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In Olívia Maria Gomes da Cunha
entitled: *Maroon Cosmopolitics: personhood, creativity and incorporation*

Chapter 6

Research on Maroon Languages and Language Practices among Matawai and Kwinti Maroons

Bettina Migge

The first part of this chapter reviews the research on the Maroon Creoles of Suriname (and French Guiana) showing that research to date has primarily focused on genesis-based, structural linguistic issues to the detriment of sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological issues. This has much inhibited interaction with other disciplines such as anthropology and education that also have an interest in Maroon Culture and (mis)represented them as relatively static and rural languages despite the fact that their speakers have undergone rapid urbanization and social change in the last thirty years. The second part of the paper explores language practices among Kwinti and Matawai Maroons, two understudied and endangered Maroon languages, showing that while the latter is still regularly practiced as a community language in the village context, the former appears to have become an ethnic register of a generalized (eastern) Maroon variety.
Matawai, Kwinti, Creoles of Suriname, code switching, sociolinguistics

1. Introduction

The creole languages of Suriname and the Maroon Creoles in particular have been the subject of a fair amount of research spanning more than two centuries and figured prominently in research on creole genesis due to their rather conservative nature. Despite this, we know very little about the dynamics of their use, including the broad areas of language variation and pragmatics because most of the research has focused on structural linguistic aspects. This lack of attention to sociolinguistic issues is nevertheless surprising because Maroons' social and linguistic circumstances have been subject to a fair amount of change. Since the 1960s and particularly in the last two decades the social and spatial makeup of Maroon communities have been significantly transformed due to processes of migration, displacement, urbanization and greater contact with mainstream Surinamese, French Guianese, Dutch and more recently also French society (van Stipriaan 2015; Migge and Léglise 2015). However, research on the Maroon languages has, for the most part, continued to focus on relatively conservative language use among elders and village dwellers. This has led to a situation where research findings only represent Maroons' actual language practices in part and no dialogue can develop with anthropologists who have traditionally also shown a keen interest in Maroons (e.g. Thoden van Velzen, van Wettering; Richard and Sally Price).

This paper has three related goals. First, it gives a brief overview of the linguistic research that has been carried out on the Maroon Creoles of Suriname. Second, it explores data on those Maroon languages, Matawai and Kwinti, that have to date been mostly neglected by linguistic research. Third, it contributes to the kinds of research, namely sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological research, that have to date received little systematic attention. The paper argues that the application of social approaches to language on the one hand allows us to obtain much needed insights into the (changing) social functions and nature of these languages and to open up a dialogue with the social sciences; on the other hand, it also deepens our understanding of the makeup, emergence and development of these languages.

The paper is structured as follows. Part two provides an overview of the bulk of the linguistic research on Maroon languages to date, focusing on contact linguistic, historical and descriptive research. Part three discusses sociolinguistic research and compares language practices among speakers of Matawai and Kwinti, comparing them to those documented for the Eastern Maroon Creoles. The final section summarizes the findings and discusses their implications.

2. Early and structural research on the Maroon Creoles

It is generally agreed that records of the creole languages of Suriname have considerable time depth because the first speech samples started appearing at the end of the 17th and during the early part of 18th century, shortly after the emergence of these languages.[1] These samples appeared in a variety of written sources such as court records, novels, scientific/artistic studies of Suriname's flora and the colony itself (Arends 2002a: 184-87; van den Berg 2000). These earliest speech samples and much of the subsequent writings such as the different language primers (e.g. van Dyk 1765; Weygandt 1798) focused on the language use among the slave population and thus represent Sranantongo, rather than the Maroon languages. For a discussion of the sources, see Arends (2017).

Systematic documentation of the Surinamese Creoles started in the 1770s and went hand in hand with prosylizing activities of the Moravian missionaries in Suriname. Christian Ludwig

[1] In Migge (2003a) I argue that the plantation varieties emerged and stabilized roughly between the 1680s and 1720. This is also the period when some of the Maroon varieties (Ndyuka, Saamaka (and Matawai)) split off from the plantation varieties (Smith 2002), but see also Arends (2017) for a somewhat different view based on the analysis of primary documents.

Schumann, for instance, produced a number of religious texts in Sranantongo and Saamaka and also "compiled two of the most valuable early creole dictionaries, one of Saramaccan (1778), the other of Sranan (1783)." (Arends 2002a: 192). Schumann's dictionary was subsequently revised and expanded by Johann Andreas Riemer (c. 1780) who also added a short grammatical description of the language.[2] The original Saamaka dictionary and its revised version were based on data from the village context where both Riemer and Schumann had spent time. Both versions of the dictionary provide rich insights into the lexical structure of the Saamaka language at that time, the varied uses and semantic extensions of particular lexical items and the social context of use and patterns of variation. The illustrative examples and the metacomments (Arends 2002a: 203) of the compilers that accompany many of the lexical entries also provide valuable data for a morphosyntactic analysis of the early language and give rich insights into the socio-cultural context in which the language was/is embedded, see Arends (2017 for an analysis). Records on the other Maroon languages of Suriname are largely absent.[3]

Research on the Maroon languages intensified after the 1960s. The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) started documenting the languages of Suriname for the ultimate purpose of producing bible translations for Ndyuka, Saamaka and Sranantongo. This work gave rise to translations of the New Testament, basic bilingual or trilingual dictionaries (http://www-01.sil.org/americas/suriname/Index.html) for Ndyuka, Saamaka and Sranantongo, a detailed grammar of Ndyuka (Huttar and Huttar 1994), a grammatical sketch of Saamaka (Rountree 1992) and a number of both academic papers (see also below) and language learning materials (http://www-01.sil.org/americas/suriname/biblio-suriname.pdf). More recently, a grammar of Saamaka (McWhorter and Good 2012) and a comparative grammar of Aluku, Ndyuka and Pamaka (Nenge(e)) (Goury and Migge 2003/2017) aimed at the French Guianese market appeared, and a trilingual dictionary (Nengee-French-English-Nengee) project is currently underway in French Guiana[4] and a comprehensive Saamaka-Dutch-Saamaka dictionary is currently being compiled by

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[2] It was reprinted in Arends and Perl (1995) along with English translations and information about its history.

[3] Although an important indigenous religious prophet of the time, the Matawai Maroon Johannes King, started writing in the 1860s, we have no records of Matawai from that time as he wrote in Sranantongo.

[4] This project is run as part of the larger project DicoGuyane currently being carried out in French Guiana. It is based on a database put together by Kenneth Bilby in the 1980s and research carried

Vinije Haabo (Haabo ms). These various historical and modern resources for some of the Maroon languages are greatly enhancing our knowledge of these three languages, making them more accessible for research, but it is unclear if and how they are used by speakers of the language.

