Chapter 1

Introduction

1. Introduction

One of the oldest and most vigorously discussed questions in the research on creoles is the origin of these languages. According to McWhorter (1997a:1), "this question can be said to be one of the prime motivations for the conception of creole studies as a distinct subdiscipline." Despite continuous heated discussions on this topic and the accumulation of a great deal of linguistic and sociohistorical data that bear on the genesis question, disagreement still exists about several pertinent issues:

1. the main linguistic inputs to creole formation,
2. the linguistic processes and mechanisms involved in creole formation,
3. the nature of the linguistic outcome of creole formation.

The lack of agreement on these issues is mainly due to two things. First, different researchers work on creoles that emerged in partially different social settings. The formation of these creoles therefore involved partially different inputs and processes and gave rise to creoles that are linguistically relatively different from each other. Second, the research of the different scholars is based on different theoretical approaches. Today, there are four main approaches to these questions that I will refer to as follows: the restricted monogenesis

hypothesis, the European origin hypothesis, the relexification hypothesis, the second language (L2) or language contact hypotheses.[1]

The present chapter is structured as follows. Section Two discusses current theories of creole formation. Section Three presents the present study. Section Four provides the structure of the present study.

2. Current Theories of Creole Formation

While earlier monogenetic theories argued that the world's creoles descended from a single ancestor language, a Portuguese-based pidgin spread by Portuguese traders (cf. Thompson 1961) or the Mediterranean lingua franca Sabir (Whinnom 1965), the restricted monogenetic theory, also referred to as the Domestic Origin Hypothesis, proposed by Hancock (1986, 1987) maintains that only so-called Atlantic English-lexified Creoles (AEC) have a common origin. According to Hancock, the English-lexified creoles spoken on both sides of the Atlantic descend from a single early pidgin spoken along the West African Coast in the 17th century, the so-called Guinea Coast Creole English (GCCE).

GCCE had initially emerged in African-European marital unions between West African women and employees of British trading companies and British sailors and merchants who had taken up permanent residence on the Guinea Coast. Its main linguistic inputs were local African languages and native varieties of English and Ship English.[2] GCCE was adopted as

[1]The term *restricted monogenesis* was adopted from den Besten, Muysken & Smith (1995:87-98).

[2]Ship English is argued to be a distinct register of English that had emerged from the leveling of various varieties of English spoken by sailors.

the main language by the mixed population, i.e. the children from African-European marital unions, and as an important means of communication by the local Africans who were employed in European trading activities, the so-called *grumettoes*. The latter transmitted GCCE to the slaves due for the New World since they were mainly responsible for them in the sometimes lengthy period between their capture and their departure for the New World. The slaves, in turn, brought GCCE to the American and Caribbean plantations and continued to use it as a means for interethnic communication. In the New World, it underwent varying degrees of change due to influence from the native languages of the later arriving slaves and from the varieties spoken by the Europeans.

Recently, this theory was revived by McWhorter (1995, 1996,1997a&c). His scenario differs in several respects from that of Hancock. He argues that the ancestor pidgin "did not come into being in Senegambia, but on the Ghanaian coast in the 1630s" (1995:323). It was then transported to the early Caribbean settlements, such as Barbados, by castle slaves who had been brought to the New World as slave overseers when the Ghanaian fort of Cormantin fell temporarily in the 1640s. In Barbados, the pidgin was nurtured and influenced by the superstrates and the substrates in the setting but remained more or less intact and distinct from them. From Barbados, it was then transplanted together with its speakers to various newly founded colonies such as Suriname. The pidgin remained relatively intact in settings that involved "sharp slave/White ratios" (1995:324) while its maintenance was low in places where the slave/White ratios were very high.

Both Hancock's and McWhorter's scenario have several serious problems. The most significant ones are: First, the historical sketch and particularly the transmission scenarios are not supported by historical research (cf. Huber 1999b, Baker 1999). Second, the alleged lexical and grammatical similarities (cf. copulas, tense, mood and aspect markers (TMA)) between the different Atlantic English-lexified creoles, the linguistic evidence adduced in

favor of this theory, are not sufficiently close to rule out separate developments in each or in several of the varieties. Third, they are unlikely to have (all) originated in West Africa (cf. Baker 1999).

The European origin hypothesis originally proposed by Chaudenson (1979, 1992) and adopted by Mufwene (1996, 1997, 2001) argues that creoles essentially derive from nonstandard regional varieties of the European language. The early slaves acquired close approximations of the regional varieties spoken by the European population present in the colony and transmitted it to later arriving slaves. The latter, in turn, acquired these varieties from the early slaves with slight modifications. Creoles are therefore essentially assumed to be varieties of the European language spoken in a given territory or colony; there exists no sharp distinction between creoles and regional varieties of a European language because no break in the transmission (of the European language) occurred in the formation of creoles.

This theory, which is particularly strong among scholars working on French-lexified creoles, allows for little or no substantial contribution from the slaves' native languages. It argues that the structural differences between creoles and regional varieties of French are essentially due to natural language change. While it is undeniable that nonstandard regional varieties of the European languages played an important role in creole formation, specifically in the creation of their lexicon, their influence cannot account for all features of a creole; the growing body of research comparing creoles to their potential substrate languages (cf. Smith et al. 1987, Keesing 1988, Lefebvre 1998, Siegel 1999, Migge 1998a&b, 2000, 2002) suggests quite clearly that, at least in the case of some creoles, the first languages of their creators played an important role in the emergence of their grammar.

In sharp contrast to the previous two theories of creole formation, the relexification theory proposed by Lefebvre & Lumsden (1994) and Lefebvre (1993, 1998) maintains that the majority of the structural features of radical creoles such as Haitian Creole originate from

the first languages (L1) of their creators.[3] According to Lefebvre (1998), creole formation involved three processes: relexification, reanalysis, and dialect leveling. The slaves copied the lexical entries of their native languages and relabeled the content morphemes with phonetic strings from the European varieties (relexification). Function morphemes remained initially unlabeled or were relabeled with phonetic strings of content categories since adequate functional counterparts could not be identified. As the result of the process of reanalysis, defined as a process "by which a particular form which signals one lexical entry becomes the signal of another lexical entry (Lightfoot 1979)."(Lefebvre 1998:41), these functional entries of the copied substrate lexicon receive a label.

> It is hypothesized that speakers of the early creole use a major category lexical item (e.g. an adverb) to signal the covert functional category lexical entry. Speakers may eventually assign the form of this major category lexical item as the phonological form of the previously covert functional category through the process of reanalysis. (Lefebvre 1998:44-45)

Finally, leveling leads to "the reduction of variation between dialects of the same language in situations where these dialects are brought together." (46). The differences were reduced since speakers of different varieties acquired features from other varieties and avoided those that inhibited understanding.

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[3]Muysken (1981) was the first scholar who proposed that the process of relexification is at the heart of the formation of Caribbean creoles. In a later paper (cf. Muysken & Smith 1990) he, however, renounced this position arguing that relexification can only sensibly take place in bilingual situations.

The main criticism that has been raised against the relexification theory is the fact that it is not supported by available sociohistorical evidence. Drawing on sociohistorical data (e.g. demographics, ethnolinguistic background of the slaves etc.) relating to creole formation in general and to their test case, the genesis of Haitian Creole, Singler (1996) shows that the setting in which creoles, and Haitian Creole in particular, emerged was relatively different (e.g. linguistically much more heterogeneous) from that proposed by a relexification account and therefore leaves several issues (e.g. the emergence of a structural system based on only one language) unresolved. In addition, the theory cannot explain in a principled manner the emergence of (1) L1 features in the area of phonology (cf. Singler 1996) and (2 structural features that are clearly due to influence from the European language. The tenets of the relexification theory are evaluated in more detail in Chapter 8 where I discuss the findings from the present study.

Most current approaches maintain that creole formation is a case of extreme contact-induced change. The most widely accepted approach maintains that it is the result of L2 acquisition with restricted access to the target language. According to this view, creole formation is governed by the same principles and constraints that operate in other cases of L2 acquisition. It maintains that the majority of the speakers of non-European languages, the slaves or indentured laborers in plantation settings, were only able to acquire a relatively reduced knowledge of the European language; they had only very little contact mainly with speakers of pidgin and reduced L2 varieties of the European language. In order to make sense of the reduced structures from the European language, the creators made use of their own linguistic knowledge. They, for example, applied abstract structural patterns from their native languages to interpret the European input.

Some scholars (cf. Boretzky 1983, 1993, Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Thomason 1997), however, maintain that creole structures are linguistically relatively unmarked since

the structures (from the L1) that were retained either represented a compromise between the different input structures or were shared by all the languages in the contact setting. These scholars argue that creole structures represent the smallest common denominator between the different input languages and structures.

Other scholars (cf. Keesing 1988, Siegel 1999, Winford 2002) maintain that the structural features of creoles come from three different sources: the L1s of the creators, the European input structures, and universal contact strategies. The relative contribution of each source depended on the nature of the contact setting. Particularly in linguistically relatively homogeneous settings (cf. Pacific, Suriname), a significant number of the structural features can be clearly traced to one or the other source. They were, however, not always retained in their original shape. When applying universal or L1 strategies to structures from the European language, the structural properties of the European input structures necessarily interacted with the L1 and universal structural patterns. Creole structures therefore typically display structural features that can be traced to several sources, i.e. L1 patterns and the structural make-up of the European input structures. The tenets of this second strand of contact approaches will be further discussed in Chapters 2 and 8.

3. The Present Study

The aim of the present study is twofold: First, it discusses the formation of radical creoles based on an examination of creole formation in Suriname. The discussion focuses on investigating and illustrating the processes and mechanisms involved in the formation of radical creoles and on determining the nature of the resulting strctures. Second, based on the

findings, the study critically evaluates the tenets of the main current theories of creole formation.

The investigation suggests that the main inputs to the formation of the predecessor(s) of the modern creoles of Suriname were the range of creole varieties, L2 and pidgin varieties of English (and Portuguese) spoken by the early plantation population and the native African languages of the slaves who arrived during Suriname's transition to sugar monoculture. The processes and mechanisms that played a role in its formation were similar to those observed in cases of L2 acquisition.

First, the speakers of L1 English, various kinds of L2 varieties of English and pidgin and creole varieties (further) simplified their structures in order to facilitate communication with the slaves who did not speak any English upon their arrival on the plantation. Second, the slaves, having in the majority relatively little access to the grammatical patterns of the varieties of English, projected the abstract structural patterns of their native languages onto the English structures they encountered. The English structures were thereby (re)interpreted according to the structural apparatus of the slaves' L1s. The abstract structural patterns from the L1s were generally not taken over in their entirety but 'interacted' with those of the English structures. Subsequent to their emergence, at least some of these structures, underwent language-internal change.

The study follows the historical linguistic methodology for proving language contact proposed by Thomason & Kaufman (1988) and Thomason (1993). They propose that a comprehensive explanation in terms of contact has to involve the following steps: First, it has to identify all the languages in the contact setting at the time of the creole's emergence. Second, it has to assess the relative impact of their speakers in the contact setting. Third, it has to determine the exact organization of the grammar of the input languages and of the resulting contact variety, i.e. the creole, and compare them.

The sociohistorical data come from publications on the early history of Suriname. The linguistic study is based on synchronic and available diachronic data. The synchronic data come from recordings of natural conversations and elicitations with native speakers of the Eastern Maroon Creole (EMC), a conservative descendant of the predecessor(s) of the modern creoles of Suriname, and with speakers of varieties of Gbe, the main substrate input to the formation of the early plantation creole (for details, see Chapter 5). The diachronic data come from texts written in early Sranan Tongo (Arends & Perl 1995), another descendant of the early plantation creole.

The study focuses on the emergence of the predecessor(s) of the modern creoles of Suriname for two reasons: First, the creoles of Suriname are widely recognized as being very conservative. Their predecessor varieties emerged in contact settings that involved low African-European ratios and, unlike other creoles of the Caribbean, the modern creoles of Suriname were little influenced by their main lexifier, varieties of English. Second, recent research has made available a relatively great amount of sociohistorical information on early Suriname that allows for a relatively accurate reconstruction of the social setting in which the plantation creole emerged.

4. The Structure of the Study

The book is organized as follows. Chapter 2 surveys the current strands of empirical research on creole formation. It discusses the aims, data, methodology and findings of research focusing on determining (1) the sociohistorical nature of the contact setting, (2) the diachronic development of creoles, (3) their relationship to their linguistic inputs, and (4) the similarities

and differences between creole formation and the formation of other outcomes of contact. The chapter ends with an outline of the methodological approach that underlies the present study.

Chapter 3 discusses the contact settings in which the predecessor(s) of the modern creoles of Suriname emerged in order to determine the (main) linguistic inputs to its formation and the processes and mechanisms of contact that gave rise to its emergence. Focusing on the period between roughly 1652 and 1720, the study discusses the demographic development of the population, their entholinguistic make-up and the patterns of contact that obtained among the members of the plantation population.

Chapter 4 discusses the nature of the English input to the formation of the plantation creole, the processes and mechanisms that gave rise to it and instantiated properties from it in the plantation creole. In the absence of adequate data from the actual emergence period, the study draws on two types of data, sociohistorical data on the contact setting and the findings from a comparison of basic creole structures with their possible English input structures. The investigation suggests that the English input to creole formation consisted of relatively reduced structures. They partially emerged due to processes of reduction effected by speakers of these varieties in order to facilitate communication with learners. And partially, they came about during the acquisition of English structures by learners with little access to them. The thus reduced structures from English functioned as the basic frame or the basic building blocks for the plantation creole.

Chapters 5 and 6 discuss the African input to the formation of the predecessors of the modern creoles of Suriname and the processes and mechanisms that instantiated features from it in the plantation creole. Due to the absence of linguistic data from the period of the emergence of the plantation creole, the study investigates the sociohistorical background to the formation of the plantation creole and compares selected structures in one of its modern descendants, the EMC, and its main African input, the varieties of Gbe. Chapter 5 discusses

lexical retentions from Gbe and Chapter 6 discusses structural retentions from Gbe. The investigation reveals that the plantation creole retains few lexical items from Gbe but exhibits a variety of structural and semantic properties from Gbe. This suggests that the speakers of Gbe varieties essentially reinterpreted the reduced English structures based on their native abstract structural patterns. The African input thus played an important role in shaping the structural and semantic system of the plantation creole.

Chapter 7 discusses and illustrates processes of language-internal change that affected the grammar of the plantation creole. The data come mainly from diachronic studies of early texts in Sranan Tongo. The investigation shows that processes of internal change played a role in the emergence of some properties of the grammar of the plantation creole. They operated subsequent to the emergence of the plantation creole and affected features that had previously emerged due to contact-induced change.

Chapter 8 summarizes the findings and discusses their implications. First, it evaluates current theories of creole formation in the light of the findings from the present study. Second, it discusses the creole prototype.

Chapter 2.: Creole formation

The research on creoles has given rise to various theories about their genesis which fall into two broad groups, so-called monoprocessual theories and dynamic theories. The former theories are narrowly concerned with accounting for the linguistic differences between an assumed main linguistic input and the linguistic outcome relying primarily on linguistic data. They argue that creole formation proceeded relatively uniformly in each setting and across different settings and involved only one main mechanism of change (cf. relexification, creolization) which consisted of several subprocesses, though. The proponents of these theories also propose social scenarios to contextualize (or motivate) their linguistic theories. The scenarios are mostly based on relatively general information about creole producing contact settings which do not allow a careful determination of the actual contact activities. This is partially due to the relative unavailability of sociohistorical information on the contact setting(s) in which creoles were forged. In part it, however, also stems from the belief that the linguistic facts or results by themselves are sufficient to determine a (historically) adequate account of the processes of contact and change. This approach to creole formation is strongly influenced by the traditional historical linguistics and pedagogically oriented research tradition on language contact.

Most of the early theories maintained that European or European-derived varieties of language constituted the main input to the genesis of creoles. There are two broad groups of such theories: so-called monogenetic and superstrate theories. The former posit a single origin for all or a specific subgroup of creoles, i.e. English-lexified creoles. Scholars such as Taylor (1963) and Thompson (1961) argued that all creoles descend from a West African Pidgin Portuguese which was spoken "from the 15th century to the 18th century in and around the numerous forts and trading settlements founded by the Portuguese along the West African

coast." (den Besten, Muysken & Smith 1995: 88). They maintained that the grammar of the original variety stayed constant while its vocabulary was replaced with that derived from another European(-derived) language (cf. relexification) when its speakers were transplanted to one of the various European colonies.

Scholars such as Hancock (1969, 1986, 1987) and McWhorter (1995, 1997c) take a more moderate approach in that they argue that English-lexified creoles spoken on both sides of the Atlantic descend from one common predecessor that emerged in and around trading forts on the West African coast. This variety was disseminated to Caribbean colonies and was acquired as the main means of communication by the slaves. In the acquisition process, the disseminated variety underwent several changes due to influence from the first languages of the slaves and universal processes of language change.

The so-called superstratist view of creole genesis (Chaudenson 1979, 1989, 1992; Mufwene 1991, 1993b) maintains that creoles are essentially descendants of regional varieties of European languages that the slaves acquired as second languages upon arrival in the colony. The differences between specific regional varieties and a given creole and between creoles derived from the same regional varieties are argued to result from the process of second language acquisition. That is, they are either argued to be due to first language influence (interference through shift) or universal processes of change.

Supporters of universalist approaches to creole formation (Bickerton 1981, 1984, 1989, 1994; Byrne 1987, Veenstra 1996) argue that creoles are largely based on universal grammatical principles since their only linguistic input, a pidgin, was structurally impoverished. They assume that creole genesis essentially involved first language acquisition with impoverished linguistic input. In order to compensate for the pidgin's structural deficiency, the creators of creoles made recourse to their innate capacity for language and selected so-called universal structural principles.

A fourth set of theories maintains that the non-European input provided the main input to creole formation. So-called substratist views of creole formation maintain that creoles emerge primarily from contact between adults speaking non-European languages and those speaking European languages and between adults speaking different non-European languages (Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Boretzky 1983, 1993, Siegel 1999). They argue that the creators of creoles targeted the European language but since they did not have sufficient exposure to it and/or little motivation to acquire it, they transferred a great number of the grammatical features of their native languages into the emerging variety thereby creating the creole. Creoles thus typically only inherit lexical items, i.e. their morphemic shape and some of their basic grammatical features, from the European input and derive most of their structural features from the non-European inputs to creole genesis. Lefebvre (1998), Lumsden (2000), Lefebvre & Lumsden (1994) argue that the slaves maintained the structural features of their native languages which are encapsulated in the lexicon and only replaced the phonological representations of the native lexical entries with those derived from the dominant European language (cf. relexification).

So-called dynamic views of creole formation which are *not* identical in their details though (Alleyne 1971, 1980, 1986, 1993, Arends 1989, 1993, Keesing 1988, 1991, Mufwene 1986, 1990, 1996, Singler 1986, 1988, Winford to appear) (attempt to) draw equally on data about the social make up of the contact setting and on linguistic data from its inputs and outcome in order to construct sociohistorically adequate rather than only linguistically viable theories of creole formation. Their sociolinguistically oriented approach to the formation of creoles suggests that it did not proceed uniformly in each setting or across different settings. It involved several processes or mechanism of contact and innovation, linguistic inputs, and outcomes. The various interactions between the different inputs gave rise to a number of different but overlapping outcomes which only gradually coalesced into a common

sociolinguistic structure in each setting. The relative impact of the different mechanisms and inputs, the amount of time it took until the linguistic outcome crystallized and stabilized (into its modern form), and the relative prominence or social significance of the different outcomes depended crucially on the social and linguistic make up of the contact setting.

The aim of this chapter is two-fold: First, it critically evaluates the main current views of creole formation, such as the shift without normal transmission hypothesis (Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Thomason 1997), the relexification hypothesis (Lefebvre & Lumsden 1994, Lefebvre 1998, Lumsden 1999a, 1999b), and more dynamic approaches such as Alleyne (1971, 1993, 1986), Arends (1993), Keesing (1988), and Winford (to appear). Second, it proposes an integrated account of creole formation based on both previous accounts and an investigation of several aspects of the genesis of one (proto-typical) creole, the predecessor(s) of the creoles of Suriname.

The discussion of current theories of creole formation suggests that the shift and relexification hypothesis are not able to adequately explain the formation of creoles in a historically adequate fashion. Like early theories, they primarily rely on linguistic data, they only explain one aspect of the contact, and they do not motivate their linguistic accounts, i.e. their mechanisms of contact and innovation, inputs, and outcomes, using data on the contact setting. Views on creole formation which equally consider and account for social and linguistic data provide a clearly more complex but historically more adequate account. The integrated view of creole formation also argues that modern (proto-typical) creoles result from complex processes of contact between the native languages of the main agents and between the former and the linguistic conventions of the plantations. These processes were crucially regulated by the social make-up and development of the contact setting. They did not procede in the same way in one setting or across different settings and their linguistic results only gradually developed into the modern sociolinguistic structure.

1. Creole genesis: Review of the literature

This section discusses and evaluates current theories of creole genesis. It focuses on determining the following issues about their proposals: (i) the mechanisms, (ii) the inputs, (iii) the regulators, (iv) the social scenarios used to motivate the former, and (v) the kinds of evidence/data they draw on to establish them.

1. 1. "Shift and expansion" scenarios

This view of creole formation articulated in slightly different ways by Thomason & Kaufman (1988), Boretzky (1983, 1993), Siegel (1999), McWhorter (1997a) maintains that creole formation took place in a setting involving unequal distribution of power. The slaves or indentured laborers in the Pacific made up the politically subordinate group and the politically superordinate group in these settings consisted of the Europeans and the African elite slaves or Pacific islanders working as overseers. The members of the subordinate group did not have a means of communication for interacting among each other and with the members of the superordinate group since they came from several different but partially related ethnolinguistic groups, i.e. their languages belonged to similar language families. In addition, they typically also did not know the varieties used by the politically superordinate group upon their arrival in the colony. Such varieties consisted of first (Europeans) and second (overseers) language varieties of the respective European language.[4] The members of the subordinate group, however, presumably had to acquire at least a superficial knowledge of the varieties used by the members of the superordinate group because they were forced to interact with them for work-related matters. Since it constituted a common ground between them, the members of the subordinate group also used what they had acquired of the politically

[4]McWhorter (1997: 151-152) argues that the slaves were exposed to varieties of the European language which the Europeans themselves had simplified to various degrees.

dominant varieties as a means for interethnic communication in their communication with other members of the subordinate group who did not share their ethnolinguistic background.

The process of expansion also referred to as creolization, however, took place mainly in the encounters among the members of the socially subordinate group. Since the members of the subordinate group did not have frequent and close contact with their speakers, they were not able to and/or lacked the motivation to fully acquire the European(-derived) language varieties. It is argued that they acquired only relatively reduced versions of these varieties which mainly consisted of lexical items (Thomason & Kaufman) or "some words and phrases of English as an L2, and a few conventions for superficial communication" (Siegel 1999: 8). McWhorter (1997: 146) argues that they took over only the most salient and semantically substantive elements which were "just substantial enough for communicative efficacy in a work context." In order to make these reduced varieties meet their (increasing) communication needs, the members of the subordinate group expanded these varieties into fully-fledged languages by importing (structural) features from their native languages and by innovating features through processes of internal change.

The process of creole genesis, i.e. the transfer to first language features into the reduced European variety and the innovation of new features, was regulated by social and linguistic factors. All researcher argue that the degree of congruence between the native languages of the creators played a primary role in this process. They argue that the creators were making guesses about what their interlocutors would understand and the guesses (strategies) which furthered comprehension, i.e. those common to all languages in the contact setting or those easily processable for its speakers, stood the highest chance of becoming established in the expanding variety (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 152-153).[5] With respect to the social

[5]Siegel argues that the (final) set of features which actually came to make up the (stabilized) creole was determined during stabilization when the different variants which had emerged earlier entered into competition during dialect leveling.

constraints, McWhorter (1997a: 161) argues that creoles emerge when pidgins are used "in social domains wider and richer than that of the work or trade situation." and need to be able to also perform interactional, expressive, metalinguistic and poetic functions beside directive and referential functions. Other scholars argue that creole genesis was regulated by factors such as the subordinate group's knowledge of the European language, and their amount of access to it (or its speakers). The greater the knowledge of the European language and the amount of access to it, and the greater the degree of congruence between the non-European inputs and between the European and non-European inputs, the more systematic similarities would be found between the emerging variety and its inputs. In cases in which the knowledge of the European language was relatively low and the degree of congruence between the different input varieties was also low on the contrary, the emerging variety would be relatively or radically different from its inputs.

All scholars agree that the emerging creole is not (genetically) related to any of its inputs but shares similarities in common with all or most of them. They involve (a) a lexicon derived from the varieties of the politically dominant people in the setting, (b) structural features common to all or most of the first languages of the politically subordinate people, and (c) structures derived from universal tendencies or processes which typically play a role in language contact settings.

Most proponents of this view of creole formation either rely primarily on an analysis of linguistic data from a or several creoles (Thomason & Kaufman 1988, McWhorter 1997a) or on a comparative analysis of data from the creole and its non-European input (Siegel 1999). The former researchers make reference to only very little and highly general information on

the contact setting.[6] Siegel (1999) motivates his view on the basis of data on the contact setting.

The main problem with the shift and expansion view of creole formation is that there is only little or no sociohistorical evidence to support it. The supporters of this view either simply derive this scenario from the analysis of the linguistic data (Thomason & Kaufman 1988, McWhorter 1997a) and on the basis of highly sketchy social data, or they assume it apriori and use the available social data to support it (Siegel 1999). That is, due to several (superficial) similarities in the social and linguistic circumstance to other, more established language contact phenomena such as L2 acquisition, these researcher hypothesize that creole genesis must have proceeded in the same way and thus superimpose the model devised for the other phenomenon onto the formation of a creole without checking in detail whether it actually applies.

Research on the nature of various contact settings in which (proto-typical) creoles emerged (Alleyne 1971, 1993, Arends 1995, Baker 1990, 1997, Migge 1998a & b, Singler 1986, 1992, 1993, 1995) suggest that the hierarchical interactions between the field slaves and the slave elite or Europeans did not play an important role in the emergence of creoles. The creators of (proto-typical) creoles only infrequently engaged into these kinds of social interactions and they only involved relatively non-complex interactions. They primarily involved the organization of work tasks which did not require much common or shared linguistic knowledge and thus could have only produced relatively non-complex means for interethnic communication. From the beginning, the slaves mainly interacted among themselves. These interactions involved a relatively equal power distribution between the interlocutors and

[6]This is particularly apparant in the case of McWhorter (1997a). His linguistic analysis is primarily based on data from the Surinamese creole Saramaccan but he does not make more than passing reference to relatively problematic historical sources from the relatively great amount of available literature on the make up of the contact setting in which the precursors to all Surinamese creoles emerged.

communication about a wide variety of relatively complex private and work-related matters giving rise to complex means for interethnic communication.

A second problem concerns the mechanisms of contact and the inputs to this contact setting. Since their assumptions about the make-up of the contact setting are highly problematic, this then consequently also applies to their assumption that creole formation involved (highly imperfect L2) acquisition of a European(-derived) language variety and its subsequent expansion using typical language learning strategies such as the importation of L1 elements and innovation of new structures. That is, if the social circumstances of the contact setting(s) determine the linguistic processes, the latter cannot be formulated separately from the former but must be derived from them.

