘Then you have to pay for a shoe [shoes] worth five thousand guilders’

As footwear is of course typically sold and worn in pairs, it is interesting that singular forms are nevertheless used in the above instances.

Quite likely, the Sranan system of plural marking can be held accountable for these forms, as in Sranan the head of the NP is not marked for plural. Instead, for NPs with specific reference it is the article that distinguishes singular from plural forms (see Table 10). Given the distinction between non-specific and specific NPs in Sranan with regard to plural marking (as discussed previously), with non-specific NPs being unmarked, it is interesting to see whether the SD data would also display a similar distinction when

examining plural marking of the head noun (as was done for article usage previously). In this respect a tendency was detected in the data for non-specific nouns to be unmarked for plural; yet, specific nouns were also found unmarked, as for instance examples (210) and (213) illustrate. Thus, it may tentatively be concluded that although the overall system employed in Sranan has certainly not been copied in SD grammar, the fundamental distinctions between Sranan and Dutch plural marking has affected the linguistic systems of some SD speakers at least to some extent.

In addition to SD nouns unmarked for plural, the data show instances of the reverse pattern, in which nouns are marked for plural that would not be marked in ED. Some of these constitute nouns denoting measurements of time, as in the following examples:

222. Eh, nog vier jaren, het duurt vier jaren voordat je gediplomeerd bent (De, 6:25)  
‘Uh, four more years, it takes four years before you have your diploma’
223. m'n kind is al elf jaren (Li, 8:14)  
‘my child is already eleven years old’
224. dus laten we zeggen fiets ik dan twee uren hè? (Ma, 1:9)  
‘so let's say that I ride my bicycle then for two hours, right?’
225. terwijl als je onder die droger zit, is het dan misschien drie kwartieren (Ma, 5:7)  
‘while if you are under the hairdryer, then maybe it takes three quarters of an hour’

Interestingly, among nouns expressing measurement of time, it is exactly the nouns *jaren* ‘years’, *uren* ‘hours’ and *kwartieren* ‘quarters’ that constitute exceptions in ED, in that these forms (in this function at least) are never pluralized. Apparently some informants do not

treat these as exceptions, and thus in their linguistic systems these forms comply with normal pluralization rules.

Additional plural forms are encountered in the data that would not appear as plural forms in ED. However, unlike those discussed above, these do not refer to plural entities, as in:

226. Dus liever ga je met betrouwbare mensen bijvoorbeeld je, je **families** (Ca, 4:25-26)  
 ‘So it is better to go with reliable people for example your, your families [i.e., family members]’
227. ik wil m'n kinderen echt een goeie opvoeding geven, en niet dit soort **opvoedingen** (Am, 10:7-8)  
 ‘I want to give my children a good upbringing, and not this kind of upbringing’
228. Eh..eh..een **kennissen** van ze. Een **kennissen** van onze oom, weet je, ging rijden (Th, 1:24)  
 ‘Uh..uh.. an acquaintance of theirs. An acquaintance of our uncle’s, you know, was driving’

While in the first example it could possibly be argued that the informant refers to more than one family as the possessive pronoun *je* ‘you’ may have plural reference (in which case ED would still use a singular noun form though), in the remaining two examples there is no doubt that *opvoedingen* and *kennissen* refer to single entities, and thus a plural interpretation is definitely ruled out. Such forms, then, are most likely hypercorrections, with the informant trying to avoid unmarked plural forms. The fact that the latter outnumber these marked forms by far lends support to the interpretation of such forms being hypercorrections.

So far differences between ED and SD have been analyzed as they relate to NPs that are marked in ED and not in SD, and vice versa. In addition though, sometimes SD marks the plural form by adding *-es*, a suffix unique to SD:

229. bepaalde **dinges** [ED: *dingen*] ken ik (De, 2:4)  
'certain things I know'
230. ze staan er bekend om hun **danses** [ED: *dansen*] (Ug, 1:27-28)  
'they are known for their dances'
231. die drie **nichtes** [ED: *nichten*] van me (Ca, 4:16)  
'my three cousins'
232. want één van die **mannes** [ED: *mannen*] heeft gezegd ... (Pl, 10:29, 11:1)  
'because one of those men said ...'

Of all nouns with this suffix, *dinges*<sup>92</sup> occurs by far the most frequently, and is used by as many as eight informants. However, it alternates with the form *dingen*, sometimes even in the speech of the same informant, seemingly without a semantic difference.

In fact, in general variation is found with regard to the NP patterns described in this section, often giving a random impression. The following excerpt provides a good illustration of this:

233. kijk, want ik heb die, die, die dat ding van Boys II Men, twee CD van Boys II Men thuis, want ik heb lang geen CD's gekregen (Ug, 8:10-11)  
  
'look, because I have that, that, that, that thing by Boys II Men [musical group], two CD[s] by Boys II Men at home, because I have not received any CDs for a long time now'

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<sup>92</sup> The word *dinges* also occurs in non-standard ED, but then refers to a person (Eng. "so-and-so").

The numeral *twee* 'two' makes it very clear that the NP *CD* denotes a plural entity, but is left unmarked. Yet, in the following clause the NP *CD* is indeed marked for plural. It could be proposed in this case that it is the presence of the numeral that renders the overt plural marker superfluous. However, this is not borne out by the bulk of the data, in which marked forms are regularly encountered in the presence of numerals, including in the data provided by this informant.<sup>93</sup> The following sentences show similar variation:

234. *Zelfs mooie meisjes kijken naar mooie meisje* (Br, 9:18)  
'Even beautiful girls look at beautiful girl[s]'

235. *Dus liever ga je met betrouwbare mensen bijvoorbeeld je, je families, wat ik bedoel zeg een eh je familie is, is meer ver-, betrouwbaar dan een vreemde* (Ca, 4:25-27)

'So it is better to go with reliable people; for example your, your families [i.e., family members], what I mean is that uh your family is, is more reliable than a stranger'

As the examples presented here illustrate, variation occurs even within the same sentence.

Not surprisingly, more often variation is found across sentence boundaries, yet often within the speech of the same informant.

It should be emphasized that while unmarked plural NPs are found in the speech of fourteen (out of twenty-two) informants, which is a relatively high proportion, a significant majority of plural NPs are nevertheless overtly marked in the speech of every individual informant.

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<sup>93</sup> This is not to say, however, that there may not be a tendency for at least certain speakers to leave plural nouns unmarked when preceded by numeral. Quantificational analysis would obviously be required to

### 6.3. Gender

Both in ED and in SD, nouns can be classified as either being of neuter or common gender. As pointed out earlier, noun gender determines (among other forms) the form of the definite article, *het* being used for singular nouns of neuter gender, and *de* being used for all plural nouns and singular nouns of common gender. No consistent differences were encountered between the gender of particular nouns in ED and SD. However, in the speech of eight informants NPs are occasionally detected containing a definite article different from the article ED would have used:

- 236. **de** [ED: **het**] eerste jaar (Cr, 4:24)  
'the first year'
- 237. **de** [ED: **het**] thema (Gi, 4:12)  
'the theme'
- 238. **het** [ED: **de**] sfeer (Th, 5:26)  
'the atmosphere'
- 239. **het** [ED: **de**] huishouding (Ol, 5:10)  
'the household'

Both nouns of common and neuter gender are found in the data that are treated as being of a different gender than they are in ED, as the examples above illustrate.

The effects of nouns being treated as if they were of a different gender are not limited to definite article use. In ED attributive adjectives usually take an *-e* ending, the main exception being adjective forms that are followed by singular neuter nouns and preceded by indefinite or zero articles, as e.g., in *een nieuw huis* 'a new house' and *koud*

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substantiate any such claim.

*water* 'cold water'. In addition, in ED the *-e* inflection is absent in singular neuter NPs with an attributive adjective preceded by a quantifier or identifier (see Geerts et al. 1984: 326 for a complete list of these), as e.g., in *ieder oud huis* 'every old house'. Finally, the *-e* ending is absent in the possessive adjective form *ons* when this form is followed by a singular neuter noun, as in *ons huis* 'our house' (but *onze huizen* 'our houses').

In the data forms appear that deviate from the ED patterns described above, some of which are mentioned briefly by Schoonhoven (1939: 161) and Van Bochove and Kleberg (1990: 2), and are discussed in somewhat more detail by Essed-Fruin (1983: 129).

Occasionally informants use forms that lack the *-e* inflection when ED would have required it, as with the following nouns of common gender:

- 240. *ons* [ED: *onze*] *voertaal* (Ne, 11:27-28)  
'our language'
- 241. *die ander* [ED: *andere*] *dame* (Ed, 9:2-3)  
'the other lady'
- 242. *een oud* [ED: *oude*] *partij* (Gi, 7:16)  
'an old party'
- 243. *dat heel* [ED: *hele*] *stukje* (Ch, 3:23)  
'that whole piece'

Approximately just as often the reverse pattern is found, i.e., informants produce forms containing the *-e* ending, where ED would not have allowed these as a result of the nouns being of neuter gender:

- 244. *een grote* [ED: *groot*] *probleem* (Li, 8:10)  
'a big problem'

245. **in onze** [ED: ons] land (Jo, 21:9)  
‘in our country’
246. **een normale** [ED: normaal] salaris (Ca, 11:20)  
‘a normal salary’
247. **een korte** [ED: kort] artikel (De, 4:1)  
‘a short article’

Additionally, noun gender also affects the formation of the demonstrative in ED, *deze* ‘this’ and *die* ‘that’ being used for nouns of common gender as well as all plural nouns, *dit* ‘this’ and *dat* ‘that’ being used for singular neuter nouns in ED. Among demonstratives, too, discrepancies between ED and SD are found as they appear in the data:

248. **die** [ED: dat] haar (Ma, 8:16)  
‘that hair’
249. **die** [ED: het] risico (Ne, 4:28)  
‘the risk’
250. **die** [ED: het] balkon (Ru, 1:10)  
‘the balcony’
251. **die** [ED: het] meisjesinternaat (Ol, 6:5)  
‘the boarding school for girls’

All nouns mentioned above are of neuter gender in ED, and therefore *dat* would have been required instead, or *het* if the form functioned as definite article rather than demonstrative determiner. Interestingly, when demonstrative forms are found that differ from ED, it is typically *die* that is used in the data instead of *dat*. This is possibly related to the newly acquired function of *die* as an article in SD, a function not shared by *dat* (or any other

demonstrative form for that matter). It seems quite plausible then that in a fair number of instances it is this different function that causes speakers to employ *die*, irrespective of the gender of the noun.

It is only twice that the reverse pattern is encountered in the data, i.e., informants use *dat* when ED would have used *die*, with one instance in which the informant explicitly questions the correctness of the demonstrative form:

252. K (informant):... eh dat plantage eh die die plantage, eh, wat is het?  
J (interviewer): Die plantage (Ko, 13:10)

'K: ... uh that plantation uh that that plantation, uh, what is it?  
J: That plantation'

In addition, once the use of *dit* 'this' is encountered where ED would have used *deze* 'this' as the noun is of common gender, in:

253. dit aarde (Jo, 22:15)  
'this earth'

Finally, it is important to emphasize that the differences regarding noun gender as discussed here create the impression of being exceptions to the rule, despite the fact that the speech of twenty out of twenty-two informants show at least a limited number of such forms. Put differently, the NPs that show discrepancies between ED and SD are significantly outnumbered by those which would have been identical in ED, often even within the speech of the same informant, and are thus typically aberrations.

## 6.4. Pronouns

### 6.4.1. Personal pronouns

Apart from *dat ding* and *die mannen*, which will be discussed in 6.4.1.3. and 6.4.1.4. respectively, the personal pronoun forms found in SD are identical to ED. However, there are differences in the use of some of the pronouns, in particular the form *het*.

#### 6.4.1.1. The use of *het*

Differences between SD and ED are found in the use of pronominal forms for third person singular. ED makes an important distinction between nouns with animate referents and those with inanimate referents. For the former ED distinguishes the forms *hij* (subject) and *hem* (object) for male referents, in addition to *zij* or *ze* (subject) and *haar* or *ze* (object) for female referents. However, when the referent is inanimate, it is the grammatical gender of the noun that determines the form of the pronoun, with *hij/hem* used for nouns of common gender, while *het* is used for nouns of neuter gender. In other words, instead of its natural gender, it is the noun's grammatical gender that dictates pronoun use in the case of inanimate nouns.

By contrast, in the data informants frequently use the form *het* to refer to inanimate nouns, irrespective of the gender of the noun. In such cases, it is the biological gender of the noun's referent rather than its grammatical gender that determines the form of the pronoun. As a result, inanimate nouns, including those of common gender, take *het* as personal

pronoun, as opposed to *hij/hem*, the forms ED would have used for inanimate nouns of common gender. This is illustrated by the following examples, in which the relevant nouns, *pleister* ‘band aid’, *sluis* ‘lock’ and *film* ‘film’, are all of common gender:

254. Ja, er was een sluis, dus je had een eh tijden dat **het** [ED: **hij**] werd bediend door die sluiswachters (Ol, 7:19)  
 ‘Yes, there was a lock, so there were uh times that it was operated by the lock keepers’
255. je moet die pleister niet weghalen want als je **het** [ED: **hem**] weghaalt dan gaat het kind d'r navel weer naar buiten komen (Na, 10:16-17)  
 ‘you should not take that band aid off because if you take it off than the child’s belly button will stick out’
256. er is een mooie film, ik wil **het** [ED: **hem**] zien (Se, 7:24)  
 ‘there is a nice film, I want to see it’

Variation is encountered with respect to such use of *het*, but, in contrast to many other SD features, this variation is remarkably limited. The data of seventeen (out of twenty-two) informants displayed this feature, and most of them used it rather regularly, thereby confirming my personal impression that it is widely used. Furthermore, the ED forms *hij* and *hem* for inanimate nouns of common gender are rarely encountered in the data.

Finally, the pronoun *het*, which in ED is only employed to refer to singular entities, is sometimes found referring to plural nouns with inanimate reference, as in:

257. maar ga je in m'n kamer, en je pakt m'n boeken, en je stopt **het** onder je matras ... (Br, 6:25-26)  
 ‘but when you go into my room, and you take my books, and you put it [them] under your mattress ...’

Such instances are exceptional, however.

#### 6.4.1.2. The use of *hij* and *zij*

Some of the informants occasionally use pronouns typically employed for male animate entities when the referent is female, and vice versa. Remarkably, in a number of instances the informant switches from one form to the other, suggesting confusion as to the appropriate form to employ:

258. **Zij..hij** praat wel in 't Frans in elk geval. Ja, ja want **ze** kan geen goeie Negerengels meer praten (Jo, 6:8-9)  
 'She..he speaks French in any case. Yes, because she cannot speak Sranan very well anymore'
259. Een buurvrouw van me..**ze** heeft geen dokterskaart, maar **hij** is, **hij** is al..**ze** is overleden. (Jo, 21:26-27)  
 'A female neighbor of mine..she has no medical pass, but he is, he is already..she is gone [i.e., she died]'
260. **Ze** moest, **hij** moest een rijst voor z'n moeder gaan kopen (Th, 17:22-23)  
 'She had to, he had to buy rice for his mother'

In each of the above sentences, reference is without a doubt to one person. In fact, in the first example the speaker refers to her brother, while the informant who produced the last example speaks of her brother-in-law. In the second example the sentence itself clarifies the referent's gender, as the speaker uses the form *buurvrouw*, literally meaning 'neighbor woman', i.e., female neighbor. Therefore, the use of both female and male pronouns in these sentences is odd.

Obviously, speakers who are using such forms are not confused as to the natural gender of the persons discussed. Rather, the reason for these forms should be traced to Sranan, which possesses only one third person singular subject pronoun, *a* 'he/she/it', and only one such object pronoun, *en*. (Sordam and Eersel 1985: 27). In other words, the natural gender distinction made in ED is not made in Sranan, resulting in pronoun confusion in SD.

Such use of female pronoun forms for male referents and vice versa is rare in the corpus, and occurs in the speech of only four informants, of whom two use such forms repeatedly.

#### 6.4.1.3. The use of *dat ding*

In addition to the pronouns that SD shares with ED, in SD *dat ding* (lit. 'that thing') has developed into a pronominal form, its function being roughly equivalent to *het* in ED, the third person singular form for inanimate referents. Even though the NP *dat ding* can be used in ED with its literal meaning, the use of the equivalent form in SD is different in two important respects. Most significantly, in ED the referent of this NP is by definition a 'thing', i.e., a concrete object. In SD, on the other hand, the referent can be either concrete or abstract. Second, in SD *dat ding* often lacks the deictic function associated with the use of demonstrative *dat*, and for that reason can for instance also be used with cataphoric reference. These two distinctive properties of SD *dat ding* are illustrated in the following example, in which the informant employs *dat ding* in anticipation of her explanation why

she has not enrolled at the Teacher's College, i.e., her unwillingness to take the risk of being rejected:

261. En weet je wat **dat ding** ook is? Maar m'n cijfers waren goed, ik had op allebei lijsten had ik een zeven, dus misschien was ik toegelaten, maar ik heb het risico niet genomen (Cr, 2:25-26)  
 'And you know what else it was? [But] my grades were good, I had sevens on both lists, so maybe I would have been admitted, but I did not take the risk'

Or consider the following example, in which *dat ding* is also used with cataphoric reference to an abstract entity, i.e., to refer to the cause of her dog's death:

262. weet je wat **dat ding** was, hij had koepari's (Ch, 3:3)  
 'you know what it was, he had ticks'

In the next example, too, the informant uses *dat ding* to refer to an abstract entity, namely the angry behavior of a student's father:

263. maar dat kind neemt **dat ding** misschien niet..te serieus (Ed, 5:17)  
 'but maybe the child [i.e., pupil] does not take it.. too seriously'

The pronominal use of *dat ding* alternates with the pronoun *het*, sometimes even in the same sentence:

264. het is..**dat ding**..**dat ding** is zo zielig (Jo, 8:10-11)  
 'it is..it, it is so pathetic'

It is not clear in the data what governs variation between these two pronouns, if anything.

The recordings of fourteen (out of twenty-two) informants contain *dat ding* as a pronoun, and often it is encountered more than once in an interview. This confirms my own impression that this feature is indeed regularly used. It is a literal translation of (*a*) *sani*

‘(the) thing’ in Sranan, which uses this word with a similar function (Van Donselaar 1989: 121), and thus it can be assumed that Sranan strongly influenced this development in SD.