Much of the academic research on the Maroon languages has focused on shedding light on the genesis of creole languages and was aimed at refuting Bickerton (1981). He argued that creole languages provide privileged insights into the origin-of-language question because their putative creators – children growing up in the plantation setting – did not have access to viable languages and thus had to draw on their innate human blue print for language to create a common language. The resulting languages – the creole – presumably display strong parallels to structures found in first language (L1) interlanguage varieties. This view contrasts with the substrate view of creole genesis which maintains that creoles emerged from contact between varieties of European languages such as English or French on the one hand and the languages of the subordinated populations such as West African languages in the case of creoles spoken in the Caribbean, South American and Africa and Melanesian languages in the case of creoles spoken in the Pacific region on the other. Broadly speaking, the creators of creoles reanalyzed whatever they were able to learn of the dominant European language in terms of the structural rules and principles of their native languages (Migge 1998a, 2003a; Winford 2008).[5]

Proponents of the bioprogram theory (Byrne 1987; Veenstra 1996) have explored selected syntactic phenomena (e.g. movement phenomena, complementation and serial verbs constructions) in Saamaka and compared them to universals of language and to a lesser extent to equivalent structures in their input languages. They found that the Saamaka constructions closely resemble unmarked universal syntactic structures and do not match up well with those in African

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out for the project. It involves collaboration between the author and speakers of Ndyuka, Aluku and Pamaka who work as mother tongue teachers (*Intervenant en Langue Maternel*) in French Guianese primary schools. It is funded by local French Guianese institutions.

[5] Lefebvre (1998) conceptualizes the main process of contact (referred to as relexification) somewhat differently but comes to the same conclusion that African languages played a major role in creole formation. See also the following edited works that deal specifically with the genesis of the creoles of Suriname (Migge and Smith 2007; Essegby, Migge and Winford (2013); Muysken and Smith 2014).

There is another, minor, theoretical strand, namely the Afro-genesis theory. It argues that a basic pidgin variety had formed on the West African Coast and was then transported across the Atlantic and further developed there in the different territories (Hancock 1969; McWhorter 1995; Parkvall 2000; Devonish 2002; Smith 2014a).

languages, suggesting that they emerged from independent processes of creation rather than from their (African) input languages. Researchers who advocated in favor of the important role of the African input languages typically focused on comparing morpho-syntactic phenomena in one or more Maroon creoles with equivalent ones in the main African input languages, namely varieties of Gbe and Kikongo and to a lesser extent Akan (Arends 1995). Based on increasingly more detailed comparative studies focusing on a range of different structural rather than lexical features – e.g. copular (Migge 2002; 2003a) and adjectival constructions (Migge 2000), complementation (Aboh 2006; Lefebvre and Loranger 2006; Migge and Winford 2013), locative constructions (Essegbey 2005; Yakpo and Bryun 2014), serial verb constructions (McWhorter 1992; Migge 1998a and b), tense, mood and aspect phenomena (Winford and Migge 2007; Migge and Winford 2009; Migge 2006, 2011; Migge and Goury 2008; Winford 2006; Essegbey et al. 2013; van den Berg and Aboh 2013), morphological processes (Migge 2003a and b), word level semantic structure (Essegbey and Ameka 2007; Huttar et al. 2007; Huttar et al. 2013) – these investigations showed that there are important similarities between certain African languages and particularly the varieties of Gbe and the Maroon languages. Maroon features are typically not exact copies of features in African languages though suggesting that they arose from contact between the African languages and between African and European input languages; in addition, they have also undergone change over the last 200 years. On the one end of the continuum, there are content and functions morphemes, including their etymology, that were retained from African languages (e.g. Smith 2006, 2014). On the other end of the continuum, there are constructions that retain their basic structure or the main features from an African source, but the actual morphemes and some of their functions derive from a different source, often a European language (e.g. Migge and Goury 2008; Essegbey 2005). Most of their properties appear to involve lexical items derived from European languages whose structural features (including their semantics, syntax and phonotactic structure) derive in large part, but generally not exclusively, from African source languages.[6] This suggests that the African source languages played an important role in the emergence of the Surinamese (Maroon) creole languages, however, substrate influence was by no means the only influence. While the African languages often set the overall or broad frame for an area of grammar and the types of constructions they involve, other sources such as the European languages,

[6] Of course, there is also some overlap between features in European and African sources.

particularly English and to a lesser extent Portuguese, contributed important aspects of grammar that went well beyond the etymological shapes of words in most cases. Once such hybrid structures had emerged, other processes such as grammaticalisation, pragmatic reinterpretation, semantic extension and narrowing driven by language contact or non-contact based factors further affected the Maroon languages, giving rise to the emergence of this unique family of languages.

There are two other lines of research that have had a major impact. One focuses on understanding the socio-cultural context in which these languages emerged and exist. Examining a range of historical documentation such as records pertaining to slavery (e.g. Postman 1990), population movements in West Africa, popular and official descriptions and records pertaining to various aspects of plantation life, researchers attempt to reconstruct the different socio-cultural factors that conditioned the contact settings in which they emerged and developed. They contain valuable information on issues such as the types of populations that were present, their relative sizes, their social and linguistic background, the patterns of inter- and intra-group contacts and the broad norms of interaction. In the case of Suriname, publications by Jacques Arends (1995, 2002b; 2017) have been instrumental in revealing the sociocultural matrix of creole genesis and in furthering our understanding about the social context of language contact. In relation to the history of the Maroon populations and the process of maronage, a number of publications are now available that examine the history of individual Maroon groups. These publications are based on both archival material and/or oral history narratives (see e.g. Hoogbergen 1983, 1990; Price 1993, 1996; Moomou 2004, 2013; Thoden van Velzen and Hoogbergen 2011; van Wettering and Thoden van Velzen 2014). When combined with careful linguistic analysis, this information allows for a detailed reconstruction of the processes of change involved in the emergence of Maroon languages.

A fourth line of research analyses early documents written in a creole language. Since the first documents for Suriname date from the beginning of the 18th century, they provide valuable insights into how the languages have changed over time. For Suriname this research focuses predominantly on Sranantongo (e.g. Arends 1989; Bruyn 1995; van den Berg 2007) and to a lesser extent on Saamaka due to the scarcity of documents for the other languages. Analysis suggests that the Creoles of Suriname developed gradually rather than abruptly and that some areas of

grammar underwent significant change and/or displayed variation over time while others were relatively static over time. Contemporary varieties are the result of complex processes of change that were in part driven by contact-induced language change between Sranantongo and European languages, but also by processes of koinization involving contact, competition and selection between the different creole varieties such as between Maroon creoles and Sranantongo on the one hand and different varieties of Sranantongo (and different Maroon languages) on the other. However, this latter aspect has hardly been explored in detail as research has mostly focused on structural linguistic rather than on sociolinguistic (Migge and Mühleisen 2010) concerns.

While research on creole genesis has significantly improved our knowledge about the grammatical makeup of the Creoles of Suriname and the social and linguistic processes that were involved in their formation, it has also led to a situation where Maroon languages are viewed as static or frozen in time, and as unidimensional linguistic objects. Since research has predominantly focused on the syntax and structural functions of single linguistic forms and constructions we know very little about language practices, pragmatics and the overall speech economy. For instance, we do not know what varieties are recognized by members of the community, how they differ from each other, what their linkages are with social and pragmatic dimensions and how they are distributed across social groupings and social contexts. Equally lacking is knowledge about ideologies of language use and patterns of variation including contact with other languages. These issues are of interest from the point of view of sociolinguistics and for applied purposes but are also likely to provide important insights into processes of language change (e.g. the precise nature of the relationships between the different Maroon languages and Sranantongo, the processes of change that have been affecting Maroon languages throughout their history).[7]

3. Research on language practices

[7] A first attempt at comparing modern L2 practices in the Maroon Creoles and historical data written by Europeans (Migge and van den Berg 2009), for instance, suggested that some of the patterns of variation found in the historical data might have equally been simply second language (L2) practices of Europeans rather than being indicative of change in progress within the language as a whole.