Following the above sketched scenario based on sociohistorical research on creole settings, mutual rather than unidirectional linguistic accommodation played a major role in the formation of (proto-typical) creoles. Since the agents in the contact setting primarily engaged into non-hierarchical social encounters, they were more inclined to gradually adapt their linguistic conventions towards each other's to overcome their linguistic barriers rather than to unilaterally adapt them in the direction of one specific convention as is typical in (hierarchical) language learning settings.[7]

This process of mutual linguistic accommodation required the interlocutors to draw on the linguistic resources available to them and to combine them in ways that they perceived as furthering (their) communication. They made use of strategies from their native languages, those that had proven successful in other encounters, and those from their interlocutors which they perceived to understand. This then suggests that there were two broad types of inputs to this process, the agents native conventions and what they had acquired in other (hierarchical and non-hierarchical) settings. The linguistic conventions of the plantation administration (or

[7]Thomason & Kaufman (1988) point this out in their discussion but never really elaborate on this or adapt their scenario of creole formation accordingly.

what the slaves were able to acquire of them in their interactions with their representatives) thus only provided one minor input to the formation of (proto-typical) creoles rather than the main frame of the emerging language (cf. Baker 1990). The features from the politically dominant varieties in the setting only gradually filtered into the emerging set of conventions that developed among the field slaves, i.e. the emerging creole. The speed of this process was determined by factors such as the frequency of interaction between members of the politically subordinate and superordinate groups and the overall social significance or meaning that these conventions attained among the slaves.

A third problem concerns the claim most explicitly made by Siegel (1999: 36) that linguistic constraints such as the degree of congruence between the politically dominant varieties and those spoken by the politically subordinate people and the perceptual salience of certain features from the former varieties determined which structural features from the latter languages would be transferred into/emerge in the (existing) creole. First, if, as suggested by the above scenario the varieties of the politically dominant people were only one (minor) among several inputs to the process of mutual accommodation and the interaction between these two types of varieties only played one (minor) role, it is problematic to argue that the interaction between the two varieties played a significant role in determining the structural make up of the outcome, i.e. the features that emerged.

Second, if, as suggested by the above scenario, creoles emerged as means for interethnic communication due to processes of mutual accommodation mainly between people who only had minimal knowledge of the varieties of the politically dominant people and who were trying to communicate with people who were not really associated with these varieties, it seems unlikely that they would have geared their choice of linguistic elements from their native languages according to relatively distant norms. Rather, it seems that depending on the nature of the interaction, i.e. what they inferred about each other's linguistic background, they

only selected those strategies from their native languages which they perceived to further communication. This automatically led to certain structures being underrepresented overall because they were perceived or proved to be unintelligible, i.e. to obstruct communication.

Third, it assumes that creoles emerged relatively abruptly and did not undergo much change subsequently. That is, the lexicon and the kinds of structures found in the modern creole were also present in the creole at time of its formation. This assumption has been shown to be problematic by diachronic research on historical records (cf. Arends 1989, Bruyn 1995, Baker ???). It shows that creoles like all natural languages have undergone structural changes since their inception due to language contact and innovation, i.e. language internal processes. If this is true for later periods, it must also be true for earlier ones, i.e. the early sets of conventions that represented the early creole only emerged gradually out of a continuum of partially overlapping conventions. Some of these conventions contained relatively greater amounts of lexical elements and structural features from one or several native languages while others which emerged in the hierarchical interactions with the slave elite contained greater amounts of items from the politically dominant varieties. Due to various kinds of social developments one or the other set of varieties or features thereof became socially more prominent leading to the gradual decline of the others. This then suggests that what seems to be a clear case of interaction between the varieties of the superordinate groups and those of the subordinate groups from the point of view of the linguistic data may actually have arisen due to the interaction of the native languages of the latter group followed by a process of later lexical replacement.

1. 2. Relexification

Lefebvre & Lumsden (1994a&b), Lefebvre (1998), Lumsden (1999) also assume that creoles emerged in multilingual situations with unequal power distribution which consisted of

two rough groups of people: Europeans and slaves. The former were speakers of first language varieties of one European language and the latter were speakers of a few African languages. The members of the two groups and the latter group did not share a common means of communication. In addition, the slaves only had limited access to the language varieties spoken by the Europeans (and vise versa). In order to communicate with each other and the Europeans, the slaves had to forge their own variety.

The linguistic inputs to the new language are the languages spoken by the slaves and the Europeans. The new language is created as the result of the operation of three processes: Relexification, reanalysis, and dialect leveling. Relexification involves building "new lexical entries by copying the lexical entries of an already established lexicon and replacing their phonological representations with representations derived from another language." (p. 16)[8] The creators of creoles presumably copied the lexical entries of their first languages and then relabled those with a semantic or lexical content with phonetic strings from the European language. Lexical entries without semantic or lexical content are left unlabeled (for now), i.e. they "are not pronounced." (p. 17).

The agents in the process of relexification deduce the meaning of the superstrate phonetic strings selected to label a copied lexical entry of the substrate from its use in specific semantic and pragmatic contexts (p. 17) rather than from the actual superstrate lexical entry since they only had limited access to the superstrate. In the case of minor/functional categories which are typically not relabeled with phonetic strings of equivalent minor/functional categories in the superstrate but with phonetic strings of major lexical categories, relabeling "responds to three types of clues." (p. 37): (i) some semantic overlap, (ii) similar distributions, and/or (iii) phonological similarity. "The relexification of various lexicons on the basis of a single superstratum language provides the speakers of the substratum languages with a common

[8]All quotes come from Lefebvre (1998).

vocabulary." (p 35) In their further efforts to create a viable language for interethnic communication, they no longer target the European language but rather the (emerging) common variety which was created through relexification.

Reanalysis is defined as a process "by which a particular form which signals one lexical entry becomes the signal of another lexical entry (Lightfoot 1979)." (p. 41). This typically happens as the result of processes of grammaticalization. Lefebvre & Lumsden (1994a&b) and Lefebvre (1998) argue that it is this process which fills a number of the gaps that occurred as the result of relexification. That is, the lexical entries of the copied substrate lexicon which were initially not relabeled now receive a label due to the operation of the process of reanalysis. "It is hypothesized that speakers of the early creole use a major category lexical item (e.g. an adverb) to signal the covert functional category lexical entry. Speakers may eventually assign the form of this major category lexical item as the phonological form of the previously covert functional category through the process of reanalysis." (p. 44/45).

The final process they posit is dialect leveling. It refers "to the reduction of variation between dialects of the same language in situations where these dialects are brought together." (p. 46). The differences between them are reduced since speakers of different varieties acquire features from other varieties and avoid those that inhibit understanding. The authors claim that dialect leveling "operates on the output of relexification." (p. 46); it "reduces the variation between the lexicons produced by relexification of the various substratum lexicons." (p. 46).

Various kinds of criticism have been leveled against the theory, the data to support it, and the methods used to collect it. The first issue has been much discussed by Singler (1996) and Thomason (1993), the second issue by Degraff (1999b), Singler (1996), and Thomason (1993), and the third issue was the focus of much discussion on the creollist and in various handouts by Degraff. The following discussion focuses primarily on the theoretical issues.

The main problem with this theory of the creation of creoles is that it is not compatible with the sociohistorical evidence on the settings in which such languages including their primary test case, Haitian Creole, emerged (Singler 1996, Thomason 1993, Mufwene 1996). As discussed above, the hierarchical European-African-type interactions involving the first languages of the African slaves and the European(-derived) varieties of language of the colonizers in which the slaves were attempting to unilaterally accommodate to or acquire the latter varieties did not play an important role in the formation of creoles. Creoles primarily emerged in the non-hierarchical encounters between the slaves in which the European(-derived) varieties of language were one among several available linguistic resources that the slaves drew on in their effort to forge individual Media For Interethnic Communication (MFIC) (Baker 1990). In these settings they did not target such varieties.

Given that creoles did not emerge in an L2 acquisition-type social setting, the importance of their main mechanism of contact, relexification, in the formation of creoles also becomes highly questionable since its operation seems to crucially depend on this kind of social setting. Besides being sociohistorically unmotivated, Lefebvre's and Lumsden's proposed mechanisms also pose more general problems of viability.

Their conception of creole formation remains fundamentally caught within two problematic notions central to traditional research on language contact: First, language contact typically involves the modification of one language under the influence of another. Second, languages can primarily influence one another in the area of the lexicon but structural systems typically remain resistant to change. The authors claim that creole formation involved 'creation' of a new language by combining elements from two existing languages as the result of mainly one 'mental processes', namely relexification. Their actual proposal essentially suggests, however, that one language, the (copied) first language of the creators of creoles is changed under the influence of another language, the language of the politically dominant

group. This is problematic since, as discussed above, (proto-typical) creoles did not emerge in settings which involved unidirectional linguistic modification of one language (the first language(s) of the creators of creoles) under the influence of another (the language of the politically dominant group) as in proto-typical shift and maintenance settings. In the interethnic encounters that were at the heart of creole formation the interlocutors collaboratively created a new system using their available linguistic resources in an effort to establish or enhance communication between them. The amount and types of features they took from the available resources depended crucially on the backgrounds of the interlocutors and the nature of the setting.

Their claim that the language of the politically dominant group mainly influences the lexical representations of the (copied) first language while its structural system stays intact (though not fully pronounced) is highly problematic for two reasons. First, "the available evidence from language contact situations does not support the view that transferred lexical items in cross-language interference are merely morphemic strings that are treated as if they were totally independent of the structures into which they enter." (Thomason 1993: 283). Second, research on outcomes of various types of language contact has shown that both the lexicon and the structural system of a language can be easily influenced by those of another language (Thomason & Kaufman 1988).

While it is true that the slaves had their entire native linguistic system at their disposal as a resource for creating a new language, it is unlikely that they would have retained or copied it in its entirety (even in an unpronounced form) to the new language. For each interaction, the interlocutors would have only retained or made use of those aspects which they perceived to further interethnic comprehension. Aspects which were perceived to obstruct it were not employed, i.e. they did not play a role in the construction of the system. If such features, however, were attested at some later point in time, this did not happen because they had been

'hanging around' in the linguistic conventions in an unpronounced way ever since its initial creation. They emerged as the result of the application of the same or different mechanisms of contact (or of internal changes) when these conventions functioned as inputs to another contact setting involving partially different social and linguistic characteristics.[9]

Moreover, their claim that reanalysis played an important role in the emergence of functional categories of creoles is problematic as well. Recent research (Keesing 1991, Bruyn 1995, 1996) has shown that reanalysis (or grammaticalization) did not play as major a role in creole formation as previously assumed. They show that a significant number of structures in creoles which had previously been claimed to have come about due to reanalysis turned out to have come about primarily as the result of language contact, i.e. retention and selection (cf. Chapter 5). In addition, as shown below (cf. Chapter 5), reanalysis was by no means the only language-independent process of change that played a role in the formation of creole grammar. Other processes such as, broadening, narrowing, regularization etc. were also involved and probably played a much more vital role. Finally, the way they define the process of reanalysis as one which involves the assignment of a lexical shape to a particular preexisting category seems problematic. Reanalysis typically involves the gradual change of the semantic and syntactic properties of a lexical item due to its frequent occurrence in a particular (new) linguistic and pragmatic context (Hopper & ? 199?).

Lefebvre and Lumsden assume that the process of change that leads to the emergence of creoles must crucially apply to or is driven by lexical entries since this is the place in which all the syntactic and semantic properties of a language are stored. While it is theoretically possible that syntactic and semantic properties of a language are stored in lexical entries, it

[9]Claiming that a particular feature 'survived' for generations in a language in an unrealized form is as absurd as claiming that two internal changes which have the same linguistic nature but were observed in one and the same language 400 years apart are related. All language changes have their life-span. This view of language contact also goes against psycholinguistic evidence which suggests that our knowledge is efficiently organized. It stems from the idea of universal linguistic categories (I think).

seems questionable whether they therefore necessarily also have to play a major role in language contact situations.

Speakers typically do not encounter, identify, learn, and adopt lexical items individually. They are typically confronted in one specific pragmatic context with a string of words expressing a specific pragmatic content. If they do not have any or a reduced proficiency in the variety from which the string is derived, they are typically not aware of the string's (native) structure: They are not aware of the number and the actual morphemic shape of the source lexical items, their entire semantic, syntactic, and morphological properties, and the rules that govern their combination. All they can infer is that the given string may be used to convey a particular pragmatic content in a particular pragmatic context. In order to make the string accessible to them, they apply to it their own knowledge of how to express the inferred content in the inferred pragmatic context. They access their native pragmatic strategies represented by abstract syntactic, semantic, and morphological patterns expressed by lexical categories and superimpose these patterns on the non-native strings and thereby establish equivalence between their native strategy and the non-native string. In a second step (what seem to be) sections of the non-native string are associated with the lexical categories that fill the abstract pattern of the native pragmatic strategy, i.e. that represent this strategy. In a third step, the sections of the non-native string assume all the grammatical properties of the relevant native lexical category which do not clash with properties inferred from the original string. The thus emerged bi-original items (automatically) become available for use in production and comprehension of other pragmatic strategies which involved the native lexical categories or items that provided (most of) their grammatical properties.

The above discussion then suggests that there are two ways in which functional categories become expressed by lexical items belonging to content morphemes in the source language. First, the native lexical item with which the non-native item was associated was

multicategorical, i.e. it was a content morpheme in some contexts and a function morpheme in others (cf. serial verbs, apparent grammaticalization). Interlingual identity was initially established between the two items in contexts in which they performed the same lexical function. Due to their association, the non-native major lexical category item came to also perform the native item's minor category function. Second, a major lexical item in the creole was later reanalyzed as a functional elements due to its occurrence in a given context.

The above discussion about the importance of lexical entries in interethnic communication also suggests that the assumption that "the relexification of various lexicons on the basis of a single superstratum language provides the speakers of the substratum languages with a common vocabulary" (p. 35) is questionable in at least two respects: First, interlocutors generally do not primarily communicate by just using individual words but they usually use groups of words which are bound in an abstract grammatical pattern expressing a particular pragmatic content/strategy. This suggests that they would have established various pragmatic strategies consisting of several lexical items rather than lists of individual words. Second, it is difficult to see how relexification could have provided the slaves with a common lexicon since they were speakers of several distantly related languages which did not have identical lexica (Thomason 1993, Singler 1996, Mufwene 199?). The differences in the nature and type of the lexical entries of the different languages must have considerably obstructed (interethnic) communication.

Furthermore, it also seems unlikely that such potentially large lexical differences between the different lexica could have been overcome by the only regulating process they propose, namely dialect leveling. Dialect leveling typically operates in situations involving significantly overlapping varieties and the features that are leveled are not properties of lexical entries but entire strategies or patterns used for expressing specific pragmatic contents. The competition between semantically equivalent but structurally different strategies then

gives rise to a change in the semantic and distributional properties of lexical items contained in them. In settings involving relatively great differences between the varieties which are also not well known to all the interlocutors, the process of forging a common system involves a complex and multidimensional process of negotiation (see discussion above) in which the modification of emerging lexical entries only plays but a minor role. As state, "It [Lefebvre's and Lumsden's view of creole formation] lacks a way to deal with conflicting substratal input (the point made by Baker, Mufwene, and others) and has not considered how creole genesis occurs when no substrate language is predominant." (Singler 1996: 224-225). It can also not deal with cases in which native or L2 speakers of the socially dominant varieties, such as indentured laborers, were integral participants of the interactions which were at the heart of creole formation (cf. AAE).

Finally, Singler (1996) also points out that this view of creole formation cannot account for influence from the creators' first languages on the phonology of creoles.

1. 3. Dynamic views

The crucial difference between the above (and traditional) views of creole formation and dynamic views as proposed by researchers such as Alleyne (1971, 1993), Arends (1989, 1993, 1995), Baker (1990), Keesing (1988), Singler (1986, 1988, 1990, 1993, 1995) is that the latter researchers maintain that a (historically) adequate account of the formation of a given creole can only be deduced or derived from an analysis of the social circumstances of its formation, i.e. the make-up and development of the formative contact setting(s). The findings from an analysis of the linguistic data, such as one that determines the differences (and similarities) between the inputs and the outcome(s), constitute only one type of (supporting) evidence. By themselves, such findings cannot provide an adequate insight into the nature of the contact

since their interpretation is crucially dependent on the nature of the social context in which they arose.[10]

Based on the detailed analysis of social and linguistic data pertaining to contact settings which gave rise to creoles, these researchers implicitly or explicitly argue that creole formation was a gradual, multidimensional process which did not proceed in the same way in the same setting or across different settings. The degree of similarity and difference between the processes and their outcomes in the various settings were conditioned by similarities and differences in the social and linguistic characteristics of the contact circumstances.

Each setting involved both hierarchical interactions between the members of the different social groups, e.g. elite slave—field slave encounters, and relatively non-hierarchical encounters between the members of the same social group, e.g. field slave—field slave encounters. In the former interactions, the members of the socially subordinate group typically unilaterally accommodated to the members of the respective socially superordinate group while the latter accommodated less to the former. This process gave rise to varieties that approximated the varieties of the politically dominant groups. In the latter interactions the interlocutors typically mutually accommodated to each other giving rise to varieties that resembled their native languages much more closely. In between these 'poles' were various kinds of interactions involving various kinds of intermediate power relationships between the interlocutors who held different kinds of intermediate social positions in the plantation society. Such encounters involved varying degrees of mutual and unilateral linguistic accommodation giving rise to varieties which showed varying degrees of similarity to their

[10] Similar (social and) linguistic signs may have different interpretations and origins depending on the contexts of their usage and emergence. That is, the fact that there are similarities between linguistic features that emerged as the result of L2 acquisition and those that emerged due to creole formation, for example, does not mean that creole formation is a kind of L2 acquisition or vice versa. Since both are instances of language contact, they both involve similar contact activities (retention, selection). The amount of their application and thus the overall nature of their outcomes, however, crucially depend on the nature of the contact setting.

native languages and those used by the plantation administration. Which of these types of interactions dominated in a given setting and thus which inputs and contact mechanisms played what role in the formation of a given contact outcome depended crucially on the social and linguistic make up and development of the setting. The formation of (proto-typical) creoles, however, mostly took place in settings in which the non-hierarchical interactions clearly dominated. The field slaves (and manual laborers among the pacific islanders) were by far the largest group and accounted for the overwhelming majority of the interactions on the plantations. In addition, they were socially relatively segregated from the other (higher) social groups and only engaged in infrequent and superficial interactions with them. The different kinds of interactions did not exist in a vacuum, however, but influenced each other, i.e. the conventions or strategies thereof established in one interaction were available as inputs to the other kinds of interactions.

They assume that the linguistic inputs to creole formation consisted of the varieties that the interlocutors had access to and employed in their various encounters. Depending on the interlocutors' background and the norms of a given interaction, some varieties played a greater role than others in the different encounters and settings. In interactions among the manual laborers (e.g. the field slaves), for example, their native varieties functioned as the major inputs and the knowledge they had acquired of the socially dominant varieties played a much more minor role. Among members of the plantation administration who did not have the same background, the importance of these two broad groups of varieties was reversed. Finally, in hierarchical encounters between the manual laborers and members of the plantation administration, for example, both varieties played a roughly equal role but the politically dominant varieties functioned as the target.

Alleyne and Keesing also argue that the linguistic nature of these two broad groups of inputs did not remain stable over time or across interactions. When they functioned as inputs

to a contact setting they gave rise to outcomes that showed varying degrees of similarity to them. These outcomes in addition to and/or instead of the 'original' inputs in turn also functioned as inputs to other interactions suggesting that the linguistic nature of the inputs and thus the outcomes were continually and gradually changing. The direction of the change, i.e. whether they became more similar or diverse and towards which linguistic norms they were oriented, depended on the make up and development of the contact setting.

Proponents of dynamic views of creole formation maintain that this process involved varying degrees of adaptation to European cultural including linguistic norms and maintenance of such native norms. According to Alleyne creole formation involved varying degrees of language shift involving varying amounts of interference from the native languages for the agents who were close to the Europeans (and their non-European collaborators). In the case of those sections of the population who were relatively removed from the socially dominant people in the setting, the process of acculturation involved a process akin to borrowing involving the maintenance of native features. According to Keesing, Baker, and Winford (to appear), creole formation involved roughly the (re)interpretation of European(-derived) lexical forms, i.e. strings of words expressing a particular pragmatic content, according to the agents' native linguistic norms. Gradually, a common system consisting of a set of European-derived lexical items and structural principles for their interpretation emerged. The latter set consisted of principles that had emerged out of a process of negotiation between the inputs; the agents employed linguistic strategies or abstract structural patterns that they perceived to be comprehensible for their interlocutors and those strategies that proved successful were reapplied and eventually adopted. The strategies that proved most successful were those that were available in all or most of the inputs.

All proponents agree that the nature of the relationship between a given creole and its respective inputs and other outcomes of contact, including other creoles, was, as in the case of

all outcomes of contact, crucially depended on the social and linguistic circumstances of their emergence. Some alleged creoles (Barbadian, AAE) are, for example, much closer to their European inputs and are akin to outcomes of shift while others, such as the creoles of Suriname, seem much closer to (one of) their African inputs and are akin to cases of language maintenance.

The findings from my analysis of the social and linguistic evidence pertaining to the formation of the predecessors of the modern Surinamese creoles are in close agreement with these dynamic views of creole formation (see below) but they raise doubts about one issue. Their theories only discuss the integration of elements from the first languages of the slaves with those derived from the European varieties since they assume that (proto-typical) creoles emerged out of the interaction between the former and the latter. This assumption seems to be problematic, however, since the main locus of creole formation were the interactions between field slaves who had only little access to and knowledge of the varieties of the European(-derived) language varieties. In addition, they probably had little motivation to use them (much) in their interactions with other slaves since, at least initially, they must have been mainly coindexed with the system that oppressed them.[11] This then suggests that creole formation did not just involve the combination of European(-derived) linguistic features with non-European linguistic features but also the combination of features from the different non-European varieties using the same mechanism of (re)interpretation. Given their relative lack of familiarity with both the European(-derived) variety and the respective other non-European varieties, their is no reason to assume that only the former type of combination took place while the latter did not. This further suggests that the nature of the lexicon was subject to the same process of interethnic and inter-social negotiation as the structural system and that the European(-derived) lexical items characteristic of modern creoles only gradually filtered into

[11]Later on, as the field slave group became more structured and socially stratified, they were probably employed by the slaves to coindex power differences among themselves as well.

the common set of conventions as the varieties containing them were becoming more generally available to everybody.

In a similar vain, Alleyne's idea that creole formation essentially involved adaptation to European linguistic norms is somewhat incompatible with the fact that (proto-typical) creoles emerged primarily in interactions between field slaves who did not have much contact with the Europeans and their African collaborators. The notion of acculturation he describes suggests that from the beginning the interlocutors were attempting to adapt to these norms. The nature of the contact setting suggests, however, that, at least during the initial period, the interlocutors were trying to acculturate to each other under various specific conditions rather than to some relatively removed external norms of their oppressors. It seems that during this process of mutual accommodation they were making use of elements or strategies they (thought they) had in common and at their disposal without consciously or actively trying to acculturate to a set of external conventions (Baker 1990). The social and linguistic conventions they were exposed to on the plantations only constituted one among several possible sources of commonalties they could draw on. In the beginning, their native conventions functioned as the main inputs to this process. Only as the field slaves entered into more frequent and complex encounters with people who employed the plantation conventions and/or features thereof to a greater deal, did these conventions or features become inputs to their various interactions and gradually filter into the conventions emerging from them.

Initially, the slaves made use of them for purely practical purposes, namely to enhance communication, rather than to actively accommodate to the plantation conventions. Only in later phases, when a or various related sets of socio-cultural conventions had been established for the plantation society as a whole and each subset came to coindex certain social identities, did the European-derived elements come to function as cultural capital for social advancement. At this stage the slaves were actively making use of (or avoiding) such

strategies to increase their social standing/power vis a vis their interlocutor and thus in a sense acculturated to what they perceived to be *bakaa* norms.

2. Creole formation as a case of language contact

The aim of this section is to discuss the formation of a prototypical creole, the predecessor(s) of the modern creoles of Suriname. The discussion draws on an analysis of social and linguistic data pertaining to their formation (cf. Arends 1995, Migge 1998 a&b, 2000, Postma 1990, Rens 1953, Van Stipriaan 1993) and on the above evaluation of previous models of creole formation. It suggests that the predecessor(s) of the modern creoles in Suriname emerged gradually primarily as the result of retention and adoption. Processes of linguistic innovation such as broadening, narrowing, reanalysis etc. only played a minor role and operated subsequent to the processes of contact.

Following Alleyne (1971) and Baker (1990) this view of creole formation also argues that creoles emerged to solve interethnic communication problems. In the Caribbean/South America they arose on a massive scale during the transition from the homestead economy to the typical plantation economy among the newly arriving slaves from Africa and between these new slaves and the plantation establishment. The rapid increase of the slave population led to a situation in which the new arrivals could no longer be easily integrated into the previously existing social structure of the homestead. This prompted the emergence of the typical plantation structure. It did not only involve a much greater non-European population but its members became relatively strictly subdivided into three broad social groups which were arranged in a social hierarchy.

The European owners or administrators occupied the highest position in the plantation hierarchy and were numerically the smallest group consisting of one to three people. The slaves who were arriving during this period made up by far the largest group which was also

assigned the lowest social position. Its members performed the manual labor on the fields and in the sugar mills. It was also the least coherent social group since its members were constantly changing due to a continually high influx of new members and a high attrition rate. Plantations typically also included a third group which was socially intermediate between these two groups. It consisted of people who had typically already spent a considerable amount of time on the plantations or were born there. They performed various more 'skilled' tasks such as serving the Europeans, supervising the field slaves, leading negotiations between slaves and Europeans during difficult times, and various other more skilled manual tasks. In Suriname this group was nearly entirely made up of African- and Suriname-born slaves while in other plantation settings it also involved European indentured laborers.[12]

The Europeans were native speakers of a or several European languages and in some cases they also spoke relatively established contact varieties for interethnic communication with the slaves. They consisted of varieties imported from other plantation settings and varieties that had emerged locally in their interactions with the slaves and among the slaves during the homestead period. The elite slaves also spoke L2 varieties of European languages and an African L1. The field slaves were initially only speakers of two or more different African L1s and did not have a common means of communication. The L1s spoken by the slaves in Suriname belonged to two language clusters, Gbe and Kikongo, which are part of the same broad language family, the Niger-Congo family of languages.

The members of the same social group engaged into relatively close, frequent, relatively non-hierarchical and communicatively relatively complex private and work-related encounters.[13] The members of different social groups, on the contrary, mostly entered into

[12]According to van Stipriaan (1993) the Surinamese plantations involved one or several white overseers.

[13]To keep things a little more focused, I omit other hierarchical relationships here that typically exist between the members of the same social group, i.e. women/men; young/old; different ethnic groups etc.. These relationships typically also have an important impact on

relatively infrequent, superficial, relatively hierarchical, and non-complex interactions. The latter type of interactions were clearly less frequent then the former. The two types of interactions probably also involved different patterns of interactions. Hierarchical interactions are generally characterized by unidirectional accommodation; typically those with less social power unilaterally accommodate to the habits of the socially more powerful people. Non-hierarchical encounters are characterized by bi-directional or mutual accommodation between interlocutors.