#### 6.4.1.4. The use of *die mannen*

Similar to *dat ding*, for a number of speakers the NP *die mannen* (lit. ‘those men’) has also assumed pronominal properties, which was mentioned earlier by Sluisdom (1992: 21) and Van Donselaar (1989: 242).<sup>94</sup> As such it is found to function as third person plural pronoun, alternating with the use of the third person plural pronoun *ze/zij* ‘they’. Consider for instance the following example:

265. ... dus als **die mannen** iets vragen ... (De, 2:27)  
 ‘... so when they ask something ...’

This sentence was taken from a discussion about the usefulness of reading the newspaper regularly when attending school, in which the reference to *die mannen* appears to be teachers in general. Clearly, ED would not allow such use of *die mannen*, as obviously not all teachers are male. Moreover, the use of *die* assumes that the referent has been specified, which it has not (but see 6.1.1. for a discussion of *die* use in SD). In its pronominal function, however, this phrase is often used in a more general sense, as the example illustrates (and as such parallels the pronominal form *dat ding*). The next example provides another illustration of such use of *die mannen*:

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<sup>94</sup> According to Van Donselaar, however, reference is always to a group of male persons, which—as discussed in this section—is contradicted by the data in this study (cf. Am.Eng. “you guys”, Br.Eng. “you chaps”).

266. **Laten die mannen die prijzen zakken hoor (Jo, 25:18)**  
 ‘Let them lower the prices’

Here, too, the context does not provide any explanation as to the specific identity of the referent of the NP *die mannen*, leading to the conclusion that this form is used here as a personal pronoun, employed with general reference.

As with *dat ding*, this form is a literal translation of a similar Sranan construction, *den man*. Here, too, the data provide insufficient clues explaining why informants employ this form rather than the “traditional” pronoun. However, quite unlike the use of *dat ding*, this pronominal form is encountered only rarely, and furthermore, in the speech of merely four informants.

#### 6.4.2. Relative pronouns

Two patterns can be detected regarding relative pronoun use in SD as it diverges from ED. In ED two basic pronouns are used, *dat* for neuter singular nouns, and *die* for common gender nouns as well as all plural nouns. However, six informants occasionally employ the relative pronoun *dat* despite the fact that the antecedent is a noun of common gender:

267. **op een manier dat [ED: die] anders is (Cr, 14:1)**  
 ‘in a way that is different’
268. **jij bent de persoon dat [ED: die] uiteindelijke beslissing moet nemen (Ne, 6:20-21)**  
 ‘you are the person that has to make the final decision’

269. een club **dat** [ED: *die*] aangesloten is bij een bond (De, 11:27)  
 ‘a club that is part of a league’

Interestingly, *dat* never replaces *die* when the antecedent is a noun with plural reference.

This might be interpreted as evidence that the speakers are indeed confused as to the gender of the noun in instances such as the above, as plurals are invariably of common gender.

Another source that might be considered for an explanation for such forms is Sranan. Sranan possesses three different relative pronouns: *dati*, which is used with animate nouns, *san*, which is used with inanimate nouns, and *di*, which can be used for both animate and inanimate nouns (Wilner 1984: 24). Thus, if it could be established that it is the (in)animate character of the referent that determines which relative pronoun is selected, rather than the noun’s grammatical gender, then it would be safe to assume that Sranan influence is the source of the differences between SD and ED. However, the data do not show that *dat* is used primarily with animate referents, as is illustrated in (267) and (269). Furthermore, if one were to assume Sranan influence, the expectation would in addition be for the reverse pattern to occur, i.e., for *die* (which is phonetically very close to Sranan *di*) to appear in constructions that would have required *dat* in ED, as *di* is allowed with all nouns in SR, and often preferred over other relative pronouns (Wilner 1994: 74). Yet, only once in the data does an informant use *die* when the antecedent is of neuter gender:

270. **dat** lied **die** [ED: *dat*] ze hebben gemaakt (Ug, 10:9)  
 ‘that song that they made’

Therefore, it is more likely that grammatical gender confusion is to be held accountable for these differences, rather than Sranan influence. (As discussed earlier, there is little reason to believe that such nouns are of a different gender in SD, as the data fail to show consistent differences.)

The second pattern of interest is the use of *wat* instead of *die*, encountered in the data of three informants. In ED *wat* functions as relative pronoun only in a few marked grammatical contexts: when the sentence contains no explicit antecedent; when the relative pronoun refers back to the complete preceding clause; and when the indefinite pronouns *iets* ‘something’, *niets* ‘nothing’ and *alles* ‘everything’ precede the relative pronoun (Aarts and Wekker 1987: 157-158, Shetter 1987: 147).<sup>95</sup> In the following examples these conditions are not met, and thus *wat* would not have been employed in ED:

271. die en..eh..inspiratie **wat** ik d'r voor had is weggevallen (Li, 7:4)  
‘the uh..uh inspiration that I had [for it] is gone’
272. ... schoenen **wat** London Tuf-Tuf hier verkopen ...(Th, 11:26-27)  
‘... shoes that London Tuf-Tuf [a clothing store in Paramaribo] sells ...’
273. een film **wat** ik echt mooi heb gevonden ...(Se, 5:3-4)  
‘a film that I really liked ...’

With respect to such use of *wat* as a relative pronoun in SD, Sranan does indeed appear to have affected SD. As pointed out, *san* is used as a relative pronoun for inanimate nouns in Sranan. In addition, though, *san* functions as interrogative pronoun, and in that capacity it is translated as *wat* ‘what’ in Dutch, as for instance in *San yu kon du dyaso?* [ED: Wat ben je

<sup>95</sup> In addition, when the antecedent is a singular neuter noun, non-standard ED sometimes uses *wat* (Geerts et al. 1984: 250), thus replacing *dat*. However, in the SD examples presented here, standard ED would have

hier komen doen?]' 'What is it you came to do here?, or in *Mi no sabi san a boi kon fu du* [ED: Ik weet niet wat de jongen is komen doen], lit. 'I don't know what the boy came to do here' (Wilner 1994: 74, translations mine, cdk). In other words, whereas Sranan possesses one form, *san*, for two functions, ED distinguishes two forms, with one for each function. Thus, one can see how a bilingual speaker might extend the use of *wat* to environments that would take *san* in Sranan but require a distinct form, the relative pronoun *die* (or *dat* for that matter), in ED.

Yet, in spite of some variation, the majority of informants' relative pronoun use is identical to ED.

#### 6.4.3. The absence of ED pronominal *er*

The pronominal form *er* appears in both ED and SD, and has several functions (Geerts et al. 1984: 392-396, Fenoulhet 1983: 142), one of which is to form what is called a pronominal adverb. In ED inanimate pronouns cannot be combined with a preposition to create a prepositional phrase, as for instance \**op het* 'on it'; in such cases the prepositional phrase is substituted by *er* + preposition, as in *erop*. Pronominal adverbs can be realized as one form, but are often separated, usually by an adverb or object (Shetter 1988: 163). It is this particular form of *er* that is most frequently absent in the data, as in:

274. Ze weten Ø niks van (Ne, 2:24)  
'They don't know anything about it'

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required *die* rather than *dat*.

275. je moest  $\emptyset$  toch wat hebben bijgedaan (Ed, 9:7)  
 'you should have done something in addition to it'
276. ik ben  $\emptyset$  helemaal tegen (Gi, 6:24-25)  
 'I am totally against it'

Furthermore, the form *er* can function as grammatical subject in a sentence with an indefinite subject, as in *er komen veel mensen*, 'many people (will) come'. ED typically requires *er* to be employed in sentences with indefinite subjects, even when the word order is such that the grammatical subject does not appear in sentence-initial position, as in *wat gebeurt er?* 'what is happening?'. While typically present in sentence initial position in the SD data, *er* is sometimes not overtly realized in other positions, as in the following examples:

277. natuurlijk gaan  $\emptyset$  spanningen ontstaan (Pl, 5:2)  
 'of course there is going to be tension'
278. Laat ze alles vergeten wat  $\emptyset$  is gebeurd (Ed, 4:28)  
 'Let them forget everything that has happened'
279. wat waren  $\emptyset$  met discipelen gebeurd? (Ru, 1:20)  
 'what happened to the disciples?'

As the examples reflect, absence of the form *er* is often found with the phrase *er is (X) gebeurd* 'X happened', although this may simply be the result of the frequent use of this phrase in general.

In contrast, the data also contain sentences which, rather than lacking *er*, display an additional form of *er* that would not have been allowed in ED:

280. **dus ik hoop dat er wel iets eraan gedaan kunt worden (Li, 11:5-6)**  
 ‘so I hope that something can be done about it’
281. **het proefde echt alsof er drinken erop was gevallen (Na, 7:15-16)**  
 ‘it really tasted as if a drink had spilled on it’

ED could have used *er* in either position, but not in both as the relevant clauses contain only one preposition with which to form a pronominal adverb. Such constructions indicate that such speakers, having learned (one of) the rule(s) of pronominal *er* use, extend this rule to grammatical contexts in which it is not needed in ED. In other words, these most likely constitute hypercorrections. Such hypercorrections, in which *er* occurs twice, are mostly found with *er* as part of a pronominal adverb, though not always, as the following example illustrates:

282. **Dus als er niet veel mensen er was ... (Th, 3:4)**  
 ‘So if there had not been many people ...’

In this example the informant overextends the rule for existential *er*, which is appropriately used immediately after the subordinator *als* ‘if’ has introduced the clause, to the use of existential *er* as it usually appears preceding the main verb in an independent clause, but does not here, as the main verb is in clause final position as a result of it being a subordinate clause. Thus, the second use of *er* in this sentence is the result of hypercorrection on the part of the speaker.

Other hypercorrected forms of *er* are encountered in the data which, unlike those discussed so far, are not necessarily ungrammatical in ED, but would, however, receive a different interpretation. Consider for example:

283. ... *kijk, zwarten staan er meestal-, ze staan er bekend om hun danses, staan er bekend om hun zang, ze staan er bekend vooral om hun muziek* (Ug, 1:27-29)

‘... look, blacks are usually-, are usually known for their dances, are known for their singing, they are known especially for their music’

The forms of *er* in this example would be interpreted as adverbs of place meaning ‘there’, a form of *er* that is used both in ED and SD. However, the informant discusses what he holds to be general truths, which for that reason are not restricted to a particular location, rendering this interpretation of *er* highly awkward. A more plausible explanation for this use of *er*, too, is hypercorrection, whereby the presence of the preposition *om* has triggered the use of *er*, which is inappropriate since the relevant prepositional phrases already have NPs as their objects (*hun danses*, ‘their dances’, *hun muziek* ‘their music’, and *hun zang*, ‘their singing’), making the use of the prepositional object pronoun *er* superfluous.

In discussing differences between SD and ED as they relate to *er*, the occasional use in SD of *het* instead of *er* needs mentioning:

284. ... *maar niet dat ik het zo vreselijk van hield* (Cr, 3:12-13)  
‘... but not like I liked it very much’
285. *Mofoyari moet je niet ver weggaan want het gebeurt dinges, na?* (Jo, 5:24)  
‘During the last few weeks of the year you should not leave because things happen then, right?’

As the examples illustrate, this affects both the use of *er* as part of a pronominal adverb, as in the first example, as well as the use of *er* as a grammatical subject, illustrated in the second example. On the whole, however, such occurrences were rare in the data.

To conclude, the absence of *er* is a widespread feature in SD, reflected in the fact that the speech of eighteen out of twenty-two informants displayed this feature.

Interestingly, it is also the NP feature that is by far most frequently cited in the literature on SD, dating as far back as Van Ginneken (1913: 275).

Finally, the data show that variation (both interspeaker and intraspeaker) is extremely common with regard to this feature, which does not appear to be governed by particular constraints:

286. *het is een heel breed vlak, ik wil mezelf Ø ook op begeven, maar ja je moet tijd ervoor hebben (Ug, 8:18-19)*  
 ‘it is a vast subject area, I want to explore it, but you have to have time for it’

The use of the preposition *voor* triggers the need for *er* in the final clause. Similarly, though, the presence of the preposition *op* would have required *er* in the previous clause in ED, but it is not overtly realized.

#### 6.4.4. Resumptive pronouns

Unlike ED, which does not allow resumptive pronouns, in SD such pronouns sometimes occur in subject position, whereby a full NP is followed by a pronoun that is coreferential with the NP:

287. *een man hij zegt het altijd mooi (Pl, 9:26-27)*  
 ‘a man he always puts it nicely’
288. *SOS Kinderdorp ze hebben je nooit meer gebeld, no? (Ne, 8:17)*  
 ‘SOS Kinderdorp [a charitable institution] they never called you anymore, right?’

289. Sociale Zaken ze doen wel wat (Am, 2:10)  
 ‘Social Affairs they do a lot’

As in the examples presented above, most resumptive pronouns in the data are preceded by a NP without postmodification. However, sometimes the NP preceding the resumptive pronoun contains a relative clause, as in the following instances:

290. vele dingen die allang waren voorzegt ze gebeuren (Se, 9:29)  
 ‘a lot of things that had long been predicted they happened’
291. die mensen die daar wonen die goed verdienen ze kunnen heel wat kopen  
 (Th, 11:9)  
 ‘those people that live over there that earn a lot of money they can buy a lot’

The use of resumptive pronouns is also encountered in Sranan (Romaine 1988: 250), and thus it is quite plausible that this is the source of such constructions in SD. It should additionally be noted that resumptive pronouns are relatively rare, appearing in the data of only eight informants, five of whom use such pronouns only once.

#### 6.4.5. Identifying constructions

Dutch (both ED and SD) uses a construction in which *het*, *dit* or *dat* is followed by a copula and NP in order to identify inanimate and animate objects, as e.g., *het/dit/dat is de trein* ‘it/this/that is the train’. What makes this type of construction somewhat exceptional in ED is that there is no agreement of number or gender between the pronoun preceding the copula and the NP that follows it.<sup>96</sup> As a result, the forms *het*, *dit* and *dat*, which in ED are

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<sup>96</sup> Thus, an argument could be made against the pronominal status of *het*, *dit* and *dat* in such constructions.

normally used only for singular neuter nouns, are also used in such constructions when the NPs contain nouns of common gender or plural nouns. By contrast, in SD such forms are marked for number:

292. **die** [ED: dat] zijn die hulpleidsters (Ma, 9:29, 10:1)  
‘those are the assistant leaders’
293. **die** [ED: dat] zijn die steden (Ug, 2:6)  
‘those are the cities’
294. Nee, **ze** [ED: het] zijn men-, mei-, dames van hier!  
‘No, they are ladies from here!’
295. ... **ze** [ED: het] waren heel lieve zusters hoor, we hebben veel dingetjes van ze geleerd hoor, **ze** [ED: het] waren knappe mensen (Ol, 5:13-14)  
‘... they were really very nice sisters, we learned a lot from them, they were smart people’

In the first two examples the demonstrative pronoun *die* ‘that’ is used, the form for plural nouns, while in the following two examples the personal pronoun *ze* ‘they’ is used, the form for third person plural, thus creating agreement of number between the pronouns and respective following NPs. The following examples show that such pronouns are not only marked for number but also for gender, as the NPs take *die*, the form for nouns are of common gender, as opposed to *dat*:

296. **Die** [ED: dat] is ook G-Funk (Ug, 3:25)  
‘That is also G-Funk’
297. ... **die** [ED: dat] is één van de nieuwste gekken (Gi, 4:20)  
... that is one of the latest idiots

Apart from those above, no additional examples showed up in the data, possibly indicating that these forms are not widely used. This, however, contradicts my personal impression. Indeed, I can remember hearing such forms with agreement quite often, including by speakers whose speech otherwise did not display many SD features.

## ***Chapter Seven: Clause Structure***

### **7.0. Introduction**

In the present chapter differences between SD and ED will be discussed as they relate to clause structure, focusing on both main clauses and subordinate clauses. It will be shown that constraints on basic word order in ED often do not apply in SD.

ED is considered a so-called verb-second language (Cook and Newson 1996), in which the finite verb invariably occupies the second position in the main clause, with only one constituent allowed to precede the verb. This initial element may function as subject, but if not, the subject must be moved into postverbal position. Underlyingly, though, ED is generally considered an SOV language, resulting in the verb occupying clause-final position in subordinate clauses (Koster 1975).

Having laid out the general word order patterns of ED, the following will be a discussion of clause structures in SD. The discussion of patterns in the main clause will center around the various ways in which the verb-second constraint is violated in SD. This will be followed by an analysis of subordinate clause structure, which often fails to comply with the underlying SOV pattern of ED. Also included will be a discussion of three SD complementizer forms that are not found in standard ED.

## 7.1. Main clauses

### 7.1.1. Multiple constituents in preverbal position

While speakers of SD predominantly follow the patterns of ED word order described above, the data show that constraints pertaining to word order in main clauses are not as rigorously applied in SD as they are in ED.

First, SD regularly violates the verb-second constraint by allowing more than one constituent to appear in preverbal position, including phrases, as in (298)–(300), or clauses, as in (301) and (302):

298. [dan] [Soemita] stuurt ze naar hier (Pl, 6:27)  
 [ED: dan stuurt Soemita ze hier naartoe]  
 ‘then Soemita sends them here’
299. [toevallig] [hij] is doodgegaan laatst (De, 3:10-11)  
 [ED: toevallig is hij laatst doodgegaan]  
 ‘It so happens that he died recently’
300. [daarom] [die Javanen] kwamen nooit in ons huis na zes uur (Ko, 3:2-3)  
 [ED: daarom kwamen de Javanen nooit in ons huis na zes uur]  
 ‘that is why the Javanese never entered our house after six’
301. [als je een keus moet maken] [je] moet goed uitkijken (Am, 1:22)  
 [ED: als je een keus moet maken moet je goed uitkijken]  
 ‘When/if you have to make a choice, you have to be careful’
302. [Waar de Heer me wil hebben] [ik] voel me thuis (Cr, 13:19)  
 [ED: Waar de Heer me wil hebben voel ik me thuis]  
 ‘Wherever the Lord wants me, I feel at home’

Occasionally the presence of multiple preverbal constituents is the result of the left-dislocation of a particular element that the speaker wishes to emphasize, while the subject has been retained in its original preverbal position (cf. Foley and Van Valin 1985: 355) :

303. **die naam ik weet niet wat, wat voor betekenis het heeft** (Ma, 6:27-28)  
 [ED: Ik weet niet wat voor betekenis die naam heeft]  
 'I don't know what that name means'<sup>97</sup>

Left-dislocation is reminiscent of topicalization constructions found in Sranan, as well as other Atlantic creoles, which allow elements that usually occupy a postverbal slot to be placed in sentence-initial position in order to receive prominence (Holm 1988: 212, Wilner 1984: 16). It should be noted, though, that while in Sranan a fronted element is not usually retained in its original position (Wilner 1984: 16-17), as is characteristic of topicalization, in SD the fronted element, or rather the pronoun coreferent with it, is typically found elsewhere in the sentence (as the use of the postverbal object pronoun *het* in (303) shows), thus constituting left-dislocation rather than topicalization. The next example illustrates a similarly left-dislocated element with a coreferent pronoun, *ze* 'they', though here the fronted element functions as subject rather than object, while the pronoun has actually been moved to postverbal position as the result of the preverbal adverb *dan* 'then':

304. **die juffrouwen van vroeger dan vragen ze dat we ze rijst voor ze brachten**  
 (Ko, 9:23-24)  
 [ED: die juffrouwen van vroeger vroegen dan of we rijst voor ze brachten]  
 'those female teachers in the old days then ask [asked] whether we would bring rice for them'<sup>98</sup>

<sup>97</sup> Strictly speaking, neither the ED nor the English translation is correct, in the sense that they do not convey the element of emphasis that is expressed in SD.