To date sociolinguistic research on Suriname and its diaspora communities in the Netherlands and French Guiana is relatively rare (but see Migge and Léglise 2005, 2011, 2013 for French Guiana). We also still lack work on diaspora communities in France that have been emerging over the last decade or so. There is some research on ideologies relating to Sranantongo (Gleason Carew 1982; St-Hilaire 1999, 2001) and to some of the other major languages spoken in Suriname, including Maroon languages, dating from the 1970s and 1980s (Charry et al. 1983). These were generally based on an analysis of census data, an analysis of regulations and a few guided interviews. They argue that while languages other than Dutch have covert prestige among their speakers in Suriname, they are not highly valued in the public domain and among non-speakers. Its (monolingual) speakers were often also found to be subject to various kinds of language-based discrimination. Recent survey-based research in both Suriname (Léglise and Migge 2015; Migge and Léglise 2015; Kroon and Yagmur 2010) and French Guiana (Léglise 2007; Migge and Léglise 2015) still registered traces of these overt negative perspectives, but found that overall society-wide and speakers' overt evaluations of Maroon languages have definitely improved especially in Suriname but also in French Guiana and that processes of rural-urban and transnational migration have not negatively affected speakers' alignment with Maroon languages. In fact, Migge and Léglise (2015) found that positive identification with Maroon languages is higher in western French Guiana than in Suriname. This is most likely due to both Maroon's growing demographic importance in both contexts and their greater participation in the local urban mainstream or official contexts. In the remainder of this section I will look in more detail at what we know about Maroon's language ideologies and actual language practices in both intra- and inter community contexts with particular reference to Matawai and Kwinti as these communities have to date received very little attention in research (but see Migge 2017).

The data for the discussion come from observations, discussions and recordings of interactions among Maroons in the village context and in the urban context in Suriname and in western French Guiana since 1995. The initial research focused predominantly on the Pamaka community and the rural context. Since 2000 my research has focused increasingly on the urban context. It mostly follows a participant observation approach and recordings were carried out by myself and by community members or with both present.

The data on Matawai and Kwinti were collected in 2013 with financial support from CNRS-SedyL, the Ohio State University and sabbatical leave from University College Dublin. I visited the Matawai villages for about ten days in August 2013, see Map 1;

[Map 1 about here]

I stayed in the upriver village of Bethel and visited other villages together with a Matawai elder and sometimes other relations of his. During these visits I was given the opportunity to record interactions that occurred. I spend about a week in September 2013 in the remaining Kwinti village Bitagron on the Coppename River where I was given the opportunity to observe everyday life and to record a few interactions.[8] The interactions in the village setting occurred organically as a result of our visits. In addition, I also made recordings with speakers of Matawai and Kwinti in Paramaribo. Recordings consisted either of naturalistic interactions where the author was mostly a by-stander, typically in the village context, and semi-guided discussions that mostly occurred in town. The older recordings were made available to me by Miriam Sterman and come from anthropological research carried out by Miriam Sterman and Chris de Beet in the 1970s in the upriver region (Boslanti) (de Beet and Sterman 1981). I would like to thank Miriam Sterman for patiently checking the transcriptions for me.

[Figure 1 about here]

[Figure 2 about here]

3. 1. The sociolinguistic makeup of the Maroon communities

The common assumption is that members of Maroon communities are monolingual and that Maroon languages are essentially mono-stylistic. However, analysis of members' discourse about language suggests that Maroons perceive both their linguistic environment and their own language to be linguistically complex (Migge and Léglise 2013: 262). Most basically, all Maroon

[8] On previous occasions I had visited the Kwinti villages of Bitagron (2010) and Kaimansiton (1996) for a few days each time and the Matawai villages of Kawkugron and Nieuw Jakobskondre (2010).

communities distinguish between good or respectful speech, common speech and also disrespectful speech. It is the two extremes, respectful and disrespectful speech, that are the focus of people's attention. Matawai speakers often refer to the former as *fan ku lesipeki* while Kwinti speakers refer to it as *lesikepi taki*, like their Eastern Maroon (EM) counterparts. Common speech is often not overtly referred to, but essentially covers everything that is not considered markedly respectful or disrespectful. Disrespectful speech is referred to as *goofu taki* 'rough speech'. They are distinguished in terms of both content and form or manner of delivery. Respectful speech is ideologically strongly associated with male elders or an aura of importance and tends to involve negative politeness practices such as polite variants of lexical forms and a certain presentational style. Traditionally, this involves an overtly dialogical style called *piki taki* 'ritual responding' where the speaker (*takiman*) leaves frequent intervals during his speech into which the designated responder (*pikiman*) inserts short responses that support the speech of the speaker. A next speaker has to wait until the current speaker has overtly signaled the end of their contribution. Extract (1) exemplifies the typical features of such a very formal style. It comes from an official meeting (*kuutu*) held in an upriver Matawai village in the 1970s.

Extract (1)

1 **Takiman***:* M., di a dɛ taki u o kon miti a kuutu tide

'M, when it was announced that we'll hold a meeting today.'

2 **Pikiman***:* Eya 'Yes'

3 **Takiman***:* Wɛ di mi dɛ u Boslanti fa mi du?

'Well, since I am from Boslanti, what can I do?'

4 **Pikiman***:* Mh 'Yes'

5 **Takiman***:* Wɛ di i seepi dɛ u Boslanti, i musu kon

'Well, since you yourself are from Boslanti, you have to come.'

6 **Pikiman***:* I musu kon 'I have to come.'

7 **Takiman***:* Fu kon seeka libi, na so nɔ?

'To deal with (pending) issues, right?'

8 **Pikiman***:* So a dɛ 'That's right.'

9 **Takiman***:* Nɔɔ i sa fa gadu da mi ye?

'You know what god told me?'

10 **Pikiman***:* Ya 'Yes'

11 **Takiman***:* Bo takii. 'Let's say'

12 **Pikiman***:* Ya 'Yes'

13 **Takiman***:* U bi abi wan fesiman, masa teki en.

'We had a leader, but he died.'

14 **Pikiman***:* So a dɛ 'That's right.'

...