This situation suggests the following things about creole formation: First, the creole was forged in two types of settings: the non-hierarchical interactions among the new (field) slaves and the hierarchical encounters between the new (field) slaves and the members of the slave elite or plantation establishment with whom they interacted. The interlocutors in these interactions initially lacked common social and linguistic conventions which were available to all members and therefore had to negotiate them in their encounters. The interactions among the new (field) slaves were clearly more important in this process since they were very frequent due to this groups' relative size and the multiplex nature of their interactions. This suggests that the (new) field slaves were the (main) agents of creole formation.

Second, the main inputs to creole formation were the linguistic repertoires of the new slaves. Initially, they only spoke their native African languages and did generally not have knowledge of the European(-derived) language varieties common among the other social groups. They, however, acquired some knowledge of the these existing linguistic conventions in their encounters with the plantation management. The kinds of conventions they acquired and to what degree depended on the types of interactions they engaged in. In Suriname, for

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the outcome and development of language contact. It seems though that they were backgrounded initially since the members of the plantation society were relatively homogeneous consisting mainly of younger men. In later periods when the society was becoming slightly more 'natural' such power relationships reconstituted themselves and became more important also in determining the direction of change.

example, most of the new (field) slaves interacted relatively infrequently with the slave elite. This suggests that they acquired relatively little knowledge of the (simplified?) L2 varieties of English and Portuguese or Spanish which the latter used as their main means for interethnic communication. This situation suggests various patterns of contact on the Surinamese plantations. The non-hierarchical interactions among the new slaves initially involved the following broad patterns of contact: contact between (i) the same or very closely related Gbe or Kikongo varieties, (ii) (more) distantly related Gbe or Kikongo varieties, and (iii) varieties from different language clusters, i.e. between one variety of Kikongo and one variety of Gbe. The conventions emerging from the various interactions also functioned as inputs to the various other interactions. The hierarchical work-related interactions between the new(field) slaves and the elite slaves involved contact between varieties of Gbe or Kikongo and (simplified) L2 varieties of English or Portuguese/Spanish. The knowledge the new slaves acquired of the L2 varieties also functioned as inputs to both types of interactions. Given the nature of the setting, it seems unlikely that they actually acquired any speaking competence in these varieties though. Rather, it seems that they gradually adopted individual features from them which they incorporated into existing structures (see below).

Third, creole formation primarily involve mutual or bi-directional linguistic (and social) accommodation between the (constantly emerging) linguistic (and social) repertoires of the new slaves. Unidirectional accommodation only played a secondary role in this process. The process of linguistic accommodation involved two main strategies: retention, the use of features from the native linguistic repertoires and adoption, the use of features from the linguistic repertoires of other's. Mutual accommodation involved equal application of both mechanisms while unilateral accommodation involved a relatively greater emphasis on adoption. The relative application of these mechanisms and their effectiveness in terms of contributing features to the outcome of the contact setting crucially depended on the social

characteristics of the interaction in the case of both types of encounters. As in all contact settings, it was regulated by factors such as (i) the motivation(s) for the interaction or contact, (ii) its relative complexity, (iii) its relative overall frequency, (iv) its relative overall duration over time, (v) the linguistic conventions of the interlocutors' and their relative familiarity with those of their interlocutor, and (vi) the nature of the relationship between the interlocutors.

The mechanisms involved in creole formation partially operated simultaneously and partially successively. The mechanisms of retention and adoption typically operated simultaneously. The creators encountered certain non-native strings in a particular pragmatic context and then analyzed them or made them accessible by applying the structural patterns they typically employ in the given inferred pragmatic context to express the inferred content in their native linguistic conventions. That is, they established an interlingual identity or equivalence between a non-native string and an L1 derived strategy and as the result of this association they applied the L1 structures to the non-native string due to (perceived) similarities in meaning. In a second step each perceived section of the non-native string basically takes on all or a numbers of distributional and semantic properties of the native lexical category or item occupying the structural slot in the native pragmatic strategy with which the non-native section was associated. The amount of native properties taken on by the non-native section or item depended largely on the kinds of properties the agents were able to infer from the encountered strings or already knew. Generally, however, only those features which did not clash with inferable or known features were taken over. Such newly created lexical items were now available for use in the production and comprehension of other pragmatic strategies. The structures and lexical categories were initially primarily provided by the native (African) repertoires of the agents. In later stages such structures and categories also or increasingly came from the conventions of the various existing and emerging MFICs.

It is to be expected that a great number of the structures used to express similar pragmatic contents were at least broadly similar. In instances in which the structures differed (significantly) the interlocutors had various options. As long as there was general agreement on the content, each interlocutor could stick to their own structure (provided their interlocutors at least comprehended them) or they could adopt one of the 'competing' structures, or they could further adapt each structure in the direction of a compromise.

Finally, given that in places like Suriname the new slaves at least initially primarily only had their native varieties at their disposal suggests very strongly that in their attempts to (mutually) accommodate to each other, they were not (just) adopting elements from the linguistic conventions of the plantation. Instead, they were (also) adopting and reinterpreting lexical material from the native conventions of their interlocutors, i.e. Gbe speakers adopted Kikongo elements and vice versa. The lexical material from the European varieties filtered relatively slowly into the different MFICs as the main agents did not interact much with speakers of these varieties. Most of the slaves probably acquired lexical material from the L2 varieties from other new slaves who had somewhat more contact with the slave elite.

Innovation, the various language-internal processes, typically operated on the structures that had resulted from the operation of retention and adoption. For example, they operated to fill perceived gaps in emerging subsystems of an MFIC. These gaps resulted from the fact that the elements which came into existence due to the operation of the mechanisms of retention and adoption were not simply 'reinstantiations' of all and exactly the same native or 'external' elements from their inputs; only a subset of the input categories emerged in an adapted form. The elements which were part of one emerging subsystem were thus initially not always able to fill all the functions perceived necessary by its users and were thus (further) adapted to meet their needs. Other functions of such processes included the elimination of patterns of variation which obstructed comprehension and production and instantiation of new categories

which were deemed necessary. It is difficult to draw a clear line between language internal processes that were part of the formation process itself and those that were part of later developments because they are similar in kind and purpose.

Fourth, the contact activities of the agents gave rise to various (individual) MFICs. The linguistic characteristics of each MFIC was individually suited to the specific characteristics of the individual interaction in which it was created/emerged (Baker 1990).[14] The linguistic nature of the resulting (individual) MFICs overlapped to varying degrees, however, since the social characteristics of the interactions which produced them also only differed from each other to varying degrees. The different interactions and social and linguistic conventions they produced also did not exist in a vacuum but continually influenced each other to varying degrees and became increasingly more similar.

They formed a continuum of interacting and overlapping conventions. At either end of the continuum were the different L1s of the new slaves. These overlapped relatively significantly with the varieties which emerged out of the (mutual) accommodation between varieties that belonged to the same language cluster. These varieties and the L1s in turn overlapped to varying degrees with varieties that emerged out of the (mutual) accommodation between varieties belonging to different language clusters. Finally, these three types of varieties overlapped to varying degrees with varieties that emerged out of (i) the unidirectional accommodation of either of the above varieties towards the linguistic conventions of the plantation and (ii) the mutual accommodation between the varieties resulting from (i) and either of the above varieties. The continuous interaction between the emerging MFICs led to them becoming increasingly more similar to each other. As the society as a whole and the

[14]When one or all the characteristics in the overall setting and/or the individual interaction changed, the linguistic nature of these MFICs or available types also changed accordingly. In Suriname, for example, Gbe-influenced MFICs clearly predominated between 1696 and 1720 since the slave population consisted mainly of Gbe-speakers. The significant decrease of Kikongo speakers during the same period led to an (increasing) elimination of (strongly) Kikongo-influenced MFICs.

slave population in particular was becoming progressively more stable demographically, and socially and linguistically more homogeneous, the range of overlapping social and linguistic conventions was also further narrowed down to a smaller set of varieties. This set of varieties became organized or arranged in a common sociolinguistic structure in which each of the varieties was associated with particular people and types of interactions and received social connotations or evaluations based on the people and encounters they were associated with.

The outcomes of the above described process of creole formation, i.e. the varieties of the 'final' sociolinguistic structure, show varying degrees of similarity to their (original) inputs. The nature of the similarities are also determined by the circumstances the contact setting. If the creators of a creole were in close and frequent contact with the socially dominant groups, had a relatively good proficiency in their varieties, mainly (unilaterally) accommodated to these varieties, and the members of the socially dominant group were relatively significantly involved in the contact setting as well, (at least some of) the resulting varieties would show close (genetic) similarities to this input. They would be (akin to) varieties or genetic descendants of the socially dominant input and thus represent (or be akin to) outcomes of the process called (interference through) shift. On the other end of the continuum are cases where the creators of a creole primarily maintained close and frequent contact with each other, had little contact to their superiors, were very homogeneous linguistically, and mainly (mutually) accommodated to each other. The outcomes of such contact settings would be (akin to) varieties or genetic descendants of the creators' first language. They would be (akin to) outcomes of the process of slight borrowing or language maintenance. In between these two 'poles' lie a great variety of possible intermediate outcomes which show varying degrees of similarities and difference to their various inputs and to outcomes of shift and maintenance. (Prototypical) creoles bear similarities to both these outcomes but are neither: They combine elements of both of their (original) inputs but are clearly much more similar, though not

genetically related, to the first languages of their creators. The relative degree of relatedness to these first languages is also crucially determined by their relative degree of relatedness. Given though that not only the original inputs interacted with each other but also the various emerging MFICs, the features derived from each input are not exact copies of the relevant input features but represent various approximations to them.

Creole formation as language contact

Bettina Migge

Table 2.1. Language Contact Typologies: Linguistic Results and Processes

1. Contact-induced language change

A typology of predicators of kinds and degrees of change

Social factors

Intensity of contact

Presence vs. absence of imperfect learning
Speaker's attitudes

Linguistic factors
Universal markedness
Degree to which features are integrated into the linguistic system
Typological distance

A typology of effects on the recipient-language structure
Loss of features
Addition of features
Replacement of features

A typology of mechanisms of contact-induced change
Code-switching
Code alternation
Passive familiarity
'Negotiation'
Second-language acquisition strategies
First-language acquisition effects
Deliberate decision

2. Extreme language mixture: a typology of contact languages
Pidgins
Creoles
Bilingual mixed languages

3. A typology of routes to language death
Attrition, the loss of linguistic material
Grammatical replacement
No loss of structure, not much borrowing

From: Thomason (2001:60)

Chapter 3

The Context of Creole Formation in Suriname

1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to establish the social matrix of creole formation in Suriname in order to determine the inputs to creole formation, the processes and mechanisms involved in it, and the nature of the linguistic outcome. As discussed in Chapter 2, the social matrix of creole formation can be established by investigating the demographic development of the population in the contact setting, their ethnolinguistic background, their patterns of interaction, and the nature of the community setting.

The sociohistorical data for the investigation come from publications on the early history of the colony of Suriname and of the Slave Coast in the second half of the 17th and early 18th century. The main sources are Arends (1994a, 1994b, 1995a, 2001), Beeldsnijder (1994), Lamur (1987), Manning (1990), Oostindie (1989), Pazzi (1979), Postman (1990), Rens (1953), van Stipriaan (1993, 2000), and Voorhoeve and Lichtveld (1975). Most of the studies dealing with the patterns of interaction do not or only partially explicitly discuss the period between 1680 and 1720, the proposed formation period of the plantation creole, since only very little sociohistorical data are available on that period. The studies on the later periods are nevertheless highly relevant to the present study. First, they make explicit reference to the period between 1680 and 1720. Second, the conditions during the formation period only differed in degree and not in kind from those in the latter periods.

The analysis suggests that the early history of Suriname can be subdivided into three distinct contact settings that differed with respect to their social and linguistic characteristics

and the processes and mechanisms of contact they conditioned. The predecessor(s) of the modern creoles of Suriname crystallized in the second contact setting in the period when the transition from the homestead to the plantation economy took place. The linguistic inputs to the formation of the plantation creole were (reduced) L2 varieties of English and the L1s spoken by the slaves arriving during this period. The main process of contact was interference through shift. The agents, speakers of Gbe and Kikongo varieties, acquired reduced English structures and applied to them various mechanisms typically employed in shift settings such as negotiation, transfer of L1 patterns, etc. in order to create a viable means of interethnic communication. The varieties that had emerged during the second contact setting became the main means of communication and served as targets of acquisition for new arrivals during the third setting.

2. Contact Setting I (1652-1679): The Period of the Use of Varieties of English

The colony of Suriname was founded in 1651 as a British colony but came under Dutch control in 1667 as the result of the second Anglo-Dutch war. During the British period and the early Dutch reign its population was characterized by relatively high ratios of Europeans to Africans and high ratios of old slaves to newly imported slaves. Table 3.1. shows that the ratio of Europeans to Africans remained relatively constant between 1:2 and 1:3 and Table 3.2. shows that the ratio between preexisting slaves and newly imported slaves was less than 1:2 during this period as a result of a low immigration rate.

Table 3.1. The population development of Suriname (1652-1679)

Years	Europeans	Africans	Total	Ratio
1652[a]	200	200	400	1:1
1661[a]	1,000	2,000	3,000	1:2
1665[a]	1,500	3,000	4,500	1:2
1668[a]	1,070	1,850	2,920	1:2
1671[a]	800	2,500	3,300	1:3
1675[a]	550	1,800	2,350	1:3
1679[a]	460	1,000	1,460	1:2

Note. The figures include children and adults.
[a]The figures for this year are taken from Voorhoeve and Lichtveld (1975:3).

Table 3.2. The ratio of Africans imported per decade to African[a] population present at the beginning of each decade (1651-1679)

Decades	Number of Africans at beginning of decade	Number of Africans imported per decade	Ratio of existing population to imports	Attrition rate among the African population
1651-59	-	200	n.a.	n.a.
1660-69	2,000	2,800	1:1.4	58%.
1670-79	2,000	3,500	1:1.8	72%

Note. Based on Arends (1995a: 264, Table10).
[a]Includes those born in Suriname.

The early European population consisted mainly of speakers of English and after 1665 also of speakers of Portuguese and Spanish. The latter were Jewish migrants from Cayenne and various Sephardic communities in Europe (Arends 1999) and/or from Brazil (Goodman 1987). During the early part of the 1670s speakers of different European languages such as Dutch, Swedish, German, French, etc. replaced the speakers of English. According to Arends (1995), the Africans were native speakers of Gbe, Kikongo and Akan. The early Europeans and slaves coming from other British possessions also spoke (non-native) varieties of English and English-lexified creoles current in the colonies from which they came.

This setting was dominated by the small farming unit that was either worked single-handedly by the owner and his family or by the planter (family) in conjunction with a few indentured laborers from Europe and/or slaves from Africa. Despite power differences

between the members of the homestead, it was generally not characterized by strict occupational or social segregation. According to Rens (1953), the indentured laborers from Europe and the slaves from Africa lived in close proximity of each other and the members of the two groups frequently interacted for a variety of work-related and personal reasons. Such cohabitation and interactional patterns also existed between the planters and the European and African servants.

This setting probably did not prompt the formation of varieties that closely resembled the modern creoles of Suriname. The participants in this contact setting had a common means of communication, a range of L2 and pidgin varieties of English. It is difficult to accurately determine their overall nature since records do not exist. Given the nature of the setting, it seems very likely, however, that there would have been a continuum of varieties ranging from relatively reduced varieties typical of the early stages of L2 acquisition to close approximations to available L1 models. Most of the people would have employed varieties typical of intermediate stages of language learning. These are varieties that can express most or all the needs of their users but show several kinds of influence from their users' L1 and/or from strategies of simplification. These varieties had partially been imported with the early planters and slaves coming from other English settlements and partially they had developed on the homesteads. Note also, that the native varieties of English in the setting were non-standard rather than standard varieties of English.

Given the frequent and close contact between all members of the homestead, the European and African newcomers to the setting had sufficient access to these varieties and motivation to also adopt them as their primary medium for inter-ethnic communication. In the area where most of the Sephardic homesteads were located, these varieties underwent contact-induced change from Portuguese and Spanish (Arends 1999) and/or from a Portuguese-lexified creole imported from Brazil (Goodman 1987, Smith 1999).

3. Contact Setting II (1680-1695): The Period of the Emergence of the Creole

The situation in the colony changed quite dramatically with the onset of the plantation economy. During the last 20 years of the 17th century the importation of slaves from Africa was stepped up quite considerably leading to a change in the makeup of the population. It now consisted primarily of new slaves from Africa and the preexisting population, the Europeans and the early slaves, were clearly in the minority. Table 3.3. illustrates that the ratio of Europeans to Africans dropped from 1:2/3 (1679) to 1:12 in this period and Table 3.4. shows that during the 1680s the ratio of old to new slaves decreased from nearly 1:2 to nearly 1:7.

Table 3.3. The population development of Suriname (1679-1700)

Years	Europeans	Africans	Total	Ratio
1679[a]	460	1,000	1,460	1:2
1684[b]	652	3,332	3,984	1:5
1695[b]	379	4,618	4,997	1:12
1700[b]	754	8,926	9,671	1:12

Note. The figures include children and adults.
[a]The figures for this year are taken from Voorhoeve and Lichtveld (1975:3).
[b]The figures, based on head tax payments, are taken from Postma (1990:185, Table 8.1).

Table 3.4 The ratio of Africans imported per decade to African[a] population present at the beginning of each decade (1670-1690)

Decades	Number of Africans at beginning of decade	Number of Africans imported per decade	Ratio of existing population to imports	Attrition rate among the African population
1670-79	2,000	3,500	1:1.8	72%
1680-89	1,500	9,850	1:6.6	47%

Note. Based on Arends (1995a:264, Table 10).
[a]Includes those born in Suriname.

The slaves arriving in Suriname during this period came directly from two regions in Africa, the Dutch Slave Coast and the Loango area. The former refers to the coastal region of the modern states of Togo and Benin, which is inhabited by speakers of varieties of Gbe. The latter refers to the "region just north of the Zaïre River, i.e., Cabinda, the coastal regions of Congo and Zaire, and southern Gabon" (Arends 1995:245). It is populated by speakers of varieties of Kikongo. Note that the slaves did not all come from the immediate coastal strip but also originated from further inland, particularly in the case of the Loango coast (Arends 1995:245-250, Manning 1990, Postma 1990). Table 3.5. demonstrates that the new slaves consisted of roughly equal numbers of speakers of Gbe and Kikongo.

Table 3.5. Place of departure of slaves brought to Suriname (1680-1699)

Years	Gold Coast		Slave Coast		Loango		Subtotal	Unknown		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	N	%	N
1680-89	325	3.3	3,854	39.4	4,561	46.7	8,740	1,032	10.6	9,772
1690-99	-	-	3,147	42.8	2,999	40.8	6,146	1,203	16.4	7,349

Note. Adapted from Arends (1995a:243, Table 2). The figures are based on Postma (1990).

As in the previous setting, the Europeans were speakers of various European languages.

This setting was characterized by the typical plantation setting. It involved a much greater number of manual laborers per agricultural unit than the homestead, and its population came to be subdivided into three social groups that were assigned different positions in the social hierarchy of the plantation. The European planter family and their European assistants were at the top of that social hierarchy, the new slaves were at the bottom, and the slaves from the previous setting came to occupy an intermediate position.[15] The three groups also differed

[15]Note that all plantations also always included so-called "non-productive" slaves. They were old and handicapped slaves and children below the age of ten or twelve who either could not work at all or were only able to perform light work that was not directly related to cash crop

from each other in size and in the tasks their members performed. The new slaves were by far the largest group and its members were responsible for the planting, harvesting, transporting, etc. of the plantation's main cash crop. The slaves from the previous setting were now part of the slave elite. They made up about 15% of the population and they performed more skilled labor (e.g. carpenters, coopers, hunters etc.), worked as domestics for the Europeans, and supervised the new slaves.[16] The Europeans, often consisting only of one or two people, were responsible for organizing and delegating the different tasks on the plantation.

This stratification led to a considerable change in the patterns of interaction. The members of each social group now primarily interacted among themselves and much less with members from other social groups. Interactions with members of other social groups took on a clearly hierarchical nature and became restricted to relatively non-complex work-related matters. Encounters between members of the same social group had a less hierarchical nature than those between members of different social groups. They also involved a wide variety of social functions.

It seems quite probable that these circumstances led to the emergence of more elaborate contact varieties—the early plantation creole—that served as the primary means of communication among the group of field slaves, and between them and the elite slaves. Two social facts suggest that the main agents in the formation of the creole were the slaves arriving during this period. First, they were the only group on the plantation that lacked common social and linguistic conventions that were available to all its members. Second, they were not in a position to learn the varieties of English (and English/Portuguese) to the same extent as

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production (e.g. elderly women may have tended to the slave children). In the period after 1700 this group made up about 20% to 40% (Beeldsnijder 1994; Arends 2001) of the entire slave population.

[16]Most of the skilled slaves performed several different skilled tasks.

the slaves from the previous setting. They did not have the same degree of access to their speakers and consequently would have had not only less opportunity but also less motivation to learn them. In addition, adequate access to these varieties would have been even further reduced for this group because the early slaves would have actively simplified their L2 varieties when interacting with the new slaves in order to facilitate communication.

The new slaves thus negotiated their own means of interethnic communication (the predecessor(s) to the modern creoles of Suriname) using the linguistic resources available to them. As typically found in shift settings with reduced access to a "TL", the agents acquired a reduced knowledge of the L2 varieties of English used by the people from Contact Setting I. In order to compensate for the material (e.g. abstract structural patterns) they had not been able to learn, they resorted to their L1s and applied general or universal strategies commonly applied in language contact situations.

The formation of the early varieties of the plantation creole did not proceed in a homogeneous manner on one plantation or across different plantations. In their attempts to communicate for various purposes with members of their own and other social group(s) who did not have the same linguistic background, the new slaves were creating various Media For Interethnic Communication (MFIC) (Baker 1990). Each MFIC was suited to the specific interaction in which it was created and used, but the linguistic nature of the different MFICs overlapped to varying degrees since they were produced by (partially) similar interactions and inputs, and continually influenced each other. This then suggests that during this period the predecessor(s) of the modern creoles of Suriname consisted of a set of related varieties. These varieties consisted of strategies and elements the (new) slaves had retained from their native languages and those that they had adopted from the varieties of English (and English/Portuguese) current among the population from the previous setting. The relative

distribution of the native- and the English-derived strategies and elements in each variety of the emerging creole depended on the nature of the setting in which it was forged and used.

4. Contact Setting III (1695-1720): The Period of the Stabilization of the Creole

This setting was demographically more stable and ethnolinguistically clearly more homogeneous than the second period. The importation of new slaves continued at a somewhat lower rate and more crucially, the new arrivals were no longer the numerically dominant group. Table 3.6. shows that the ratios of Europeans to Africans continued to decrease and Table 3.7. shows that the ratios of old slaves to new slaves increased continually.

Table 3.6. The population development of Suriname (1695-1720)

Years	Europeans	Africans	Total	Ratio
1695[a]	379	4,618	4,997	1:12
1700[a]	754	8,926	9,671	1:12
1705[a]	733	9,763	10,496	1:13
1710[a]	845	12,109	12,954	1:14
1715[a]	838	11,664	12,502	1:14
1720[a]	933	13,604	14,537	1:15

Note. The figures include children and adults.
[a]The figures, based on head tax payments, are taken from Postma (1990:185, Table 8.1).

Table 3.7. The ratio of Africans imported per decade to African[a] population present at the beginning of each decade (1690-1719)

Decades	Number of Africans at beginning of decade	Number of Africans imported per decade	Ratio of existing population to imports	Attrition rate among the African population
1690-99	6,000	7,345	1:1.2	33%
1700-09	8,926	7,773	1:0.8	28%
1710-19	12,109	7,617	1:0.6	31%

Note. Based on Arends (1995a:264, Table 10).
[a]Includes those born in Suriname.

Ethnolinguistically, this setting was clearly dominated by speakers of Gbe varieties. Table 3.8. shows that about 70% of all the slaves brought to Suriname during the early 18th century were speakers of Gbe and only less than 20% were speakers of Kikongo varieties.

Table 3.8. Place of departure of slaves brought to Suriname (1700-1719)

Years	Gold Coast		Slave Coast		Loango		Subtotal	Unknown		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	N	%	N
1700-09	657	8.3	5,587	70.6	1,147	14.5	7,391	528	6.7	7,919
1710-19	-	-	5,020	69.0	1,589	21.3	6.609	668	9.2	7,277

Note. Adapted from Arends (1995a:243, Table 2)

During this period, three broad means of communication were in use among the (preexisting) slaves: (1) varieties of Kikongo and Gbe, (2) the various varieties of the plantation creole that had emerged in Contact Setting II, and (3) the varieties of English from Contact Setting I. Given the nature of Contact Setting III, (1) and (2) played an important role since their users, the slaves who had arrived during Contact Setting II, were in the majority and thus set the status quo. The significance of (3) was decreasing since their users, the slaves from Contact Setting I, were clearly outnumbered by the former and were diminishing in numbers due to natural decrease. The Europeans spoke various European languages natively and (2).

The nature of this setting suggests that the creole varieties forged during Contact Setting II were becoming increasingly established as the main means of inter-ethnic communication. The slaves arriving during Contact Setting III were thus also acculturated to these creole varieties during their initial introduction to the plantation. More crucially, they were able and motivated to adopt them since they were in close and frequent contact with their users. Given their common native language background, the new slaves targeted the creole varieties used by slaves with a Gbe ethnolinguistic background since they would have been the easiest for

them to acquire. During their acquisition process, the new slaves also retained strategies from their native languages and thereby further reinforced their Gbe-character.

5. Conclusion

The discussion of the social background to the formation of the predecessor(s) of the modern creoles of Suriname suggests that it was forged between roughly 1680 and 1720 when the colony was changing from a homestead to a plantation economy. During this period, the majority of the population, i.e. slaves who had just arrived from Africa, did not have sufficient access to the dominant varieties of English (and Portuguese) current among the preexisting plantation population, the slaves from Contact Setting I and the Europeans. This suggests that the agents of creole formation drew on two main sources in order to create a viable means of communication: (1) what they were able to acquire of the actively simplified L2 varieties of English as used by the early slaves in interactions with the new slaves and (2) their native languages, varieties of Gbe and Kikongo. In the early stages, they essentially used strategies from their native languages and general contact strategies in order to make sense and use of the reduced linguistic input they received from the plantation establishment.

Initially, the predecessor(s) of the EMC consisted of a range of varieties whose linguistic natures overlapped to varying degrees: They were all characterized by strategies and elements the slaves had retained from their native languages and those they had adopted from the non-native varieties of English.[17] Their relative distribution, however, depended on the social

[17]Given the setting, it is likely that the slaves were also adopting lexical items and phrases from the native language(s) of the respective other linguistic group as evidenced by the

setting in which they were created and used, and on the linguistic background of the creators/users. In the early part of the 18th century, varieties heavily characterized by Gbe-derived strategies came to dominate since slaves with a Gbe linguistic background made up the overwhelming majority of the population.[18]

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survival of numerous lexical elements from the various African input languages (cf. Huttar 1985).