<sup>98</sup> Here, too, the translations do not convey the element of emphasis conveyed in SD.

In the SD examples presented so far, one of the constituents preceding the finite verb form functions as subject in the clause. Regularly, though, it is only non-subject multiple constituents that are found in preverbal position:

305. [Dan] [waar] zijn jullie allemaal gegaan in de vakantie?  
 Then where did you all go in the vacation? (Na, 6:5)  
 [ED: Waar zijn jullie dan allemaal naartoe gegaan in de vakantie?]  
 ‘Which places did go to during the holidays?’
306. [op een dag] [plotseling] hebben ze me gebeld (Th, 1:10)  
 [ED: op een dag hebben ze me plotseling opgebeld]  
 ‘all of a sudden one day they called me’
307. [wanneer ik veertig jaar word] [misschien] ga ik daar wonen (Jo, 20:6)  
 [ED: wanneer ik veertig jaar word ga ik daar misschien wonen]  
 ‘when I turn forty maybe I am going to live there’

Theoretically, the possibility exists that (for some speakers at least) the syntax of SD allows a maximum of two constituents in preverbal position, in which case the presence of a second non-subject constituent requires movement of the subject into postverbal position.

Counterevidence for this hypothesis is that more than two constituents are in fact found in preverbal position in the data, albeit only once:

308. [als je dan gebrand bent] [als je wondjes hebt] [liever] ga je dan niet onder de droger (Ma, 5:9-10)  
 [ED: als je dan gebrand bent en als je wondjes hebt kun je beter niet onder de droger gaan]  
 ‘if you burned yourself (and) if you have little wounds, you’d better not go under the [dryer]’

However, as the translation already suggests, it might be that the lack of an overt coordinator between the clauses *als je dan gebrand bent* and *als je wondjes hebt* indicates that the

speaker has treated these constituents as one rather than two elements, resulting in two rather than three elements in preverbal position. It seems safe to conclude then that SD indeed allows a maximum of only two preverbal constituents, causing movement of the subject in case of two non-subject preverbal elements.

Additionally, it should be noted that while many sentences appear in the data that contain multiple preverbal elements (in the speech of as many as seventeen out of twenty-two informants), an even greater number of sentences display compliance with the verb-second constraint, whereby the presence of a single preverbal non-subject constituent has resulted in movement of the subject.

### 7.1.2. Absence of a constituent in preverbal position

In addition to finding multiple elements in preverbal position, the opposite pattern is encountered in the data of almost as many informants (sixteen), in which case no constituent appears preverbally in the clause, thus violating the ED verb-second constraint. In such instances the subject invariably follows the finite verb form immediately, creating the impression that the subject and verb forms have been inverted (cf. Van Bochove and Kleberg 1990: 2). Consider for instance the following excerpt:

309. Dan help je die vrouw niet! **Heb ik** gezegd we gaan niet met die bus. En die, die jongen was toevallig ook een neefje van die zwager van me. **Begon hij** uit te schelden, ja, *na sma dat e taki, no span..gi mi di sani dati*..een heleboel vieze woorden begon hij uit te schelden. **Heb ik** die vrouw gezegd laten we uitstappen. We gaan waar onze bus is. Laat hij die vijftig, die honderd mille daar bij die jongens gaan halen. **Zijn we** daar gegaan in die andere auto.

Meisje, ze begonnen uit te schelden, die boef zelf! Ja *mi teki moni, mi teki moni, a sma disi, a sma dati*. Begon hij uit te schelden..zelf[s] een buschauffeur, die buschauffeur die daar was... (Th, 19:1-7)

‘Then you are not going to help that woman! I said [lit. **have I said**] we are not going on that bus. And that, that boy happened to be my brother-in-law’s younger nephew/cousin.<sup>99</sup> He started [lit. **started he**] to yell, yes, *that man says this, no problem..give me those things..* he started saying a lot of dirty words. I said [lit. **said I**] to the woman “let’s get off [the bus]. We are going to where our bus is. Let him collect that fifty, that hundred thousand from those boys over there”. We went [lit. **went we**] over there in another car. Girl, they started yelling, that rascal himself! “Yes *I take the money, I take the money, the person here, the person over there..* he started [lit. **started he**] yelling at .. even a busdriver, the bus driver that was over there ...’

In a number of clauses above, the verb occupies initial position, while others do not display similar inverted word order. Interestingly, in all of the clauses where the verb precedes the subject, ED would most likely have employed the adverb *toen* ‘then’ in initial position. Given the verb-second constraint, this adverb must then be followed by the verb in ED, with the subject appearing in postverbal position. In other words, the subject-verb order would indeed have been inverted in ED. It is quite plausible, then, that the original presence of the adverb *toen* has led to this word order, i.e., the adverb has been deleted while the resulting word order has remained intact.<sup>100</sup>

Additionally, it is worth considering whether this divergent word order has possibly acquired an independent discourse function. It could be, for instance, that the use of the

<sup>99</sup> Dutch uses the same word for ‘cousin’ and ‘nephew’. The context does not clarify the relationship.

<sup>100</sup> In ED the adverb *toen* ‘then’ is used in past time contexts, while its semantic equivalent *dan* ‘then’ typically occurs in present contexts. In SD, however, *dan* usually occurs in both past and present contexts, with *toen* being used much less frequently. For this reason, if any adverb is actually deleted in the sentence constructions

inverted word order organizes the narrative in that it signals coherence within a particular narrative. In fact, there does appear to be a tendency for these constructions to occur when the informants lists a sequence of events related to the same topic. This can be seen in the following excerpt:

310. *Ze zingt gewoon godsdienstige liederen, begon ze bloemen te plukken op het erf, ze heeft die bloemen geplukt, ze zegt mevrouw hebt u een bekken, heeft m'n moeder heeft er een, of een teil, m'n moeder heeft 'r een teil gegeven waarin ze d'r gezicht waste vroeger, heeft ze de, die teil gezet, heeft ze die bloemen er in gezet, ze zegt hebt u een beetje <X>, m'n moeder had altijd <X> in 'r huis, en heeft ze een grote fles gehaald ... (Ko, 7:4-8)*

'She is [was] just singing religious songs, she started [lit. started she] to pick flowers in the yard, she picked the flowers, she says [said] madam do you have a basin, my mother gave [lit. has my mother given] her a, or a tub, my mother gave [lit. has given] her a tub in which she used to wash her face, she put [lit. has she put] the, the tub, she put [lit. has she put] those flowers in it, she says [said] do you have a little <X>, my mother always had <X> at home, and she fetched [lit. fetched she] a large bottle...'

The informant recounts an event when a woman came to her mother's house and conducted a ritual that supposedly exorcised an evil spirit that had possessed the informant's son. All main clauses above describe actions related to the ritual, with the exception of *m'n moeder had altijd <X> in 'r huis* 'my mother always had <X> at home' which provides background information. Significantly, all clauses showing inverted word order refer to the sequence of related actions taking place as part of the main storyline. This pattern is confirmed by other instances in the data, thus giving the impression of subject-verb inversion being a discourse

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discussed here, it might very well be *dan* instead of *toen*.

device to signal a sequencing of events, thereby creating coherence.<sup>101</sup> Yet, as the above excerpt also illustrates, clauses with inverted word order often alternate with clauses that show unmarked word order, the latter which sometimes also form part of the sequence of events. This then raises the question what, if anything, governs such variation, a question that cannot be answered based on the current data collection.

While most clauses without a constituent in preverbal position can be accounted for by the discourse function discussed above, a small number cannot be explained along these lines. Consider the following example:

311. nou, Rian is met ze gekomen weet je en **had ik** al eerder kennis met ze gemaakt (Na, 5:14-15)  
 ‘well, Rian came along with them you know and I had [lit. **had I**] already gotten to know them’

In this example the inverted word order is found in a clause that provides background information, and as such cannot be part of the sequence of events in the narrative the informant presents. A similar pattern can be detected in the following examples:

312. en m'n zus had iets in 'r slaap.. net alsof ze droomde..maar **schuurde ze** d'r voeten tegen elkaar he? (Ko, 18:13-14)  
 ‘and my sister had something in her sleep.. just as if she was dreaming.. but she rubbed [lit. **rubbed she**] her feet against each other, right?’
313. OK hij was wel met z'n zus, en een paar vrienden van hem, maar **was ik** met Diana daar weet je (Na, 1:6-7)  
 ‘OK he was with his sister, and a few friends of his, but I was there with Diana you know’

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<sup>101</sup> A similar pattern can be observed in Yiddish, in which subject-verb inversion without a constituent in preverbal position functions to create coherence within a narrative (Hall 1979).

In these instances, too, it is background information that is presented in the relevant clauses with divergent word order (as it appears from the context), and thus the discourse-related explanation does not hold. A more plausible explanation for these instances is that they constitute hypercorrections. In all such cases, as can be seen above, it is a coordinator that precedes the clause containing the inverted word order. Quite likely then, the speakers have analyzed the coordinators *en* ‘and’ and *maar* ‘but’ as being part of the clause, resulting in a clause element in preverbal position. This then triggers the movement of the subject to postverbal position, as a result of these speakers applying the verb-second constraint dictating that only one constituent is allowed preverbally.

The previous explanations still leave one interesting sentence containing a subject-verb inversion unaccounted for:

314. ik wil twee dingen heb ik eh in m'n hoofd als het ware  
 I want two things have I uh in my head as it were  
 (Ch, 6:15-16)

At first glance, an obvious explanation would be that this may represent a mere “false start”, which is also common in ED (Arends 1998, personal communication). Such an explanation is problematic though, as no pause can be perceived indicating a break after the false start (i.e., after *wil*), which one would absolutely have anticipated in this scenario. It is also for lack of a perceptible pause, in this case between the clauses, that it cannot be claimed that this sentence consists of two sentences each.<sup>102</sup> Though neither fully satisfactory, these two

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<sup>102</sup> Unlike in ED, structurally this would be possible in SD, as it allows the direct object not to be overtly expressed.

alternative analyses can be suggested to account for the inverted pattern in (314), both (partly) modeled on Sranan. First, it is possible that *heb ik in m'n hoofd als het ware* functions as relative clause to *twee dingen*, with the clause being introduced by a zero complementizer, a pattern commonly found in Sranan (cf. Mi si a owru frou dati ben sdon a skoinswenkri, 'I saw that old woman sat by "skoinswenkri" = name of a shop in Paramaribo' Voorhoeve 1962: 35).<sup>103</sup> The meaning rendered would then be 'I want two things which I have in my head as it were'. Note, however, that the SD example differs in that the relative clause in (314) contains a subject form, *ik*, whereas in the Sranan example the head of the NP, *owru frou dati*, functions as subject. Alternatively, it could be argued that the clause *ik wil twee dingen* is a fronted object clause (cf. Voorhoeve 1962: 26), with *heb ik* functioning as verb and subject respectively to the main clause, meaning 'That I want two things is what I have in my head as it were'. In both scenarios it is a preverbal element, either in the form of the fronted object clause within the main clause, or in the form of an NP preceding a postmodifying relative clause, which then causes subject-verb inversion, most likely modeled after the ED verb-second constraint discussed earlier. As the data contain only one such sentence, it is not possible to draw any further conclusions.

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<sup>103</sup> The original example by Voorhoeve is presented here following the modern spelling rules, which were officially adopted in 1986. For information on these, see Stichting Volkslectuur Suriname 1995.

## 7.2. Subordinate clauses

### 7.2.1. SVO word order

As mentioned, in subordinate clauses ED reveals its SOV character, invariably placing both finite and non-finite verb forms at the end of the clause.<sup>104</sup> By contrast, subordinate clauses in SD regularly display SVO word order, as in:

315. want hij vond ik ben te lang weggebleven (Na, 2:26)  
[ED: want hij vond dat ik te lang weggebleven was]<sup>105</sup>  
'because he thought I had stayed away for too long'
316. Want ze weet ik hou niet van die dingen (Ko, 7:18)  
[ED: want ze weet dat ik niet van die dingen hou]  
'Because she knows I do not like those things'
317. ik zeg ze ze moeten iets in de maatschappij worden (Gr, 7:25)  
[ED: ik zeg ze dat ze iets in de maatschappij moeten worden]  
'I tell them they have to become something in society [i.e., find a profession]'
318. Ja, ze heeft gezegd ze heeft dat zusje wel gewaarschuwd (Ed, 3:5)  
[ED: Ja, ze heeft gezegd dat ze dat zusje wel gewaarschuwd heeft]  
'Yes, she said that she did warn that sister'

Moreover, in addition to displaying SVO order, almost all such subordinate clauses lack an overt complementizer. This would result in an ungrammaticality in ED, as ED requires an overt complementizer to introduce a subordinate clause, unless the latter is marked by an initial *wh*-word functioning within the clause. It is of further interest to note

<sup>104</sup> This means that the verb(s) is (are) placed after the complement; however, adverbials can occupy several positions in the sentence, one of them being clause-final. Thus, we may find adverbials at the very end of the clause in ED.

<sup>105</sup> SD *ben* is rendered as ED *was*. See 5.2.2.1. for a discussion of SD and ED differences regarding past tense marking in subordinate clauses.

that whenever a subordinate clause is not introduced by a complementizer in the data, it is typically the form *dat* 'that' which would have been required in the ED equivalent. Put differently, it is the clauses with *dat* deletion that display SVO order in SD. By contrast, those clauses introduced by a *wh*-word typically have SOV order (as they would have in ED), with a small number exceptions, as in:

319. Ja, wanneer ik wil niet gaan ... (Jo, 15:25)  
 [ED: Ja, wanneer ik niet wil gaan]  
 'Yes, when I don't want to go'
320. weet je waarom wil ik niet daar blijven? (Jo, 4:4)  
 [ED: weet je waarom ik daar niet wil blijven?]  
 'do you know why I don't want to stay there?'

Such exceptions follow two patterns, illustrated by (319) and (320) respectively. The first type simply contains SVO order, as in (319). In the second type the verb immediately follows the *wh*-word. This creates the impression that the *wh*-word has triggered subject-verb inversion, an overextension of the verb-second rule to subordinate clauses, as it operates in main clauses only in ED. It is noteworthy that all but one exception stemmed from one particular informant, whose speech in addition contained many subordinate clauses introduced by *wh*-words that did in fact display SOV order. In other words, even within her data clauses like those above were clear exceptions.

So far the claim has been made that in subordinate clauses zero complementizer use parallels SVO order. However, to this pattern, too, exceptions are encountered, though very

few. Sometimes *dat* is used in spite of the fact that the subordinate clause has SVO order, as in:

321. als je naar die hele film, die hele scene zou kijken, zou je zien **dat** echt het was erg voor die jongen (Se, 7:3-4)  
 [ED: als je naar de hele film, de hele scene zou kijken, zou je zien dat het echt erg voor die jongen was]  
 'if you would watch the whole film, the whole scene, you would see that it was really bad for the boy'
322. maar je weet **dat** God ziet je (De, 7:6)  
 [ED: maar je weet dat God je ziet]  
 'but you know that God sees you'

Only once did the data show the opposite pattern, in which the speaker uses a subordinate clause with SOV order while not employing an overt complementizer:

323. Ik zeg Ø 'k [ik] geen paspoort heb (Th, 16:22-23)  
 [ED: 'Ik zeg dat ik geen paspoort heb']  
 'I say I don't have a passport'

Lastly, it is important to highlight that subordinate clauses with SVO order and a zero complementizer, as described here, are found very often in the data, appearing in the speech of fifteen out of twenty-two informants, typically frequently so. Nevertheless, variation is very common indeed, with many speakers employing subordinate clauses containing both SOV order and the complementizer *dat*.

### 7.2.2. The use of *zeg*

In SD the form *zeg*, which is identical to the root of the verb *zeggen* ‘to say’, has taken on a new function as complementizer. As such it can be used to introduce direct quotes:

324. Want m'n tante vertelde me ook laatst *zeg* je hebt het nog goed meisje want ik moest elke keer gaan opensnijden (Ch, 5:14-16)  
‘For my aunt also told me recently COMP you are lucky girl because I had to have it cut open every time’
325. en zei m'n moeder *zeg* [name school] is een *motyo skoro* (Li, 4:4)  
‘and my mother said [lit. said my mother] COMP [name school] is a school for trashy types’
326. want soms *zeg* ik hem ook *zeg* nee je moet niet zo koppig zijn (Th, 9:14-15)  
‘because sometimes I tell him also COMP no you should not be that stubborn’

Besides direct speech, *zeg* is often used to introduce clauses reporting thought:

327. want dan ga je voelen *zeg* ik begin te bidden (Ru, 5:10)  
‘for then you will feel COMP I am starting to pray’
328. dus ik vind *zeg* Surinaamse vrouw moeten zich bewuster van worden van hoe het zit met man en vrouw relatie enzovoorts (Am, 2:18-20)  
‘so I think COMP Surinamese women should become more aware of matters regarding male-female relationships and so on’
329. OK kwam ik dan op het idee *zeg* laten we eens even proberen wat we dan kunnen maken om dat uit te beelden (Ma, 4:10-11)  
‘OK so I got the idea COMP let’s just try to see what we can do to express that’
330. want hij weet *zeg* je moet baden om naar zijn gemeente te gaan om hem te loven en te prijzen (Ru, 2:12)  
‘for he knows COMP you have take a bath to go to his congregation to praise and glorify him’

It is important to point out that whether it is speech or thought that is reported using *zeg*, it is usually done so directly rather than indirectly. In other words, the clause introduced by *zeg* typically contains the actual words or thoughts of the person with whom the speech or thought originated. Thus, for instance in (327), the subject of the main clause and the subordinate clause are actually coreferent. Nonetheless, a very small number of exceptions is found in the data, where the subordinate clause does not represent direct discourse, as the use of the pronoun *hij* ‘he’ in the following example shows (which is coreferent with *die man* ‘that man’):

331. En die man zegt toevallig *zeg* hij kent die vrouw (Th, 18:28)  
 ‘And that man says it so happens COMP he knows that woman’

Although it is almost always an individual’s particular utterance or thought that is expressed in subordinate clauses with the complementizer *zeg*, a few sentences appear in the data that diverge from this pattern, as for instance in:

332. Ze maken zich geen moeite mee *zeg* je kan geen Frans praten (Th, 14:13)  
 ‘They won’t take the trouble [to try to communicate] COMP you cannot speak French’

The form *zeg* as discussed here closely resembles a construction encountered in Sranan, among various other creoles for that matter, which is used for a similar function, also employing a form of the verb ‘say’, *tak(i)* (cf. Holm 1988: 185, Romaine 1988: 143-144). Although the literature on various creole languages, including Sranan, often compares this form to the complementizer ‘that’ (cf. Holm 1988: *ibid.*, Romaine 1988: *ibid.*, Titjari

1985: 139), it should be noted that the distribution of *zeg* is significantly wider, as illustrated in the following examples, neither of which would easily be translated using the complementizer *dat* ‘that’:

333. volgens mij *zeg* de hele dag kan ik kleren wassen (Jo, 15:29)  
 [ED: volgens mij kan ik de hele dag kleren wassen]  
 ‘according to me COMP the whole day I could wash clothes’
334. Dus ik heb echt geen voorlichting *zeg* welke richting moet je gaan? (Li, 5:3-4)  
 [ED: Dus ik heb geen voorlichting over welke richting ...]  
 ‘So I really do not have any information COMP which direction [i.e., specialization] should you go into?’