Only one person speaks at a time. The responses of the *pikiman*, which come from a restricted lexical set, function as a kind of feedback. They either signal to the current speaker that he is being listened to (continuation token, lines 2, 4, 10, 12, 14) or provide feedback (assessment token, lines, 6, 8) of the content in order to encourage him to carry on with his speech (Migge 2011). The current speakers' expression is euphemistic. The speaker does not directly name the matter at hand but uses metaphoric and euphemistic expressions to avoid open face threats (Migge 2004; Migge and Léglise 2013). In less formal contexts, the overall setup is the same but the rules are relaxed in various ways. Expression tends to be more direct and less veiled and no one in particular might perform the role of ritual responder. Either the speaker emulates the overall rhythm of the *piki-taki* style but no one provides the responses or the responses are less 'formal' and less frequent. Extract (2) is a case in point. In this extract, a village head (*kapiten*) from another village is telling an elder (P) and his wife (M) (and a few others who happened to be around) about something that happened during a recent burial ceremony in another village. This was a spontaneous event as it was prompted by our arrival at the elders' house, but it was more formal than a regular chat because the speaker is informing the couple about a serious matter, in this case someone's admission of an attempt at making use of supernatural power.

Extract (2)

1 K: (...) hen a balaki kon -- da di a balaki kon, nɔɔ hen den famii tei faya -- M go a

2 – a Paakiiki – M go a Paakiiki –

'Then he poured everything out – when he had poured everything out, then the members of the family started speaking – M went to Paakiiki – M went to Paakiiki.'

3 M: ehe 'yes'

4 K: nɔɔ di mi ku i go a Paakiiki – 'When I and you (the person) went to Paakiiki.'

5 M: ehe 'Yes'

6 K: di sondi di u go du a Paakiiki ala – 'The matter that we went to Paakiiki to do'

7 M : eya 'Yes'

8 K : di u kon dolu -- nɔɔ di muyɛɛ aki an de moo -- a waka, a guwe, a go a booko

9 matu –

'When we arrived – this woman was not there anymore – she had left, she had gone to the burial ground.'

10 M: aha 'Okay'

11 K: nɔɔ di a go a booko matu, go bei – nɔɔ a di bakadina f'en – nɔɔ i ta kon

12 piki – nɔɔ yu kon fu piki taki – nono, basia, kapten – di soni di ta tyuma mi

13 ati aki – di mi ku kapten M go du eee – ee mi an taki mi an sa booko di dia –

14 i fustan?--

'After the burial – the same evening – you come and tell me – you come to tell me – no, no village leaders – the matter that is bothering me – when I and the village leader set out to do the burial ceremony – if I don't say (what bothers me), I won't make it through the night – you understand?'

15 M: a yei i! 'He heard and understood what you said.'

16 K: ee mi an taki di soni aki, didia ná o limbo mi. --

'If I don't talk about the matter, I will not make it to the next day.'

17 M: ee mi taki en puu 'If I talk about it,'

18 K: -- di didia o limbo -- 'I will make it to the next day.'

In Extract (2) the kapiten is marking the topic of his speech as important by using punctured speech (--). However, since he did not designate anyone as a *pikiman* at the beginning, there are parts of his narrative (lines1, 8-14) where no one provides assessment or continuation tokens in the intervals that he leaves throughout his speech. His main interlocutors, M and P, however, provide

responses in some parts of the narrative to help him to develop his speech (lines 3, 5, 7, 10, 17). Note, however, that the types of responses, especially (lines 3, 5, 7, 10), are of a more informal nature in that they are more commonly associated with everyday speech. In addition to only approximating the *piki-taki* style, the speaker in Extract (2) also uses a much more direct manner of expression – he overtly names the fact that wrong-doing has occurred - and makes use of more colloquial language – *balaki*, *i fustan?*, *anga* - than would be acceptable in a formal meeting.

Goofu speech is typically associated with positive politeness practices, including highly informal language involving swearing, loud shouting or explicit talk about people's problems and defects, such as gossiping. It is felt to be hurtful and thus endangers social relationships. It is often ideologically linked to talk between middle-aged women or male youngsters. Common speech is most closely associated with 'good' women as they are ideally supposed to neither be particularly verbally skilled or 'bad', both of which are the domain of men.

Apart from these stylistic varieties which play a very important role within the community and function as important gate-keepers of access to power, people also recognize regional varieties. Speakers of Matawai, like speakers of other Maroon varieties, usually identify people from the upriver community as speaking the most prestigious or true variety of Matawai. People from the lower Saamaka River were often said to speak a less pure form because historically there was a lot more contact with members of other Maroon communities such as Saamaka, Ndyuka and Kwinti as well as people from the Para region. In addition, people often pointed out that the speech of the people in the traditional downriver villages such as Bilawata, Nuiew Jacobskonde, Balen is more conservative (i.e. more typically Matawai) than that of the people associated with Kwakugron, Makakiiki, Commisaisikonde which are all located about three hours downriver from the traditional downriver villages. The latter's speech is frequently designated as *moksi* 'mixed'; it is felt to be a mix between Matawai and a Ndyuka-style speech. Little is overtly said about the speech of Matawai people who live in Paramaribo and along the Zanderij road who are currently more numerous than the people who live in the traditional villages. Members of the Kwinti community argued that the people from the other, currently uninhabited village of Kaimansiton which is upstream from Bitagron speak in a more conservative manner than people in Bitagron.

In terms of the languages recognized within the community, people point to three distinct entities: Matawai, Sranantongo and Dutch among the Matawai and to Kwinti, Sranantongo and

Dutch among people in the village of Bitagron. Other Maroon languages (Saamaka and Ndyuka most particularly) are also recognized as separate entities, but they are typically linked to visitors rather than seen as an integral part of these communities. In the Matawai village context, it is Matawai that is most widely spoken and Sranantongo mostly appears in certain contexts such as in interactions with outsiders and in contexts involving status negotiation (see below). In the Kwinti community, traditional Kwinti is rarely used as people regularly use a generalized Maroon code involving features from traditional Kwinti (see below) and Sranantongo. Dutch is very much restricted to the school context in both communities. Among urban dwellers, who nowadays make up the majority of both communities, Sranantongo and Dutch, depending on people's social backgrounds play a very important role as people frequently interact with non-Maroons and Dutch enjoys high status. Both Kwinti and Matawai are mostly restricted to home and community events such as burial etc, but even in these contexts, they co-exist with both Dutch and Sranantongo. Both languages are not widely transmitted to younger generations in the urban context as many families of both communities also do not appear to have strong family language maintenance policies, especially in the case of parents who have professional jobs. In fact, it seems that many urban young people are learning Kwinti and Matawai as second or rather third languages and often have a highly reduced speaking competence as they often only start speaking them in their teens.

The Kwinti and Matawai situation squarely contrasts with what is happening in the case of the Eastern Maroon communities where language maintenance in both urban and rural contexts is very strong and possibly expanding due to favourable demographic developments and improvements in terms of wider societal perceptions of these languages and their speakers (see Migge and Léglise 2013, 2015). In the following section, I will look in more detail at linguistic practices.