[18] In Contact Setting III, Kikongo-influenced varieties were declining because of their speakers' decline. The overall number of slaves continued to increase, though. They were, however, drawn from other locations such as the Gold Coast (Arends 1995a).

Chapter 4

The European Input

1. Introduction

The aim of the present chapter is to investigate the English input to the emergence of the plantation creole.[1] Specifically, it aims to determine

1. the linguistic nature of the English input structures,
2. their role in the contact setting,
3. the kinds of features from the English input that were integrated into the creole,
4. the factors that played a role in their selection, and
5. the processes and mechanisms that instantiated English features in the creole.

Ideally, the investigation should be based on data from the time period when the plantation creole was created (cf. 1680-1720). For this study it was, however, necessary to resort to alternative sources since documents from the relevant period that provide reliable insights into the nature of linguistic practices are not available in sufficient number.[2] This study tries to establish the nature of the English input on the basis of an investigation of the nature of the contact setting and by comparing basic creole structures with their possible English source structures.

Both the sociohistorical and the linguistic evidence suggest quite strongly that most of the agents of creole formation had only little access to relatively reduced varieties of English. They acquired only relatively salient or easily inferable properties (e.g. etymological shapes of words, word order, basic semantics) from English. Largely, morphosyntactically and semantically relatively integrated features (e.g. bound morphology, function morphemes) from English do not appear in the creole. They had either not been present in the input

structures or they had not been identified by the agents of creole formation. The agents of creole formation therefore recruited several English content morphemes to function as system morphemes.

The present chapter is structured as follows. Section 2 discusses what the sociohistorical evidence suggests about the nature of the English input. Section 3 investigates the linguistic evidence. In draws on modern data from varieties of the Eastern Maroon Creole (EMC) and on data from 18th century Sranan Tongo (cf. Arends & Perl 1995). Part 4 summarizes the findings.

2. The Sociohistorical Evidence

The colony of Suriname was founded by settlers who came from various British colonies such as Barbados, St. Kitts, Nevis and Montserrat (Smith 1987). Most of these settlers most likely also brought along several slaves from these colonies. It seems reasonable to assume that the early population (cf. Contact Setting I) brought to Suriname various regional L1 varieties of English (the European settlers) and a continuum of L2 and pidgin varieties of English and/or English-based creoles that were in use in the other British colonies (slaves & settlers). As in all contact settings with a relatively great intensity of contact, the members of the early homesteads would have accommodated to each other's linguistic practices in order to facilitate interethnic communication. The non-native speakers would have targeted what they perceived to be the practices of the native speakers and the native speakers would have partially adapted their native regional and acquired linguistic practices to those of the non-native speakers. The newcomers to the setting would have targeted the linguistic practices of the people they most frequently came in contact with.

The varieties that were in use during Contact Setting I were thus a range of L2 varieties of English and English-lexified (and Portuguese-lexified) creole varieties. In comparison to L1 varieties of English, they involved various degrees of structural reduction and regularization resulting from processes of simplification and regularization initiated by speakers of L1 varieties of English and by non-native speakers of varieties of English.

In Contact Setting II, the newly arriving slaves – the main agents of creole formation – came directly from two main regions in Africa and thus, in the majority, did not speak any varieties of English prior to their arrival. In Suriname, they were not in a position to properly acquire the L1 and the range of L2 varieties of English (from Contact Setting I) used by the existing population for two reasons. First, they had only limited access to the speakers of these varieties. Second, the new slaves mainly interacted among themselves; they constituted the main segment of the slave population and were socially relatively separated from the other members of the plantation.

Given this setting, it seems most likely that, in their attempts to communicate across ethnolinguistic boundaries, the new slaves acquired a set of structurally relatively reduced English structures commonly used by the members of the plantation establishment and other slaves. These structures were reduced for two reasons. First, in order to facilitate communication with the new slaves, the members of the plantation establishment had stripped away all the features they considered opaque to language learners and used only salient features whose meaning and function could be easily inferred (cf. foreigner talk). Second, the slaves, having no knowledge of English, eliminated (e.g. bound morphology, imperceptible free morphemes) and regularized (e.g. variable realizations of the same morpheme) several English features because either they did not identify them or they were not able to associate a function or semantic content with them. The reduced structures functioned as an important common ground between the new slaves.

In order to compensate for the structural features they had not been able to learn or infer from the simplified or reduced English input structures, the new slaves made use of their own resources. They (re)interpreted these structures by, for example, projecting onto them abstract structural patterns from their L1s. The application of such strategies generally only affected the internal structure rather than the linear ordering of these structures (see Chapters 5 & 6).

In summary, the sociohistorical evidence on the makeup of the contact setting suggests that the agents of creole formation, similar to language learners in the early stages of L2 acquisition, learned or targeted English structures as one way of realizing communication. Given their limited access to structures from L1 and elaborate L2 varieties of English, they mainly acquired a relatively limited set of relatively reduced L2 structures from English.

3. The Linguistic Evidence

The linguistic evidence supports the findings from the sociohistorical evidence. A comparison of basic creole structures with possible English source structures reveals important similarities and differences between them. The creole structures employ the same linear order as their English counterparts and the lexical items that make up these structures have the same etymological origin and basic meaning or function as their English counterparts. However, they show various signs of structural reduction, regularization and reinterpretation. They have the following properties:

1. they consist of structurally relatively unintegrated elements,
2. they involve morphemes with a relatively salient semantic content, and
3. they involve morphologically invariant forms.

These properties are typical of L2 varieties (of English) that emerged due to moderate to heavy interference through shift in the early stages of L2 acquisition (cf. Andersen 1983, 1984, 1990, Ellis 1994, Weinreich 1953, Winford 2002).

The findings from the comparative analysis allow the following inferences: First, the agents of creole formation tended to select entire structures, i.e. phrases, rather than individual words from the English input. Second, to facilitate communication with the new slaves, the speakers of L1 and L2 varieties of English simplified the source structures to varying degrees (cf. foreigner talk). Third, the agents of creole formation regularized the simplified English input structures to varying degrees in order to enhance production and comprehension of these structures. Fourth, the main mechanisms of contact were L2 learning strategies rather than mechanisms typically involved in borrowing. Before investigating in more detail the properties of the English input, I briefly discuss the process of selection.

3. 1. The Process of Selection

The selection of structures from the English input involved two main steps. First, in their interactions with the members of the plantation establishment (and other slaves), the agents of creole formation encountered reduced English structures in specific sociopragmatic communicative contexts. Based on their available resources, they tried to determine the meaning and makeup of these structures. Second, from among the total amount of structures they were presented with, they selected the structures of which they were able to make sense. These were structures for which they were able to determine a meaning or function and a structural makeup.

The meaning or function of a structure was determined by drawing inferences based on the pragmatic context in which the structure was encountered. The inferred meaning did not necessarily coincide with the intended or source meaning. It was only necessary that the

agents were able to associate some kind of semantic content with a given structure. In practice, however, the inferred meaning generally overlapped to some degree with the English source meaning or function.

Determining the structural makeup of a structure involved establishing the lexical category of each word and the rules and principles governing their combination. Since the agents lacked (detailed) knowledge of these features in the source language, they had to infer them based on the nature of the available input and the resources available to them. These resources consisted of structures, rules, principles and lexical items they had already acquired from the varieties of English, the principles and rules of their L1 and general strategies typically applied in contact settings. The inferred structural makeup and that of the English source structure did not always match up well. It was, however, only necessary that the inferred structural makeup was interpretable by the agents. In practice, the inferred and the source structural makeup usually overlapped to varying degrees though.

3. 2. The Nature of the English Input: Bound Morphology

A comparison of basic contemporary creole structures with common structures from varieties of English reveals close similarities between the two suggesting that the former were directly adopted from the latter. The EMC structure in (1), for example, involves the same word order as its English counterpart and the lexical items match up closely in terms of their semantics and syntax with their English counterparts.

(1) *Den lobi mi*. (EMC)[3]

they love me

'They like/love me.'

This kind of relatively close fit between an English and a creole structure tends to be mainly found if the English structure involves only free morphemes that are phonetically salient and semantically transparent. Structures that involve structurally relatively integrated elements, such as bound morphology, do not match up well with their counterparts in the creole. The bound morphology was either eliminated or replaced by transparent analytical structures.

Instances of the elimination of bound morphology are the omission of the English possessive suffixes [-*s*, -*z*] (2a) and the plural suffixes [-*s*, -«*s*, -*z*] (2b). An example of the replacement of bound morphology by analytical morphology is the substitution of the English regular past tense suffixes [-*t*, -*d*, -*Id*] with a structure involving the preverbal tense marker *be*(*n*) derived from the English past participle form *been* in perfective constructions (e.g. *I*(*ve*) *been working*.) (2c). A second example is the replacement of structures involving the English comparative suffix [-«, -«*r*] with an analytical structure involving a preverbal marker derived from English *more* in comparative constructions (e.g. *She*(*s*) *more intelligent*.) (2d). A final example is the substitution of the agentive suffix [-«, -«*r*] with the suffix -*man* reinterpreted from English agentive nominal compound structures involving the English noun *man* as a

second member (2e).

(2) a. *...anno noefe na da mastra hay....* 'It was not enough in the manager's eyes.'
(Van Dyk 1765, in Arends & Perl 1995:211)

b. *Misi mastra bay zikkezi nuwe negere...* 'Madam, the master bought six new slaves...' (ibid 215)

c. *…mi ben de na wandija baka mi no ben kan kissi a kommotte na mi hay*. 'I was after a deer, but I couldn't get it, because I lost sight of it.' (ibid 192)

d. *Mastra, wan kofi pranasie a abi vyfi ten tien zomma na fili da gron no mosse morre biki liki wan hondert na vyfi ten tien akkers*. 'If a coffee plantation has fifty people in the field, the land should not be more than (lit. bigger than) one hundred and fifty acres, master.' (ibid 209)[4]

e. *...da schrifi man fu joe kan schribi hessi kaba ...* '...your bookkeeper is very fast...' (ibid 224)

Below I discuss two of these examples in more detail.

3. 2. 1. Elimination of Bound Morphology: Plurality

Apart from the relatively small number of mass nouns (e.g. *sheep*) that do not carry a separate plural marker, plurality on English nouns is indicated by the following suffixes:

1. [*s*] in the case of nouns ending in a voiceless non-fricative sound (*cats*),
2. [*«z*] in the case of nouns ending in a fricative (*houses*), and
3. [*z*] in the case of nouns ending in a voiced non-fricative sound (*bowls*).

In English, the plural suffix is obligatory on the noun even if the noun is modified by a number-indicating element such as a numeral (3b). If the noun is modified by a demonstrative determiner, the latter has to agree in number with the noun, i.e. there are special plural forms of the demonstrative pronoun (3c). In some varieties of English, the third person plural object pronoun may be used as a plural definite determiner (3d).

(3) a. *She has cats*.

b. *She has five cats*.

c. *She has these five cats*.

d. *She has them cats* (*there*).

Unlike English, the creoles of Suriname do not use a bound morpheme to indicate plurality in nouns. Plurality is either not marked and has to be inferred from the context (4a) or it is indicated by a number-indicating modifier (4b). Definite nouns are preceded by a plural definite marker (4c), compare to (3d). Finally, demonstrative modifiers do not agree in number with the noun. Number is expressed by the definite determiner which is obligatory in structures involving a demonstrative modifier (4d).

(4) a. *A abi foo*. (EMC, PM)

she have bird

'She has birds/a bird.'

b. *A abi tin foo*. (EMC, PM)

she have ten bird

'She has ten birds.'

c. *Ne en abi den* (*tin*) *foo*.

FOC her have DET ten bird

'It's she who has the (ten) brids.' (EMC, PM)

d. *Ne en abi a foo ya/ den*

FOC her have DET bird DEM DET

(*tin*) *foo ya*. (EMC, PM)

ten bird DEM

'It's she who has this bird/these (ten) birds.'

The data in (4) confirm that the bound plural suffixes from the English source structures were not adopted by the creole. They are phonetically not salient and do not mark communicationally vital information. The notion of plurality can be easily inferred from the context and other semantically transparent elements such as numerals. The emergence of this plural-marking pattern was also enhanced by the fact that it resembled one of the patterns in the L1s of the creators. In Gbe varieties, for example, plurality is not indicated by a separate plural marker if the noun is inherently plural (5a) or if it is modified by number-indicating modifier (5b). In the latter case it seems to be optional.

(5) a. *NusatO elO ÿO manga myamya*.[5]

seller DEM have mango ripe

'This seller has ripe mangos.' (Gbe, Maxi)

b. *Ee un wa sO O,*

when I come yesterday PART

e lE wa wlan wema (*o*)*we*.

he still come write letter two

'When I came back (yesterday), he wrote two letters.' (Gbe, Maxi)

This is different in the case of the free invariant definite plural modifier. It was maintained since it was phonetically salient and semantically transparent for the agents. First, *den* is obviously etymologically related to the English third person plural object pronoun (cf. 'them') so that its plural marking function could be easily inferred.[6] Second, the English

source structure resembled the slaves' L1 structure (6). In Gbe the plural marker is also a free invariant modifier related to the third person plural personal pronoun. The agents were thus easily able to infer its function from the input structures (3d).

(6) *M«* *m«* *o* *m«* *kpO* *wO* *«nu* o.
people DEM PL NEG yet make thing EMPH
'Those people haven't yet done the ceremony.'
(Gbe, Waci 1)

3. 2. 2. Replacing Bound Morphology with Analytical Structures:

Agentive Nouns

In English, agentive nouns are productively derived by attaching the derivational suffix [*«*, *«r*] to the verb denoting the activity (e.g. *teacher*, *runner*). It is, however, also possible to create agentive nouns by compounding a noun denoting an activity (e.g. *work*, *sales*) with the noun *man* (e.g. *workman*, *salesman*). Although this latter strategy is clearly less productive than the former, it is semantically and syntactically much more transparent. It uses two phonetically salient morphemes. One is generally used to denote an activity while the other is widely employed to denote a male or generic human being. Their internal semantic structure is easily inferable from their juxtaposition: the referent of the latter noun is the agent of the activity referred to by the first noun.

Compared with the compound structure, the structure involving the derivational suffix [-*«*, -*«r*] is quite opaque. The agentive suffix is phonologically not very salient so that learners may easily assume that it is part of the stem. It is also semantically not very transparent. Its meaning has to be learned independently since it is not related to an available free morpheme, unlike *man*.

To the creators of the plantation creole, the transparency of the English compound strategy to derive agentive nouns must have been even more striking since this structure happened to closely resemble their L1 pattern for deriving agentive nouns. In Gbe, for example, a suffix *-t0* originally derived from the word for 'father', is attached to nouns (7) in order to derive agentive nouns. [7]

(7) a. *enu-sa-t0* 'seller (lit. thing-sell-person/father)' (Aja)

b. *solabi-t0* 'drunkard (lit. local alcohol-person/father)' (Gen)

Based on their L1 patterns and the information inferred from the source structures, the agents of creole formation reinterpreted English agentive compound nouns such as *workman* as consisting of an activity-denoting noun (or verb) and the agentive suffix *-man* and thereby 'created' a new derivational suffix. In the EMC and the other modern creoles of Suriname, the agent of an activity is productively derived by attaching the suffix *-man* 'person' to an activity-denoting element (*takiman* 'speaker', *seliman* 'seller', *wookoman* 'worker').

3. 3. The Nature of the English Input: Free Function Morphemes

Apart from the absence of English bound morphology, creole structures also do not maintain a great number of the English free function morphemes. English functional morphemes that are phonologically and functionally not highly salient such as the forms of the copula *be*, the future marker *will*, prepositions, for example, were generally not integrated into the creole.[8] Their functions were typically taken over by English free content morphemes; that is, in some cases new function morphemes emerged as the result of the reinterpretation of English free content words as functional morphemes in the creole. Prominent examples include the copula

de which was reinterpreted from the locative adverb *there* in existential constructions (8a), the directional markers (e.g. *go*, *kon*) or markers of various semantic roles (e.g. recipient, benefactor, etc. *gi*) that were reinterpreted from verbs such as *go*, *come*, *give*, respectively, functioning as second verbs in unmarked paratactic structures (8b), and the locational and temporal marker (*d*/*n*)*a* that was reanalyzed from the English distal demonstrative modifier *that* (8c-d).

(8) a. *Mastra, mi de*. 'Master, I am here (lit. I there).'
(Van Dyk 1765, in Arends & Perl 1995:165)

b. *Na tra moen wi za troy watere moffe gi joe*. 'Next month we'll disperse saliva to you.' (ibid 237)

c. A *za tan lange tem da plessi?*. 'Will she stay there for a long time? (lit. she shall stay long time that place).' (ibid 130)

d. *Joe jerri mi da tem mi takki duysi?* 'Do you understand me, when I speak Dutch? (lit. you hear me that time I talk Dutch).' (ibid 139)

Some creole function morphemes also derive from "non-primary" English function morphemes. They are based on available secondary strategies or second language strategies. Examples include the focus and presentative marker (*d*/*n*)*a* which was reinterpreted from the distal demonstrative pronoun *that* functioning as a presentative marker (9a), the future marker *o* which was reinterpreted from the prospective future marker *gon*(*na*) (9b), and the general verbal negation marker *no* which derives from the English sentential negation marker *no* used as a verbal negation marker (9c) in second language varieties of English.

(9) a. *Da wan krommantie negere!* 'That's/he's a Cormantin slave! (lit. that one Cormantin slave)'.

(Van Dyk 1765, in Arends & Perl 1995:189)

b. *Den o go njam en*. 'They'll eat it.' (EMC)

c. *Mastra, mi zweri gado mi no zi hem*. 'I swear to god, master, I did not see her.' (Van Dyk 1765, in Arends & Perl 1995:198)

These data also suggests that the agents of creole formation were only exposed to so-called non-Standard varieties of English. Below, I discuss two of these examples in more detail.

3. 3. 1. Eliminating Non-Salient Function Morphemes:

*The Copula **be***

In English predicative constructions, the subject NP is linked to the non-verbal predicate by a form of the copula verb *be* (10a-b). The forms of *be* agree in number and person with the subject and are marked for tense (10c-d). The function of the copula in these constructions is to mark the link between the subject NP (*the girl*) and the non-verbal predicate (*there*, *my friend*) and to predicate the latter. *Be* does not, however, express a functionally salient or vital function since the link between the referent of the subject NP and the predicate can be easily inferred from the fact that the two are juxtaposed. In addition, the forms of the copula verb *be* are phonologically rather non-salient. They are usually phonetically reduced (10e-f) and often omitted altogether in L2 varieties and in foreigner talk (10g-h).

(10) a. *The girl is there*.

b. *The girl is my friend*.

c. *They are there/my friends*.

d. *I was there*.

e. *The girl's there*.

f. *The girl's my friend*.

g. *The girl there*.

h. *The girl my friend*.

Given the nature of the setting, the agents of creole formation were more likely to encounter constructions (10e-h) rather than structures with a full copula element (10a-d). They were thus not in a position to identify the copula forms, let alone learn its functions and the principles of its usage. As a result, the copula *be* and its forms were not adopted into the plantation creole.

Initially, predicative nominal, locative and existential constructions were probably expressed as zero-copula constructions (11a-c) in the plantation creole.

(11) a. *The girl Ø my friend*.

b. *The girl Ø at school*.

c. *The girl Ø there*.

Since existential or locative structures such as (11c), however, closely resembled L1 existential structures in their form and function (12), they were reinterpreted, based on L1 patterns, as consisting of a subject NP followed by an existential or copula verb (cf. 13a). Due to this reinterpretation, *de* came to function as a copula and predicator and spread to several other copula contexts (e.g. 13b) based on L1 patterns, see Chapter 5 for details.

(12) *Zigidi mO ÿe oxi mE.* (Gbe, Xwela 1)

noise PAST COP market in

'There was noise on the market.'

(13) a. *Mastra piepa de*. 'Master, here's your pipe. (lit. pipe there).'

(Van Dyk 1765, in Arends & Perl 1995:182)

b. *Mastra wini no de na battra*. 'Master, there's not

wine in the bottle. (lit. Master, wine not there

LOC bottle).' (ibid 180)

In the case of predicative nominal constructions, the agents of creole formation were not able to identify English predicative structures involving a free morpheme that could be reinterpreted as a copula. The plantation creole therefore emerged without a nominal copula. Based on an available L1 pattern (14a), predicative nominal concepts came to be expressed as topic-comment constructions involving the presentative marker (*n*)*a* (14b), for details see Chapter 5.

(14) a. *Zo keke lO, T. tO yO*. (Gbe, Aja)

fire bike DET T. POSS PRE

'The motorbike, it's T.'s.'

b. '*adjossi', da Bakkratongo*. ''[A]djossi' is Europeans' Sranan.' (Schumann 1783:46, from Arends 1986:113)

3. 3. 2. Retention of Free Function Morphemes:

The Negation Marker ***no***

The emergence of the verbal negation marker *no* does not seem to have been due to an L1 driven process of semantic and syntactic reinterpretation. In English, verbal negation is generally indicated by negative auxiliary verbs that directly precede the verb (15). These negative auxiliary verbs do not only indicate negation but they also mark additional meanings. *Don't* marks negative present time, *didn't* also indicates past time reference in addition to negation, and *can't* indexes negative ability.

(15) a. *I don't like this*.

b. *She didn't buy it*.

c. *She can't do this*.

The great number of potential negation markers whose appropriate application depends on a thorough understanding of the English tense, mood and aspect system makes the negation system relatively opaque to learners of English. In contact settings involving little knowledge of English on the part of the learners, speakers of varieties of English and learners of English alike therefore tend to simplify this system by replacing the negative auxiliary verbs with the invariant sentential negation marker *no* (16).

(16) a. *No, leave me alone*.

b. *She no buy it*.

c. *She no like this*.

Since the input to creole formation mainly consisted of constructions like (16) rather than of those in (15), *no* came to function as the main verbal negation marker in the plantation creole (17).[9]

(17) a. *Mastra, mi no lobbi zo*. 'Master, I don't like that.
(lit. I no love so.).'
(Van Dyk 1765, in Arends & Perl 1995:186)

b. ...*mi no ben kan kissi*... 'I could not catch it.'
(Van Dyk 1765, in Arends & Perl 1995:192)

3. 4. The Nature of the English Input: Invariant Forms

Another feature that is said to be characteristic of creoles is that they have a predilection for morphologically invariant forms. While English function and content morphemes often vary depending on their context of occurrence, creole morphemes generally do not. Cases in point are the negation marker and the copula. In the creole, the form of both the negation marker and the copula do not change depending on the temporal specifications of the context and the number and person of the subject while in English they do. The morphological invariance of these creole morphemes is mainly due to the circumstances of their emergence. In the case of some morphemes, the creators received an invariant input, i.e. the members of the plantation establishment, for example, most likely mainly used *no* to mark negation when talking to learners. With respect to other morphemes, such as the copula *de*, the element was reanalyzed in one specific structure and the same form was then generalized to other contexts.

In addition to this kind of formal invariance, the creole also tends to make use of the same phonological form to express distinct but closely related meanings and functions that are probably marked with different morphemes in the input structures. This kind of homogenization considerably facilitates comprehension, learning and production of related structures in linguistically heterogeneous contexts. The pronominal system of the creoles of Suriname constitutes a good example. Table 4.1. presents the subject, object and possessive pronouns in Sranan Tongo, the EMC and English.

Table 4. 1. Pronouns in English and Sranan Tongo/EMC

Creole	**English**	**Meaning**
mi	*I*	1. person singular subject pronoun
yu/i	*you*	2. person singular subject pronoun
a	*he, she, it*	3. person singular subject pronoun
wi/unu/u[1]	*we*	1. person plural subject pronoun
unu/u	*you*	2. person plural subject pronoun
den	*they*	3. person plural subject pronoun
mi	*me*	1. person singular object/patient pronoun
yu/i	*you*	2. person singular object/patient pronoun
en	*him, her, it*	3. person singular object/patient pronoun
wi/unu/u[1]	*us*	1. person plural object/patient pronoun
unu/u	*you*	2. person plural object/patient pronoun
den	*them*	3. person plural object/patient pronoun
mi	*my, me*	1. person singular possessive pronoun
yu/i	*your*	2. person singular possessive pronoun
en	*his, her, its*	3. person singular possessive pronoun
wi/unu/u[1]	*our*	1. person plural possessive pronoun
unu/u	*your*	2. person plural possessive pronoun
den	*their*	3. person plural possessive pronoun

[1] *Wi* and *u* are used in the EMC while *wi* and *un*(*u*) in Sranan Tongo

Table 4.1. shows that in English, subject, object/patient and possessive pronouns are expressed by different though partially phonetically similar forms (e.g. the second person singular and plural pronouns are identical). In some varieties of English the first person object/patient and possessive pronouns have the same form, namely *me*. In addition, the third person singular pronouns in English are gender differentiated.

The pronominal system in the creole differs in two important respects from the English system. First, the three functions are generally expressed by the same form. The only exception to this are the third person singular forms. The subject pronoun is *a* and the object and possessive pronouns are expressed by the form *en*. Second, the creole pronouns are not gender-differentiated.

These data suggest that the creators of the creole probably learned one of the available pronominal forms and then generalized them to all three functions. They, for example, acquired the third person plural object pronoun *them* and when there was a need to use subject and possessive pronouns, they recruited the erstwhile object pronoun to also perform these functions. This extension was probably prompted or facilitated by the fact that subject, object/patient and possessive pronouns share their core meaning or function: They all signal or refer to one specific person (e.g. the third person plural subject, object/patient and possessive pronouns all refer to the third person plural).

The maintenance of this generalized pattern was enhanced by the fact that it facilitated production and learning of these forms and at the same time did not lead to miscommunication. Even though the three functions were generally marked by the same morpheme, they could be easily distinguished based on their position in the sentence. When a given pronominal form occurred at the beginning of the sentence, preceding the verb, it functioned as a subject pronoun. When it occurred following the verb, it functioned as an object/patient and when it preceded a noun it functioned as a possessive pronoun (18).

(18) a. *Joe mo krien drie pissi fossi...* 'You must first clean three pieces ...' (Van Dyk 1765, in Arends & Perl 1995:210)

b. *...a de tan locke joe*. 'He's waiting for you.' (ibid 217)

c. *...joe hay zal zi offe da troe offe da no troe*. '...your eyes will see whether it's true or not.' (ibid 218)

The only exception to this are the third person singular pronouns. Neither the subject pronoun *a*, probably derived from the demonstrative pronoun *dat*, nor the object/patient pronoun *en* were generalized to the respective other pronominal function. The most likely explanation for this is that their respective generalization was blocked because the agents of creole formation had acquired *en* and *a* at roughly the same time so that they blocked each other's generalization.

There are two possible reasons why the third person singular creole pronouns are not gender-differentiated. First, in order to facilitate communication, the speakers of varieties of English probably mainly used one form to refer to men, women and objects/animals. Second, even if the input structures contained gender-differentiated pronouns, the agents of creole formation probably only selected one form to cover all three instances based on the pattern of their L1s. In Gbe, for example, third person singular pronouns are not gender-differentiated.