Apart from the properties of *zeg* dealt with so far, it is interesting to note that the agent of the utterance or thought is sometimes left unspecified in the clause introducing the quote, in which case the context identifies the agent, as in the next example:

335. En deze mevrouw T., die van F.T., die roept zijn vrouw wilde ons hebben *zeg* geef me die meisjes dan zal ik wel (Ko, 15:28-29)  
 ‘And Mrs. T., the one from F.T., he says his wife wanted to have us COMP give me those girls then I will [take care of them]’

Here the context clarifies that it is Mrs. T. rather than her husband, F.T., who produced the quote; however, the structural properties of the sentence fail to provide the necessary clues for this interpretation.

Considering the highly non-standard character of this form, which is mainly the result of it having no functional equivalent in ED, it is remarkable that *zeg* is nevertheless found in the speech of twelve out of twenty-two informants, though in varying frequencies.

### 7.2.3. The use of *van*

Along with *zeg*, SD employs the form *van*, which also functions as complementizer and appears to have a similar distribution as *zeg*.<sup>106</sup>

336. Dan pas is die moeder te weten gekomen *van* oh dan is het die zoontje *van* me (Se, 5:22)  
‘Not until then did the mother find out COMP oh then it is my son’
337. ze zegt *van* ja je moet alleen gaan storten (Ch, 2:11)  
‘she says COMP yes you only have to deposit [the money]’
338. Ik had me nooit zorgen gemaakt *van* eh waar ga ik blijven (Ru, 6:20)  
‘I never worried COMP where I was going to stay’
339. Want soms ga je twijfelen *van* moest ik niet ietsje langer proberen (Am, 10:19)  
‘For sometimes you doubt COMP should I not have tried a little longer’
340. als je weet *van* je hebt een verkeerde gedachte ... (De, 8:2)  
‘when you know COMP you have an inappropriate thought’

While the total number of informants using this form (fifteen) is close to the number of informants using *zeg* (twelve), the actual number of tokens in the data of *van* is significantly higher, *van* being a very common form.

Though only in the speech of one informant, as complementizer *van* is found in combination with *zeg*, as illustrated below:

341. want ze legt uit *van zeg* ze blijft bij/met <?> d'r vader (Pl, 4:29)  
‘for she explains COMP COMP she stays with her father’

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<sup>106</sup> This form is also regularly encountered in informal speech in ED. For a discussion of the development of *van* in SD as compared to ED, see chapter 8.

342. ik bedoel **van zeg** natuurlijk kijk, natuurlijk je kan het zelf niet doen (Pl, 7:6-7)  
‘I mean COMP COMP of course look, of course you cannot do it yourself’
343. ik bedoel **van zeg** kijk ik neem aan **zeg** als jij President bent dat je niet over alles weet (Pl, 6:2-3)  
‘I mean COMP COMP look I assume COMP if you are President you won’t know everything’
344. maar op een gegeven moment zagen ze dus **van zeg** dat eh die overheid niet meer kon bouwen (Pl, 2:21-22)  
‘but at a certain moment they saw COMP COMP that uh the government could not build more’

Interestingly, in this informant’s speech *van* and *zeg*, the latter of which she uses relatively frequently, almost always occur in combination, the only exception being the second token of *zeg* in (343). This cooccurrence of *van* and *zeg*, combined with the fact that clauses typically contain a maximum of one overt complementizer only, suggests that these forms might function as one syntactic element in this speaker’s linguistic system. In addition, note that in (344) the two complementizers discussed here are combined with yet another complementizer, *dat*, the form also used in standard ED. This was the only sentence containing three such forms though, and thus may well be an aberration in her linguistic system.

#### 7.2.4. The use of *als* vs. *of*

A regularly discussed feature in the literature regarding complementizer use in SD is that of *als* ‘if/in case’ and *of* ‘if/whether’, the general observation being that SD uses *als*

where ED employs *of*, and vice versa (Van Wel and Vervoom 1974: 54, Van Bochove and Kleberg 1990: 2, Shuisdom 1992: 21, Gobardhan- Rambocus 1993: 147). ED strictly uses *als* 'if, in case' in subordinate clauses expressing a condition, as in:

Als ik ooit eens een nieuwe auto koop wordt het een Jaguar  
 'If I ever buy a new car, it is going to be a Jaguar'

Sentences with an embedded yes/no question, on the other hand, always take *of* 'if, whether' in ED:

Ik weet niet of hij naar New York komt  
 'I don't know if/whether he'll come to New York'

A number of sentences in the data diverge from this ED pattern, indeed creating the impression of a reversal of these two forms, as *of* is sometimes employed when ED would have used *als*, as in (345), while *als* can be used when ED would have used *of*, as in (346)-(348):

345. Of [ED: *als*] neem ik het, ik scheur het! (Jo, 23:8)  
 'If I take it, I will tear it up!'
346. Dus ik zou dingen, Helen vragen *als* [ED: *of*] we dat mogen hebben (Ed, 7:20-21)  
 'So I was going to ask what's-her-name, Helen whether we can have that'
347. ik weet niet *als* [ED: *of*] je hem al kent (Ru, 4:7)  
 'I don't know if you know it already'
348. Het hangt van die vrouw af *als* [ED: *of*] ik, *als* [ED: *of*] ik d'r vertrouw, *als* [ED: *of*] ik van d'r hou weet je (Or, 3:19)  
 'It depends on the woman if/whether I, if/whether I trust her, if/whether I love her you know'

At the same time, however, many sentences are found in which these forms appear as they would have in ED; in fact, the greater majority of such sentences do not deviate from ED. Thus, claiming that an overall switch has taken place is clearly an inaccurate overstatement.

The reason for what appear to be occasional deviations from ED use must probably be sought among Sranan use of similar forms. In contrast to ED, Sranan, like English for that matter, uses the same form for the two functions discussed above, *efi* 'if'. As Sluisdom (1992: 21) argues, it may be that speakers have a tendency to substitute this form of *als* with *of*, as a result of these functions having one identical form in Sranan, in addition to their relative phonetic closeness to *of*. This then results in the use of *of* as illustrated in the first example. Still, this obviously cannot account for the reverse pattern, i.e., the uses of *als* when ED would have chosen *of*, as illustrated by the remaining examples. These forms then, Sluisdom claims, are hypercorrections on the rule that Dutch employs *als* in conditional clauses when Sranan uses *efi*, which is then inappropriately extended to non-conditional clauses.

From a qualitative point of view, this explanation is an elegant one. From a quantitative perspective, however, this analysis is problematic, as the hypercorrected forms of *als* are significantly more numerous than the non-ED *of* forms. In fact, sentence (345) containing *of* was the only instance of such use in the entire corpus, while the SD *als* forms were encountered eleven times by a total of four informants.<sup>107,108</sup> Generally, one would

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<sup>107</sup> Given the attention this feature of SD has received in the literature, this is still surprisingly low.

<sup>108</sup> I have to admit that, considering how often I heard these features while in Suriname, in particular *als*, I

expect hypercorrected forms to occur less often than the (inappropriately applied) rule causing the hypercorrection,<sup>109</sup> a pattern not substantiated by the data as far as *als* and *of* are concerned.

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would have expected these to appear far more frequently in the data. In the case of *als* this could corroborate Shuisdom's analysis, in that speakers may have used more hypercorrections in conversations with me than they would have among themselves.

<sup>109</sup> However, a form that developed out of a hypercorrection can of course over time become habitualized or regularized, at which point there is no reason anymore to assume that the hypercorrected form occurs less often.

## ***Chapter Eight: The Formation of Surinamese Dutch***

### **8.0. Introduction**

It is generally accepted among linguists that any language variety, irrespective of its social context, changes over time (Aitchison 1991, Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 9). It is thus not surprising that, given its relatively independent history spanning over 300 years, the Dutch language in Suriname has developed into a language variety distinct from its European source.

In principle, language change can result from either internal or external factors. When internally induced, it is system-internal characteristics of the language variety itself causing change, while externally-induced language change is the result of contact with other language varieties. Until well into the twentieth century (historical) linguists tended to focus on internally-oriented explanations of language change, rooted in a firm believe that language change primarily arises through internal causes (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 1, Silva-Corvalan 1994:1).<sup>110</sup> In particular, grammatical systems were thought to be relatively impermeable to foreign influence as a result of their highly integrated nature (cf. Weinreich 1953:29). While even in recent times linguists have maintained this position to varying degrees (cf. Moravcsik 1978, Pfaff 1979), this assumption has now seriously been called

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<sup>110</sup> A notable exception was the early creolist Hugo Schuchardt (Holm 1988: 3).

into question, most notably by Thomason and Kaufman (1988), who argue that in language contact situations external factors typically overrule internal factors, citing dozens of case studies in support of their theory. In their view, “it is the sociolinguistic history of the speakers, and not the structure of their language, that is the primary determinant of the linguistic outcome of language contact” (ibid. 35). A point of focus in their theory is that, given a particular social context, even on a grammatical level transfer can occur from one language variety to the next.<sup>111</sup>

The final chapter of this dissertation will analyze the forces that have contributed to the creation of modern SD, focusing on the processes that have led to the divergence between SD and ED. It will be shown that both internally-induced as well as externally-induced changes have contributed to the formation of modern SD, though the latter have done so much more extensively. Particularly in the form of Sranan influence, SD has undergone significant changes, confirming Thomason and Kaufman’s theory that structural transfer is possible under certain social circumstances. External influence, however, is not restricted to Sranan, and includes ED, which is hardly surprising given the continued exposure of the Surinamese to ED. The developments resulting from external influence will be discussed in detail, focusing on transfer of forms as well as functions. Particularly transfer of grammatical functions features prominently in SD, representing a type of transfer

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<sup>111</sup> Transfer is defined here as “the incorporation of language features from one language into another, with consequent restructuring of the subsystems involved” (Silva-Corvalan 1994: 4). Thus, it is used as a neutral term, carrying no implications as to the underlying processes causing the transfer.

which, surprisingly, has barely been discussed in the literature on language contact up to now.

### **8.1. Internal change**

A distinction between internally and externally motivated language change necessarily assumes that such a distinction can be motivated on linguistic grounds, presumably in the form of varying linguistic outcomes. Such, however, is not exactly the case: both processes may lead to the same types of linguistic change.

While different authors use slightly varying terminology (cf. Smits 1996, Silva-Corvalan 1994: 2-3), it is generally believed that internal change primarily takes the direction of simplification (Aitchison 1991, Thomason and Kaufman 1988), a process that includes “reduction of the inventory of linguistic forms, semantic range, or language functions, and the elimination of alternative structures at certain levels” (Silva-Corvalan 1994: 3). However, any simplificatory change may also be the result of language contact, particularly when the source language variety contains less complex structures than the recipient language variety. In such a scenario there may develop an interplay between causes, with the two processes of language change easily becoming intertwined beyond distinction. To complicate matters even further, in the history of SD there have been large numbers of non-native speakers for whom Dutch was acquired as a second language (cf. chapter 3). This then constitutes a factor that may have significantly accelerated

simplificatory changes in SD (in addition to causing other types of changes, as will be discussed in 8.2.).

With these issues in mind, following Thomason and Kaufman a distinction will be drawn here between internally vs. externally-induced language change based on the assumption that an external explanation is appropriate when the source of the structure in question in the language can be identified in the suspected source language (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:63). Thus, it is the presence of a directly corresponding structure in the suspected source language that will make a particular structure in the target language a likely candidate for an external rather than internal explanation.

On the other hand, the absence of such a structure in the source language may reinforce an internally-induced development, especially simplification, rendering it difficult to claim that it was exclusively internal forces at work. For that reason, when dealing with internally motivated changes in SD, it can often at best be claimed that a particular change is at least *partly*, possibly principally, internally-induced, but not exclusively. The remainder of this section will discuss such changes, which can justifiably be argued to have developed in SD at least partly due to existing system-internal tendencies in the original ED model, as well as due to the lack of similar structures in Sranan. They can be classified into two broad categories, one representing forms that still exist in ED but are not found in SD, while another is characterized by ED forms that have been changed rather than lost in SD.

### 8.1.1. Simplification through loss of forms

Relatively few differences consist of the absence of ED forms in SD, but they appear in the data nevertheless. An excellent example in this category is the loss of pronominal *er* (cf. 6.4.3.). The linguistic conditions for the loss of this item are optimal. It is a purely grammatical item, carrying no lexical meaning, and therefore its absence does not affect the meaning of the sentence. Furthermore, it has a rather complex distributional pattern (cf. 6.4.3.).

It is reasonable to assume then that internal forces played a role in the loss of *er*. In addition, *er* is a grammatical item that is typically hardly ever perfectly acquired by non-native speakers (De Palm 1969: 36-37), and thus the elimination of this feature in SD may very well have been fueled by massive second language learning. Tentative evidence in support of such an analysis can be found in a number of overseas varieties of Dutch, all of which have included significant numbers of non-native speakers in their histories. Such varieties show a similar absence: in Antillean Dutch *er* is often left out (De Palm 1969: 36-37, Vervoorn 1974: 56, Brand and Saris 1981: 64), as it is in Dutch (once) spoken in Indonesia (Van den Toorn 1957, as quoted by Vervoorn 1974: 56).<sup>112</sup> Likewise, Afrikaans does not employ *er* (Kloeke 1950, as quoted by Vervoorn *ibid.*).

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<sup>112</sup> It should be noted that apart from non-native speakers having influenced these varieties, there may be other causes for similarities. Antillean Dutch may have been influenced by Surinamese Dutch as a result of relatively significant Surinamese emigration to the Dutch Antilles during the twentieth century. Similarly, a substantial number of Indonesian-born Dutch citizens, upon leaving Indonesia after it had gained independence in 1948, resettled in the Dutch Antilles. As a result, Antillean Dutch may have been influenced by Indonesian Dutch (Vervoorn 1974: 48).

The discontinuation of this grammatical item in other ED-derived overseas language varieties, a development which has not been reported in non-standard ED varieties, then strongly suggests that the absence of *er* is the result of internal forces strongly reinforced by massive second language learning.

### 8.1.2. Simplification through change of forms

Most internally-induced changes do not involve the entire loss of a grammatical feature, but rather a change in the use of a particular existing form. A good example constitutes demonstrative *die* functioning as definite article in place of *de* (cf. 6.1.1.). This development conforms to a cross-linguistic pattern observed in language change, in which demonstrative forms assume the functions of definite article (Holm 1988: 191), suggesting that in SD, too, internal forces may very well account for this development. Furthermore, as with *er*, a similar development can be encountered in various unrelated overseas varieties of Dutch: *de* is fully replaced by *die* in Afrikaans (Raidt 1991: 208), while in Antillian Dutch (like in SD) both *de* and *die* are encountered as definite articles (Brand and Saris 1981: 48). Interestingly, in the language of a number of Turkish and Moroccan children acquiring Dutch as a second language this feature has also been reported (Altena and Van Dijk 1980: 133). These observations then indicate that non-native speakers in the history of SD may have contributed to this development as well.

The replacement of grammatical gender with natural gender for inanimate nouns (cf. 6.4.1.1.) is another instance of change (at least partly) due to internal causes. From a psycholinguistic point of view this development is fairly natural, as it reduces the burden of processing various arbitrary gender forms significantly. Put simply, whereas the learner previously had to store the noun's gender in each single instance, it now follows from its biological gender. Thus, a strong argument can be made for this development to be largely internally-induced. Yet the influence of Sranan, a language that does not distinguish grammatical gender (Doncie 1959: 32), cannot be completely ignored, nor can the effect of second language learning, although in this case no evidence from other overseas varieties of Dutch is found to corroborate such an analysis.

An even stronger argument for internally-induced change can be made for ED suppletive forms presented with forms which have become regular in SD. For instance, nouns denoting measurement of time tend to be marked for plural in SD, as in *drie uren*, 'three hours', whereas ED typically does not mark such forms, which are part of a set of exceptions to obligatory plural marking (cf. 6.2.). It is interesting to note that Iowa Dutch also contains pluralized nouns of time measurement which would not have been marked for plural in ED (Smits 1996: 154). Similarly, SD displays a tendency to use articles in set phrases and expressions, as e.g., *de zin (erin) hebben* 'to feel like (it)', which, as a result of these being set phrases and as such exceptions, contain no article in ED. In these cases, as

with the pluralization of measurement nouns as indicated above, in SD a process of regularization has taken place, which has eliminated exceptional forms still occurring in ED.

Typically, internal language change is characterized by simplification. However, as Thomason and Kaufman correctly emphasize, simplification on one level often implies complication on another (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 23). This is nicely illustrated by the introduction of subject-verb agreement in so-called identifying constructions in SD (cf. 6.4.5.), as in *ze [ED: het] waren knappe mensen* 'they [ED lit. it] were smart people'. On the one hand one could claim that this development in SD is one representing simplification, in the form of regularization: ED typically displays subject-verb agreement, but identifying constructions, consisting of *het* 'it', *dit* 'this' or *dat* 'that' (all singular forms) followed by a copula (possibly a plural) violate subject-verb agreement, thus constituting exceptions. Hence, the agreement found in SD, which requires a plural subject if the copula is plural, actually results in an overall more regular pattern. On the other hand, this development obviously complicates the grammar by introducing two sets of subject forms (for this type of identifying construction), one for singular and one for plural forms, where previously there was only one (i.e., the singular forms).