3. 2. Linguistic practices

As in all communities, language use among and by Maroons is not static but subject to variation and change. Variation is productively used to negotiate social identities and relationships (Buchholtz and Hall 2010). Over time certain patterns of variation might become conventionalized and thus give rise to language change. In the Maroon communities, the main

agents of language change are men, and particularly younger men, as they traditionally have the greatest number of social ties to the world beyond the local community and family networks. Display of linguistic versatility also carries social importance for men because it displays their engagement with the world beyond the local community, an integral part of local notions of young manhood. Women, in contrast, have to use external linguistic practices with care as they do not match up well with ideologies that locate women in the domestic sphere. Sustained use of European languages might give rise to charges of arrogance and use of Sranantongo carries overtones of a questionable sexuality; the latter practices are thus more difficult to sustain for women than those linked to Dutch. The recordings from the Matawai community suggest that, as in the case of Eastern Maroons (Migge 2007; Migge and Léglise 2013), interactions with outsiders or discussion of topics that are linked to non-community-based issues, such as the world of male cash labour or matters that are not felt to be community based. Extract (3) is a case in point. It comes from a longer narrative about the charismatic leader of the Matawai, Johannes King, who brought Christianity to them, which was recorded by the anthropologists Miriam Sterman and Chris de Beet in the 1970s. The narrative was told to them by one of the village elders who was also involved in local church matters.

Extract (3)

1 W: da a futeri mi, en en ku, en mɛki mi

'Then he told me, he and, he is my father (lit. He gave birth to me).'

2 M: aay 'Yes '

3 L: En pali mi 'he is my father (lit. He gave birth to me)'

4 William: En pali mi. *Da* a taigi mi, a konda da mi takii de bi dɛ a Malipaston

5 yaika mi nango a di bakaa tongo - na Kwakugɔɔn bause ala di *konde* bi dɛ, a

6 Kwakugron bilose *anda*, ala di *konde* fu den bi dɛ, de kai Maipaston. *Da* wan dei

7 Johannes King, Johannesi King, di tata de kai Johannes King, da a siki. Kerki no

8 ben dɛ a Maripaston. Keiki aan bi dɛ a Maipaston. Wɛ di a siki, *da* wan dei, a

9 siki tru-tru, da hen sisa Muui, a abi wan ssa de kai Muui, Muui, so, a abi wan *taa* 10 baala de baka ma dati mi *figiti* en nen f'en, a dɛ a buku

'He gave birth to me. He told me, he told me that they were at Malipaston – listen I changed to European's speech – the village was downriver there from Kwakugron, downriver from Kwakugron, there their village was, they called it Maipaston. One day, Johannes King, Johannesi King, the elder called Johannes King, he got sick. There wasn't a church at Maripaston, there wasn't a church at Maipasiton. When he was sick, one day, he was really sick, thus his sister Muui – he had a sister by the name of Muui – Muui, so there was another brother born after her, but I've forgotten his name, it is written in the book.'

In Extract (3) the elder W, who is a fluent speaker of traditional Matawai, keeps alternating between Matawai (regular type set) and features that are clearly Sranantongo (underlined) and those that are not considered Matawai but are not Sranantongo either, but appear to belong to a generalized Maroon code that in several ways resembles Eastern Maroon varieties (underlined and italics). Throughout the narrative, which goes on for a considerable amount of time, another Matawai elder who is present (L) keeps reminding him to speak Matawai either by telling him to do so or by reformulating the same content in Matawai (e.g. line 3). In response to such reminders, he reformulates parts of his non-Matawai speech into Matawai (line 4, 5-6, 7, 8), but eventually keeps lapsing back into this mixed speech. W's code alternation can be attributed to two factors, namely the fact that he is addressing two Europeans who speak L2 varieties of Matawai and that he is explaining in front of a microphone a matter – the story of a local Christian prophet - that is not typically linked to local everyday life. Note that this kind of code switching does not involve a complete switch from one language to another. Instead, speakers essentially adopt a grammatical frame that is shared among the Surinamese Creoles or is even linked to one particular Maroon Creole and variably insert single elements from the different lexical sources into it, thus creating what could be called a mixed variety. This mixed code has different indexicalities from the monolingual varieties. In this context, it is essentially used to signal otherness or non-localness. In this function even women tend to make greater use of Sranantongo though note that women much more rarely engage in these kinds of interactions.

Another reason for code alternation is identity construction. Elders, who tend to have strongly distance-based relationships, employ code alternation to negotiate solidarity type relationships (Migge 2007). An example of this positive politeness strategy is extract (4) where KB

is asking E to help him with a faulty rice mill. They are both roughly similar in age, in their 60s, and have a cordial relationship. However, KB is an important upriver village leader while E works in transport for the government. He has good connections to the ministry of regional affairs but from a local perspective, he is simply one of KB's 'subjects'.

Extract (4)

1 KB: ya da mi kɛ, m' begi basi aki so

'Yes, thus I want, I'm asking the boss here'

2 E: mhmm 'Yes'

3 KB: fi i ko daai en bika i sa soni fi en.

'For you to come and try it out because you know things about it'

4 E: eyee 'Yes'

5 KB: drai en da u, mɛ a sa wooko, te di man ko a mu si <

'try it out for us and make it work, when the man/guy comes, he must see (it working)'

6 E: ya 'Yes'

7 KB: ma efu a ko de, ma efu a ko si en so, da a, a, a to fokop <

'but if he comes and sees it in this state, that'll be bad'

8 E: mhmm 'Yes'

9 KB: da a mu si taaki di alisi *mili* ta wooko <

'he has to see that the rice mill is working'

10 E: ya 'Yes'

11 KB: bika a aksi mi taki 'we luku di alisi miri, fa di alisi *mili* de ?' <

12 mi taki di alisi *mili* de bunu. <

'Because he asked me 'well, how about that rice mill? I said that it is fine.'

13 E: ooh 'Oh'

14 KB: we di a to ko dolu, *da* di alisi *mili* an ta drai, *da* a soso *problem* tok. <

'well, when he'll come here and the rice mill won't work, now that'll create problems, right'

15 E: mhmm 'Yes'

16 KB: *a* mi beg' unu basi, mɛ a ko yeepi mi drai en... <

'I'm begging you, boss, come and help me to make it work.'

KB makes his request for help (lines 1, 3, 5) in Matawai, by flattering E – he addresses him with the term *basi* 'boss' (line 1) linked to urban power relationships playfully implying that E is (more) powerful – and highlighting reasons for his request: E's special knowledge (line 3) and the fact that he would end up in an embarrassing situation if the important coastal Maroon leader who got him the machine would find out that it does not work (line 7, 14). Finally, he reasserts his request for help (line 16) – note that he uses the Sranantongo second person plural pronoun *unu* which is also used as a respect form to address E. It underscores the sincerity and urgency of the request.

In this Excerpt (4) KB makes use of a Maroon style that is interspersed with features from Sranantongo which is typical of male peer-group interactions. However, he switches to a style heavily influenced by Sranantongo in lines 11-12 when depicting his interaction with the Maroon leader. The latter is an urbanized non-traditional Ndyuka Maroon and thus most likely to employ a code-mixed style – it also voices and underlines the leader's lack of refinedness from the perspective of Maroons. The density of non-Matawai forms is also high in lines 14 and 16 where he restates his calamity and request for help, a highly face-threatening activity. This density of Sranantongo forms functions at the same time to underline the urgency of his request and to mitigate the possible threat to E's negative face (the imposition on E's time) and his own negative face (lack of power). By voicing it in a code-mixed style, he is making it into a friend-to-friend or brother-to-brother request rather than a formal kabiten request. He is thus appealing to the notion of mutual help relationships that exist among age-mates. This usage of code-switching is generally not used among women who alternate between respect type speech and regular everyday speech.