4. Conclusion

The discussion on the nature of the English input to creole formation suggests that it played a relatively important role in the emergence of the plantation creole. The agents of creole formation, lacking a common ground, acquired or targeted English structures that they

encountered in their interactions with members of the plantation establishment and other slaves. These structures essentially functioned as the frame or main building blocks for the plantation creole.

The agents of creole formation did not, however, have full or even adequate access to L1 or elaborate L2 varieties of English. On the one hand, they lacked sufficient access to their speakers. On the other hand, in order to facilitate comprehension and production, the members of the plantation establishment must have exposed the new slaves mainly to structurally relatively reduced structures. They stripped away all the structural features they considered to be opaque when they communicated with the new slaves. This suggests that the English input to the formation of the plantation creole consisted of relatively reduced or basic structures. From among this reduced input, the agents selected the structures that were semantically and structurally transparent to them. These were either structures that closely resembled their L1 structures or that could be easily processed using general or universal strategies.

The comparison of creole and English source structures showed that the English input structures to creole formation had the same structural properties as those of other L2 varieties of English that had emerged due to inference through shift in settings with a reduced access to English, i.e. the early stages of language learning. The input structures did not involve any bound morphology and semantically non-salient features (cf. copula). Relatively complex features (cf. negation) were either replaced with more transparent analytical structures using free and morphologically invariant markers, or, if the function could be inferred otherwise, it remained morphologically unmarked. Finally, closely related functions and meanings that were expressed by different morphemes in the source structures came to be expressed by one and the same morpheme in the creole (cf. pronominal forms).

At this point, it is not quite clear who was responsible for the emergence of these reduced or regularized features in the English input structures. It seems likely, however, that some were due to deliberate simplification (cf. foreigner talk) effected by the members of the plantation establishment who spoke L1 and elaborate L2 varieties of English. Other features probably resulted from processes (subconsciously) initiated by the new slaves during their acquisition of the English input structures. Due to their partial access to the input structures, they were unable to identify all their source features.

Chapter 5

The African Input: Lexical Retention

1. Introduction

The aim of the present chapter and of Chapter 6 is to investigate the African input to the formation of the plantation creole. Specifically, these two chapters investigate

1. the nature of the African input to the formation of the plantation creole,
2. its role or impact in creole formation,
3. the kinds of properties that were retained in the plantation creole,
4. the factors that played a role in their retention, and
5. the processes and mechanisms involved in their emergence.

Ideally, the study would draw on data from the time period in which the plantation creole emerged. Since such data are, however, not available, the present study investigates the African input using two types of data. First, it investigates sociohistorical data on the emergence of the plantation creole in order to determine the African languages that were present and their role in the contact setting. Second, the study compares selected linguistic features in one modern conservative descendant of the plantation creole, the EMC, and in the modern descendants of the main African input languages to the formation of the plantation creole. The aim of the linguistic analysis is to determine the types of linguistic features that were retained in the plantation creole since they provide insights into the mechanisms and processes of contact that instantiated them.

The investigation reveals that the main African input languages to the formation of the plantation creole were the varieties of the Gbe cluster and to a lesser extent the varieties of the Kikongo family of languages. The comparison of linguistic features in Gbe and the EMC

suggest that the creators of the plantation creole reinterpreted structurally reduced English structures based on the rules and principles of their L1s. Consequently, the descendants of the plantation creole retain a broad range of semantic and syntactic properties, principles and rules rather than lexical items from the African languages spoken by the creators of the plantation creole.

The investigation is structured as follows: Section 2 of this chapter discusses the sociohistorical evidence. Section 3 introduces the linguistic data for this study. Sections 4 and 5 discuss L1 influence on the lexical level. Section 4 focuses on L1 influence in free content morphemes and Section 5 deals with L1 influence in free function morphemes. Chapter 6 discusses L1 influence on the structural level.

2. Sociohistorical Evidence

Chapter 3 suggested that the plantation creole emerged roughly between 1680 and 1720–in Contact Settings II and III–when Suriname's economy changed from being a homestead to a plantation economy. During this period, Suriname's population was made up of three broad social groups: elite slaves, new slaves and Europeans. They differed from each other in several respects such as size, social status, tasks they performed and social cohesion.

The largest social group consisted of new slaves. Due to the drastic increase in the importation of slaves starting 1684, they made up roughly 70% to 80% of the entire population. They were at the bottom of the social hierarchy and they had to perform all the hard labor (e.g. planting, harvesting, transporting of the plantation's cash crop). Initially, this group lacked internal cohesion. Its members did not share any social and linguistic conventions that were available to all members since they came from two broad ethnic groups

in Africa. They were also not familiar with plantation life and had relatively little close contact with the other two social groups of the plantation.

The following conclusions can be drawn from this situation: First, the new slaves mainly interacted among themselves. Second, the encounters among the new slaves and between them and the members of the plantation establishment had, at least initially, a relatively low degree of conventionalization and involved an ongoing process of negotiation. Third, the main agents of creole formation were the new slaves since they were the only group that lacked a common means of communication for interactions among themselves and with the members of the plantation establishment. Fourth, in their attempt to create a viable means of interethnic communication, the new slaves adopted the structurally reduced English structures they were exposed to by the members of the plantation establishment. In order to make up for the properties they were not able to acquire from the English input, they made recourse to their L1s. They mainly projected abstract structural patterns of their L1s onto the English input structure and applied structural rules of their L1s to them.

The formation process was much facilitated by the fact that the linguistic background of the new slaves was relatively homogeneous. During this period, the new slaves were mainly drawn from two regions: the Slave Coast and the Loango region. The Slave Coast region is primarily inhabited by speakers of varieties of Gbe and the Loango area involved mainly speakers of varieties of Kikongo. In Contact Setting II, speakers of each cluster made up roughly 50%, while in Contact Setting III speakers of Gbe constituted about 70% of all the slaves that were brought to Suriname. When also taking into account the Gbe speakers that remained from Contact Setting II, the actual presence of Gbe speakers in Suriname must have been more than 80% during Contact Setting III.

In summary, this suggests that the main African input to the formation of the plantation creole were varieties of Gbe, while varieties of Kikongo provided a secondary input. Given

the nature of the contact, the African languages mainly contributed abstract semantic and syntactic patterns and principles to the formation of the plantation creole.

3. The Data for the Linguistic Study

This study draws on synchronic linguistic data from conservative modern varieties of the plantation creole and its African input languages due to the absence of sufficient diachronic data from the formation period. This is in keeping with current practice in historical linguistic and contact linguistic research. Thomason argues that, all things being equal,

> modern languages are readily available for study, and three hundred years is not a very long time in language history, so most structures present now were also present then. Any structures that can be reconstructed for the ancestors of some of the languages in question, such as Proto-Kwa, were almost certainly present in those languages when the PC [the pidgin or creole] emerged if they are currently present in relevant daughter languages. (Thomason, 1993:287-288)

The linguistic data for this study come from recordings of natural conversations and from formal elicitations with native speakers of varieties of the EMC and Gbe. The social characteristics of the informants and the settings in which the recordings took place are discussed in some detail in Migge (1998a).

The present study focuses on the Gbe varieties since their speakers were clearly in the majority during the proposed formation period of the plantation creole. In addition, given the

nature of the contact setting, it can be assumed that Kikongo features entered the plantation creole in the same way and are of the same type as Gbe features.

In the remainder of this section, I briefly present the EMC and the Gbe cluster and discuss their relationship to their predecessors, the early plantation creole and earlier varieties of Gbe.

3. 1. The Modern Creoles of Suriname

There are seven modern creole varieties that descend from the early plantation creole: Aluku, Kwinti, Ndjuka or Okanisi, Matawai, Pamaka, Saamaka and Sranan Tongo. These varieties coincide with the different Afro-Surinamese groups. The first six are spoken by descendants of six surviving maroon groups by the same names. Their ancestral villages are in the interior of the rain forest. Sranan Tongo is the mother tongue of the Afro-Surinamese population that descends from the slaves who had remained on the plantations. They now live in the coastal region in and around the capital Paramaribo. Today, Sranan Tongo also serves as the lingua franca of the multiethnic population of Suriname.

Put Map 5.1 (The geographical distribution of the maroons of Suriname**) here**

All seven languages are linguistically closely related and mainly differ on the lexical level. According to Smith (1987:119), the lexicon of Aluku, Ndjuka or Okanisi, Pamaka and Sranan Tongo consists mainly–roughly 77%–of lexical items with an English etymological origin. Portuguese lexical items only make up a very small percentage, about 4% in the case of Sranan Tongo and 5% in the case of Ndjuka. Saamaka and Matawai draw roughly 34% of their lexicon from Portuguese and Spanish and about 50% from English. Roughly 5% of

Saamaka's basic vocabulary comes from African languages while only 2.5 % of Ndjuka's and 1.5% of Sranan Tongo's vocabulary can be related to African languages. Kwinti is intermediate between the two groups.

Aluku, Ndjuka or Okanisi and Pamaka are highly mutually intelligible and mainly differ somewhat on the phonological level (e.g. Ndjuka uses long vowels in some contexts in which the other two varieties use short vowels *bataa* vs. *bata* 'bottle'). Due to the small amount of difference between them, I refer to them as varieties of a common language, the Eastern Maroon Creole (EMC). Matawai and Saamaka are also highly mutually intelligible but they are not entirely mutually intelligible with the varieties of the EMC mainly due to the lexical differences between them. Sranan Tongo is more intelligible with the varieties of the EMC than with Saamaka and Matawai but it is not entirely mutually intelligible with either of these languages.

Despite differences between these seven varieties, both linguistic and sociohistorical evidence strongly suggest that they all descend from one common ancestor language, the creole varieties that developed on the plantations of Suriname between 1680 and 1720. Figure 1 presents the relationship of the modern varieties to the ancestor language and provides approximate dates when the different maroon creoles most likely split off from the plantation creole as the result of their founders' flight from the plantation area. Note, however, that the actual dates of their flight are difficult to establish since marronage was typically hidden from the colonizers and the emergence of actual groups typically took a relatively long time (cf. Hoogbergen 1978, 1983, 1990, Migge 1998a).

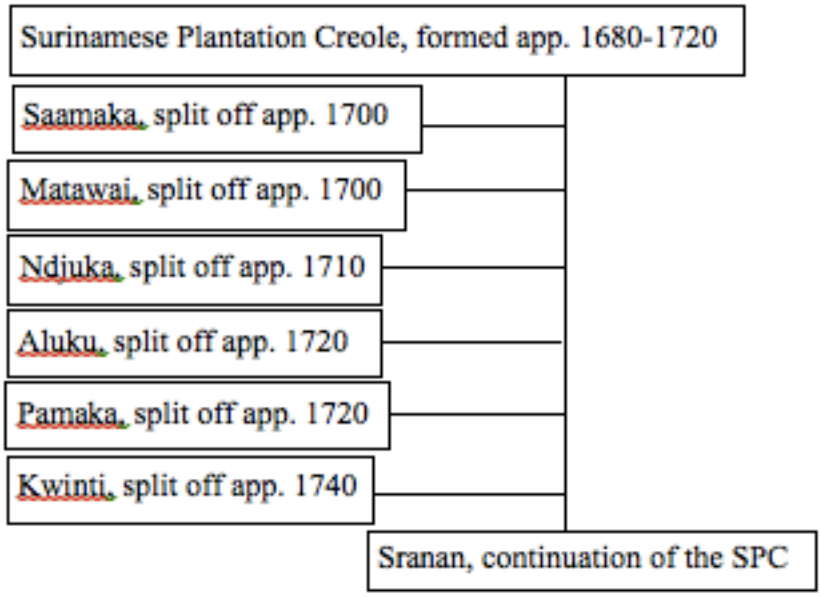

Figure 5.1: The relationship of the different modern Surinamese creoles to the Surinamese Plantation Creole and to each other

Put Figure 5.1. (The relationship of the different modern Surinamese creoles to the Surinamese Plantation Creole and to each other**) here**

Since the data for the present study come from two varieties of the EMC, Pamaka and Ndjuka, I restrict the following discussion to these groups. The villages of these groups are located in Eastern Suriname and Western French Guiana (Guyane) on the banks and islands of the Marowijne river (Pamaka, Ndjuka) and its tributary, the Tapanahoni river (Ndjuka). The so-called Kotika Ndjuka also reside along the Commewijne river and the Cottika river. Some Ndjuka also live on the Sara creek. (see Map 5. 1.).

The Ndjuka are the largest EMC group. Today they number roughly 50,000 people (Price 2002). Their founders started fleeing the plantations on the Commewijne river, the Cottica river and the Tempati creek around 1710 (Hoogbergen 1989). Their formation period lasted until 1760 when the leaders of the Ndjuka signed a peace treaty with the Dutch colonial

government. Since that time, they have resided in several villages on the lower Tapanahoni. In the last century they settled in great numbers on the upper Marowijne, the lower Marowijne, the Cottika river, the Sara creek and in and around the towns of Albina (Suriname) and St. Laurent du Maroni and Mana (Guyane).

It is not quite clear when the different groups of maroons that came to be called Pamaka were established. Wong (1938) argues that the Pamaka were established in the first half of the 18th century while Leerdam (1956) places their origin in the second half of the 18th century, some time around 1760.[19] Their oral history maintains that they fled at the same time as the groups that later came to be called Aluku. The Pamaka originate from plantations in the Commewijne region (Hoogbergen 1978:9). Their first settlement was in the upper Commewijne area. Since this area was much patrolled by the planter's patrols, they trekked down the Tempati river and came to settle along the Pamaka creek. After emancipation, they set up villages on the island and the banks of the lower Marowijne around the Pamaka creek. In recent years significant numbers of Pamaka migrated to the coastal area, taking up residence in and around the towns of Suriname and Guyane. The Pamaka, like the Aluku, are a comparatively small group. Today they probably number around 6,000 people in total (Price 2002).

The following sociohistorical facts suggest that the modern varieties of the EMC are valid descendants of the early plantation creole: First, their founders fled the plantations during and after the formation period of the plantation creole. Second, their founders had all spent some time on a plantation and thus must have been familiar with the linguistic conventions of the plantation area at the time of their flight. Third, their founders' varieties remained similar to those of the plantation slaves since they kept in frequent contact with them to obtain much needed items that could not be found in the rain forest and to replenish

[19]Both authors are quoted by Hoogbergen (1978:8).

their communities with (female) slaves (Hoogbergen 1978, 1983, 1990). Fourth, until recently, they did not enter into close contact with members of other communities but remained in relative isolation.

3. 2. The Modern Gbe Varieties

The area in which the varieties of Gbe (lit. language) are spoken extends roughly from the lower reaches of the Amugan river, also called the Volta region, in the west to the WOgbo river, also known by the name of Oueme or Weme, to the east (Map 5.2.). Varieties of Gbe are thus distributed over four modern states in West Africa: eastern Ghana, Togo, Benin, and western Nigeria.

Put Map 5.2. (The geographical distribution of the Gbe peoples**) here**

The roughly 50 varieties that make up the Gbe cluster can be subdivided into five main subclusters on the basis of synchronic phonological and morphological evidence: Vhe, Gen, Aja, Fon, Phla-Phera (Capo 1988:90-102). The main subclusters and the varieties included in them are given in Figure 5. 2.

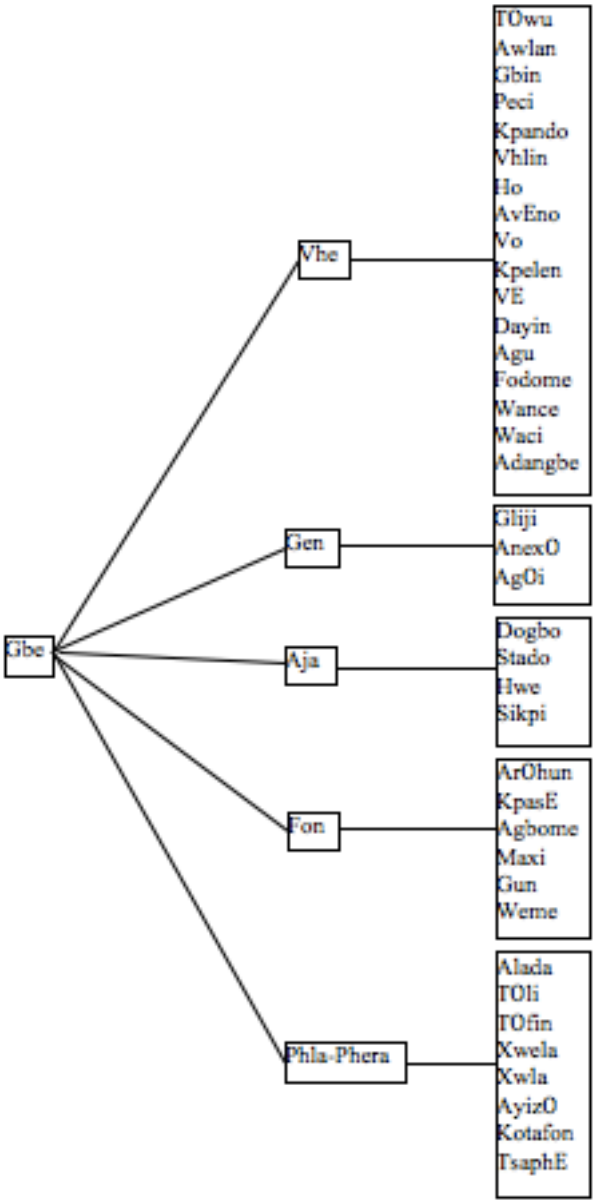

Figure 5.2. The five subclusters of the Gbe group of languages based on synchronic phonological data.

Put Figure 5. 2. (The five subclusters of the Gbe group of languages based on synchronic phonological data**) here**

Despite differences on the lexical and phonological level, there are a significant number of close structural similarities between these varieties, particularly in the area of morphosyntax. Pazzi (1979) suggests that the relative linguistic and cultural homogeneity of this region emerged during the end of the 15th and 16th century with the migration of the original Gbe people from their ancestral village of Tado situated east of the Mono river. He argues that several of the varieties (e.g. Gen, Fon, Gun, Xwela etc.) emerged from the contact between the original Gbe groups from Tado, the Aja, Eve, AyizO, Xwla and the ethnic groups they encountered and mixed with on their successive migrations.

The historical records do not make it possible to accurately determine from which Gbe groups the slaves sent to Suriname originated. Pazzi (1979), however, suggests that the Gbe peoples who were living on the coastal stretch at the time were primarily involved in the slave trade either as slaves or as traders. They involved the ancestors of the present-day Gen, Xwela (Phela), Xwla (Phla), different Vhe groups and a number of smaller groups in the area.

The present study is, however, based on data from five conservative varieties, which are each representatives of one of the main subclusters: Dogbo-Aja (A), Anexo-Gen (G), Maxi-Fon (M), Waci-Vhe (W), Xwela (Phela)-Phla-Phera (X). The study investigates several varieties since the slaves transported to the Americas during the formation of the predecessor(s) of the EMC were speakers of different Gbe varieties and it cannot be clearly determined which group of Gbe speakers dominated. In addition, this approach allows determining the nature and degree of inter-Gbe variation and the features shared by most varieties; establishing the latter is particularly important since they have the highest likelihood of being retained.

The present day varieties spoken by the different Gbe groups are valid conservative descendants of their earlier varieties for two reasons. First, the Gbe groups that were present during the period of the slave trade are still functioning ethnolinguistic units today. Second,

their variety of Gbe is still the main community language. Third, these groups have not been subject to heavy contact-induced change.

4. L1 Retention in the Lexicon: The Case of Free Content Morphemes

Weinreich (1953:30-31) suggests that there are two broad types of lexical retentions that result from L1 influence. First, the introduction of an entire morpheme from the L1 to the contact variety. That is, a word from the L1 is adopted in its original etymological shape together with all or most of its syntactic and semantic information. Second, the introduction of the syntactic and semantic properties from an L1 morpheme to a morpheme in the source language. In this case, the agents of contact establish an interlingual identification between a morpheme in their L1 and the TL and, as a result, the latter comes to be used in the same way as its L1 counterpart.

In the creoles of Suriname the former type of retention is relatively rare, see above. Most of the elements refer to concrete entities such as body parts, work utensils, plants, animals and abstract cultural concepts. A non-exhaustive list of such retentions in Ndjuka is provided in Huttar (1985) and for Ndjuka and Saamaka in Huttar (1986). According to Smith (1996, 2001), Saamaka also retains a few function morphemes from varieties of (eastern) Gbe. They are the focus marker *wE* and two question morphemes, *ambE* 'who' and *andi* 'what/which'. The present study will not discuss this type of lexical retention in more detail. It focuses on the second type of lexical retention since it is much more pervasive in the creoles of Suriname.

Etymologically, most content morphemes of the EMC derive from English words (e.g. *mofu* < mouth, (*h*)*ebi* < heavy, *ondo*(*o*) < under, *gi* < give). A close analysis of such words,

however, suggests that they only share some of their semantic and syntactic properties with the English source morphemes while others are clearly not shared with the English etyma. A comparison with their Gbe counterparts suggests that a number of these features emerged due to L1 influence. Consider the examples in Table 5. 1.

Table 5. 1. Comparison of content words in the EMC, Gbe and English

	EMC	**GBE**	**English**
Item 1	*mofu*	*nu*	*mouth*
meaning	animate mouth, opening, edge, beginning/end, massege, word	animate mouth, opening, edge, beginning/end,	animate mouth, opening of the river
category	N	N	N
Item 2	*(h)ebi*	*kpEn*	*heavy*
meaning	be heavy, to make heavy	be heavy	heavy
category	$V_{trans/intrans.}$, attr. Adj.	$V_{intrans.}$	attr. & pred. Adj.
Item 3	*ondo*(*o*)	*gomE* (A, G), *gulE* (M), *gOm«* (W), *guN* (X)	*under*
meaning	below side, under or below some location	below side, under or below some location	under or below some location, less than, in some condition
category	N	N	P
Item 4	*gi*	*na*	*give*
	give, present, marks: recipient, benefactor, experiencer etc., comp.	give, present, marks: recipient, benefactor, experiencer etc., comp.	give, present
category	V, P, comp.	V, P, comp.	V

Table 5. 1. shows that the items in all three languages share basic semantic and sometimes even, at least some, syntactic properties (e.g. Item 1 & 4). Beyond these basic common similarities, the EMC and Gbe items also share semantic and syntactic properties that are not shared by the English counterpart. The EMC and Gbe Item 1 are used to refer to any opening and the edge or beginning or end of an object (cf. *tiki mofu* 'tip of stick', *bakadina mofu* 'the beginning or end of the afternoon), while the meaning of the English

counterpart is much more restricted. It only denotes an animate mouth and the opening of a river. The EMC and Gbe Item 2 are similar to each other in that they are both verbal while their English counterpart is not; it is an adjective. In the case of Item 3, the Gbe and the EMC elements are nouns while the English element is a preposition. Finally, the EMC and Gbe Item 4 do not only function as a verb, like their English counterpart, but also as a preposition and a complementizer.

There are, however, also properties that the EMC elements only share with the English source. Item 2 in the EMC more closely resembles its English source element in that it may also be used as an attributive adjective; its Gbe counterpart has to be reduplicated in order to function as an attributive adjective.

Finally, some properties of the EMC elements are unique. The EMC Item 1 is also used to mean "message" or "word" while both its Gbe and English counterparts may not be used in this meaning. Item 2 in the EMC also functions as a transitive verb. This usage is not attested for the corresponding English and Gbe elements. Finally, Item 4 in the EMC only functions in some contexts as a complementizer, namely in the case of non-finite purposive subordinate phrases.[20] Its Gbe counterpart is, however, used as a complementizer in a wide variety of contexts.

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[20]*Gi* is only used as a complementizer in the constructions in (i). The regular complementizer is *fu* (ii).

(i) *A boli gi den ŋjan.*
he cook give them/they eat
'He cooks for them to eat.'

(ii) *A boli fu den sa ŋjan.*
he cook for they may eat
'He cooks so that they may eat.'

These data suggest that the agents of creole formation associated a specific content morpheme in the English input with their native Gbe morpheme based on basic contextual similarities. In a second step, they assigned the semantic and syntactic properties of their L1 morpheme to the English morpheme. As a result of this, the creole morpheme took on various semantic and syntactic features from the L1 morpheme. That is, it was extended to various contexts in which the source morpheme was generally not employed. Following the initial emergence of the creole lexical item due to contact-induced change, it was, in some cases, extended to other domains and took on additional semantic and syntactic features that are not related to any of its source elements.

5. Lexical Reinterpretation: The Case of Free Functional Morphemes

A number of free functional morphemes in the EMC such as the copula (Migge 2002), some TMA markers (Winford 2002), the relativizer (cf. Bruyn 1995a, 1995b), prepositions (cf. Bruyn 1995, 1996, Migge 1999), etc. share important semantic and syntactic similarities with their Gbe counterparts that are not shared with their English input structures. In this section, I discuss the similarities and differences between one such morpheme, the copula *de*, and its Gbe counterparts and, based on these data, propose a scenario for their emergence.[21]

As already discussed in Chapter 4, the copula system of the EMC differs significantly from that of English. While nominal and possessive concepts are generally expressed as topic-

[21]See Migge (2002) for a discussion of the copula system in the EMC, Gbe and Kikongo.

comment constructions employing the presentative focus marker (*n*)*a* as a linking element (1), all other predicative contexts involve the copula *de*.[22]

(1) a. *B., na koniman*. (EMC, PM 11b)
name PRE intelligent.man
'B., it's/he's an intelligent man.'

b. *Baa J., a fu M*. (EMC, ND 2a)
brother J. PRE POSS M
'Mr. J., its/he's M.'s (son).'

The copula *de* in the EMC predicates location-denoting concepts such as PPs (2a) and locative adverbs (2b). It is also used to predicate a wide variety of other non-verbal elements such as reduplicated property items that express resultative states (2c), idiophones (2d), adverbs (2e), and numerals such as those expressing times and prices (2f). In constructions in which *de* is not followed by a complement it expresses existence (2g) and well being (2h). *De* also predicates all kinds of extraposed constituents (2i), including (possessive) NPs (2j), and functions as a copula in overtly tensed and negative equative and possessive contexts (2k-l). *De* in the EMC is fully verbal.

(2) a. *A be de na Alibina wan pisi ten*. (EMC, ND 4b)
he PAST COP LOC Albina one piece time
'He was in Alibina for some time.'

b. *Den án de ape*. (EMC, PM)
they NEG COP there
'They aren't there.'

c. *Ma ala en ede be de baakabaaka*. (EMC, PM 11b)

[22]Note that predicative ascriptive contexts do not involve a copula in the EMC and Gbe since property items in these languages are typically verbs (cf. Migge 2000).

but all his head PAST COP blackblack

'But all his head (hair) was still (in a) black (state).'

d. *Tiya bobi de felefelefele*. (EMC, PM 17b)

aunt breast COP IDEO

'The aunt's breasts are nice and soft.'

e. *Te a de so*. (EMC, PM 17b)

until it COP so

'Until it is like that.' (indicated by a pointing gesture)

f. *A meti de feifi dunsu*. (EMC, PM)

Det meat COP five thousand

'The meat costs five thousand guilders.'

g. *A goon mu de, a honiman mu de*. (EMC, ND 3a)

Det field must COP Det hunter must COP

'There must be a field and there must be a hunter (man).'

h. A: *da u de? B: Iya u de yee*. (EMC, PM)

then we COP yes we COP EMPH

'A: How are you? B: Yes, I am well.' (lit. Are we?, Yes we are!).

i. *Iya, a pamaka a de*. (EMC, ND 4a)

yes LOC name she COP

'Yes, she is in/at Pamaka.'

j. *Na wan yefrow Lina de*. (EMC, PM)

FOC one teacher Lina COP

'It's a teacher (not a medical doctor) that Lina is.'

k. *A be mu de M.*. (EMC, ND 4b)

it PAST must COP M.