In all instances discussed thus far, the language(s) with which SD has been in contact, primarily Sranan, but also ED, do not display constructions similar to those developed in SD. It has been argued that these were at least partially caused by internal development, quite plausibly fueled by massive (imperfect) second language learning,

which is sometimes supported by similar patterns in other overseas varieties of Dutch. However, by far the majority of all changes that have taken place in SD have developed as the direct result of external forces, whereby corresponding features can be traced to other languages. It is these changes that will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

## 8.2. External change

Externally-induced changes are those changes within a particular language that arise from contact with other language varieties, with features of the language variety with which the recipient language comes into contact serving as the source of such change. Within the framework of contact-induced change, two major types of linguistic interference can be distinguished: *borrowing* and *imposition* (Van Coetsem 1988, Guy 1990, Thomason and Kaufman 1988). The crucial characteristic setting the two types apart lies with the agents of change. Borrowing occurs when the language users, i.e., the agents of change, are native speakers of the changing variety in focus, i.e., the recipient language, while imposition takes place when the agents of change are native speakers of the source language (Guy 1990: 49). These two types of contact-induced change predict different linguistic outcomes: while borrowing tends to favor the transfer of lexical items, imposition is typically initially reflected in the phonology and syntax (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 39).<sup>113</sup> Nevertheless,

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<sup>113</sup> Thomason and Kaufman use slightly different terminology, distinguishing between 'borrowing' and 'interference through shift', with the first referring to language *maintenance* situations, while the latter refers to processes of language *shift*. Thus, Thomason and Kaufman define these types in sociolinguistic terms, i.e., from the perspective of the speech community, whereas Van Coetsem defines them in psycholinguistic terms, taking the individual speakers as the point of orientation. For the purposes of this discussion it seems more

in cases of long-term and widespread bilingualism, structural features are often also borrowed (ibid. 37), thus blurring the distinction between the outcomes of the two types.

Upon examining the history of SD, it is quite clear that both borrowing and imposition are highly likely to have contributed to the formation of SD. In chapter 3 it was argued that throughout its history there has been a group of native speakers of SD, which has probably given this variety a distinctive character from early on. As this group must have been bilingual, employing Sranan as well, a process of borrowing from Sranan into SD is likely to have taken place within this group, quite possibly in the form of extensive borrowing as this group has a long-standing tradition of bilingualism. Additionally, the twentieth century in particular has seen large groups of non-native speakers acquire Dutch in Suriname, creating highly favorable conditions for the imposition of features from Sranan (in addition to simplificatory changes that might not specifically be traceable to Sranan, but rather are the more general outcome of imperfect second language learning, which were discussed in the previous section).

Thus, considering the socio-historical conditions under which SD developed, it is to be anticipated that the morphosyntax of modern SD has been affected by Sranan, as a consequence of both borrowing and imposition. The rest of this chapter will deal with those features that can be traced to language contact, predominantly to Sranan, although recent influence from ED will also be considered.

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appropriate to employ Van Coetsem's terminology, as the group that formed SD in the process of acquiring Dutch has additionally maintained Sranan.

### 8.2.1. Sranan influence

To analyze grammatical interference, Weinreich (1953) originally proposed a three-level distinction between form, function and syntactic structure.<sup>114</sup> Within this framework, the influence of Sranan on SD can be seen as having manifested itself on the levels of grammatical functions and structures.

Interestingly, the literature on language contact to date has predominantly focused on transfer of structures and forms, to the virtual exclusion of transfer of functions (cf. Aitchison 1991, Appel and Muysken 1987, Bynon 1977, Lehiste 1988, Thomason and Kaufman 1988). Moreover, in those rare instances where transfer of function is discussed, it is typically done in the context of a function having been transferred in combination with a particular structure. For instance, Thomason and Kaufman (*ibid.*: 132) briefly mention the development of a construction denoting recent past in Irish English, which employs *after* + V-ing (*he's after singing*, 'he has just sung'), based on a similar structure in Gaelic. Put briefly, the literature to date has for the most part assumed that transfer of function entails the transfer of structure and/or form.<sup>115</sup>

This stands in sharp contrast to the data analyzed in this study. While there is indeed evidence of transfer of grammatical functions with corresponding structures (though not

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<sup>114</sup> Weinreich (1953: 29-31) uses the term "grammatical relations" instead of "syntactic structure".

<sup>115</sup> An exception was Weinreich (1953: 30-31, 39-42).

forms), the data primarily show transfer of grammatical function only, i.e., without concomitant structural transfer. Indeed, given the widespread occurrence of this type of transfer in SD, it is highly remarkable that all major studies on language contact, some of which have analyzed extensive amounts of cross-linguistic data (in particular Thomason and Kaufman 1988), should so consistently have failed to notice transfer of grammatical function without the transfer of form and/or structure.<sup>116</sup>

#### 8.2.1.1. Transfer of grammatical functions in SD

It is particularly with respect to the VP, and more specifically its TMA system, that extensive transfer of function from Sranan has occurred. This has resulted in the presence of various TMA categories in modern SD that are not grammaticalized in ED. As the transfer of TMA functions has typically taken place without the transfer of Sranan forms or syntactic structures, existing ED forms and structures have been used to fulfill these grammatical functions, resulting in surface forms and structures similar to those found in ED. Yet, the underlying grammatical meaning conveyed by these structures is different, sometimes radically so.

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<sup>116</sup> An exception was Bickerton (1980), who discussed the acquisition of new forms to express existing meanings or functions as part of the decreolization process. Additionally, in an overview article on language change typologies, Guy (1990: 60) speculated about the possibility of function transfer when he suggests that perhaps “impositions would involve the existing inventory of grammatical words (and morphemes?), but use them in new ways reflecting the grammatical system of the L1 of the shifting community”, flowing out of an observation that in general “forms are not often imposed but functions and meanings are”.

Similar observations of related language varieties possessing identical forms but with different underlying meanings (most notably AAVE) have been made by Spears (1982) and Stewart (1987, 1990). These authors have used the term *camouflage* to describe this linguistic phenomenon, whereby the identity of a linguistic form in language variety A is concealed from the perspective of variety B, as a result of this form having acquired a different grammatical function in variety A, which is not shared by variety B, while the latter does possess a similar form.<sup>117</sup>

Spears (1982) distinguishes between several types of camouflage. The identity of a grammatical form can be concealed merely as the result of the existence of a similar form in a closely related language variety, without that form having the same grammatical function, which he calls *word camouflage*. This is distinguished from *syntactic camouflage*, in which the concealed form additionally appears in a syntactic environment in which it would have been allowed in other varieties. To illustrate, Spears shows that, unlike in SE, in AAVE the verb *come* can be used as a semi-auxiliary expressing indignation (cf. *komen* in SD, 5.4.3.). This form is typically found in syntactic environments where the motion verb *come* can be used in SE, resulting in a surface structure identical to SE, and as such *come* usually constitutes a case of syntactic camouflage. By contrast, an instance of word camouflage can be found in the distributive *be* form in AAVE (Spears 1982: 868), which appears in syntactic environments in which SE would not permit it, although the form *be* itself is of course used in SE. Thus, the grammatical meaning of this form may be concealed, but the

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<sup>117</sup> Stewart (1990) uses the term *structural mimicry* instead of camouflage, but with the same meaning.

overall syntactic structure in which it typically appears is clearly unlike SE (a SE infinitival form is used as a finite verb form), and thus from the perspective of SE syntax the identity of this form is not concealed.

As mentioned earlier, the grammatical influence of Sranan on SD has mainly exerted itself in the form of the transfer of grammatical functions from Sranan that are not distinguished in ED. This has primarily resulted in large-scale syntactic camouflage from the perspective of ED.<sup>118</sup> Excellent examples are the future tense verbs forms *zullen* and *gaan*, which in addition to expressing future tense, in SD carry the notion of certainty and uncertainty respectively, functions which can be traced to Sranan. The identity of such forms, however, is typically completely camouflaged as the forms as well as syntactic environments in which these future verbs occur is generally identical to ED (cf. 5.1.2.1.1., 5.1.2.2.). The use of pluperfect forms to signal completion represents another instance of transfer of grammatical function from Sranan (cf. 5.2.2.2.), as does the use of the simple present in past time contexts as a tool to organize narrative structure (cf. 5.2.2.1.). Here, too, the syntactic environment in which these forms appear is completely identical to ED, and thus from the perspective of ED they are fully camouflaged. The aspectual use of *gaan* signaling habituality is another instance of transfer of function from Sranan (cf. 5.1.2.1.2.), as *gaan*, or any other one particular verb for that matter, is incapable of expressing habitual aspect in ED. Finally, the form *komen* used for indignation is another clear example of

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<sup>118</sup> In the present discussion the comparison is made from the perspective of ED, but the possibility is certainly not excluded that similar camouflage also exists from the perspective of (more ED-like) varieties within SD.

grammatical transfer of function, again without concurrent structural transfer (cf. 5.4.3.).

It should be noted that not all examples mentioned above represent camouflage to the same extent. Consider the verb *gaan* for instance. Some of the restrictions on the syntactic environment in which this form may appear in ED do not hold in SD (cf. 5.1.2.1.1.). Thus, forms of *gaan* are not fully camouflaged when used in those syntactic environments specific to SD, as for instance in combination with other modals or the main verb *gaan*. In other words, while the function is still camouflaged, the syntactic environment does in those cases indicate a difference between ED and SD. Nevertheless, in all other instances of function transfer discussed here, there were no syntactic environments in the data that would provide a signal to the ED speaker that there might be a dialectal difference, although the discourse might indeed have led to such suspicions.

However, as emphasized by Stewart (1987, 1990), the identity of such grammatical items is likely to be so well concealed in interdialectal communication that the listener is often completely unaware that he/she has misunderstood the speaker. Stewart (1990: 45) has proposed the term *pseudocomprehension* for this type of miscommunication, an extreme form of miscommunication as the language user not only fails to understand a particular sentence, but moreover altogether fails to notice that he/she did so. It should be obvious that opportunities for pseudocomprehension abound between speakers of ED and SD, which can take on quite significant proportions. Consider for example the statement *ik zal het doen* 'I shall do it' (cf. 5.1.2.2.). For a native speaker of ED this statement implies a commitment on

the part of the speaker, while for a native speaker of SD the statement may entirely lack such commitment, i.e., conveying virtually the exact opposite meaning. A conditional sentence like *Als ik geld had, gaf ik het aan John* could lead to similarly serious misunderstanding (cf. 5.3.2.). In the conditional ED reading, which has a present tense interpretation, 'If I had money, I would give it to John', the implication is that the speaker is not in such position. On the other hand, a temporal interpretation is also possible in ED, in which case the sentence acquires a past tense interpretation, rendering 'Whenever I had money, I gave it to John'. However, unlike in ED, in SD this sentence is per definition conditional as well as situated in the past, its only interpretation being 'If I had had money, I would have given it to John'. Thus, in the SD reading no money was ever given, which is precisely the opposite of the ED temporal interpretation, in which money was indeed given. Other misinterpretation may be of a less dramatic nature, such as for instance when the use of pluperfect forms are involved, although not necessarily, as Stewart (1987:15-16) illustrates with a similar example from Gullah.

It is quite plausible that it has been pseudocomprehension on the part of linguists studying related language varieties that should be held responsible for the failure to discuss transfer of function (without structural transfer) in the literature so far, including in publications on SD.

To conclude, in SD the transfer of grammatical functions is typically not accompanied by structural transfer, and existing surface forms are used in syntactic

structures that can also be encountered in ED, i.e., most transferred functions are syntactically camouflaged. An exception to this pattern is a highlighter form used in SD (cf. 5.6.). This item, consisting of a form of *zijn* ‘to be’ in fronted position, whose grammatical function (emphasizing sentence components) is unknown in ED, uses forms that also appear in ED, but within a syntactic structure not found in ED, thus representing a case of word camouflage only.

Camouflage is particularly prevalent where SD grammar has assumed functions from Sranan not found in ED. However, it is not restricted to such transfer, as can be seen in the form *zeg*. It was argued that this form serves as complementizer in SD, introducing clauses (cf. 7.2.2.). As such, it fulfills an existing grammatical function in ED, but for which ED uses a different form. *Zeg* as a complementizer nevertheless constitutes a case of camouflage, more specifically word camouflage, as it fulfills a grammatical function in SD for which it cannot be used in ED; in fact, ED employs *zeg* ‘say’ merely as a lexical item. Likewise, the SD personal pronouns *dat ding* and *die mannen* represent originally lexical items that have acquired grammatical functions in SD as pronouns (cf. 6.4.1.3., 6.4.1.4.). These functions are also grammaticalized in ED, but ED employs other forms. However, unlike *zeg*, *dat ding* and *die mannen* appear in syntactic environments identical to their lexical counterparts in ED, thus resulting in overall syntactic camouflage.

### 8.2.1.2. Transfer of grammatical structures in SD

While the transfer of grammatical functions has been the most pervasive manifestation of Sranan influence on SD, Sranan has also affected SD significantly on the level of its syntactic structures. In the previous section this was already briefly discussed in the form of a highlighter construction, as in addition to this being an originally Sranan structure, it expresses a function unknown in ED. However, most instances of structural transfer from Sranan do not incorporate the transfer of a function as well. For example, SD allows sentences containing modal verbs expressing the same modal quality in both the matrix clause and the embedded clause (cf. 5.4.4.), e.g., *ik wil dat je dat moet doen*, lit. ‘I want that you must do that’. It was argued that such constructions are most likely literal translations from Sranan, which, unlike ED, allows the modality to be repeated in the embedded clause. The use of resumptive pronouns in SD (cf. 6.4.4.), which also appear in Sranan but not in ED, is another example of Sranan influence on the syntax of SD. In none of the instances discussed above do the data provide any indications that these structures carry non-ED functions, so clearly it is only grammatical structures that have been transferred in these instances.

Slightly less straightforward in determining structural influence from Sranan are cases where simplification has obviously occurred, but which are in addition paralleled by Sranan syntax. A good example is the loss of transitivity of many verbs in SD as compared to ED (cf. 5.8.). As Sranan has less stringent grammatical rules regarding the phonetic

realization of a direct object once it has been established in the discourse, it seems plausible that the more relaxed rules in SD are at least partly the result of Sranan influence.

Nonetheless, a similar tendency can be seen in Indonesian Dutch (cf. Prick van Wely 1906), creating the impression that internally-induced factors, reinforced by second language learning, may have enhanced this development (but see note 112).

Another development in SD that is difficult to trace to one principal source is its SVO order. On the one hand, Sranan displays SVO order, and cross-linguistic research has shown that transfer of word order patterns is quite common (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:55). Yet, language internal patterns are certainly not a factor to be ignored in this case. Though underlyingly SOV, main clauses in ED are of the SVO type. Thus, by analogy, speakers may over time reanalyze the underlying pattern along the lines of the main clause pattern, and thus extend the SVO pattern to subordinate clauses, effectively transforming a SOV language into an SVO language. With the exception of two Dutch-based creole languages that display SVO order, Negerhollands (cf. Van Diggelen 1978) and Berbice Dutch (cf. Kouwenberg 1991), no evidence is available indicating a similar path of development in other varieties of Dutch, either in Europe or overseas, but it would not be surprising to find such parallel development.

### 8.3. ED influence

As it is beyond dispute that ED and SD share a common ancestor, it may seem somewhat inappropriate to discuss ED influence separately. However, like any language variety, ED has continued to develop, probably to a certain extent in directions other than SD. It is thus theoretically possible that linguistic items in ED have continued to be borrowed into SD, as many Surinamese are still regularly exposed to ED (cf. chapter 4). Recent linguistic developments in ED would be good candidates to establish such continued borrowing, as we know that in those cases shared features could not simply be traced to an older variety of Dutch from which both varieties are derived.

Indeed, the development of the use of *van* introducing subordinate clauses containing direct discourse appears to be a case of more recent borrowing from ED, as in *Ik had me nooit zorgen gemaakt van waar ga ik blijven* 'I never worried COMP where I was going to stay' (cf. 7.2.4.). Though *van* is not recognized as part of standard ED, it has become widely used in informal ED in recent times,<sup>119</sup> with a seemingly similar function and distribution as in SD. As it seems far-fetched for this feature to have developed simultaneously but independently in ED and SD, the most plausible scenario would be for SD to have borrowed *van* from ED.<sup>120</sup> It is worth noting that the conditions for borrowing

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<sup>119</sup> This claim is based on my own observations, and was confirmed by a native speaker of ED who responded to a query I posted on the Lowlands List, an electronic discussion forum that focuses on language varieties closely related to ED (April 5, 1998).

<sup>120</sup> The possibility cannot be ruled out for transfer to have occurred in the opposite direction, i.e., for ED to have borrowed this feature from SD. However, given the very limited exposure the average ED speaker has to SD, in addition to the lower prestige SD carries for many ED speakers, this is significantly less plausible.

this feature have been highly favorable in several respects. First, SD displays a tendency towards SVO, also in subordinate clauses, the latter which is unlike ED. Subordinate clauses employing *van*, however, constitute an exception in ED in that these do not require SOV order. Thus, on the assumption that some speakers realize that from the perspective of ED SVO subclauses are non-standard, they may prefer to use a clause containing *van*, as it provides an opportunity to use a syntactic structure perceived as ED-like, and therefore presumably closer to the standard, while at the same time complying with the underlying SVO pattern of SD. Secondly, SD speakers whose linguistic systems include the complementizer *zeg* may possess a certain awareness that this linguistic item is considered non-standard by most Surinamese, and thus for such speakers *van* may offer a solution to a more standard form while retaining the basic syntactic structure of sentences containing *zeg* (i.e., *van* simply replaces *zeg*). These facilitating factors would explain why this feature seems to have spread so rapidly in SD, considering that (if it was indeed borrowed from ED) it must be a recent development.

Apart from *van* the data did not show any other features which could clearly be established as recent borrowings from ED. Still, it is obvious that the influence of ED continues to exert itself on SD as a result of the relatively extensive ED exposure many Surinamese experience to date, and thus there is no reason to assume that newly developing features in ED might not be incorporated in SD in the future.

#### **8.4. Conclusion**

It has been argued in this chapter that the language change which has resulted in modern SD is the product of both internally and externally-induced processes. Internally-motivated development has been established in the form of simplificatory changes, which, given the history of the speakers of Dutch in Suriname, must have been accelerated by massive second language learning, in some instances quite significantly. Evidence demonstrating the significance of second language acquisition features comes from similar developments in overseas varieties of Dutch, as contrasted to continental varieties of Dutch, which fail to display similar features, in addition to parallel features observed in the speech of non-native speakers of Dutch.