Younger men make different uses of code alternation. Since they have low social status in the traditional system due to their dependence on the goodwill of elders and usually maintain friendship-type rather than hierarchical relationships among each other, they are usually at pains to raise their social status through foregrounding of their knowledgeability and sophistication. They thus employ code-switching with Sranantongo and Dutch to foreground their knowledgeability and thus raise their status because they are linked to a certain prestige that is attainable for young men. A case in point is Extract (5). Just before Extract (5), M, a Matawai man in his early 30s, had told a group of men who were chatting informally that they have to redevelop

tourism and some of the issues such a project faces. At some point in the discussion, the author (B) enters into the conversation suggesting that the main thing they need are the a few small houses and decent toilets (line 1). M then launches into a speech about what is needed and how he knows that. His talk is mostly addressed at the other men present. In his turn, he is clearly at pains to display his involvement with and knowledge of the tourism industry. His heavy use of Sranantongo (underlined) or elements from a more generalized Maroon code (bold) clearly underscores his identity construction as a man of urban sophistication in that it actively invokes the non-local voices of the urban area.

Extract (5)

1 B: dii piki wosu, anga, eh, ku toilet, a sali kaba.

'Three small houses with, eh with toilest, that's sufficient'

2 M: mi sabi, ya **den man** piki mi, mi go a foto ala, a *touris orga*, den taki meki tu oso nanga wan bun *toilet*, a *toilet* nomo mu **bun**. **ala den** tra **sani**, moy oso mu meki nanga tasi no go, eh wasi dan dendu, de mu kisi kumalu, **ala sani**, lawai i mu tyari den **kon** da den man taki sori a nymara da wo tyari a aga go **poti** ne en gogo kisi **ala sani** de man.

'yes, I know, they (tourist operators) told me, I went to Paramaribo, a tourist operator, they said make two houses and a good toilet, the toilet has to be good. All the other things, nice houses have to have a traditional leaf roof, swim in the rapid, they have to catch fish, all these things, you have to bring them to the upriver natural reserve; the man said show them the fish, then we'll bring the ?? and put it on its ?? butt and get all the things there, man.'

Maroon women by contrast, make comparatively little use of external codes because linguistic versatility carries negative connotations for them as it aligns them with the world beyond the community which easily has overtones of *waka* 'sexual promiscuity'. In order to off-set these associations, women prefer to make use of European languages as they carry associations of learning and proper behavior since they are typically acquired through participation in the school system. My 2013 corpus reveals two uses of code-alternation by women. They use it to mark the performance of non-traditional interactional roles. In Extract (6) a younger woman (30s) in the village of Bethel is engaging an elder of her grandmother's generation to tell her (on behalf of the

author) about what life was like in the village when she was young and about her own life. In the interaction Kf is at pains to express herself well and respectfully because she is talking to an elder. However, she nevertheless regularly intersperses her turns with a few elements from other languages, in her case mostly Dutch (and to a lesser extent Sranantongo). These switches mark Kf's speech out as performing a non-traditional speech activity – interviewing – which is not part of the local speech repertoire. Her use of non-Matawai elements highlights that Kf is engaging in a particular non-local speech activity, but also that she is asserting difference to the elder's life world.

Extract (6)

1 Kf: ma di de koti di konde, di tyatya an bi dɛ *direkt* ?

'But when they created the village, the gravel was not there right away?'

2 O: nono, an bi de ne en, de taaki.

'No, it was not there, they say…'

3 Kf: fa a ta wasi?

'how did it come to the surface?'

4 O: fa di tyuba ta kai, di wata ta waasi, bika di mi woyo limbo, nɔɔ hen mi ta si di

5 tyatya, nɔɔ he i si a ta ko, nɔɔ te fa i si i si a sai de.

'when it was raining, the water uncovered it, because I cannot remember seeing it without the gravel, thus so you see it came and now it is here.'

6 Kf: ma i an sabi <u>omeni</u> yai so di konde a sa abi fu di a *bestaa*?

'But you cannot remember how many years the village exists, how long it's existed?'

7 O: mhmm, mi an sabi. 'No, I don't know.'

But code alternation is also used in other interactional functions such as to draw attention to something or to highlight the importance of a wrong doing, for instance. Just before the beginning of extract (7) W had complained to the others present that E did not pay enough respect to the woman basia of the village of Boslanti because he did not bring the author over to talk to her when they had first arrived. E had conceded and thus W, by way of accepting E's apology, also admitted that the basia woman should have been more assertive (line 1). E then

repeats his apology (line 2) which is accepted by W (line 3) and emphatically asserted (line 4). E then explains what he should have done. K then uses the opportunity to playfully shame E over yet another issue (line 8). He argues that E had behaved wrongly when he ran off to do his own business upon their arrival in Boslanti. W draws further attention to E's inappropriate behavior by enquiring whether E had even had the courtesy to inform K of his plan (lines 9, 11). To emphasize the seriousness of E's wrong-doing – K is an important kapiten and the kapiten of E's native village apart from being E's younger brother – she employs the Dutch word *melde* 'report, inform' instead of a more habitual local term such as *taagi* 'tell' or *fan* 'say' both of which do not usually have strong hierarchical overtones. By using *melde*, she is clearly establishing a hierarchical relationship between E and K and thus increases the strength of E's disobedience.

Extract (7)

1 W: dam E yaika, den basia muyɛɛ an, den an piki i tuutuu.

'Elder E listen, the female assistants to the kabiten did not insist on the matter.'

2 E: luku mi fowtu dobu.

'I made a serious mistake.'

3 W: Okay! 'Ojay!'

[several voices]

4 W: soo! Om E fowtu.

'Alright, elder E made a mistake.'

5 E: ná kapten mi bi mu baa en, mi bi mu tya en da di basia muyɛɛ

'I should not have brought him to the kapiten, I should have brought her to the female village assistant.'

6 K: E, dam E 'E, elder E'

7 E: Ya 'Yes'

8 K: mi ku i ko, ma a e dyombo pipa, a sa go a hondi.

'I came together with you, but he went on his own way to deal with his own business.'

9 W: a *melde* i no?

'Did he inform you?' <

10 K: no, no, i fowtu kaa, ná kuutu moo!

'No, no, you highlighted the mistake, stop raising the issue.'

E: [laughter]

11 W: a *melde* i no? di a go a sembe a *melde* i? <

'Did he inform you? When he went to visit people, did he inform you?'

[laughter]

13 K: mɛ a an kuutu moo [unclear]

'Make her stop raising the issue.'

While members of the Eastern Maroon and Matawai community employ code alternation practices selectively to negotiate interactional roles and social identities, it seems that bilingual speech has become the norm among Kwintis in the village of Bitagron on the Coppename River, currently the only Kwinti village that is continuously inhabited. In Bitagron a mixed code involving Sranantongo, a generalized Eastern Maroon code with a few insertions from what are locally identified as Kwinti features (Huttar 1988) appears to have become the unmarked code of interaction (Borges 2013). Extract (8) is a case in point.

Extract (8)

1 A: *da fosi, sowtu konde be de ya fosi*?

'In the beginning, which village was here originally?'