‘It must have been M..’

l. *Mi án de a fesiman*. (EMC, PM)

I NEG COP Det leader

‘I am not the leader.’

The copulas *le* (A, G), *ÿo/ÿu* (M), *l«* (W), *ÿe* (X) in Gbe varieties closely resemble *de* in the EMC. Like *de*, they predicate locational concepts such as PostPs (3a), locative adverbs (3b) and other non-verbal elements such as reduplicated property items that express resultative states (3c), idiophones (3d), adverbs (3e), and numerals expressing times and prices (3f). Without a complement, they also express existence (3g) and well being (3h), like *de* in the EMC. Unlike *de* in the EMC, the Gbe copulas may not predicate (possessive) NPs in tensed and negative constructions (3i) or in extraposed contexts (3j). Such structures involve the presentative focus marker/copula *nyi*. *Le* (A) and *ÿo/ÿu* (M) may be directly preceded by TMA and negation markers while *le* (G), *l«* (W), *ÿe* (X) change to *nO* ‘stay’ in tensed constructions (3k-l).

(3) a. *Ixhe m□ êe d□ mE kliya.* (Gbe, Xwela 1)

fish PAST COP net in IDEO

‘Fish were in the net in great quantity.’

b. *Et□ ê eka le lE.* (Gbe, Aja 2)

marigot one LOC here

‘One marigot is here.’

c. *Ny□ nuvi a l« bl□ bl□ .* (Gbe, Waci)

woman-small DET COP thinthin

‘The girl is (still in a) thin (state).’

d. *EyE lE êe bEgEbEgE.* (Gbe, Xwela 2)

they PL COP IDEO

'They were thin.'

e. *« l« l«k«.* (Gbe, Waci)

he COP so

'He is like that (indicated by a pointing gesture).'

f. *Kple ɖ ê ' oga tɔ̃) mE.* (Gbe, Maxi)

meeting DET COP time three in

'The meeting is at three pm.'

g. *Xi exe e hugan wu mi ÿe O e ÿe*

place REL they overtake body we COP DET they COP

'There are things in which they are superior to us, they exist...'

(Gbe, Xwela 1)

h. A: *ê egb« ê «*? B: *« li.* (Gbe, Waci)

name COP? he COP

'A: How about Degbe? B: He is well.'

i. *Mɔto ɖ na *ÿu/nyi Kɔjo tɔn.* (Gbe, Maxi)

car the FUT COP name POSS

'The car is Kojo's.'

j. *NyOnu ya B. *l«/nyi.* (Gbe, Waci)

woman this B. COP

'This woman is B.'

k. *E na êu kutOnu.* (Gbe, Maxi)

she FUT COP Cotonou

'She will be in Cotonou.'

l. *Depute d« ka ê ola *l«/nɔ̃ mi« gbɔ̃ .* (Gbe, Waci 1)

representative one must COP us with/next to

'One representative of the people should be with us.'

The examples in (2-3) reveal significant functional and distributional similarities between *de* in the EMC and its Gbe counterparts. They both function as predicators for a wide variety of non-verbal elements such as locational concepts and non-verbal property-denoting elements (e.g. idiophones, numerals, state-denoting property items). In addition, they also express well being and existence.[23] The main difference between them is the fact that *de* in the EMC, unlike its Gbe counterparts, predicates (possessive) NPs in tensed and negative constructions and in structures involving extraposition.

These data suggest that the main functional and distributional properties of *de* in the EMC were essentially modeled on those of *le* (A, G), *ÿo/ÿu* (M), *l«* (W), *ÿe* (X) in Gbe. The most likely scenario of emergences is as follows. The agents were presented with structures such as (4).

(4) *Mastra, mi de*. 'Master, I am here (lit. I there).' (Arends & Perl 1995:165)

Due to overall structural and semantic similarities between (4) and existential constructions in Gbe (3g), the agents of creole formation identified (4) with (3g). As a result of this interlingual association, the English locational structure (5a) was reinterpreted–based on the L1 pattern–as a copula construction consisting of an NP followed by the copula/existential verb (5b).

(5) a. *Mi* *Ø* *de*.
NP COP there
'I am there.'

b. *Mi* *de.*

[23]Note that they are also used to mark progressive aspect in the EMC and Gbe. Since the TMA system of both languages is not yet fully understood, I will not discuss this aspect any further at this point.

NP COP

'There I am (lit. I exist).'

Due to this structural reinterpretation, *de* came to be associated with the Gbe copulas and was assigned their functional and distributional properties. It thus came to be employed in the same contexts as its Gbe counterparts–it came to be used in locative contexts and it came to function as a predicator for a variety of non-verbal property-denoting elements. Its use as a predicator of (possessive) NPs in tensed and negative constructions and extraposed structures most likely emerged later due to a process of functional broadening (see Chapter 7).

6. Conclusion

The comparative linguistic analysis of content and function morphemes in the EMC, Gbe and English showed that the L1s of the slaves played an important role in the emergence of EMC content and free function morphemes. While the EMC and other creoles of Suriname retain few lexical items from Gbe, EMC content and free function morphemes retain a number of important semantic and syntactic properties that originate from Gbe influence.

The findings from the linguistic analysis confirm the findings from the sociohistorical evidence. The nature of the properties that were retained from Gbe suggests that mechanisms of L2 learning rather than mechanisms of borrowing played a role in the formation of the varieties of the plantation creole. The Gbe properties became part of the plantation creole as follows. First, the agents of creole formation established an interlingual identity between an English input structure or word and an L1 structure based on (perceived) pragmatic and structural similarities between them. Second, they associated the two. Third, particularly in the case of functional elements, the abstract structural pattern of the L1 structure is projected

onto the English source structure so that the latter is structurally reinterpreted on the model of the former. Fourth, the elements in the English source structure come to be identified with their counterparts in the L1 structure and the semantic and syntactic properties of the L1 elements are fully or partially assigned to the source elements. The constraints that govern the L1 influence are discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6

The African Input: Structural Retention

1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the retention of abstract syntactic patterns or rules and principles in the plantation creole from the L1s of its creators. According to Weinreich (1953:37), there are two broad types of such retentions. One type involves the internal reinterpretation of a source structure based on rules and principles from the L1. The source structure is assigned a new function, internal structure and possibly a new categorical status. As a result, some of the elements that make up the structure acquire a new function and categorical status. The other type of reinterpretation involves the reorganization of the linear order of a source structure due to L1 influence. The elements in the source structure are assigned a new order as a result of the categorical reinterpretation of one or more of the elements involved.

The first part of this chapter, Section 2, discusses the internal reinterpretation of words. It deals with the emergence of nominal derivation. Section 3 focuses on the reinterpretation of phrases. It discusses the emergence of serial verb constructions (SVCs). Section 4 deals with the reorganization of structures. It focuses on the emergence of locative phrases. The final section summarizes and discusses the findings.

2. Structural Retention: The Emergence of Nominal Derivation

Creoles generally have little bound morphology. It is generally believed that bound morphology was either adopted from the lexifier or emerged from processes of grammaticalization (cf. McWhorter 1998, 2002). The aim of this section is to show that the two main processes of affixation in the EMC emerged due to influence from Gbe. The analysis suggests that the two processes of affixation emerged in the EMC because speakers of Gbe varieties reinterpreted English nominal compounds as consisting of a stem and an affix based on similar structures in their L1.[24]

There are two main bound morphemes in the EMC, *-man* and *-pe*. *-man* is productively used to derive agentive nouns (1) from verbs and nouns, nomina possessiva (2) from nouns, and the notion of "inhabitant or member of a particular place, group" (3) from place names and names of groups (e.g. ethnic group or other organizational units) (Migge 2001).[25]

(1) a. *fufuuman* <steal+person 'thief'

b. *kon-libi-man* <come+live+person 'in-law, person who joined the family/lineage'

c. *takiman* <speak+person 'speaker'

(2) a. *wenkiman* <shop+person 'shop owner, person working in a shop'

b. *moniman* <money+person 'rich person'

c. *botoman* <boat+person 'owner of the boat, driver (of the boat)'

(3) a. *paandasiman* <home village+person 'person of one's village'

[24]See also Van den Berg (to appear) for a discussion of the derivation of nouns in Sranan Tongo and Van den Berg and Aboh (2002) for a comparison of word formation processes in Sranan and Gbe.

[25]Since lexical items in the EMC are generally multicategorical, i.e. they may be used as both nouns and verbs without undergoing a morphological change, it is not exactly clear whether the base of the agentive nouns (cf. 1) is a noun or a verb.

b. *soolanman* <St. Laurent du Maroni+person 'inhabitant of St. Laurent'

c. *saananman* <Suriname+person 'citizen of Suriname'

Nouns derived with the suffix *-man* can, in the majority, refer to both men and women.

(4) *Sa Pikinmma/Ba Bookoyesi na wan biibiman*. (EMC, PM)
Ms. Pikinmma/Mr. Bookoyesi COP one believer
'Ms. Pikinmma/Mr. Bookoyesi is a believer.'

There are some terms that are only used to refer to either men or women (5).[26] They denote activities that are generally only performed by the members of one sex.

(5) a. *Ba Aklingi/*?Sa Yunku na wan hontiman*. (EMC, PM)
Mr. Aklingi/Ms. Yunku COP one hunter
'Mr. Aklingi is a hunter.'
*?'Ms. Yunku is a hunter.'

b. *Den umanpikin de na faagiman*. (EMC, ND)
Det-pl woman Dem COP menstruating-person
'Those women have their period.'

Nouns referring to the "inhabitant or member of some group" (3) may be used generically (6a) but when specifically referring to a woman member, the suffix *-man* is often replaced with *uman* 'woman' giving rise to (6b).

(6) a. *Den paandasiman mu libi bun anga den seefi*.
Det-pl villager must live well with them selves
'The people of the same village have to stick together.' (EMC, PM)

b. *A tou anga wan paandasiuman*. (EMC, PM)
he marry with one village-woman

[26]Note that the acceptability of nouns like *hontiman* with female subjects differs slightly across the speech community.

'He married a woman from his village.'

Agentive nouns and nomina possessiva that involve *uman* often have either a pejorative meaning (7) and/or they distinguish women's activities from men's (8) (cf. Migge 2001).

(7) a. *wakauman* 'woman who does not stay at home and has sex outside of marriage'[27]

b. *wakaman* 'traveler'

(8) a. *oloman* 'gravedigger'

b. *olouman* 'the women who prepare the food for the *oloman*'

At this point, it is not quite clear whether the structures involving *uman* represent compounds or cases of affixation. In any case, they are much less frequent than nouns derived with *-man*.

The suffix *-pe* in the EMC is used to derive place names from verbs (9).

(9) a. *siibipe* <sleep+place 'crash-space, place where one sleeps'

b. *tanpe* <stay+place 'domicile'

c. *wookope* <work+place 'location where one works'

d. *belipe* <bury+place 'cemetery'

According to DaCruz (1998) and Lefebvre & Brousseau (2002:183-195), the following suffixes exist in Gbe: *-tO* 'agent, owner, inhabitant/member of', *-nO* 'owner', *-nu* 'inhabitant/member of', *-vi* 'diminutive', and the suffix *-gO*(*n*)/*-tO* used to derive ordinal numbers from cardinal numbers.[28] In addition, there is also a suffix used to designate a

[27]In modern usage, it is also used to refer to a girlfriend, i.e. a woman who is not officially recognized as being the wife of a man.

[28]Lefebvre & Brousseau (2002:1991-193) also mention that Fongbe has the inversive prefix *mà-* (e.g. *mà-blá* 'to untie'). Both DaCruz (1998) and Lefebvre & Brousseau (2002) also mention the existence of the prefixes *à-* and *ò-*. Lefebvre & Brousseau (2002:1993-1995),

location, *-pe* (G)/*-F«* (W), *-xu* (A), *-tEn* (M). Since only the first three and the last one have parallels in the EMC, the following discussion focuses on nominal derivation involving these suffixes.

The suffixes *-t0* and *-n0* are originally derived from the words for mother *n0* and father *t0*, respectively. The origin of the suffix *-nu* is not quite clear. It cannot be linked to a homophonous noun. Their distribution is not the same in all varieties of Gbe. In Maxi, Fon, Gun and Aja, for example, *-t0* is used to derive agents from nouns and nominalized verb phrases (10) while *-n0* is used to derive nomina possessive from nouns (11).[29]

(10) a. *0hun-ku-t0* <car+drive+father '(car)driver' (Maxi)

b. *enu-sa-t0* <thing+sell+father 'seller' (Aja)

c. *m0-ji-yi-t0* <street+on+go+father 'traveler' (Aja)

d. *aj0-t0* <trade+father 'tradesperson, shopkeeper' (Maxi)

(11) a. *akwen0* <money+mother 'rich person' (Maxi)

b. *efun0* <pregnancy+mother 'pregnant woman' (Aja)

c. *flafin0* <theft+mother 'thief' (Aja)

The concept of "inhabitant or member of a location or group" is expressed by the suffix *-nu* in Maxi, Fon and Gun and with the suffix *-t0* in Aja (12).[30]

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however, show that they are not very productive and semantically and functionally empty suggesting that they cannot be easily categorized as either derivational or inflectional prefixes.

[29]The information for Fon was taken from DaCruz (1998), Höftmann (1993) and Lefebvre & Brousseau (2002). The information on Gun come from DaCruz (1998) and from Van den Berg and Aboh (2002).

[30]According to Lefebvre & Brousseau (2002:190-191), both *-t0* and *-nu* are used to derive "inhabitant or member of" nouns in Fon. Their distribution seems "not to be governed by

(12) a. *garomenu* <Garome+??? ‘inhabitant of Garome’ (Maxi)

b. *lokosat0* <Lokossa+father ‘inhabitant of Lokossa’ (Aja)

In other varieties of Gbe, such as Gen, Waci and Xwela, *-t0* is generally used to derive agentive nouns (13), nomina possessiva (14) and “inhabitant or member of” nouns (15).

(13) a. *ÿ0-da-t0* <net+throw+father ‘fisher’ (Waci)

b. *ami-jEn-da-t0* <oil+red+prepare+father ‘person preparing oil’ (Gen)

c. *y0-ÿa-ku-t0* <grave+dig+father ‘grave digger’ (Waci)

(14) a. *k«k«t0* <(motor)bike+father ‘owner/driver of (motor)bike’ (Waci)

b. *aÿawat0* <craziness+father ‘crazy person’ (Gen)

(15) a. *kom«t0* <Come+father ‘inhabitant of Come’ (Waci)

b. *kope-me-t0* <village+in+person ‘villager’ (Gen)

The examples in (10-15) are generally used to refer to both men and women (16).

(16) *Marie/Jan, enusat0 be nyi*. (Gen)

Marie/Jan seller she/he COP

‘Marie/Jan sells on the street (lit. is a seller).’

In some cases *-t0* and *-n0* are used to differentiate between male and female agents. The male owner of a house is referred to as *axwet0* (Gen) while a female owner or the owner’s wife is referred to as *axwen0*. Some nouns referring to activities that are generally performed by women or properties typical of women employ the suffix *-n0* instead of *-t0* (e.g. *amijEn0* ‘seller of red palm oil’, *efun0* ‘pregnant women’ (Gen)). Finally, some nouns involving *-n0* have a pejorative meaning: *kut0nun0* ‘a woman who has left for Cotonou and does not keep in contact with her people’ (Aja) and *podon0* ‘fat person, person with a big belly’ (Gen).

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semantic or phonological constraints, but rather by convention” (190). In some cases, they seem to yield slight semantic differences.

The Gbe suffixes *-xu* (A), *-pe (G)*, *-tEn* (M), *-F«* (W) are used to derive locational nouns from nouns (17).

(17) a. *nu-sa-tEn* <thing+sell+place 'place where things are sold' (Maxi)

b. *aha-ÿa-xu* <drink+prepare+place 'brewery' (Aja)

c. *eO-wo-dji-xu* <corps+PL+bury+place 'cemetery' (Aja)

d. *edOnpe* <sleep (N)+place 'sleeping place' (Gen)

e. *jam-«hun-j«-F«* <air+car+fly+place 'airport' (Waci)

The close semantic and structural similarities between agentive, nomina possessiva, 'inhabitant/member of' and location-denoting nouns in the EMC and their counterparts in the varieties of Gbe strongly suggest that the EMC nouns were modeled on the ones in Gbe. The most likely scenario for their emergence in the plantation creole is as follows: The agents of creole formation encountered English compounds like *boatman*, *workman*, *plantationman*, and *workplace*. Based on semantic similarities, they identified them with equivalent nomina possessive, agentive nouns, nouns referring to 'inhabitants/members of some group' or a location, respectively in their L1. The agents were easily able to infer that the English words consisted of two morphemes, one referring to an activity, object or place and another referring to a person or generic location, since the words *man* and *place* also existed as free morphemes designating similar concepts (cf. 'person' and 'location'). As a result of the interlingual association between the English and the Gbe words, the structural pattern of the L1 words were projected onto the English compound words which were thereby reinterpreted as consisting of a stem and an affix rather than of two free morphemes. The free morphemes *man* and *place* in the English source words were associated with the Gbe suffixes and thereby came to be reanalyzed as nominal suffixes. That is, the semantic and syntactic properties of the Gbe suffixes were projected onto *man* and *place* in the original English compounds. Once

reinterpreted, the newly emerged suffixes could be attached to other nouns and verbs to create new nominal concepts that would not have been part of the English input.

3. Structural Reinterpretation: The Emergence of SVCs

This section discusses the structural reinterpretation of English phrases due to L1 influence. It focuses on the emergence of SVCs. SVCs are VPs in which two lexical verbs are juxtaposed without a coordination or subordination marker. While the first verb usually functions as the main verb of the VP, the second verb performs a grammatical rather than a verbal function. Either it introduces semantic roles to the main verb (18a), expresses directional or locational concepts (18b), or it marks resultative states (18c).

(18) a. *A osu ya bigi moo du fu mi*. (EMC, PM)
Det house Dem big surpass one for me
'This house is bigger than mine.'

b. *A saka komoto ne en sodo*. (EMC, PM 18)
she descend come.out LOC her house
'She came down from her house on stilts.'

c. *Den pikin naki den bata booko*. (EMC, PM)
Det-pl children hit Det-pl bottle break
'The children broke it by hitting.'

SVCs have figured prominently in the literature on creoles. On the one hand, the discussion has centered on grammatical issues such as the categorical status and semantics of the so-called serial verb, i.e. the second verb, the internal structure of SVCs, their semantic properties (cf. Baker 1989, Byrne 1987, Jansen, Koopman & Muysken 1978, Lefebvre 1990,

Sebba 1987, Veenstra 1996, Winford 1993). On the other hand, the discussion focused on the similarities between creole and African SVCs (cf. Huttar 1981, Lefebvre 1989, McWhorter 1997a, 1992, Migge 1998a&b). For reasons of space, this section presents only one main type of SVCs, so-called motion or change of location-type SVCs (cf. 18b), and discusses the semantic and syntactic properties of one construction from this group in more detail.

The group of so-called motion or change of location-type SVCs, i.e. those expressing directional and locational concepts, includes seven constructions in the EMC and Gbe (cf. Table 6. 1.). Etymologically and semantically, all the serial verbs (SV) in Table 6. 1. are related to a main verb in the language (cf. 19).

(19) a. *Den án be mu go ape*. (EMC, PM 17)
they NEG PAST must go there
'They should not have gone there.'

b. *Mi yi nO kutOnu*. (Gbe, Aja)
you-pl go HAB Cotonou
'You regularly go to Cotonou.'

Put Table 6. 1. (*Motion and Change of location SVCs in the EMC and Gbe*) here

Unlike the main verbs, the serial verbs do not have a verbal meaning. They are used to introduce the directionality of a movement (cf. *go*, *kon*, *lontu*, *pasa*), the origin of a movement (*komoto*), or the endpoint of a movement (*doo*, *poti*). The serial verb *go* in the EMC and its Gbe counterparts, for example, introduce a locational phrase to the main verb of the construction (*post* 'send back', *hEn* 'hold', 'carry'). *Go* indicates that the movement denoted by the main verb of the construction, is "away from the point of reference"–usually the

location of the speaker–towards some other location. The latter location is expressed by the locational phrase introduced by or appearing following the serial verb *go* (20).

(20) a. *Nounou, den ná man post i go a foto moo.*
now they NEG can send you SV LOC town more
'Now, they cannot send you back to Paramaribo any more.' (EMC, PM 17)

b. *YE a mO o trO E hEn yi axwe.* (Gbe, Aja 1)
he FUT say you return it hold SV house
'He'll tell you to bring it back to the house.'

If the serial verb is not followed by a location-denoting phrase, the location is either implicit in the context or it simply indicates that the movement denoted by the main verb of the construction is away from the point of reference (21).

(21) a. *Mi o teki mi nefi tja go oo.* (EMC, PM)
I FUT take my knife carry SV EMPH
'I'll take my knife away!'

b. *E finfin saki O yi.* (Gbe, Maxi)
he push bag Det SV
'He pushed the bag away.'

Go in the EMC may be substituted by the verb *gwe* (lit. go away) 'leave' and *yi* in Gbe may be followed by *tOn* (M) or *ÿa* (A, G, W) meaning 'away' (22).

(22) a. *A djonson ya a waka gwe.* (EMC, PM)
PRE just-now here he walk SV
'He left/walked away just now.'

b. *Den kon teki en tja gwe na den konde.*
they come take him carry SV LOC their village
'They came and took him away to their village.' (EMC, PM)

c. *E ÿOn saki O yi tOn*. (Gbe, Maxi)
he drag bag Det SV away
'He dragged the bag away.'

The fact that serial verbs like *go* perform grammatical rather than typical verbal functions opens up the question about their categorical status: Are they verbs or are they members of some other lexical category? The results from positive verbhood test suggest that they tend to be more non-verbal in character than verbal. In their function as serial verbs, *go* and its Gbe counterparts, can generally not be marked for tense, mood, aspect and negation (23a-b). Such markings only precede the main verb. In the EMC, the aspect marker *e* may however, precede the serial verb in its function as a progressive marker (23c).

(23) a. **Tamaa, den ná o hali a boto ná o go*
tomorrow they NEG FUT drag Det boat NEG FUT SV
a liba. (EMC)
LOC river
'Tomorrow, they won't drag the boat to the river (from the forest).'

b. **O la dOn saki a la yi aF«m«*. (Gbe, Waci)
they FUT drag bag Det FUT SV house-in
'They dragged the bag to the house.'

c. *Den e hali a boto e go a liba*.
they PROG drag Det boat PROG SV LOC river
'They are dragging the boat to the river.' (EMC, PM)

Unlike main verbs in these languages (24a-b), they can also not be predicate-clefted (24c-d). Predicate clefting involves copying of the verb to the left periphery of the sentence in order to (contrastively) focus it.

(24) a. *A hali den hali a boto go a liba*. (EMC, PM)

FOC drag they drag Det boat SV go river

'They DRAGGED the boat to the river.'[31]

b. *DOn ye o dOn tOjiÃu a yi tOm«.* (Gbe, Waci)

drag FOC they drag boat Det SV river-in

'They DRAGGED the boat to the river.'

c. **A go den hali a boto go a liba.* (EMC, PM)

FOC SV they drag Det boat SV LOC river

'TO the river they dragged the boat.'

d. **Yi ye o dOn tOjiÃu a yi tOm«.* (Gbe, Waci)

go FOC they drag boat Det go river-in

'TO the river they dragged the boat.'

Like verbs, they may, however, be stranded, i.e. the locative phrase following them can be moved without them (25).

(25) a. *A liba, den hali a boto go.* (EMC, PM)

FOC river they drag DET boat SV

'To the river they dragged the boat.'

b. *TOm« ye o dOn tOjiÃu a yi.* (Gbe, Waci)

river-in FOC they drag boat Det go

'THE RIVER they dragged the boat to.'

While serial verbs behave more like function elements than verbs, they do not entirely behave like prepositions either. In the EMC, for example, some prepositions can be pied-piped but directional serial verbs can generally not be pied-piped (26).

(26) a. *Anga sama i go a foto?* (EMC, PM)

with who you go LOC town

[31]Capitalization indicates that the element is focused.

'With whom did you go to town?'

b. **Go a liba, den hali a boto.* (EMC, PM)

SV LOC river they drag DET boat

'To the river they dragged the boat.'

The evidence suggests that the serial verb does not only perform non-verbal functions but syntactically it also does not behave much like a verb either. It shows more non-verbal than verbal characteristics. It seems best to analyze so-called motion and change of location SVCs as adjunct constructions for the following reasons: First, the phrase headed by the serial verb does not introduce event-oriented semantic roles. It modifies the proposition denoted by the verbal head of the construction. Second, its semantic contribution is constant across contexts and not idiosyncratically dependent on the main verb–*go* and its Gbe counterparts always express motion away from the point of reference.

The analysis of serial verb constructions in the EMC and Gbe revealed close similarities between these constructions in the two languages. The similarities argue in favor of a substrate account: They suggest that the EMC constructions were modeled on the ones in Gbe. Their emergence in the plantation creole probably proceeded along the following path. The agents of creole formation encountered coordinate constructions that probably did not involve a coordination marker (27a). Based on semantic similarities between (27a) and equivalent constructions in the slave's L1s (27b), they identified (27a) with (27b).

(27) a. [$_S$[$_S$[*Dem*] [*haul*] [*boat*]] *(and)* [$_S$ Ø [*go*] [*river*]]].

NP$_i$ V NP NP$_i$ V NP

b. [$_S$[$_S$[*O*] [$_{VP}$[$_{VP}$[*dOn*] [*tOjiÃu a*]] [$_{ADJUNCTP}$ [*yi*] [*tOm«*]]].

NP V NP F NP

c. [$_S$ [*Dem*] [$_{VP}$[$_{VP}$ [*haul*] [*boat*]] [$_{ADJUNCTP}$ [*go*] [*river*]]].

NP V NP F NP

As a result of this identification, the agents projected the structural makeup of (27b) onto (27a) and thereby reinterpreted (27a) as an adjunct construction involving a main verb and an adjunct phrase headed by a functional element (F) *go* (27c). Since *go* occupied the same structural slot as *yi*/*sOn* in Gbe, it came to be associated with these items and several of their semantic and syntactic properties were projected onto *go*.

Once reanalyzed, *go* could be combined with other main verbs and locational phrase to form additional sentences expressing motion away from a point of reference. In the same vein, the structural rule–motion verb followed by a direction-indicating motion verb constitutes an adjunct construction and V2 indicates direction of movement–that had emerged due to the successful structural reinterpretation of one English source structure became part of the rule system of the emerging contact variety. It could now be reapplied to generate other kinds of directional SVCs.