However, although internally-induced change is clearly encountered in SD (as one would expect), from the present analysis of features that distinguish SD from ED the conclusion has to be drawn that external forces have prevailed in the formation of SD as a distinct variety of Dutch, largely in the form of Sranan influence. One of the most interesting findings in analyzing SD from the perspective of its European ancestor has been that it is not primarily the grammatical forms and structures that have changed as a result of language contact, but the grammatical functions that have been introduced into SD due to contact with Sranan. Both in view of the fact that such transfer is barely discussed in the literature, as well as the fact that it represents the major part of all transfer into SD, this finding is highly significant.

This observation generates a number of interesting topics for further research. First, with regard to the study of SD, future investigation has to establish whether additional camouflaged grammatical items can be detected. It is certainly not inconceivable that the present study's findings are not conclusive, particularly given the difficulty of detecting such camouflaged items, in addition to the relatively limited amount of data analyzed in this study, the analysis of which only focused on certain areas of the morphosyntax.

On a more theoretical level, it would be desirable to determine whether other language varieties can be found to display transfer of functions without concomitant structural features, where many different colonial varieties of European languages could serve as excellent test cases. Using knowledge gained by such an enterprise, other relevant research issues might be explored, such as the nature of the conditions of this type of transfer. For example, do language varieties need to be at a significant typological distance, as SD and Sranan are? In addition, do the language varieties in question need to possess surface forms that are (phonologically) relatively similar for this type of transfer to occur? Additionally, in our attempts to build a more comprehensive theory of language contact (and its ensuing linguistic outcomes) it would be valuable to know whether both types of contact-induced language change, imposition and borrowing, can result in transfer of function (i.e., without concomitant structural transfer), or whether imposition is a prerequisite for such development. Guy (1990: 55) hypothesizes that borrowing may be a largely conscious process, with imposition typically being unconscious. If this is true, then it might very well

be that imposition is much more likely to result in transfer of function than borrowing. As has been argued, the social history of the speakers of SD is such that both processes can reasonably be assumed to have contributed to the formation of SD, and therefore other language varieties might prove more suitable to test this hypothesis.

Finally, it would be highly interesting to determine whether particular areas of grammar are more susceptible to this type of transfer than others. The present research project has shown that in the case of SD it is particularly in the area of the TMA system where transfer of function has occurred. It would be useful to determine whether data on other language varieties confirm this pattern, and/or possibly reveal any additional patterns. Assuming consistent patterns would indeed emerge, the obvious question that would then have to be addressed is why those areas appear to be more permeable than others.

## ***Chapter Nine: Conclusions***

The principal purpose of this dissertation has been to provide an initial view of the morphosyntactic characteristics that distinguish SD from ED. In order to achieve this goal, the speech was analyzed of twenty-two informants of Creole origin, all of whom lived in Paramaribo. It was found that with respect to the VP, the NP, as well as clause structure there are indeed significant differences between SD and ED. Summing up, the VP in SD distinguishes itself primarily by its TMA system, both in containing different categories as well as in expressing categories that also exist in ED but which use different forms. The NP was found to set itself apart by different article usage, plural marking, and different (use of) pronominal forms. Aside from using different complementizer forms, most of the differences regarding clause structure appear to be related to the failure in SD to comply with the verb-second constraint as rigorously as ED does.

One of the most interesting findings in this dissertation has been that some of the distinguishing features between SD and ED consist of morphosyntactic features that both varieties share, but which are employed with different functions, thus resulting in different meanings. As a consequence of these superficial similarities, significant distinctions between the two language varieties have long gone undetected, to native speakers of both ED and SD varieties, which has included linguists studying these dialectal differences. This, then, may in part explain the scant amount of literature on SD up to now.

The information presented in this dissertation is important in several respects. On a theoretical level, this work presents the first detailed documentation of Surinamese Dutch as a variety to be distinguished in its own right, next to Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch, both of which already exist ample documentation.

On a practical level, and perhaps most importantly, information regarding SD, including that presented in this study, can be utilized by educators in Suriname. As explained in chapter 1, maintaining ED as the standard in education has, not surprisingly, proven unrealistic. Many teachers are aware of this, and in fact accept certain “Surinamisms”, i.e., grammatical and lexical features particular to SD, in students’ language use, as several studies have demonstrated (Sluisdom 1992, Van Bochove and Kleberg 1990). A problem that has emerged for teachers, however, is how to determine which features deviating from the standard are acceptable in students’ language use, and which are not. Knowledge of SD can help teachers in Suriname distinguish between those language forms that are commonly used in Suriname by a significant number of speakers and those that merely appear in a speaker’s idiolect. Put differently, this knowledge will enable them to distinguish mistakes from features that simply reflect systematic differences between SD and ED, thus ending the confusion that students are now regularly subjected to.

Ideally, increased knowledge of SD would ultimately lead to the formation of a new standard for Dutch in Suriname, which would not just be beneficial to educators but also to the population of Suriname at large (Sluisdom 1992: 5). However, in order to be able to

determine upon an independent standard for Dutch in Suriname, much more research is needed.

First, this dissertation has not covered every aspect of the morphosyntax of SD, as it has only analyzed differences with respect to the VP, the NP and clause structures. One additional area, for instance, that may reveal many interesting differences between SD and ED is the prepositional phrase. The data used in the present study indicated many differences here, too, which further research would need to confirm and subsequently analyze in detail. Clearly, a full description of the morphosyntax is necessary before proceeding to the process of standardization.

Secondly, the significant amount of variation found in SD has to be analyzed to obtain a truly comprehensive view of SD. This concerns both qualitative as well as quantitative analysis, of variation on several levels. First, further analysis is needed to describe the full range of SD features found among all ethnic groups using SD. This study has only focused on the speech of the Creole population; yet, this ethnic group does not even represent the majority of speakers, nor is it the most numerous ethnic group of Suriname. Obviously, a full description of SD would have to include Dutch language use of the East Indians, which represent the largest ethnic group today, and also the Javanese, the Chinese and the various Maroon groups. Due to different additional language use among these groups, it is highly likely that such an analysis would uncover interesting new SD features.

Furthermore, this study has concentrated only on the one city of Suriname, Paramaribo. However, approximately half of the population resides outside Paramaribo, either in the coastal area or in the interior. As pointed out in chapter 1, the literature so far has indicated that a general distinction should be made between Dutch as spoken in the urban area of Paramaribo vis-à-vis Dutch spoken in the countryside (Van Wel and Vervoorn 1974: 11, Healy 1993: 288, Essed-Fruin 1990: 56). A description of SD should therefore certainly also include an analysis of its non-urban regional varieties.

In addition to ethnic and regional variation, we need to get a better view of the social variation that exists among the speakers of SD. The claim has often been made that, at least among Creole speakers, a linguistic continuum exists stretching from a strongly Sranan-influenced variety used primarily by the lower classes to a variety that is relatively closer to ED spoken predominantly by the higher classes (cf. chapter 1). While this study does indeed confirm the general impression that speakers of a higher class background use fewer SD features, whereas (Creole) speakers of a lower class background use more Sranan-influenced features in SD, quantificational analysis has yet to be done to substantiate the claim that the varieties of SD can in fact be arranged along the lines of a continuum actually containing implicational scales representing particular feature use. If this were indeed found to be the case, further study would be desirable to analyze which grammatical features it is that constitute its respective basilectal, acrolectal and mesolectal varieties.

**This study having been an initial attempt at understanding the morphosyntax of SD, the present analysis has focused only on qualitative differences between SD and ED; furthermore, it was limited to the Creole population of Paramaribo. The next step SD research should then take in my view is in the direction of a comprehensive analysis of the ethnic, regional and social variation that exists in SD. I genuinely hope that the present description has laid at least part of the foundation for such future research.**

## *Appendix A*

Excerpt interview 1

Informant: *Th* (T)

Interviewer: AP (A)

- T: Zijn we thuis aangekomen ... we hebben onze tante gezegd zeg we  
 Have we home arrived ... we have our aunt said COMP we
- hebben bromfietspech gehad en die bromfiets was niet van hun want het  
 have moped trouble had and ART moped was not PREP them for it
- was van een ander zwager van me maar hij was niet thuis, en,  
 was PREP an other brother-in-law of me but he was not home, and,
- koppigheid van ons, we wilden gaan zwemmen, weet je? Want morgen  
 stubbornness of ours, we wanted go-FUT swim, know you? For tomorrow
- ga ik weggaan, weet je, iedereen wil het laatste afscheid nemen,  
 go-FUT I leave, know you, everyone wants the last goodbye take,
- weet je, OK heeft ze gezegd is jullie zaak. Dan wat gaan jullie  
 know you, OK has she said HI your business. Then what go-FUT you-PL
- dan zeggen? Hebben we gezegd we gaan het repareren. Hij gaat ons niet  
 then say? Have we said we go-FUT it repair. He go-FUT us not
- doodmaken daarvoor. Nee! Hij zal het wel begrijpen. OK, maar verder,  
 dead make for that. No! He shall-FUT indeed understand. OK, but further,
- verder weet ik niet hoe het is afgelopen want die ochtend tegen vier uur  
 further know I not how it has ended for ART morning by four hour
- moest ik terug reizen naar Suriname. Het was mooi, m'n vakantie in Cayenne,  
 must I back travel to Suriname. It was nice, my vacation in Cayenne,
- zo een beetje ...  
 like this a little bit ...
- 'We arrived at home. We told our aunt that our moped had broken down, and the  
 moped wasn't theirs for it belonged to another brother-in-law of mine but he wasn't

home, and stubbornness on our part, we wanted to go swim, right? For the day after I was going to leave, you know, everyone wanted to say goodbye last, you know, OK, she said then it is your business. Then what are you going to say? We said we are going to repair it. He is not going to kill us because of that. No! He will understand. OK, but apart from that, apart from that I don't know how the story ended for that morning by four o' clock I had to travel back to Suriname. It was nice, my vacation in Cayenne, like this ... '

A: En toen je terug kwam hadden jullie hard ge-, dezelfde man heeft  
And when you back came had you hard [driven], the same man has

jullie terug gebracht?  
you-PL back brought?

'And when you returned, did you drive fast, the same man took you back?'

T: Nee, toen we terug zijn gekomen ... we zijn vier uur van daar  
No, when we back have come ... we have four hour from there

weg gegaan ... vier uur in de ochtend ... zijn we tegen een tijd van zeven  
away gone ... four hour in the morning ... are we by a time of seven

uur daar bij-  
hour there at-

'No, when we came back ... we left there at four ... four in the morning ... by about seven we [arrived] at-

A: St. Laurent  
St. Laurent  
'St. Laurent'

T: Ja, St. Laurent gearriveerd. Dus die man ging racen  
Yes, St. Laurent arrived. So ART man go-PAST/PROG race-INF  
'Yes, arrived at St.Laurent. So the man was driving very fast'

A: dus nog sneller gereden  
so even faster driven  
'so [he] drove even faster'

T: Ja, dan die andere toen we weg gingen  
 Yes, than ART other one when we away went  
 'Yes, than the other one when we left [Suriname]'

A: Oh  
 Oh  
 'Oh'

T: Zeven uur ... tegen half elf was ik al in de stad  
 Seven hour ... by half eleven was I already in the city  
 'Seven o' clock ... by about half past ten I was already in the city'

A: Oh ja, dus dan ben je snel overgestoken  
 Oh yes, so then have you fast crossed  
 'Oh right, so then you crossed very fast'

T: Ja, direkt  
 Yes, right away  
 'Yes, right away'

A: Wat kost het nou eh ... eh ... zo'n boot, een tocht om over te steken van  
 What costs it uh ... uh ... such a boat, a trip for across to travel from

St. Laurent naar Albina?

St. Laurent to Albina?

'What does it cost uh ... uh ... such a boat, a trip to cross from St. Laurent to Albina?'

T: Van St. Laurent naar Albina ... als je komt is het duizend gulden ...  
 From St. Laurent to Albina ... when you arrive is it two thousand guilders ...

in franc dan is het twintig franc ... om van, van Albina naar St. Laurent is  
 in franc then is it twenty franc ... for from, from Albina to St. Laurent is

tweeduizend plus twintig franc ... dus per persoon "of, of". Dus als  
 two thousand plus twenty franc ... so per person "either, or". So if

je geen twintig franc hebt moet je tweeduizend bij je hebben. En als  
 you NEG twenty franc have must you two thousand with you have. And when

je terugkomt, als je geen tweeduizend hebt, moet je twintig franc bij je  
 you return, if you NEG two thousand have, must you twenty franc with you

hebben, dat is het eigenlijk ... maar van St. Laurent naar Albina als  
 have, that is it really ... but from St. Laurent to Albina when

je komt moet je bikkel zijn want er zijn een heleboel dieven daar,  
 you arrive must you tough be-INF for there are a lot of thieves there,

weet je?

know you?

'From St. Laurent to Albina ... when you arrive it is a thousand guilders ... in francs that is twenty francs ... to go from, from, Albina to St. Laurent it is two thousand plus twenty francs ... so per person "either, or". So if you don't have twenty francs, you have to have two thousand on you. And when you return, if you don't have two thousand, you have to have twenty francs on you, that is it really ... but from St. Laurent to Albina, when you arrive you have to be very tough for there are a lot of thieves there, you know?'

A: Van St. Laurent naar Albina?  
 From St. Laurent to Albina?  
 'From St. Laurent to Albina?'

T: Junkies ja, dus al op Albina, op Albina, als je, als je komt  
 Junkies yes, so already at Albina, at Albina, when you, when you arrive

dan vinden ze je komt uit Frans kant, je hebt veel geld dan komen  
 than find they you come from French side, you have a lot of money then come

ze je roven enzo. Want het is met me gebeurd toen ik terugkwam-  
 they you rob and so on. For it has with me happened when I returned-  
 'Junkies yes, so already at Albina, at Albina, when you, when you arrive then they think you've come from the French side, you have a lot of money, then they come to rob you and so on. For it happened to me when I returned.'

A: Ze hebben geprobeerd je te-  
 They have tried you to-  
 'They tried to-'

T: Ja! Ze hebben tien mille van ons genomen. Dus op een, op een  
 Yes! They have ten thousand from us taken. So in a, in a

lokkingmanier hè? Ze hebben ons gelokt zeg we zijn al  
 bait manner right? They have us lured COMP we have already

douane gepasseerd, hebben ze, ze zagen me met die Franse vrouw,  
 customs passed, have they, they saw me with ART French woman,

hebben ze gez-.. <er?> zijn een paar bijgekomen hebben ze me gevraagd  
 have they [] <there?> have a few joined have they me asked

zeg ja die vrouw is langsgegaan ... je hebt geen, je hebt geen paspoort  
 COMP yes ART woman has come by ... you have NEG, you have NEG passport

van die vrouw gewezen ... die douane laat je roepen. Maar tussentijd was  
 of ART woman shown ... ART customs let you call. But meantime had

ik al bij die douane gegaan maar die douane heeft me niks gezegd  
 I already to ART customs gone but ART customs has me nothingsaid

van die vrouw want ik wist vantevoren heb ik gezegd, ik heb d'r gezegd  
 about ART woman for I knew in advance have I said, I have her said

OK, ga jij in die auto zitten ... ik ga langsgaan. Is ze gewoon  
 OK, go-FUT you in ART car sit ... I go-FUT pass by. Has she just

soepel weg gelopen. Ze is in die auto gaan zitten. Ik ben bij die  
 smoothly away walked. She has in ART car go-INCHO sit. I have to ART

douane gegaan. Die douane heeft me gezegd waar is je paspoort? Ik zeg  
 customs gone. ART customs has me said where is your passport? I say

'k geen paspoort heb. Ik heb m'n ID kaart bij me, heeft hij me gezegd je  
 I NEG passport have. I have my ID cart with me, has he me said you

weet als je hier komt moet je een paspoort hebben, toch? Sorry, ik heb  
 know if you here come must you a passport have, right? Sorry, I have

geen paspoort. Ik heb geen paspoort. Hebben ze in m'n tas gekeken. OK,  
 NEG passport. I have NEG passport. Have they in my bag looked. OK,

maar die jongens, die junkies, ze observeren, hè? OK, zijn ... ben ik  
 but ART boys, ART junkies, they observe, right? OK, have-PL have-SG I

weg gegaan. Ik ben bij die vrouw gegaan ... heb ik gezegd OK,  
 away gone. I have to ART woman gone ... have I said, OK,

alles is goed. We stonden maar ze zijn gekomen, ze hebben me  
 everything is all right. We stood but they have come, they have me

gevraagd wie ik ben. Ze begonnen met-  
 asked who I am. They began with-  
 'Yes, they have taken ten thousand from us. Yes, by setting a bait, right? They lured us  
 saying we had already passed customs. They have, they saw me with the French  
 woman, they [], a few joined them, they asked me the woman passed by ... you did not,  
 you did not show a passport from the woman ... customs is calling you. But in the  
 meantime I had already been to customs but the customs officer never said anything  
 about the woman for I knew in advance I said, I said to her, OK, you go sit in the car ...  
 I am going to pass by [customs]. She then just walked off. She sat down in the car. I  
 went to customs. The customs officer said to me where is your passport? I said I don't  
 have a passport. I have my ID card with me, he said to me you know that when you  
 come here you have to have a passport, right? Sorry, I don't have a passport, I don't  
 have a passport. They looked in my bag. OK, but those boys, those junkies, they  
 observe, right? OK, I left. I went to the woman ... I said OK, everything is all right. We  
 stood still but they came over, they asked me who I was. They started to-'

A: Die junkies?  
 ART junkies?  
 'Those junkies?'

T: Ze begonnen met me te praten. Ik heb gehoord dat ze junkies zijn.  
 They began with me to talk. I have heard that they junkies are.

Ik heb gehoord zeg *a no junkie want efu dape na al den boi*,  
 I have heard COMP COP NEG junkies because if there COP all those boys,

*den hossilboi <X> dan zodra den si den kon fanga <XXX> ...*  
 those hussle boys <X> then as soon as they see they come catch <XXX> ...

Dus ze komen je lokken! Dan so *den kon pur'* tien mille *na*  
 So they come you lure! Then like that they come pull ten thousand from

*frou* A. weet je?

Ms. A. know you?

'They started to talk to me. I heard that they are junkies. I heard that they aren't junkies because if so, then all of them are junkies <X> then as soon as they see you, they come catch [you] <XXX> ... So they lure you! Like that they took ten thousand from Ms. A., you know?'

A: Waarom ze moet betalen?

Why she must pay?

'Why did she have to pay?'