2 F: *a disi* nomo 'Only this one.'

3 P: *a disi* 'This one.'

4 A : *na a konde* 'was the village (that was here).'

5 P : *di mi* **ai** *e* **klin** 'When I grew up.'

6 F : *a konde* disi nomo, *da den* suma, *tu man* suma *be de, tu baala be de*. --

'Only this village, then the people, there were two men, there were two brothers.'

7 A : ehmm 'Yes'

8 F : *da den be suku* **golon plesi** *fu tan, we i* no mak *kon doo, da i kon taki* direkt *so.*--

'they were looking for a place to live.

9 A: ehmm 'yes'

10 F: want *i* no sab *efu te wata bigi efu a e sungu efu a* ne *e sungu, da den luku en*

11 langa *den si en, den luku* dya *anga* Kaimansiton. --

'because you don't know if when the water rises it inundates, so they observed it for a long time, they saw it, they looked here and in Kaimansiton.

In Extract (8) the author (A) is visiting with F, an elder from Kaimansiton who is in his 60s and a few other people, among them P. F starts telling A a few things about Bitagron and then launches into a narrative about the founding and development of the village. Throughout the narrative, which was as much aimed at the author as at the other men present, F employs what could be called a generalized Maroon code which is interspersed with items clearly marked as Sranantongo (underlined) (e.g. lines 6, 8, 10) and with a few items from what is locally considered to be Kwinti (line 8, bold) although the narrative was comparatively formal – note the intervals (--) left at the end of several of his turns (lines 6, 8, 11). There are also a few items that are more closely associated with Eastern Maroon speech (e.g. line 8, underlined and italics).

The style of speaking exemplified in Extract (8) is widely heard in Bitagron but it is not considered to be 'real' Kwinti by the locals. A bit later during the same interaction, P, a man also in his early 60s, starts telling everyone about his experiences in the Netherlands. One of the issues raised were Maroon – European (Dutch) interactions. P initially starts off in the mixed style but when reminded to speak in proper Kwinti by one of the people - because he had previously bragged that he is well able to speak Kwinti - P and also M, a man in his 30s, launch into a different type of speech pattern exemplified in Extract (9).

Extract (9)

1 P: ...u go a bakaa konde, de o **laafu yuu**, de o **laafu yuu.**

'We went to Europe, they will ridicule you, they will ridicule you.'

2 M: *ya, de o* **laafu** yu ??? 'Yes, they will laugh about you.'

3 P: *eh, da na* grun *fasi de o gwe waka*. 'They will travel naively.'

4 M: sa i *membe* pasa ? 'What do you think happened ?'

5 P: eh? 'Okay ?'

6 M: **yaiki** *mi bun ye*! 'Listen to me properly !'

7 P : *a faya de*? 'Is the lighter there?'

8 M: *de o* **laafu**, *san pasa meki de* no **laafu** *a man*?

'They'll laugh, why did they not ridicule the guy?'

9 P: eh? 'Okay?'

10 M: *soo! omdat a man* no *sabi a syteem fu anda.*

'Right! Because the guy does not know how things work over there (Europe).'

11 P: *na dati.* 'That's it.'

12 M: *da den* no **laafu** *a man. a tya, den o wani tya a man pasa anga den.*

'They do not laugh about the guy. They will want to bring the man into their system.'

13 P: ya tok, *de o tya i pasa anga en.*

'Yes, right, they'll try to bring you into their system.'

14 M: *i* **saabi** tok. 'You know, right.'

15 P: *Bakaa konde anda..* 'In Europe over there...'

16 F: *bakaa, efu i du wan* **saani** *fowt, a bakaa* nei *lafu yu, a e verbeter* yu! a sranan

17 *ya, i taki wan* **saan** *fowt, de e lafu i tee i* no *wani* tak a **saan** dati moro. *ma a*

18 *bakaa* nei *lafu, a e verbeter yu.*

'Europeans, if you make a mistake, a European doesn't ridicule you, s/he corrects you! Here in Suriname, you say something wrong, they ridicule you to the point that you don't want to say anything anymore. But a European does not laugh, s/he corrects you.'

19 M: a no o **laafu** yu. 'S/he won't ridicule you.'

20 F: tak wan *neederlands, i an tak bun,* 'Speak Dutch, if you don't speak well,'

21 M: **yaiki** mi! 'Listen to me!'

22 F: *da yo yee fa a bakaa o seeka soi i fa i mu taki en.*

'You'll hear how the European will show you how you should say it.'

23 M: **yaiki** *mi noo*! 'Listen to me know.'

24 F: *ma a nenge, a lafu a o lafu i* 'But the (black) Surinamese, he'll ridicule you.'

25 M: *a man ya* nei leisi mi yon! *mi taki, a bakaa* no *o* **laafu** yu. *soso fu meki muiti fu* 26 *a poti yu na a* **paasi**. efu i tak a san *ya, i an* tak *bun, da a o lei yu fa i mu taki en.* 27 *i* **saabi** tok.

'Man, this guy does not understand me! I said a European will not ridicule you. S/he will make an effort to put you on the right path. If you say this thing and you don't speak well and s/he'll teach you how you should say it, you know, right.'

In Extract (9) all three speakers P, M and F still make use of a mixed type of style involving a generalized Maroon variety (italics)[9] and insertions from Dutch (underlined & italics), Sranantongo (underlined) and Kwinti (bold). With respect to the later, it is noteworthy, however, that they only make use of very emblematic or common Kwinti features – lengthening of (initial) vowels and the Kwinti form of the word for 'to hear' *yaiki*. They also appear to be used in a kind of distinctive way. They are predominantly used to draw attention (lines 6, 21, 23) or to create emphasis (lines 1, 2, 8, 12, 14, 19, 25, 27). In that sense, they are marking the out-of-the-ordinary. A similar pattern of speech was found among younger Kwinti in Paramaribo. They mostly lengthened word initial vowels when 'performing Kwinti' but otherwise spoke in a Sranantongo-type or a generalized Maroon style depending on the context.

The only people that are locally perceived to use a proper Kwinti style throughout are older women – they were also the only ones that the author was sent to to find out about real Kwinti. Extract (10) is a case in point. It comes from an interaction that was taking place while the author was helping O and M, two senior members of the community, peel cassava one afternoon. During that interaction, O is asking M who has always lived in the village, all kinds of questions about the village because he thinks that the author is interested in this. O considers himself less knowledgeable because he lived most of his life in Paramaribo and only returned to live permanently in Bitagron two years ago after he retired from work:

Extract (10)

1 M: *ma mi seefi* **hain** *mi* **nan si** *en, di de e kai a gaaman* Alamu, *da u de a* ???

'But my own eyes, I did not see him, who they call paramount chief Alamu, thus we are ???'

2 O: *mi* <u>srefi</u>, *a* **yei**, *mi be si, mi si* <u>*wel*</u>, *mi* <u>yere</u> a ?? *enseefi osu a* ..

'Myself, I heard, I saw, I did see, I hread ?? his own house …'

3 M: *a fowtow* 'The picture'

4 O: *a fowtow* <u>dati</u> *be de, a taampu anga wan pikin kamisa f'en, mi taki "san*! *wan*

[9] Note that there is obviously some overlap with Sranantongo due to their relatedness. I'm focusing here on how it is perceived locally rather than detailed etymological assessment of each word.