4. Structural Reinterpretation: The Emergence of Locational Phrases

While the linear order of morphemes in the EMC generally follows that of English, there are, however, some EMC constructions, such as locational phrases, that do not seem to maintain the English linear order. The EMC structure resembles more closely equivalent structures in Gbe suggesting that the English structures were subject to structural reorganization. In this section, I discuss the similarities and differences between locational phrases in the EMC and Gbe and propose a scenario for their emergence in the EMC.

In the EMC and Gbe, location-denoting phrases are typically headed by a general locational marker, (*n*)*a* in the EMC and *le* (A, G), *ÿu/ÿo* (M), *l«* (W), *ÿe* (X) in Gbe. These locational markers select location-denoting NPs in order to express the location (28) and the

locational origin (29) of an action, state, person or object. When selecting a time-denoting NP, these phrases express the temporal location of an event or state (30).

(28) a. *Den án yee san sikiifi na a beibl!* (EMC, PM 18)
they NEG hear what write LOC Det bible
'They haven't heard what is written in the bible.'

b. *...xi exe mE kuku lE nO ÿe kutOnu O.*
place REL in dead PL stay LOC Cotonou Det
'The place where the corpses are in Cotonou.' (Gbe, Xwela)

(29) a. *A puu en ne en ana.* (EMC, PM)
he pull her LOC his hand
'He took her from him.'

b. *E xwe le ye gbO.* (Gbe, Gen)
he get-it LOC her at
'He received it from her.'

(30) a. *Taa wiki, a o kon na a munde.* (EMC, PM)
other week she FUT come LOC Det Monday
'Next week, she'll come on Monday.'

b. *Ede eyE mO sOn la ÿu to ÿe kOkukOji*
selves they accom. go FUT eat village LOC name
ÿe klE enE mE. (Gbe, Xwela)
LOC morning Dem in
'They themselves went to celebrate at Kokukoji that morning.'

In Gbe, the general locational markers only head a locational phrase if the verbal head of the construction is not specified for an origin or location in its semantics (cf. 31a-b). In the EMC, (*n*)*a* marks all locational phrases except for those involving a locational adverb (31c).

(31) a. *Moniki nO fe we xo huN ÿe kOkukOji nE?*
Monique mother also come play drum LOC name Q
'Monique's mother also started to play the drum at Kokokoji? (Xwela)

b. *Eye mE lE mO sOn osi mE.* (Xwela)
his person PL accom. go house in
'His parents had gone home.'

c. *Mi án doo de moo.* (EMC, PM)
I NEG arrive there anymore
'I didn't make it to there any more.'

While (*n*)*a* in the EMC behaves like a preposition in that it can be pied-piped along with its complement (35a), the locational markers in Gbe do not show clearly prepositional behavior; like other such functional elements, they cannot be pied-piped but are typically stranded (32b-c).

(32) a. *A bakaa sodoo u de no?* (EMC, PM 11)
FOC-LOC European house you COP TAG
'You are in a European-style house on stilts, right?'

b. **l« ati ji e ÿu nu.* (Gbe, Waci)
LOC tree on he eat thing
'On the tree he ate something.'

c. *O be afi a nyi ajahOmE yo yi Fo «bli l«.*
they say place DET COP name they go buy corn LOC
'They say the place is Ajahome, they go buy corn from.' (Gbe, Waci)

The locational marker may also head so-called complex locational phrases. These are phrases in which the location-denoting NP is modified by another element that more narrowly specifies the location. The locational specifiers are either simply juxtaposed to the NP in an

unmarked possessive construction (33) or they are connected to it by a possessive marker, *fu* in the EMC (34a), *na* (A, G, X), *nu* (M), *n«* (W) (37b) or *be* (G), *sin* (M), *m«* (W), *eyi* (X) (34c).

(33) a. *A e taampu na a tafa mofu*. (EMC, PM)
I PROG stand-up LOC Det table mouth
'It is standing on the edge of the table.'

b. *E nO ÿu tO O tonu*. (Gbe, Maxi)
it stay LOC water Det ear-opening
'He stayed at the board of the river/sea.'

(34) a. *A uku fika na a se fu mi osu*.
Det fishing-rod leave LOC Det side POSS my house
'The fishing rod was left behind/remains on the side of my house.'

b. *M« kpO avoka ÿe l« gOm« n« eklOn*. (Gbe, Waci)
I see avocado one LOC under.side for table
'I saw an avokado under the table.'

c. *Ixwa lO ÿe wema lO eyi gun*. (Gbe, Xwela)
money Det COP book Det POSS under
'The money is under the book.'

The complex locational phrases illustrated in (33-34) are overall semantically equivalent but seem to be used in slightly different pragmatic contexts. While the constructions in (33) seem to be the default answer to a question about the location of an element (cf. Where is X?), those in (34) are used to stress or emphasize the specific part (cf. under, in, behind etc.) of an element in a location.

Syntactically, most of the locational specifiers are nouns. They can stand by themselves (35) and function as one member in a nominal compound (36).

(35) a. *A de a ondoo*. (EMC, ND)

she COP LOC under.side

'She is down-stairs.'

b. *Igun eyi o fe ÿo la klO*. (Gbe, Xwela)

below.part FOC you also must FUT clean

'It's the below part (of the bucket) you also have to clean.'

(36) a. *ondo mofu* (EMC)

below.part mouth

b *aglOn gomE* (Gbe, Gen)

jaw below-part

'Lower jaw'

The only exceptions to this are *mE* 'in', *ji* 'on', *gbO* 'at' in Gbe and possibly *ini* 'in' in the EMC. The Gbe items act more like functional elements in that they cannot stand by themselves (37a-b) but have to follow an NP (47b-c). *Ini* in the EMC may stand by itself but it is often combined with the noun *se* (38).

(37) a. **KlO mE na tOka!* (Gbe, Xwela)

wash in POSS bucket

b. *KlO (ÿe) ÿO mE na tOka lO*.

wash LOC belly in POSS bucket Det

'Wash the inside of the bucket.'

c. *klO tOka mE*.

wash bucket in

'Wash the inside of the bucket.'

(38) *Go a ini*(*se*). (EMC)

go LOC in-side

'Go inside.'

Table 6. 2. provides a list of the most common locational specifiers in the EMC and Gbe.

Table 6. 1. Locational specifiers in the EMC and Gbe

Element	**Meaning**	**Categorial status**
ini (EMC) *mE* (Gbe)	in, inside	N (EMC) Postposition (Gbe) ?
tapu (EMC) *ede* (EMC) *ji* (Gbe)	on, on top, upper-part	N (EMC) N (EMC) Postposition (Gbe) ?
ondo(*o*) (EMC) *gomE* (A, G) *gulE* (M) *gOm«* (W) *gun* (X)	under, below, below-part	N
baka (EMC) *gudu* (A) *Ngbe*(*domE*) (G) *gudo* (M) *NgbOdom«* (W) *gO*(*do*) (X)	back, behind, behind-part	N
fesi (EMC) *NkOn* (A, G, W, X) *nukOn* (M)	face, front, front-part	N
se (EMC) *baansa* (EMC) *akpa* (A, W, X) *axadamE* (G) *kp*(*l*)*a* (M) *adamE* (X)	side, side-part	N
sikin (EMC) *nti* (A, G, W) *wu*(*tu*)[a] (M, X) *go* (M, X)	on, against	N Postposition ? (*go*)
mindi(*i*) EMC *dodomE* (A, G) *tetin* (M) *dodom«* (W) *cEncEn* (X)	middle, middle-part, between	N
mofu (EMC) *tonu* (A, M, W) *tomE* (G) *ito* (X)	edge, edge-part pointed-shaped edge (*yesi*)	N
gbO (A, G) *kO* (M) *gb«* (W) *xwE* (X)	with, at someone's	Postposition ?

The comparison of locational phrases in the EMC and Gbe revealed striking similarities between them suggesting that their structure in the EMC was modeled on that of Gbe. The

evidence suggests that the EMC structures probably emerged as follows: Since the meaning of function elements such as prepositions tends to be somewhat opaque, they are often omitted in contact settings so that the object and its location were simply juxtaposed. The semantic relationship between them, i.e. the location of the object, is thus not overtly expressed by a morphological marker but has to be inferred based on contextual clues and real world knowledge. This suggests that the agents of creole formation encountered locational structures such as (39a) that did not involve prepositions to mark the relationship between an object or person and its location rather than L1 English locational structures.

(39) a. *Hoe fa den homan no potti melki na koffi.*
QP[32] how Det-pl woman NEG put milk Dem coffee
'Why didn't the women put milk in the coffee?'
(van Dyk in: Arends & Perl 1995: 194)

b. *M« kp0 o l« Polu n0 gb0.* (Gbe, Waci 1)
I see they LOC name mother at
'I saw them at Polu's mother.'

c. *Hoe fa den homan no potti melki na koffi.*
QP how Det-pl woman NEG put milk LOC coffee

In (39a) a deictically specified location (*na koffi*) is simply juxtaposed to the object (*melki*).[33] Based on semantic and overall structural similarities–the NP referring to the object to be located precedes the NP designating the location–the agents identified the English input structures with their L1 locational structures and projected the structural makeup of their L1 structure (39b) onto (39a). Since (*d*/*n*)*a* filled the structural slot occupied by *le* (A, G), *ÿu*/*o*

[32] *QP* stands for question word.

[33]Note that presentative/copula and locational (*n*)*a* used to be *da* in earlier documents (cf. Arends 1986, 1989). It is not quite clear what prompted this change.

(M), *l«* (W) and *ÿe* (X) in Gbe, it came to be associated with the Gbe locational markers. As the result of this interlingual (mis)association, (*d*/*n*)*a* took on most of their functional and distributional properties and came to function as a general locational marker (39c). In order to facilitate recognition and production of locational phrases, (*d*/*n*)*a* was generalized to all locational contexts.

The structures involving locational specifiers (e.g. *tapu*, *mofu* etc.), however, most likely did not emerge as the result of reinterpretation from an existing English input structure. The agents probably learned the meanings of words like *mofu*, *tapu* etc. due to direct learning (involving pointing, etc.) and as a result of identifying them with their respective L1 counterparts, projected the syntactic and semantic features and distribution of the latter onto the former. Once reinterpreted as location-denoting nouns, they could enter into possessive-type relationships with another location-denoting noun to function as locational specifiers in complex prepositional phrases (33-34). They could also function as a simple noun in locational phrases (35) or as one member of a location-denoting noun (36).

5. Summary and Conclusion

The aim of this chapter and Chapter 5 was to investigate the African input to the formation of the plantation creole. The investigation revealed that the African input to the plantation creole was quite homogeneous. It consisted mainly of varieties of Gbe and secondarily of Kikongo varieties. The comparative analysis of selected morphosyntactic features in the EMC and Gbe suggests that the L1s of the slaves played an important role in shaping the grammar of the plantation creole. The investigation revealed that the kinds of L1 retentions attested in the

EMC and the processes and mechanisms involved in their emergence closely resemble those found in other contact varieties that emerged due to interference through shift (cf. Chapter 2).

The EMC involves several kinds of retentions from Gbe. First, there are relatively few direct lexical retentions in the basic vocabulary from the slaves' L1s in the descendants of the plantation creole. Most of the lexical elements, content and function morphemes, in the EMC derive etymologically from English. Second, the English morphemes, however, involve varying degrees of structural and semantic properties that originate from the L1s of the agents of creole formation. Third, the internal structure of complex words and phrases in the EMC emerged due to L1 influence. Finally, the linear ordering of some EMC structures emerged due to L1 influence.

The structural retentions including the syntactic and semantic properties of function morphemes from Gbe in the plantation creole emerged along the following path. First, the agents established an interlingual identity between a given English input structure and a semantically equivalent and structurally similar L1 structure. Second, they projected the structural principles of their L1 structure onto the English input structure. Third, the elements in the English input structure became associated with specific L1 structural slots or elements. Fourth, the English elements were assigned all or some of the semantic, syntactic and distributional properties of the L1 element they were associated with.

In the case of content morphemes, the agents also had to interlingually identify a given English word with an equivalent one from the L1. This interlingual identity was, however, mainly established as the result of direct teaching or learning; objects, for example, could be learned by pointing at them and calling out the English term. Once the identity relationship was established, the learners could assign the semantic and syntactic properties of the corresponding L1 word to the English one.

As previously discussed by Siegel (1999) and Winford (2002), the retention of abstract patterns and properties, i.e. rules, principles and semantic and syntactic properties, from the L1 in the plantation creole was governed by an availability constraint. In order to retain an L1 feature, the creators had to be able to identify an English structure or element onto which the L1 feature could be projected. That is, they had to identify an English source structure that could be successfully reinterpreted according to the L1 pattern. If a suitable source structure could not be identified, the L1 feature could not be retained. As discussed in Chapter 4, it was not necessary that there existed a true identity between the source and the L1 structure. As long as the agents in this process perceived a close semantic and structural match between these structures, they were able to initiate the reinterpretation process.

A second factor that played a role in this process is the degree of knowledge the agents had of the source structures. If the agents had a relatively great amount of knowledge of the input structures, they would have been less compelled to make recourse to L1 structural information to interpret the input structure. If, on the contrary, they were only able to acquire a relatively limited amount of knowledge of the source rules and principles, they would be required to make frequent reference to their native structural system to compensate for the rules and principles they had not been able to acquire.

Chapter 7

Processes of Language-Internal Change

1. Introduction

While language contact played a crucial role in the emergence and diachronic development of creoles, it cannot account for all the properties of creole grammar. Diachronic research on the creoles of Suriname (cf. Bruyn 1995a, Arends 1986, 1989) and other creoles (cf. Sankoff & Laberge 1973) clearly shows that several functional elements and certain properties of other grammatical elements were not modeled on external models but seem to have emerged due to processes of language-internal change. Such language-internal changes seem to have operated some time after the initial emergence of the creole and are therefore not entirely part of the process of creole formation. The present study, however, includes a discussion of the main kinds of language-internal changes that affected creoles for two reasons. First, such changes had an important effect on the nature of creole grammar. Second, up to now there do not exist any hard and fast criteria for accurately distinguishing between processes that are part of creole formation proper and post-emergence changes.

This chapter is organized as follows: Section 2 discusses the concept of language-internal change and its relevance to creoles. Section 3 discusses and illustrates the main types of language-internal changes in the creoles of Suriname. Section 4 summarizes the findings.

2. Language-Internal Change and Creoles

Generally speaking, language-internal change is a cover term for diachronic linguistic changes that were not modeled on a specific external linguistic model. Internally motivated changes are an integral part of the (continuous) development of every linguistic system. While the reasons for their occurrence are very complex and are still not fully understood, it is now widely accepted that cognitive and pragmatic processes that operate during the communication process trigger or facilitate language-internal change. It arises due to competing motivations for maximization of economy or simplicity. They involve "maximization of efficiency via minimal differentiation on the one hand, and maximization of informativeness (Langacker 1977:101-6) on the other." (Hopper & Traugott 1993:64).

This view of change argues that speakers initiate or provide the conditions for change when they create novel linguistic strategies by making efficient use of existing linguistic material. New linguistic strategies are constantly created in order to effectively convey one's communicational goals and in order to maximally guide interlocutors' interpretation of one's speech. The hearers then effect the change when, because of partially different communicative strategies and assumptions of the context and communicational efficiency, they interpret this speech in ways that do not entirely match up with the speakers' intentions. That is, in their efforts to efficiently interpret the speech, they make recourse to interpretational strategies that do not coincide with those intended by the speakers. Or, they effect change when they imitate these novel strategies (on a regular basis). Although change is triggered by cognitive and sociopragmatic motivations, it is nevertheless problematic to argue that change is motivated by cognitive and pragmatic need. Such a claim carries the unwarranted implication that the language was previously structurally or otherwise insufficient (cf. Hopper & Traugott 1993:66-67, Bruyn 1995a:22).

There are three main types of internally motivated processes of changes: reanalysis, generalization or analogy and grammaticalization. Broadly speaking, "reanalysis essentially

involves linear, syntagmatic, often local, reorganization and rule change" (Hopper & Traugott 1993:61). This kind of structural change does not give rise to a change in the surface ordering of lexical elements. Analogy or generalization denotes a process whereby an existing element or rule/principle is extended from a relatively restricted domain to a larger domain to serve closely related functions. Grammaticalization refers to a process whereby a lexical element becomes a grammatical element or a grammatical element becomes more integrated in the structural system. Grammaticalization is generally preceded by reanalysis and generalization but all processes of reanalysis and generalization do not have to lead to grammaticalization (Hopper & Traugott 1993:48-50).

The process of language-internal change that has been most frequently discussed in relation to creoles is grammaticalization. Sankoff & Laberge (1973), for example, show that the future-marking prefix *bai*/*b«* in Tok Pisin developed from the sentential adverb *baimbai* 'by and by' due to processes of grammaticalization. The sentential adverb first developed into a preverbal future tense marker and then into a verbal prefix. In relation to Sranan Tongo, Bruyn (1995a) shows how the demonstratives *na* 'that' and *den* 'them' "developed from elements with a certain demonstrative force towards more generally used definite articles." (p. 237). Arends (1986, 1989) traces certain diachronic changes in the copula system, property items and van den Berg (2001) discusses the emergence of the ability marker *man* due to language-internal change (see below).

Apart from these confirmed instances of grammaticalization, there are also some elements that were previously identified as having developed due to processes of grammaticalization (e.g. the complementizer *taki*, the 'dative' preposition *gi*, and locational specifiers such as *baka*). Upon closer inspection, however, they turned out to be instances of what Bruyn refers to as apparent grammaticalization. Apparent grammaticalization refers to cases "where a feature does not result from grammaticalization that took place within the

creole language itself but rather from the transfer of the result of a process of grammaticalization that has taken place in another language" (Bruyn 1996: 42). That is, the emergence of such features was motivated by processes of language contact rather than language-internal change (cf. Chapters 5 and 6).

The existence of instances of apparent grammaticalization also highlights an important methodological premise. In order to make a solid claim that a given linguistic feature emerged due to processes of language-internal change, it is necessary to provide evidence that it is unlikely to have emerged as the result of language contact. In the remainder of this chapter I discuss each process of change in more detail and illustrate them with data from diachronic studies of early texts written in Sranan Tongo and synchronic data from the EMC.

3. Processes of Language-Internal Change in the Creoles of Suriname

This section discusses and illustrates three processes of internal change – reanalysis, analogy and grammaticalization – that contributed to the emergence of the grammar of the modern creoles of Suriname.

*3. 1. Reanalysis: The Emergence of the Modality Marker **man***

According to Langacker (1977:58), cited in Hopper and Traugott (1993:40), reanalysis refers to "a change in structure of an expression or class of expressions that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation." Reanalysis thus essentially involves rebracketing. One of the most common instances of reanalysis is involved in the emergence of bound morphology. Two or more lexical forms that are frequently juxtaposed

(e.g. *man* ‘man’ and *lic* ‘like’) merge into a single word or expression (*man-lic* ‘body of a man, likeness of a man’). Over time one of the expressions grammaticalizes into an affix (e.g. *lic*) and the erstwhile word boundary between them becomes a morpheme boundary (e.g. *man+ly*).

A common example of syntactic boundary shift involves the emergence of a complementizer heading a phrase of indirect speech from a direct speech marker/verb. In varieties of Gbe, for example, the direct speech marker is derived from a still existing lexical verb meaning to ‘say’ (1).

(1) *Me beÚ:* [*miÚ aÚ yi apeÚ.*] (Ewe, Heine et al 1991:216)
I say I SUBJ. go home
‘I say we should go home.’

With the transition to indirect speech, the direct speech verb becomes reanalyzed as a complementizer heading the phrase containing the indirect speech (2) and a different verb of saying expresses the verbal content.

(2) *Me gblO* [*beÚ miÚ aÚ yi ape*Ú]. (Ewe, Heine et al 1991:216)
I say say I SUBJ go home
‘I say we should go home.’

Since many cases of reanalysis give rise to grammaticalized forms, early researchers identified these two processes. There are, however, some reasons for differentiating the two. First, there are cases in which two expressions merge into a single expression but neither of the expressions grammaticalizes (cf. the emergence of nominal compounds). Second, reanalysis is not unidirectional. Rebracketing may also lead to degrammaticalization in that erstwhile functional elements develop into lexical elements (e.g. the use of prepositions such as *up* as verbs in phrases such as *to up the price*). Third, all cases of grammaticalization are not accompanied by reanalysis. Heine et al. (1991:219) argue, for example, that the

grammaticalization of demonstrative determiners into definite determiners does not involve reanalysis since "the syntactic status of the determiner-head phrase remains unchanged." Fourth, cases of grammaticalization may give rise to cases of reanalysis. Heine et al (1993:218) mention, among other cases, the development of the epistemic modal expression *I think* expressing the speaker's commitment (3a) from a main clause *I think* (*that*)...(3b).

(3) a. *It's just your point of view you know what you like to do in your spare time I think*. (Heine et al. 1991:218)

b. *I think that we're definitely moving towards being more technological*.

Due to the grammaticalization of *I think* the erstwhile subordinate phrase becomes the main clause and the main clause is reanalyzed as a dependent clause (Heine et al. 1991:219).

A case of syntactic reanalysis in the creoles of Suriname is the emergence of the modal auxiliary *man*. Based on diachronic data from Sranan Tongo, Van den Berg (2001) argues that *man* emerged due to processes of reanalysis and grammaticalization from the noun *man* 'man, person'. She proposes that the creators of the creole were presented with so-called negative zero-copula equative structures from English in which a referent was negatively identified with the noun *man* (4). These structures were used to express a person's 'lack of force' or, more generally, his 'inability' to perform a certain activity. The activity was either left overtly unexpressed (4a) or it was realized by a *va*-headed adjunct phrase that was joined to the noun *man* (4b).

(4) a. *Mingo,* [$_{S}$[$_{NP}$ *Jou*] [$_{VP}$ *Ø* *no* [$_{NP}$ *man*]]].
Mingo you COP NEG man
'As for me, I cannot (lit.: Mingo, you not man).'
(court records from 1707 cited in van den Berg 2001:248)

b. [$_{S}$[$_{NP}$*Mi*] [[$_{VP}$*Ø* *no* [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ *man*] [$_{ADJUNCT}$ *va* [$_{VP}$ *hoppo* *datti*]]].
I COP NEG man for lift that

‘I am not strong enough to lift that (lit.: I am not man for lift that).’

‘I cannot lift that.’

(Schumann 1783: 185 cited in van den Berg 2001:249)

Over time, most likely in the 19th century, *va* is optionally omitted giving rise to a structure in which *man* directly precedes the verb (5).

(5) [$_{S}$[$_{NP}$*Mi*] [[$_{VP}$Ø *no* [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ *man*] [$_{ADJUNCT}$ [$_{VP}$ *hoppo datti*]]].

I COP NEG man lift that

‘I am not strong enough to lift that (lit.: I am not man for lift that).’

‘I cannot lift that.’

Since *man* was expressing a modal meaning, the structure in (5) was, most likely by analogy with other modal constructions in the creole (6a), reanalyzed from a zero-copula construction and an adjunct phrase into a sentence involving a VP made up of a main verb (*hoppo*) preceded by a modal auxiliary, i.e. *man* (6b).

(6) a. *I mu opo dati*. (EMC, PM)

you must lift that

‘You must lift that.’

b. [$_{S}$[$_{NP}$*Mi*] [$_{VP}$ *no man hoppo datti*]].

I NEG AUX lift that

‘I cannot lift that.’

That is, as the result of the absence of the boundary, the main clause-adjunct construction in (4b-5) has become reanalyzed as a single SVO main clause (6b). The erstwhile adjunct phrase was reanalyzed as the main-clausal VP and the original main clause that was made up of a nominal predicate (cf. *Ø man*) was reanalyzed as a modal auxiliary modifying the main verb. The fact that *man* can be combined with other modals in the modern creole varieties (cf. 7) is a clear indication that it has become a full modal auxiliary (van den Berg 2001:249).

(7) *Da i mu man taagi a kode-nUám«.* (EMC, PM 12)
then you must able tell Det telephone-number
'Then you have to be able to tell (them) the telephone number.'

At least in the EMC, however, *man*'s present distribution still bears witness to its non-verbal origin. As in the older texts, *man* is still mainly used in negative sentences (8a), i.e. referring to negative ability, and interrogative sentences (8b), i.e. questioning someone's ability.

(8) a. *A konde ya e seki fu te peesi kiin, u án man siibi.* (EMC, PM 6)
Det village here PROG shake for until place clean we NEG able sleep
'This village is active until morning, we cannot sleep.'

b. *I o man booko a sani de?* (EMC, PM 3)
you FUT able break Det thing there
'Will you be able to break that thing?'

Unlike most other modals in the language, it generally occurs in clause-final position in positive declarative sentences (9a). My data only involved a very small number of positive declarative sentences in which *man* preceded a verb. In these sentences it was generally preceded by other auxiliaries (7). In 'simple' declarative sentences *man* is typically replaced by *sa* (9b). Finally, I have several times heard sentences such as (9c) in which *man* is followed by *fu* (9c).

(9) a. A: *I án man bai en.* B: *Mi man.* (EMC, PM)
you NEG able buy it I able
'A: You aren't able to buy it. B: I am able to buy it.'

b. A: *I man sikiifi a biifi de?* B: *Mi sa sikiifi en!*

you able write Det letter there I able write it

'A: Are you able to write that letter? B: I am able to write it.' (EMC, PM)

c. *Den án man fu du den wooko de*. (EMC, PM)

they NEG able for do Det-pl work there

'They aren't able to do these tasks/jobs.'

3. 2. Generalization: The Functional Extension of the Copula ***de***

Early historical linguists conceived of generalization, which they referred to as analogy, as a process "whereby irregularities in the grammar, particularly at the morphological level, were regularized" (Hopper & Traugott 1993:56). A common example involved the extension of the regular English plural marking rule (cf. the attaching of the plural suffixes *-s*, *-z*, *-«z* to the singular form) to nouns using an irregular plural form (e.g. *shoen* 'shoes') due to analogy with nouns using the regular pattern (e.g. *stones*) (10).

(10) *stone : stones = shoe : X* (Hopper & Traugott 1993:56)

X = shoes

Today, it is more generally defined as a process that gives rise to a change in the distribution of a morpheme, i.e. paradigmatic change. This change generally involves the replacement of a more constrained form or a relatively specific strategy with a more general form or strategy. However, the process may also take place in the opposite direction. Generalization also gives rise to an increase in the frequency of an element.

Diachronic research on the Surinamese creoles has identified several cases of generalization. Bruyn (1995a:105-111), for example, shows that the grammaticalization of the demonstrative determiner *da*/*na* as a definite determiner in 18th century Sranan Tongo led to it being extended to plain definite NPs, i.e. without a post-nominal demonstrative modifier, and

to definite NPs that only involved a post-nominal demonstrative determiner. As a result of this extension, *da/na*'s frequency increased notably between the 18th and the 20th century (cf. Bruyn 1995a:109, Table 3.2.).