T: Nee, eh ... ze hebben ons gezegd zeg die douane laat me roepen.

No, uh ... they have us said COMP ART customs let me call.

Ik moet die vrouw brengen want die vrouw is niet bij die douane gegaan.  
 I must ART woman bring for ART woman has not to ART customs gone.

Heb ik gezegd maar ik was zonet bij die douane, ik wist niks, ik weet  
 Have I said but I was just at ART customs, I knew nothing, I know

het niet, ik weet niet hoe het daar gaat, weet je? <XXX>  
 it not, I know not how it there goes, know you? <XXX>

*Mi tak* maar ik ben bij die douane gegaan *na dape mi psa a douane*  
 I say but I have to ART customs gone PREP there I pass the customs

*no taigi mi niks van a frou.* En eh ... *wan f'den boi e tak*  
 NEG tell me nothing about the woman. Anduh ... one of those boys PROG say

*ma a douane si a frou* toch? *Den tak, ja ... den tak*  
 but the customs see the woman right? They say, yes ... they say

volgens *mi na den junk' yere* ... ja, *i m' go dape..*  
 according to me COP those junkies hear ... yes, you-SG must go there

Ze begonnen zo opwindend te doen dat ik begon bang te zijn,  
 They began so excited to do that I began afraid to be,

in de war te komen want als ze die vrouw zouden roepen en 't waar  
 confused to become for if they ART woman would call and it true

was dan zouden ze-  
 was then would they-

'No, they told us that customs was calling me. I had to take the woman over there for the woman never went through customs. I said but I was just at customs, I knew nothing, I don't know, I don't know how it works there, you know? <XXX> I said but I've been at customs, there I passed, customs didn't say anything about the woman. And uh ... one of those boys was saying but the customs saw the woman, right? They said, yes ... they said, I think they were junkies ... yes, you must go there.. They became so excited that I was getting afraid, confused for if they were going to call the woman and it was true, then they would-'

A: Die vrouw weer-  
 ART woman again-  
 '[send] the woman'

T: Terugsturen! weet je ... en dan *mi e bereken taki fu voorkom* een  
 Send back! know you ... and then I PROG calculate COMP to avoid a

probleem dan beter *ef a frou pai a moni*  
 problem then better if the woman pay the money  
 'Send [her] back! you know ... and then I was thinking it is better to avoid a problem, then it is better if the woman pays the money'

A: Aan die jongens  
 To ART boys  
 'To the boys'

T: Dus dan *den boi go taigi mi tak go na* douane ... <XXX>  
 So then the boys go tell me COMP go to customs ... <XXX>

Heb ik gezegd nee, *mek' a douane kar' me ... te a kar me.*  
 Have I said no, make the customs call me... when he calls me

Dan begonnen ze <XXX> ... *i sabi?* Dan zijn ze eventjes daar  
 Then began they <XXX> ... you-SG know? Then are they briefly there

.

gegaan. OK, ze, ik weet niet wat ze daar spraken maar volgens  
gone. OK, they, I know not what they there spoke but according to

mij om me te lokken, want-  
me for me to lure, for-

'So then the boys told me go to customs ... <XXX>. I said no, have the customs officer  
call me ... when he calls me. Then they began <XXX> ... you know? Then they went  
there for a short while. OK, they, I don't know what they said there but I think to lure  
me, for-'

A: Jullie waren alleen?  
You-PL were alone?  
'You were alone?'

T: Mmm, C. was nog aan de overkant. Ze moest, hij moest een  
Mmm, C. was still on the other side. She had to, he had to a

rijst voor z'n moeder gaan kopen om met die taxichauffeur terug te  
rice for his mother go-FUT buy for with ART taxi driver back to

sturen ... dus zijn wij, dus zijn wij-  
send ... so have we, so have we

'Mmm, C. was still on the other side. She, he had to buy rice for his mother to send  
back with the cab driver ... so we, we-'

A: Vooruit gegaan  
Ahead gone  
'Went ahead'

T: Vooruit gegaan, en hij dacht in zichzelf ook zeg hoe of met onze  
Ahead gone, and he thought in himself also COMP how COMP with our

vieren waren misschien zou de douane ons ook aanpakken. Dan laten  
four were maybe would the customs us also hassle. Then let

we eerder gaan dan komen zij twee samen met die, met de andere  
we earlier go-INF then come they two together with ART, with the other

dames, komen zij naar ons toe, weet je. *Dan un du dati ... ma dan-*  
ladies, come they to us PREP, know you. Then you-PL do that ... but then-

'Went ahead, and he himself also thought that if the four of us were together, customs would maybe hassle us. Then we'd better go earlier, then the two of them would come together with the, with the other ladies they would come to us, you know. Then you do that ... but then-'

A: Is lastig hoor  
 HI annoying hear  
 'That's annoying'

T: Dan *den boi kon bigitak' taki dis nanga dati enzo,* dan ...  
 Then the boys come talk arrogantly COMP this and that and so on, then ...

*mi aksi omen' a frou mus pai* want ik denk in mezelf zeg als  
 I ask how much the woman must pay for I think to myself COMP when

ik bij die douane toe gaat dan gaat die douane me vragen zeg  
 I to ART customs PREP go then go-FUT ART customs me ask COMP

waar is die vrouw? Dan kande mi sref go faya tori, weet je  
 where is ART woman? Then maybe I myself go angry story, know you  
 'Then the boys were talking in an arrogant tone, saying this and that and so on, then ...  
 I asked how much the woman had to pay for I was thinking that when I go to the  
 customs officer, then the customs officer is going to ask me where is that woman? Then  
 maybe I myself will start yelling angrily, you know'

## *Appendix B*

Excerpt interview 2

Informant: Jo (J)

Interviewer: AP (A)

J: Ja, alles is duur geworden, weet je toch? Kijk-  
Yes, everything has expensive become, know you-SG right? Look-  
'Yes, everything has become expensive, right? Look-'

A: Brood  
Bread  
'Bread'

J: Brood. Vroeger was een brood eh ... laten we zeggen een brood,  
Bread. In the past was a bread uh ... let we say a bread,  
  
een broodje kost eh.. laten we zeggen tien cent, *no?*  
a sandwich cost uh.. let we say ten cent, right?  
'Bread. In the old days a loaf of bread uh.. let's say a loaf of bread, a sandwich cost uh..  
let's say ten cents, right?'

A: Ja, toen wij kinderen waren  
Yes, when we children were  
'Yes, when we were children'

J: Ja, nu is het vijfendertig gulden. Een moeder van tien kinderen..  
Yes, now is it thirty-five guilders. A mother of ten children..  
  
hoe, hoe moet die moeder, een, een vrouwpersoon doen?  
how, howmust ART mother, a, a womanperson do?  
'Yes, it is thirty-five guilders now. A mother of ten children.. how, how is the mother, a  
woman going to manage?'

A: Ik vraag me ook af. Bijvoorbeeld als jij, als jij nu tien kinderen  
I wonder REFL also PREP. For example if you, if you now ten children  
  
zou hebben.. maar natuurlijk hebben we geen tien kinderen  
would have.. but of course have we NEG ten children

'I also wonder about that. For example if you, if you had ten children now.. but of course we don't have ten children'

J: Tien kinderen laten we zo zeggen. Ik heb maar één. Ik voel het hoor want  
Ten children let we so say. I have only one. I feel it hear for

met één! Zo! Dan moet je een schoen van vijfduizend gulden betalen  
with one! Right! Then must you a shoe of fivethousand guilders pay  
'Let's say ten children. I have only one. [But] I do feel it with one! Right! Then you  
have to pay for shoes worth fivethousand guilders'

A: Dat niet eens lang meegaat  
That not even long lasts  
'That don't even last long'

J: Ik werk niet, ik werk niet. Elke dag moet ik m'n meisje honderd gulden  
I work not, I work not. Every day must I my girl hundred guilders

geven naar school te gaan want die kinderen van tegenwoordig wil-SG geen  
give to school to go for ART children of today want NEG

eh tien gulden naar school brengen!

uh ten guilders to school bring!

'I don't work. I don't work. Every day I have to give my daughter hundred guilders  
when she goes to school for today's children do not want to take uh ten guilders to  
school!'

A: Maar ze kunnen ook niks mee kopen  
But they can also nothing with buy  
'But they cannot buy anything with that either'

A/J: met tien gulden  
with ten guilders  
'with ten guilders'

J: Wat moeten jullie er aan doen?  
What must you-PL PRON PREP do?  
'What can you do about it?'

A: Honderd gulden. Eh, hoe zo moeilijk om aan geld te komen, OK,  
 Hundred guilders. Uh, how so difficult for PREP money to come, OK,

maar je wordt gesteund dus  
 but you are supported so  
 'Hundred guilders. Uh, why is it so difficult to get money, OK, but so you are supported'

J: Ja som<s>, ik mag niet jokken, z'n oma, m'n moeder, som<s> z'n  
 Yes sometimes, I should not lie, his grandma, my mother, sometimes his

vader, ja, maar voor mijzelf werk ik niet  
 father, yes, but for myself work I not  
 'Yes, sometimes, I shouldn't lie, his grandma, my mother, sometimes his father, but for myself I don't work'

A: Mm. Zou jij willen werken als je werk kon vinden?  
 Mm. Would you want work-INF if you work could find?  
 'Mm. Would you want to work if you could find work?'

J: Ja, maar hoe ben ik een maagpatient toch? Dan kan ik niet  
 Yes, but how am I a stomachpatient right? Then can I not  
 'Yes, but I suffer from chronic stomach problems, right? Then I cannot do it'

A: niet lang blijven  
 not long stay  
 '[then I cannot] stay long [i.e., maintain a position for a longer period]'

J: Ah, want ik heb eh.. een eh.. zweren aan m'n maag. Ik wil  
 Ah, for I have uh.. an uh.. ulcer PREP my stomach. I want

werken meisje maar het betaalt niet! Kijk eh ik werkte vroeger voor een  
 work-INF girl but it pays not! Look uh I worked before for a

vrouw op Zorg en Hoop... van donderdag tot vrijdag.. honderd gulden!  
 woman at Zorg and Hoop... from Thursday till Friday.. hundred guilders!

Het betaalt niet meisje!  
 It pays not girl!

'Ah, for I have a stomach ulcer. I want to work girl but it does not pay! Look, I used to work for a woman at Zorg en Hoop [a neighborhood in Paramaribo]... from Thursday till Friday.. hundred guilders! It doesn't pay girl!'

A: Het betaalt helemaal niet.. en dan moet je nog de bus betalen-  
It pays at all not.. and then must you still the bus pay-  
'It doesn't pay at all.. and then you also have to pay for the bus'

J: Betalen  
Pay  
'Pay'

A: Die vrouw is een grappenmaakster!  
ART woman is a joker!  
'That woman does not take things seriously!'

J: Nee toch? Heb ik gezegd toen ga ik niet meer werken hoor. Laat me  
No right? Have I said then go-FUT I not anymore work hear. Let me

thuis blijven. Ik wil niet thuis blijven want ik heb een kind, maar ja,  
home stay. I want not home stay for I have a child, but yes,

ik mag niet jokken. OK, wanneer het land beter wordt.. weet je... want  
I may not lie. OK, when the land better becomes.. know you... for

wat dat ding is is dat aanpassing.. je kan niet eens een zak rijst kopen. Wat  
what that thing is is that adjustment.. you can not even a bag rice buy. What

kost een zak rijst?  
costs a bag rice?

'No, right? Then I said in that case I am not going to work anymore. Let me stay home. I do not want to stay home for I have a child, but yes, I shouldn't lie. OK, when the [economic] situation in the country improves... you know...for what it is all about really is [economic] adjustment. You cannot even buy a bag of rice. What does a bag of rice cost?'

A: Zes duizend toch?  
Six thousand right?  
'Six thousand, right?'

J: Oh, zesduizend, *na?*  
 Oh, six thousand, right?  
 'Oh, six thousand, right?'

A: Of meer, ik weet niet. Ik heb geen, in geen tijden gekocht.  
 Or more, I know not. I have NEG, in NEG times bought.

Ik zet wel geld thuis, dan kopen we samen  
 I put indeed money home, then buy we together  
 'Or more, I don't know. I haven't bought any in a long time. I do contribute money at home, then we buy [rice] together.'

J: Oh, dat is goed. Kijk een gasbom kost een ... drieduizend, *no?*  
 Oh, that is good. Look a gastank costs a ... three thousand, right?  
 'Oh, that is good. Look, a [natural] gastank costs three thousand, right?'

A: Ja man, is-  
 Yes man, HI-  
 'Yes, man, that's-'

J: Vroeger was een gasbom-  
 In the past was a gastank-  
 'In the past a gas tank cost-'

A: Tweehonderdvijftig  
 Two hundred fifty  
 'Two hundred and fifty'

J: Tweehonderdvijftig  
 Two hundred fifty  
 'Two hundred and fifty'

A: Nou zij klaag, maar nu-  
 Well they complain-SG/PAST(?), but now-  
 'Well, they [used to?] complain, but now-'

J: Nu is het drieduizend! Hoe moeten arme mensen beginnen in dit land?  
 Now is it three thousand! How must poor people begin in this country?

Wat be-, wanneer gaat het land goed worden, wanneer... OK, we <XX>  
 What, when goes-FUT the country good become, when... OK, we <XX>

hoe heet die man weer?  
 how is called ART man again?

'Now it is three thousand! How are poor people going to manage in this country? What-  
 , when is the [economic] situation in the country going to improve, when... OK, we  
 <XX> what's that guy's name again?'

A: Vene  
 Vene  
 'Vene [Venetiaan, then-President of Suriname]'

J: Vene. Maar Vene kan niet helpen. OK hij heeft aangetekend aanpassing. Maar  
 Vene. But Vene can not help. OK he has signed adjustment. But

wat betekent aanpassing? Dat wil ik weten, wat betekent aanpassing?  
 what means adjustment? That want I know, what means adjustment?  
 'Vene. But Vene cannot help. OK, he has signed (?) the adjustment package. But what  
 does adjustment mean? That's what I want to know, what does adjustment mean?'

A: Ja, ja, zo voor ons-  
 Yes, yes, like for us-  
 'Yes, yes, like for us-'

J: Laten we zeggen, laten we zeggen als je vandaag rijst zonder eh ...  
 Let we say, let we say if you today rice without uh ...  
 'Let's say, let's say if today you [cook] rice without uh ...'

A: Vlees en vis  
 Meat and fish  
 'Meat and fish'

J: Vlees toch? Laten we zeggen je gaat eh witte rijst koken. Dat moet je  
 Meat right? Let we say you go-HAB uh white rice cook. That must you

eten. Dat betekent aanpassing. Of we brengen een broodje zonder niets erin.  
 eat. That means adjustment. Or we bring a sandwich without nothing in it.

Dat is aanpassing. Hoe bedoelt die man aanpassing?  
 That is adjustment. How means ART man adjustment?  
 'Meat right? Let's say you cook white rice. That's what you have to eat. That's what adjustment means. Or we bring a sandwich with nothing on it. That's adjustment. What does that man mean by adjustment?'

A: Man, hij legt het niet helemaal uit  
 Man, he explains it not at all PREP  
 'Man, he doesn't explain it at all'

J: Want ik wil weten wat is, wat is aanpassing? Aanpassen, iedereen zegt  
 For I want know what is, what is adjustment? Adjusting, everyone says

aanpassen oh ... is het aanpassen, *ai*, ik ga een schoen van zesduizend  
 adjusting oh ... is it adjustment, yes, I go-FUT a shoe of sixthousand

kopen... dat is... dat bedoelt Venetiaan zesduizend ... een schoen kost  
 buy ... that is... that means Venetiaan six thousand ... a shoe costs

zesduizend. Weet je wat kan je met een zesduizend doen  
 six thousand. Know you what can you with a sixthousand do

vroeger? Dus je koopt zoveel dinges erin ... oh  
 in the past? So you buy so much things in it ... oh  
 'For I want to know what adjustment means. Adjusting, adjusting, everyone says  
 adjusting, oh ... is it adjusting, yes, I buy a shoe worth sixthousand [guilders] ... that is  
 ... that's what Venetiaan means, six thousand ... a pair of shoes costs six thousand  
 [guilders]. Do you know what you used to be able to do with sixthousand? So you buy  
 so many things in it'

A: Maar nu heeft het geen waarde meer man  
 But now has it NEG worth anymore man  
 'But now it doesn't have any value anymore man'

J: Het heeft geen echt geen waarde meer. Kijk, zo laten we zeggen  
 It has NEG really NEG worth anymore. Look, here let we say

wanneer ik aan de Franse kant gaan ... wanneer ik die dinges zie  
 when I on the French side go ... when I ART things see

men zegt die dinges van Franse kant is ook duur. Ja, ze zijn  
 people say ART things from French side is also expensive. Yes, they are

wel duur maar daar heb je alles, van alles. Wanneer ik  
 indeed expensive but there have you everything, all sorts of things. When I

daar ga eet ik m'n rijst met m'n bruine bonen met m'n zoutvlees ... met m'n  
 there go eat I my rice with my brown beans with my salty meat ... with my

kip ... met m'n varken ... ze zeggen ab-  
 chicken ... with my pork ... they say ab-  
 'It really doesn't have any value anymore. Look, let's say when I go the French side  
 [French Guyana] ... when I see the things, people say that the things on the French  
 side are expensive too. Yes, they are expensive indeed but there you have everything,  
 all sorts of things. When I go there I eat rice with brown beans with salty meat ... with  
 chicken ... with pork ... they say ab-'

J and A: abuteri  
 abuteri  
 'abuteri'

J: Zoveel, zoveel dinges zet m'n zwageres er in, kip, zoute vlees  
 So many, so many things puts my sister-in-law in it, chicken, salty meat  
 'My sister-in-law puts so many things in it, chicken, salty meat'

A: Sausijsjes  
 Sausages  
 'Sausages'

J: Ik weet het niet wat ik moet zeggen. Ik eet m'n bakkeljauw daar op tijd  
 I know it not what I must say. I eat my bakkeljauw there on time

wanneer je daar gaat, wanneer ik die dinges ziet, meisje, wil ik alles  
 when you there go, when I ART things see, girl, want I everything

opeten. Franse kant is een kleine land maar het is gez-, het, het is beter  
 eat. French side is a small country but it is [], it, it is better

dan Suriname ... is beter  
 than Suriname ... HI better

**'I don't know what to say. I eat my bakkeljaurw [a type of salty, dried fish] there on time when I go there, when I see things, girl, I want to eat everything. [The] French side [i.e., French Guyana] is a small country but it is-, it, it is better than Suriname ... better it is.'**

### *Appendix C*

Excerpt interview 3

Informant: *Na* (N)

Interviewer: BO (B)

N: *Ai* Brigitte, over die tori van Clifton, van Colakreek, toen ik met hem  
 Yes Brigitte, about ART story about Clifton, about Colakreek, when I with him  
 naar Colakreek was geweest, je weet toch, dat hij met een Javaans  
 to Colakreek had been, you know right, that he with a Javanese girl  
 meisje daar was, OK hij was wel met z'n zus, en een paar vrienden  
 girl there was, OK he was indeed with his sister, and a few friends  
 van hem, maar was ik met Diana daar weet je, en dan vond meneertje  
 of his, but was I with Diana there know you, and then found mister-DIM  
 dat ik bij hem moest blijven ondanks ik niet met hem ben, was, was  
 that I with him should stay despite I not with him have, had, had  
 geweest naar Colakreek. Heb ik hem gezegd nee het gaat zo niet weet  
 been to Colakreek. Have I him said no it goes like this not know  
 je want ik ben met Diana hier, ik weet dat je m'n vriend bent, maar ik  
 you for I am with Diana here, I know that you my friendare, but I  
 kan ook niet bij jou blijven als ik met Diana hier ben. Vond hij van  
 can also not with you stay if I with Diana here am. Found he COMP  
 ja, ik weet, ik weet waarom want, omdat ik een oogje heb op een  
 yes, I know, I know why for, because I an eye-DIM have on an  
 andere jongen want hij zag me met Martin  
 other boy for he saw me with Martin  
 'Right Brigitte, about that story about Clifton, about Colakreek [a vacation resort  
 outside Paramaribo], when I was at Colakreek with him, you know that he was there  
 with a Javanese girl right, OK he was with his sister, and a few friends of his, but I was  
 there with Diana you know, and then mister thought I should stay with him despite the  
 fact that I hadn't gone to Colakreek with him. I said no that won't happen you know for

I am here with Diana, I know you are my boyfriend, but I cannot stay with you too when I am here with Diana. He thought I know, I know why for, because I am interested in another boy for he saw me with Martin'

B: Zomaar! Wie is Martin?  
Just like that! Who is Martin?  
'Just like that! Who is Martin?'