5 granman, *en taampu so*? Fu wan konde *leider*!"

'There was a picture, he stood there with his little loin cloth, I said "What! A paramount chief, he stand like that? A head of a village!"'

6 M: *wan di mi si*, **hen** *an* **trampu** *ye*. 'The wan that I saw, he did not stand!'

7 O: *ohh, en* sdonsdon. 'Oh he was sitting down.'

8 M: *en de sid-, ya,* **hen** *de da den taa wan, kowonu sama de* **trampu,** *ma a gaaman*,

9 *a de* **sidosido**, *wan* **deikideiki** *sama*, **hen** *futu opo so, ya.*

'He was sitting, yes, and the others, common people stood but the paramount chief sat; a big person, his legs were open like this, yes.'

10 O: a sdon so, *da den* tra wan snap *ne en* **bandya.**

'He sat so, the others stood at his side.'

11 M: *na ape mi si en, ma mi seefi* **nansamben**, **hen** *i si u ko de ya, we dede dede tee*

12 *we dede teee, we dede enke fa, u kon libi ya, tyokoo, w'an de, w'an sa moo*,

13 *ma di na* **gaado biigi**, *da u de, u de ya.*

'That's where I see him, but I do not know him ; then you see us come here, we are suffering very much, we are suffering very much when we came to live here, in misery, we did not know anymore, but since god is remarkable, we are still (alive).'

In Extract (10) M uses a style of speaking that is locally identified as 'pure Kwinti'; besides elements that are clearly shared with other Maroon languages, particularly the Eastern Maroon varieties (italics), she regularly uses distinctive lexical forms that are associated with Kwinti (bold) only. Note also that apart from initial vowel lengthening (lines 13), she also uses a number of other lexical forms that are locally considered to be characteristic of Kwinti.[10] In contrast to M, O makes comparatively little use of forms clearly associated to Kwinti. Instead he makes use of a fair amount of Sranantongo associated words. There are various reasons that could explain this: his long terms residence in Paramaribo, his desire to present himself as a sophisticated person and possibly also because he did, without being asked, take over a kind of interviewer role during part

[10] Note that some of them, such as the consecutive marker *hen* is also characteristic of Western Maroon varieties such as Matawai and Saamaka, this possibly confirming that influence of Matawai on Kwinti.

of the recording (cp. Extract 6) which is traditionally associated with codes other than the local traditional variety because it is a non-local speech activity.

The discussion then suggests that while monolingual codes are still quite present in other Maroon communities, this is no longer the case in the Kwinti community. In fact, they will probably die out once the elders (women) who still use them die. The younger generations appear to have the ability to understand such codes but mostly make use of only a few relatively easily accessible and emblematic features (e.g. initial vowel lengthening). The small size of the rural community which was dramatically reduced during the Surinamese civil war, that had forced many Kwintis to live in Paramaribo, is probably mainly responsible for the demise of the language. Borges (2013), however, also suggests that the absence of a clearly defined leadership system – they do not have a gaanman or viable kapitenships like the other Maroon communities – and thus the absence of a formal domain where distinctive styles of speaking are practiced and preserved are another important reason why Kwinti is on the brink of disappearing; or rather of integrating with a generalized Maroon code. The language is essentially gradually being reduced to a set of lexical forms and distinctive phonological rules that can be selectively employed to either perform Kwintiness, if needed, and/or to create salience.

4. Conclusion

This attempt at a brief overview of research on the Maroon languages demonstrates that they have figured prominently in linguistic research. However, most of the research has dealt with only a few of the languages, mostly the Eastern Maroon varieties of Ndyuka and Pamaka and on Saamaka; Aluku has received some attention from Kenneth Bilby (2002). Saamaka has also featured but two of the other communities, Kwinti and particularly Matawai, remain largely or completely understudied. In addition to focusing only on some varieties, most of the research efforts have focused on the emergence and development of these languages. However, since this work has mostly proceeded on synchronic comparative data, where synchronic data are investigated to reconstruct historical stages and processes of development, this research has also provided important insights into the grammars of these languages. We could speculate at length why there is so little research on sociolinguistic and pragmatic issues – difficulties accessing these communities, research agendas in linguistics, the lack of participation of members of these

communities in research – but instead, I would like to focus on why sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological work on these communities is important.

Sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological research aims to analyse patterns of language use and how they link in with socio-cultural issues, such as the role of language in the negotiation of social groupings and identities, social relationships, social interactions, ideologies and processes of change. These issues are, of course, important for applied purpose. For example, from the point of view of language planning knowledge about these things is vital for determining which languages and which varieties of these languages should be instrumentalized for educational purposes and how and for what purposes they can be instrumentalized. These issues also provide insights into language-based discrimination on the basis of which measure can be developed to fight it. This research is equally valuable for determining the social structure and dynamics, including the factors that drive it, of these communities, something that we are still far from clear on. We know about the broad nature of processes of language change, but we still know fairly little about how patterns of linguistic variation mutually interact with particular mixes of social factors to give rise to linguistic change. Most of our knowledge and understanding is still largely based on inferences that we draw on the basis of available historical data and an analysis of structural linguistic data either derived from historical documents or modern conservative data. Both data sources present problems and historical documentation is also hardly sufficiently comprehensive. Thus, observation of the social and linguistic dynamics of a particular contact setting provides unparalleled insights into the development of contact settings both from a social and linguistic perspective. Based on such findings, we can get insights into which aspects of language are most affected by social change, why (e.g. language ideologies) and how these changes emerged and which groups of people in the community are driving these changes. The above discussion for instance suggests that men are the main drivers of contact-induced change while women are the main guardians of more traditional forms of speech.

For instance, if we try to bring our current knowledge about the contemporary development of the Maroon creoles to bear on the question of the differences between Sranantongo and Maroon varieties, it is possible to argue that two processes must have played a role, namely code alternation processes and social differentiation. Essentially, we can assume that the initial linguistic situation was somewhat diffuse, possibly involving variation between more European-

based and African-based language strategies. Overtime, these strategies became bundled or focused around different social identities and practices or interactions in the plantation setting. The latter (African) strategies became progressively attached to more conservative or oppositional groupings and with the occurrence of maronage, they (also) became attached to Maroons. By contrast, features that were perceived to be Europeanized became associated with plantation life and more 'progressive' forces. As relations started to change and the oppositional relationship between Maroons and non-Maroon Afro-Surinamese started to ease due to Maroons' greater desire to participate in aspects of coastal society, they started to variably insert more and more lexical forms from coastal languages such as Sranantongo, but also Dutch, into certain discourses, usually those tied to urban contexts. These changes proceeded differently for men and women, being mostly driven by younger men. However, overtime, a kind of metaphorical extension took place whereby non-Maroon forms were used to conjure up a variety of non-traditional local identities, contexts and relationships. Adoption of new, non-local lexical forms clearly played an important role in this process. However, in addition to this, Maroons started to variably omit linguistic features strongly linked to a traditional Maroon life-style from certain of their discourses, leading to the emergence of new, linguistically intermediate varieties.

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