N: Martin die hier was met Mashano  
Martin who here was with Mashano  
'Martin who was here with Mashano'

B: Oh, Marvin!  
Oh, Marvin!  
'Oh, Marvin!'

N: Marvin heet hij *no*?  
Marvin is called he right?  
'Marvin is his name, right?'

B: Want hij, jij hebt hem ontmoet *no*?  
For he, you have him met right?  
'For he, you met him, right?'

N: Ik heb hem ontmoet op Colakreek, want hij heeft een huis, een huis daar  
I have him met at Colakreek, for he has a house, a house there  
'I met him at Colakreek, for he has a house, a house there'

B: Oh  
Oh  
'Oh'

N: Ik bedoel gehuurd  
I mean rented  
'I mean [a] rented [house]'

B: Oh  
Oh  
'Oh'

N: Ja, gehoord en eh 'k zei van ja, eh ik eh stond met hem te praten en  
 Yes, rented and uh I said COMP yes, uh I uh PROG with him to talk and

zo te zien vind ik hem leuk, heb ik gezegd van luister nou, waarom  
 so to see found I him nice, have I said COMP listen please, why

<XX> dat ik hem leuk vind? Ja, de manier waarop jij stond te praten.

<XX> that I him nice find? Yes, the manner in which you PROG to talk.

Heb ik gezegd, luister nou, ik stond misschien dichtbij op hem, maar niet  
 Have I said, listen please, I stood maybe close at him, but not

zo dichtbij dat we intiem spraken of zo want we spraken gewoon normaal  
 so close that we intimately spoke or so for we spoke just normally

van hé hallo, hoe gaat het, en we hebben niet eens lang gesproken,  
 COMP hey hello, how goes it, and we have not even long spoken,

misschien niet eens zeker een halve, halve minuut of zo. OK, hij heeft  
 maybe not even certainly a half, half minute or so. OK, he has

niets meer gezegd, eh, heb ik hem gezegd, luister nou, ik ga  
 nothing anymore said, uh, have I him said, listen please, I go

even naar die wagen, ik ga eten want ik lang niet gegeten voor  
 for a little while to ART car, I go-FUT eat for I long not eaten for

vandaag, ik ga even m'n buik vullen dan kom ik  
 today, I go-FUT for a little while my stomach fill then come I

even bij je langs ... nou hij vond van ik was te lang weg  
 for a little while at you around ... well he found COMP I was too long away

gebleven, dus is hij met een Javaans meisje gaan wandelen  
 stayed, so has he with a Javanese girl gone walking

'Yes, rented, and uh I said yes, uh I uh was talking with him and it looks like I like him, I said listen please, why <XX> that I like him? Yes, the way you were talking to him. I said, listen please, maybe I was standing close to him, but not so close that we were talking intimately or so for we were talking just like normal like hey hello, how is it going, and we didn't even talk long, maybe not even half, half a minute or so. OK, he

didn't say anything else after that, uh, I said to him, listen please, I am going to the car for a little while, I am going to eat for I haven't eaten for a while today, I am going to fill my stomach and then I will come by. Well he thought I had stayed away for too long, so he went for a walk with a Javanese girl'

B: Nog erbij Javaans

On top of that Javanese

'And Javanese on top of that'

N: Een Javaans meisje, en dan is hij eh met dat Javaans meisje gaan wandelen  
A Javanese girl, and then has he uh with that Javanese girl gone walking

en met Clinton, je kent Clinton toch? Clinton gaat met Rian  
and with Clinton, you know Clinton right? Clinton goes with Rian  
'A Javanese girl, and then he uh went for a walk with that Javanese girl and with Clinton, you know Clinton right? Clinton is dating Rian'

B: Wie is Clinton? Oh, Clinton! [last name] *no*?

Who is Clinton? Oh, Clinton! [last name] right?

'Who is Clinton? Oh, Clinton! [last name] right?'

N: Van HAVO, HAVO zit hij *no*?

From HAVO, HAVO is he right?

'From HAVO, he attends the HAVO [a type of secondary school], right?'

B: Oh, hij gaat met-???!!!

Oh, he goes with-???!!!

'Oh, he is dating-???!!!'

N: Hij gaat!!

He goes!!

'He does!!'

B: Zo'n mooie jongen! Wat gaat hij, waarom gaat hij met dat kind?

Such a beautiful boy! What goes he, why goes he with that child?

'Such a beautiful boy! Why is he, is he dating that girl?'

N: Hij gaat niet meer met 'r, maar Colakreek is twee weken terug, was hij

He goes not anymore with her, but Colakreek is two weeks ago, was he

daar met-  
there with-

'He is no longer dating her, but Colakreek was two weeks ago, he was there with-'

Third person: Met Clinton, of met, met [name]  
With Clinton, or with, with [name]  
'With Clinton, or with, with [name]'

N: Met Clinton! Ik weet wie Clinton is, en dingen heeft Marie  
With Clinton! I know who Clinton is, and what's-her-name has Marie

aangewezen  
pointed out

'With Clinton! I know who Clinton is, and what's-her-name pointed out Marie'

Third person: Ze gaat niet meer met hem  
She goes not anymore with him  
'She is not dating him anymore'

N: Oh, ze gaat niet meer met hem, *no*, in elk geval, en eh, want Clinton  
Oh, she goes not anymore with him, right, in any case, and uh, for Clinton

liep hand in hand met haar, en eh Clifton liep hand in hand met dat  
walked hand in hand with her, and uh Clifton walked hand in hand with that

ander meisje, dus eh heb ik die tori gezien weet je, maar Clifton wist niet  
other girl, so uh have I ART scene seen know you, but Clifton knew not

dat ik achter-, hij heeft gezegd hij had wel een gevoel dat ik achter hem  
that I behind-, he has said he had indeed a feeling that I behind him

liep maar je wist niet precies waar, want hij keek zo als hij naar  
walked but you knew not exactly where, for he looked as if he to

achteren keek was ik aan de zijanten, is heel ergens anders was ik, dus  
the back looked was I on the sides, HI very somewhere different was I, so

eh, heeft hij me gezegd van eh, heeft hij, hij sprak echt intiem met  
uh, has he me said COMP uh, has he, he spoke really intimately with

dat meisje hè, heel dicht in 'r oor, weet je wel, en natuurlijk omdat  
 that girl right, very close in her ear, now you right, and of course because

een Javaan was gaf het me om in te smelten daar en water te worden  
 a Javanese was gave it me for in to melt there and water to become

weet je en te kruipen naar dat kind om dat kind te gaan verbranden,  
 know you and to crawl to that child for that child to go-FUT burn,

maar aangezien dat niet kon OK ben ik gewoon naar die wagen gelopen,  
 but because that not could OK have I just to ART car walked,

want ik was al klaar met eten, dus dan was ik even naar z'n  
 for I was already done with eating, so then had I for a little while to his

zus geweest om te vragen waar 'ie is en zei die zus van en ja,  
 sister been for to ask where he is and said ART sister COMP and yes,

volgens mij is hij naar jou gaan zoeken  
 according to me has he PREP you gone searching

'Oh, she is no longer dating him right, in any case, and uh, because Clinton was walking hand in hand with her, and uh Clifton was walking hand in hand with that other girl, so uh I saw the whole scene you know, but Clinton didn't know that I behind-, he said that he did have a feeling that I was walking behind him but you [he] didn't know exactly where, for he looked, the way he looked like this, when he looked behind him, I was on the side, I was somewhere completely different, so uh, he said to me uh, [he has], he was talking really intimately with that girl right, very close to her ear, you know, and of course because she was Javanese I wanted to melt there and turn into water you know and to crawl to that girl to burn her, but because that was impossible OK I just walked back to the car, for I was already done eating so then I went to his sister to ask where he was and his sister said yes, I think he is looking for you'

B: Maar Clif brengt het, dus jij mag niet maar hij mag wel  
 But Clif brings it, so you may not but he may indeed  
 'But Clif brings it <?>, so you are not allowed to do it, but he is'

N: Hij mag wel, want hij vond ik ben te lang weg gebleven en omdat  
 He may indeed, for he found I have too long away stayed and because

ik te lang was weg gebleven zou hij met dat meisje gaan  
 I too long had away stayed would-FUT/PAST he with that girl gone

zwemmen, heb ik gezegd luister nou, ik kan voorstellen dat je wilde  
 swim, have I said listen please, I can imagine that you wanted

gaan zwemmen met dat meisje, maar de richting waar jij op ging,  
 go-INF swim with that girl, but the direction where you PREP went,

de richting die jij op ging was niet eh naar, naar een kreek of  
 the direction that you PREP went was not uh to, to a creek or

ergens om te gaan zwemmen, was heel ergens anders enzo,  
 somewhere for to go swim, HI very somewhere different and so on,

ik zeg hem van ja, maar ik, je moest eerst naar jou zoeken,  
 I say him COMPyes, but I, you had to first for you search,

heb 'k gezegd, oh, zo zoek je naar-  
 have I said, oh, like that search you for-

'He is allowed to, for he thought I had stayed away too long and because I had stayed away for too long he was going to swim with that girl, I said listen please, I can imagine that you wanted to go swimming with that girl, but the direction where you were going was not uh towards, towards a creek or somewhere to swim, that was somewhere quite different and so on, I told him yes, but I, you [I] had to look for you first, I said, oh, that's how you look for-'

B: Oh samen met dat meisje zou je naar-, zocht hij naar jou  
 Oh together with that girl would you for-, searched he for you  
 'Oh, together with that girl you would [for]-, he was looking for you'

N: Toen heb ik hem gezegd luister nou, dan denk je dat ik gek ben?  
 Then have I him said listen please, then think you that I crazy am?

Luister nou, je hebt, hebt naar mij komen zoeken. Ja ik zweer het,  
 Listen please, you have, have for me come search. Yes I swear it,

ik kom naar jou zoeken. Heb ik gezegd je weet ik hou niet van Rian,  
 I come for you search. Have I said you know I like not PREP Rian,

of ik ik heb niets met 'r hoor of zo, dus dat ik 'r groet of zo,  
 or I I have nothing with her hear or so, so that I her greet or so,

maar ik denk echt niet dat jij hand in hand naar mij toe zou komen  
 but I think really not that you hand in hand to me PREP would come

met dat Javaanse meisje en Clinton en Rian helemaal achterop  
 with that Javanese girl and Clinton and Rian all the way in the back

ergens naar mij zouden komen zoeken, zei hij van ja, nou *man*,  
 somewhere for me would come search, said he COMP yes, well man,

maar gewoon ik zou je kennis laten maken met ze [laughter]  
 but just like that I would you acquaintance let make with her

ik zou je kennis met 'r laten maken! Nog mooier en weer<?>  
 I would you acquaintance with her let make! Even nicer and again<?>

O, leuk, leuk, leuk, enzo want dan ben ik hem gewoon  
 Oh, nice, nice, nice, and so on for then have I him just

voorbij gelopen want hij schreewt Nancy, Nancy, Nancy!!  
 passed by for he yells Nancy, Nancy, Nancy!!

Je vermoeit je stem, ik kijk hem niet eens aan  
 You wear out your voice, I look him not even PREP  
 'Then I told him, listen please, do you think I am crazy? Listen please, you were, were  
 looking for me. Yes, I swear, I was looking for you. I said you know I don't like Rian,  
 or there is nothing going on between her and me, so I would greet her or so, but I really  
 don't think that you would come walking hand in hand towards me with that Javanese  
 girl and [that] Clinton and Rian somewhere all the way in the back would come looking  
 for me, he said yes, well man, but I was just going to introduce her to you [laughter] I  
 was going to introduce her to you! Even better and again<?>. Oh, nice, nice, nice, and  
 so on for then I just walked past him for he is yelling Nancy, Nancy, Nancy!! You are  
 wearing out your voice, I didn't even look at him'

- B: Daar op Colakreek, waar al die mensen waren  
 There at Colakreek, where al ART people were  
 'There at Colakreek, in the presence of all those people'

**N: Heeft Clinton hem gezegd, hé *boi, i faya, i faya, i faya!*  
Has Clinton him said, hey boy, you angry, you angry, you angry!  
'Clinton said to him, hey boy, you are angry, you are angry, you are angry!'**

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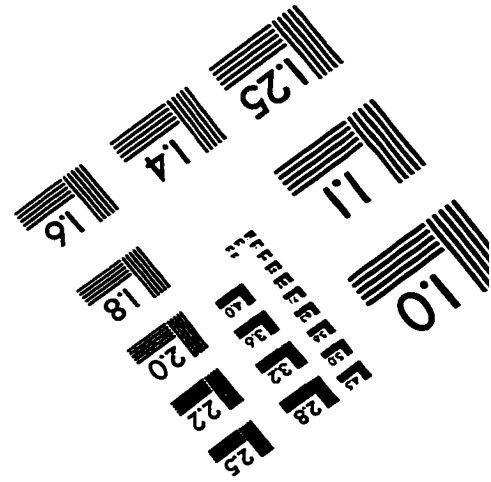
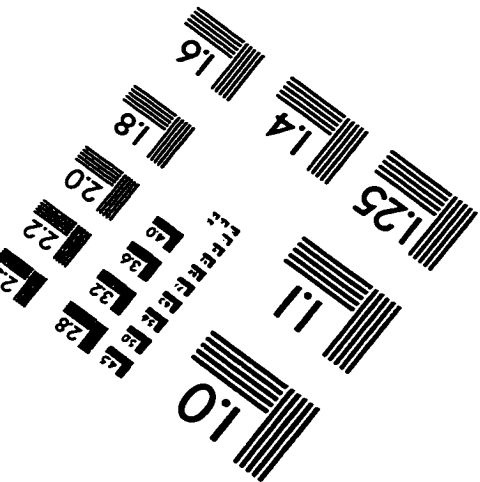
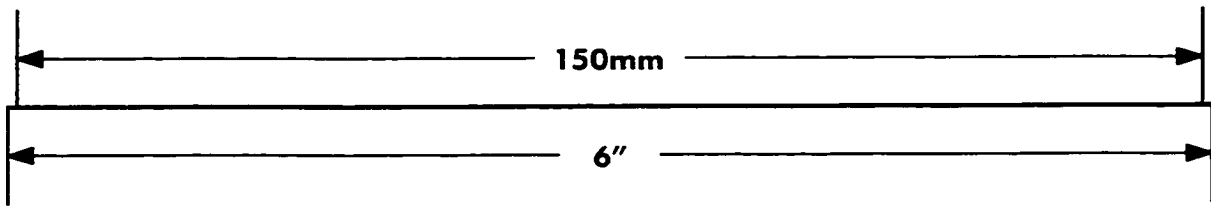
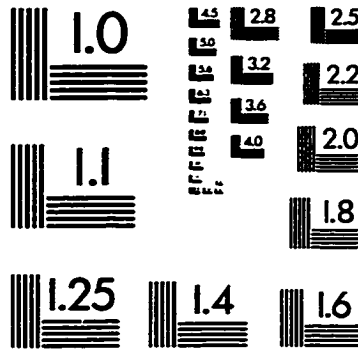
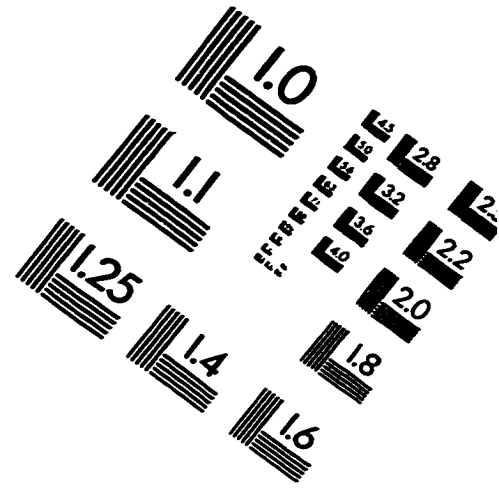
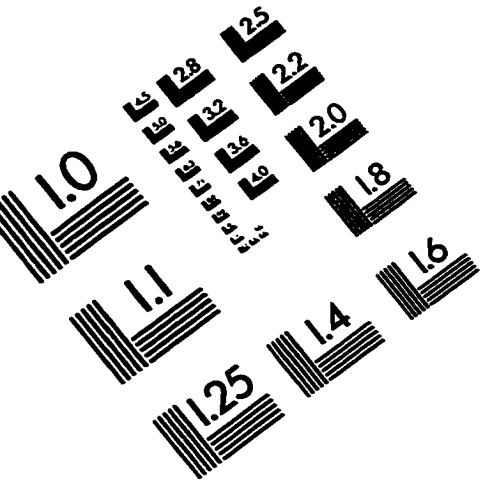
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