Another prominent case of generalization is the extension of the copula *de* to certain nominal contexts. In Chapter 5 it was shown that the copula *de* emerged due to a process of contact-induced reinterpretation from the locative adverb *de* 'there'. Its main syntactic and semantic properties were clearly modeled on the non-nominal copulas in varieties of Gbe (cf. *le* (A, G), *ÿo/u* (M), *l«* (W), *ÿe* (X)). The analysis, however, also revealed minor distributional differences between the Gbe copulas and *de* in the creoles of Suriname. Unlike the Gbe copulas, *de* predicates extraposed NPs (11a) and NPs in overtly tensed and negated constructions (11b).

(11) a. *Na wan yefrow, Lina de*. (EMC, PM)
FOC one teacher Lina COP
'It's a TEACHER (not a medical doctor) that Lina is.'

b. *A be mu de wan manenge*. (EMC, PM 17)
It PAST MOD COP one male person
'It should be a man.'

Based on the evidence presented in Chapter 5, Section 5 and diachronic research on the copular domain (Arends 1986, 1989), the simplest explanation (Ocam's Razor) involves arguing that *de* acquired these properties as the result of a language-internal processes of generalization.

Diachronic evidence discussed by Arends (1986) suggests that the plantation creole emerged without a verbal equative copula since (*d*/*n*)*a*, the nominal copula in the modern

creole, had emerged as a (non-verbal) focus marker and only later grammaticalized into a non-verbal copula, see below (12).[34]

(12) a. *'adjossi', da Bakkratongo*.
'adjossi' that (is) Bakratongo
''adjossi' is Europeans' Sranan.'
(Schumann 1783:46, in Arends 1986:113)

b. *Mi na Gabriel*.
I COP Gabriel
'I am Gabriel.' (Lukas 1829:8, in Arends 1986:113)

The early plantation creole therefore did not have a predicator for (possessive) NPs in overtly TMA-marked equative constructions and for constructions involving extraposition of a (possessive) NP complement. When the speakers of the creole wanted to express TMA-marking in equative constructions, they optionally replaced (*d*/*n*)*a* with the verbal copula *de* and thereby extended *de*'s distribution to also cover specific nominal contexts (cf. 11b). *De* was an optimal candidate to take over this function because it did not only have the required verbal property but it also functioned as a predicator for a variety of non-verbal elements such as locative and non-verbal property-denoting expressions such as adverbs (13), see also Chapter 5, Section 5.

(13) *Te a de so*. (EMC, PM 17b)
until it COP so
'Until it is like that (indicated by a pointing gesture).'

Since *de* had entered the equative domain this way, it was now also easily available for use in other nominal contexts. Its distribution was thus (eventually) extended to also include the

[34](*D*/*n*)*a* was reinterpreted as a focus marker from the English demonstrative pronoun *that* due to processes of contact-induced change.

predication of extra-posed NPs (11a) and *de* also came to optionally replace (*d*/*n*)*a* in negative and past time-marked constructions. In such constructions, the negation and past time marker generally followed (*d*/*n*)*a* (14).

(14) a. *A yuu de, mi ná be basi moo.* (EMC, PM)
Det hour there I COP-NEG PAST boss more

b. *A yuu de, mi án be de basi moo.*
Det hour there I NEG PAST COP boss more

'At that time, I wasn't the boss any more.'

Arends' (1986) quantitative diachronic analysis of the copula domain in Sranan Tongo partially supports this scenario. He shows that after 1800 there was a significant increase in the use of *de* in nominal environments. The increase occurred primarily in the relatively time-instable class-membership copula constructions where TMA marking occurs relatively frequently (cf. 11b).

In some descendants of the plantation creole, such as Saamaka and Sranan Tongo, *de*'s distribution was extended even further. Arends' (1986:112) diachronic analysis reveals that "after a period (1750-1800) in which *da* was the preferred copula for attribution [class-membership constructions] as well as identification, the attributive category develops a predilection for *de* […], while the expression of identity is delegated to *da* [cf. 12b], with *de* […] appearing as a secondary alternative." Table 7. 1. summarizes the generalization of the copula *de* in the plantation creole.

Table 7. 1. The generalization of the copula de in Sranan Tongo

	Locative	property-denoting	tensed nominal	negative & past nominal	Extraposed nominal	Class-membership	Identity-denoting
-1800	*de*	*de*	*Ø*	(*d*/*n*)*a*	?Ø	(*d*/*n*)*a*	(*d*/*n*)*a*
1800-1850	*de*	*de*	*De*	(*d*/*n*)*a*, *de*	?Ø	(*d*/*n*)*a*	(*d*/*n*)*a*
1850-	*de*	*de*	*De*	(*d*/*n*)*a*, *de*	?Ø	*de*	(*d*/*n*)*a*
present	*de*	*de*	*De*	(*d*/*n*)*a*, *de*	*de*	*de*	(*d*/*n*)*a*

Note : Based on Arends (1986).

*3. 3. Grammaticalization: The Emergence of the Copula (**n**)**a***

Grammaticalization, also referred to as grammaticization or grammatization, refers to a process whereby a lexical element assumes a grammatical function or a grammatical element becomes more tightly integrated into or more bounded to the grammatical system of a language.[35] Unlike the process of reanalysis, grammaticalization is typically a unidirectional process. A lexical item loses some of its concrete semantic features, most typically its expressive force, and takes on a grammatical meaning and function in the grammatical system of the language. The semantic change is typically accompanied by or gives rise to a change in the category membership of the element; it generally changes from being a member of a

[35]Recent historical linguistic research is casting a serious doubt on the existence of the process of grammaticalization. Joseph (2001:184) calls it "an epiphenomenon, an effect." First, the term is not clearly defined. From the literature it is not clear whether "grammaticalization is a single process or instead is several processes or instead is a result of other developments and as to what its relationship is to other mechanisms of language change." (Joseph 2001:164). Second, the generally assumed principle that grammaticalization is unidirectional is a hypothesis that is subject to empirical testing and verification.

relatively open lexical category (e.g. verb, noun, adjective or adverb) to being a member of a relatively closed functional category (e.g. preposition, determiner, affix etc.). As a result of having grammaticalized, the lexical item's occurrence becomes constrained by grammatical rules and its paradigmatic and syntagmatic variability is reduced.

An example of this process is the development of the verb *na* 'give' into a preposition introducing recipient, benefactive, etc. NPs to the verbal head of a construction in varieties of Gbe. Whereas *na* can be interpreted as a verb meaning "to give" in sentences like (15a), this is not possible in sentences like (15b-c). In these sentences, it clearly marks a grammatical function, i.e. it introduces a benefactor (15b) and a purposive clause (16). This semantic shift was also accompanied by a change in lexical category. While *na* in (15a) can be marked by TMA markers, like all verbs in Gbe, this is no longer possible for *na* in (15b-c). In the latter sentences *na* thus also behaves syntactically like a member of a functional category.

(15) a. *Me ple ÃOtruÚ naÚ kofi*Ú. (Gbe, Ewe Heine et al. 1991:1)
I buy door give Kofi
'I bought a door and gave it to Kofi.'

b. *Me ple ÃOtruÚn naÚ kofi*Ú.
I buy door give Kofi
'I bought a door for Kofi.'

c. *Me wO dOÚ veÚviÚeÚ naÚ dodoÚkpOÚ la*Ú.
I make work hard give exam DEF
'I work hard for the exam.'

The process of grammaticalization generally proceeds gradually, extending over a relatively long period of time. According to Bruyn (1995a:23), the gradualness is related to the fact that "grammaticalization does not consist of a single change but of correlating changes at different levels, with the semantic shift preceding the morphosyntactic and

phonological ones." This suggests that in order to convincingly argue that a particular item has undergone the process of grammaticalization, it is necessary to provide diachronic data proving the occurrence of a change.

An example of grammaticalization in the creoles of Suriname is the emergence of the copula (*d*/*n*)*a*. The plantation creole had initially emerged without a nominal copula. According to Arends' (1986) diachronic study of the copula domain, nominal and possessive-type concepts were regularly expressed as topic-comment constructions (16) in the early plantation creole.

(16) *'adjossi', da Bakkratongo*. (18th century Sranan Tongo)
adjossi that (is) Bakratongo
''adjossi' is Europeans' Sranan.' (Schumann 1783:46, from Arends 1986:113)

In the construction in (16) the subject NP is expressed as a topic and the object NP, i.e. the referent with which the referent of the topic is identified, is expressed as a comment. The comment is marked by the presentational focus marker (*d*/*n*)*a* and stressed relative to the topic NP, i.e. the two NPs are not part of the same intonational contour. As the result of the presentational focus on the comment NP, its referent is identified as the set of entities to which the referent of the topic NP belongs. (*D*/*n*)*a* fulfilled two functions in these constructions: (i) together with the stress intonation, it marked the comment NP as having presentational focus and (ii) it expressed the link, i.e. the identity relationship, between the referents of the topic and the comment NPs.

Over time (*d*/*n*)*a*, however, reduced its functional scope or expressive quality which led to the backgrounding or loss of its presentational focus function and the foregrounding of its linking function. The reduction of *da*'s functional scope was most likely triggered by a leveling of the stress pattern. As a result of the frequent usage of these constructions, the intonational contour of the two NPs became more alike, i.e. the comment NP was increasingly

less stressed, so that the intonational break between them, indicated by a comma, became increasingly less audible and eventually disappeared. The erstwhile topic-comment construction in (16) thus became structurally similar to a typical subject-copula-complement construction in that it now consisted of two NPs and a linking element (17). Due to this stress change, (*d*/*n*)*a* also underwent a categorical change: it changed from being a non-verbal presentative focus marker to being a non-verbal nominal linking element (in present tense constructions).

(17) *Mi na Gabriel*. (18th century Sranan Tongo)

I COP Gabriel

'I am Gabriel.' (Lukas 1829:8, in Arends 1986:113)

The reduction in functional scope probably took place first in frequently used nominal and possessive topic-comment constructions in which the intonational contour of the comment was relatively similar to that of the topic, i.e. in constructions in which the comment NP was relatively unstressed. In topic-comment constructions in which the comment NP was (saliently) stressed relative to the topic NP or both the topic and the comment NP received stress, (*d*/*n*)*a* probably underwent this functional change only much later. In some descendants of the plantation creole, such as varieties of the EMC, these constructions still employ a topic-comment rather than a copula-type construction.

(18) *Ne en, na a moo bunkopu wan*. (EMC, ND 2b)

FOC it (emph) PRE Det more cheap one

'It's IT (that one), that's the cheapest one (not this one).'

4. Conclusion

This chapter discussed the three main language-internal processes of change, reanalysis, generalization and grammaticalization, and their role in creole formation. The discussion showed that these processes of language-internal change do not only operate in languages with a longer history but also affect the grammar of creoles in much the same way. As in other languages, these processes do not fill functional gaps but results from processes of linguistic routinization. They proceed gradually and they do not give rise to drastic changes in the grammar of these languages. Based on the cases discussed, it seems as if these processes did not play a vital role in the initial emergence of creole grammar but only affected it subsequent to its initial emergence. That is, they operated on linguistic elements that had initially emerged through processes of contact.

Chapter 8

Conclusion and Implications

1. Summary

The main aim of the present study was to investigate the nature of (radical) creole formation based on data from the formation of the plantation creole in Suriname. Drawing on both sociohistorical data pertaining to the contact setting(s) in which the creole emerged and linguistic data from the main inputs and the outcome of the contact, the investigation suggests that creole formation was a multi-layered process. Contact-induced change and deliberate change played an important role in the initial emergence of the grammar of the plantation creole, and language-internal change (and contact-induced change) affected some areas of grammar following its initial emergence.

The sociohistorical and comparative linguistic analysis which compared creole and English structures both strongly suggest that the processes and mechanisms that were involved in the formation of the plantation creole closely resemble the processes and mechanisms that play a role in the early stages of L2 learning or acquisition. The agents of creole formation, lacking a common ground, acquired or targeted structures from the varieties of English, which came to function as the main building blocks or frame for the plantation creole.

As in settings with little exposure to a TL, the agents of creole formation (or learners) were exposed to and acquired relatively reduced or simplified English structures. On the one hand, a number of the members of the plantation establishment (Africans and indentured

laborers) spoke various kinds of L2 and pidgin varieties of English and creole varieties imported from other colonies that showed varying degrees of structural reduction compared to English. On the other hand, the speakers of L1 and L2 varieties deliberately structurally reduced their varieties in order to facilitate communication with the new slaves (cf. foreigner talk).

Similar to other L2 varieties, the English input to the formation of the plantation creole showed the following kinds of structural reductions. First, it did not involve any bound morphology. Bound morphemes were either replaced by analytical structures in which each element has a relatively clear semantic or functional content (e.g. agentive nouns). Or, if the bound morphology was communicationally not vital, i.e. the content could be inferred otherwise, it was eliminated (e.g. plural marking). Second, only functionally and perceptually salient free function morphemes became part of the plantation creole. Non-salient morphemes were eliminated (e.g. copulas), and structurally highly integrated or complex ones were replaced by "simplified" ones that could be more easily processed (e.g. negation), if such elements were available. Finally, morphologically variable forms were regularized (e.g. negation) and semantically or functionally close forms were often expressed by the same invariant morpheme (e.g. pronominal forms).

In order to make the structurally reduced nature of the English input communicationally viable, the agents of creole formation reinterpreted the English source structures according to the structural patterns of their L1s. They established an interlingual identity between a given English input structure and an L1 structure and projected the structural pattern of the L1 structure onto the English source structure. They thereby assigned a new internal structure to the English source structure. Due to this reinterpretation, some of the elements of the English source structure acquired new semantic and syntactic properties because they came to be identified with L1 elements or L1 structural slots that had entirely or partially different

semantic and syntactic properties. Once the English source structures and their elements had been reinterpreted according to L1 patterns, the resulting rules and principles became part of the structural system of the contact variety and could be reapplied to other structurally similar English source structures. English source structures that were not interpretable (e.g. those that could not be (re)interpreted based on L1 structures) were eliminated. The study makes it abundantly clear that the L1s of the agents of creole formation played an important role in shaping the grammar of the plantation creole.

The comparison of creole structures with Gbe structures revealed several kinds of structural influence from the L1s of the main agents of creole formation in the plantation creole. These L1 features closely resemble the kinds of L1 features–so-called transfer features–that are typically found in other varieties that emerged due to interference through shift, so-called L2 varieties. First, there are few lexical retentions from the L1s of the slaves. The elements that originate from the L1s of the slaves are clearly non-basic vocabulary items; they refer to plants, animals, cultural and religious items. Second, a number of the semantic and syntactic properties of both creole content and function morphemes come from the L1s. Third, the internal structure of creole constructions (e.g. SVCs, agentive nouns), i.e. the structural rules and principles that regulate the combination of elements in a structure, come from the L1s of the agents of creole formation. Fourth, the linear ordering of elements in some constructions (e.g. locative phrases) is modeled on L1 patterns.

As in the case of other contact settings that involve interference through shift, the retention of L1 features was crucially constrained by the agents' knowledge of the English varieties in use. Since the slaves had little substantial knowledge of and access to varieties of English, they were compelled to resort to the structural principles and rules of their L1s in order to compensate for the structural information they were not able to infer from the English input they received.

The second factor that played a role in the retention of L1 features was the availability of an English structure to which the L1 structure could be applied. The creators of the plantation creole could only retain an L1 structure or feature if they were able to identify an English source structure that could function as a basic frame onto which the L1 structure could be projected. That is, the agents had to be able to establish (perceived) semantic and syntactic similarities between an English and an L1 structure.

The study also showed that there are several properties of the plantation creole and its descendants that did not originate from contact-induced or deliberate change but resulted from language-internal processes of change. Diachronic studies suggest that they emerged due to one or several of the following processes of internal change: reanalysis, generalization and grammaticalization. They affected several linguistic elements subsequent to their emergence due to contact-induced or deliberate change.

2. Implications for Current Theories of Creole Formation

This section evaluates the claims of the monogenetic, the superstratist, the relexification and the L2 acquisition theories of creole formation. The findings from this study most closely support theories of creole formation that maintain that creole formation resembles L2 acquisition. They challenge the claims of the other current theories of creole formation. Below I evaluate each view of creole formation in turn.

The data from the present study do not confirm the claims of Hancock's (1986, 1987) and McWhorter's (1995, 1996, 1997a) monogenetic theories of creole formation. These theories argue that all English-lexified creoles descend from a common ancestor, the GCCE that had emerged in the Senegambia region (cf. Hancock) or a variety that had emerged in the

Slave Coast fort Cormantin (McWhorter). The latter variety was allegedly transported to New World colonies by slave overseers who passed it on to the slaves in these colonies as part of the integration or "seasoning" process.

The analysis of the sociohistorical data suggested that the initial emergence of the plantation creole took place during Contact Setting II (1680-1695). The main agents of creole formation, the slaves who arrived in Suriname during this period, did not come from the Senegambia region (cf. Hancock) or Cormantin on the Gold Coast (McWhorter). They came in the overwhelming majority from the Slave Coast (present-day Togo and Benin) and from the Loango region. This suggests that, even if a creole had emerged in these regions, the main agents who forged the plantation creole could not have known it or brought it to Suriname.[36]

The sociohistorical data further suggest that the plantation creole was forged in Suriname rather than imported to Suriname. ONE of the main inputs to its formation were the varieties spoken by the members of the plantation establishment. These varieties had partially been imported to Suriname from other colonies such as Barbados by the early population and partially they had emerged in Suriname. In Chapter 4 I argued that these varieties must have consisted of a range of L2, pidgin and creole varieties of English. They were not only structurally reduced compared to English, but in their interactions with the main agents of creole formation, the newly arriving slaves, their users, further simplified them to varying degrees in order to facilitate communication. In addition, the new slaves, i.e. the learners, further adapted their structures during their acquisition because they did not identify certain of their properties and applied rules and principles from their L1s to it (cf. Chapters 4-6). This situation suggests that the plantation varieties and their descendants, the modern creoles of

[36]As briefly discussed in Chapter 1, there is little or no sociohistorical evidence supporting the emergence of such a predecessor creole or pidgin in the Senegambia region or on the Gold Coast (cf. Huber 1999b, Baker 1999).

Suriname, could not be direct descendants of a putative African predecessor creole; (i) it could have only functioned as ONE among several English-based or English-lexified inputs to the formation of the plantation creole and (ii) in Suriname it would have undergone significant contact-induced and deliberate change.

The findings from the present study also call into questions the so-called superstratist theory of creole formation advocated by Chaudenson (1979, 2002) and Mufwene (1996, 1997, 2001). They essentially maintain that present-day creoles derive from regional varieties of the European variety and that there does not exist a sharp difference between creoles and such regional varieties. Their theory rests on three main assumptions. First, early plantation slaves spoke close approximations of the European language. Second, creoles are linguistically highly similar to regional European varieties. Third, there is not a sharp distinction between creoles and other outcomes of contact.

With respect to the first claim, the analysis of the contact setting(s) suggested that the early slaves spoke English-based varieties ranging from pidgin to relatively elaborate L2 varieties of regional English. The majority would have probably spoken varieties of the intermediate range. Quite crucially, however, the investigation showed that these varieties underwent relatively drastic contact-induced and deliberate change during the formation period of the plantation creole (cf. Contact Setting II). Their speakers simplified them to enhance communication with the new slaves, and the new slaves, not having much knowledge of these varieties, effected a number of changes (e.g. structural reductions and reinterpretations). This evidence suggests that close approximations to L1 varieties did not play an important role in the actual formation of the plantation creole.

In relation to the second claim, the comparative linguistic analysis revealed important structural differences between English and creole structures. First, the creole has much less bound morphology than English and its bound morphemes are different from those of

English. Second, the free function morphemes in the creole and in English are not identical. The creole has several function morphemes that are not related to relevant English function morphemes. Other function morphemes in the creole are based on secondary English models and perform partially different functions. Third, morphologically variant forms are regularized and similar functions are expressed by the same morphemes. Fourth, a number of the semantic and syntactic properties of both content and function morphemes and the (internal) structure of a number of creole structures are closely modeled on L1 patterns. All these features are not typical of regional varieties of English. On the contrary, they suggest quite strongly that there exist significant linguistic differences between the plantation creole and L1 and elaborate L2 varieties of English. They cannot be explained on the basis of gradual language-internal change but emerged due to both contact-induced and deliberated change.

Regarding the third claim, the present study suggested that creole formation is similar to cases of L2 acquisition. It involves the same processes and mechanisms of change typically applied in the early stages of L2 learning (e.g. structural reduction and reinterpretation due to L1 patterns). The outcome of the formation of the plantation creole, however, differed from most outcomes of L2 acquisition in that the structures resulting from the application of the main learning strategies were retained. They became part of the variety while in other cases of L2 learning a good number of them would be replaced by English structures as the learners' access to and competence of English increased. Creoles therefore generally show much less similarity to their European input than other kinds of L2 varieties. The latter generally show significant similarities on all or most levels of grammar to their European input while (radical) creoles generally do not.

The present study also cannot support the assumptions of the relexification theory of creole formation as laid out in Lefebvre & Lumsden (1994) and Lefebvre (1998). One of the

main claims of the relexification theory is that the agents of creole formation copied their L1 structures and replaced the L1 lexical elements with elements derived from the European input. While the present study also suggested that the creators identified and associated structures and elements in their L1s with structures from the European input, it argued in favor of a different directionality in this process. It suggests that the European source structures served as the frame onto which the L1 patterns or structures were superimposed rather than vise versa. This also accounts for the fact that only those patterns and properties from the L1s were included into the emerging creole that showed a certain amount of similarity in function and form to an available European source structure.

The advocates of the relexification theory further argue that the agents of creole formation did not identify all the function morphemes in the European input and thus assigned and subsequently reanalyzed European content morphemes to function as creole function morphemes. While the present study also revealed that the lexical sources for several of the function words in the plantation creole are content words in the European language, it argued that their (re)interpretation as creole function morphemes took place automatically and not over time. First, it often (e.g. the focus marker/copula (*n*)*a*, serial verbs etc.) already performed one or several of these functions in the non-native European source structure. Second, the functional properties of the L1 element that was perceived to correspond to the erstwhile European content word in the European source construction were directly projected onto the European content word as the result of the identification and association between the encountered European source structure and the L1 structure.

Lefebvre (1998) further argues that the creole mainly retains the phonemic or etymological shape of the lexical items and the linear ordering from their European source elements and structures. The present study, however, suggests that the European input played a greater role in the emergence of the plantation creole. The European input functioned as the

main frame or basic building block of the plantation creole to which L1 patterns were applied. Several of the semantic and syntactic properties of both creole content and function morphemes were taken over from the European input and others emerged due to influence from both L1 and European sources.

Lefebvre (1998) also maintains that the differences between the varieties of the creole were reduced due to processes of leveling only subsequent to the creole's emergence. This study, however, suggests that the different varieties of the early plantation creole also mutually influenced each other during the formation process. Inter-variety differences were, however, not only reduced as the result of leveling or negotiation between speakers of (slightly) different varieties but also due to changes in the ethnolinguistic composition of the population.

The findings from this study strongly support theories of creole formation that argue that creole formation closely resembles cases of L2 acquisition (cf. Keesing 1988, Mufwene 1990, Siegel 1999, Winford 2002). Like the present study, these scholars maintain that structures from L2, pidgin and creole varieties of the European language functioned as the main frame or building units for radical creoles. The agents of creole formation acquired them because they functioned as the main common ground between them. When compared to L1 models, these input structures were structurally relatively reduced because they had undergone both deliberate and contact-induced change. In order to interpret the European source structures, the agents of creole formation applied structural patterns from their L1s to them and thereby reinterpreted their internal structure and some of the semantic and syntactic properties of the morphemes that made up these structures.

Unlike most other L2 varieties, the plantation creole is not genetically related to its European input though. As a result of the great amount of structural changes that affected the already relatively heterogeneous English-based input, there are not significant linguistic

similarities between the plantation creole and varieties of English on all levels of grammar. This does not, however, mean that the grammar of the plantation creole represents an interlingual compromise between structures from the contributing languages (cf. Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Thomason 2001). The present study (and Migge 1998a&b, 2000, 2002, in-press) showed that the main bulk of the plantation creole was modeled on L1 or English models. The different grammatical properties can be traced relatively clearly to the different inputs.

3. The Creole Prototype

In recent years, scholars such as Mufwene (1997, 1996) and Corne (1995) have argued that creoles do not constitute a linguistic or typological class of languages. They maintain that on linguistic grounds they are not distinguishable from other natural languages, i.e. they involve the same kinds of linguistic properties, and that creoleness is not measurable. In reaction to these claims, McWhorter (1998) maintains that creoles can be set apart from other natural languages based on both linguistic and sociohistorical criteria. He claims that sociohistorically, creoles are different from other natural languages including contact varieties in that they are "natively spoken languages that were created via rapid adoption as a lingua franca by slave populations five hundred years ago or less" (McWhorter 1998:791).

> Linguistically, he argues, "there are three structural traits which, WHEN THEY CLUSTER, distinguish the creole language." (ibid 792). The emergence of these traits is a direct consequence of the circumstances that led to the emergence of creoles. They allegedly "combine low perceptual saliency with low import to basic communication" (ibid 792) and generally "only develop internally as the result of gradual development over long

periods of time" (ibid 792). He proposes the following structural traits that synchronically set creole languages apart from other natural languages (ibid 792-799):

1. Creoles make very little or no use of obligatory inflectional morphology. In addition, the attested morphemes are generally monomorphemic.
2. Creoles do generally not have tone and if it exists, it carries a low functional load. They make little use of tone to "(a) lexically contrast phonetically identical monosyllables" (ibid 793) or to "(b) encode syntactic distinctions" (ibid 793).
3. Creoles do not have rich paradigms of inflectional affixes and the morphology that exists is semantically quite transparent.

The findings from the sociohistorical and linguistic investigation of the emergence of the predecessor(s) of the modern creoles of Suriname confirm McWhorter's general assumption that radical creoles emerged (i) as the result of L2 learning, i.e. the process of interference through shift and (ii) that they initially emerged in order to function as means of interethnic communication, i.e. lingua franca. For the most part, the creators, however, only had access to and acquired structurally relatively reduced individual structures from a range of mainly non-native varieties of the European lexifier. These structures provided the main lexical building blocks or the basic frame for the formation of the creole. This suggests two things. First, the European input structures most likely contained few of the properties related to the proposed three basic traits. Second, the creators did not adopt the European lexifier and essentially eliminated its frills. They adopted a selection of the material from the lexifier they were presented with, i.e. the structures they were able to make sense of, and employed it as ONE of their resources for forging a viable means of communication.

The present study also confirms McWhorter's claim that radical creoles have little bound morphology. The EMC has two main bound morphemes, *–man* and *–pe*. *–man* is used to derive agentive nouns, nomina possessiva and "inhabitant of/member of" nouns from nouns

respectively. *–pe* derives location-denoting nouns from verbs. The comparative analysis in Chapter 5, however, clearly showed that these suffixes and the internal structure of the resulting nouns did not emerged due to language-internal change. It resulted from the structural reinterpretation of English compounds due to L1 patterns. This suggests that bound morphology may emerge via routes other than language-internal change.

The comparative analysis further revealed that the main L1 input to the formation of the plantation creole, Gbe, itself only has very little bound morphology. The varieties of Gbe have between 5-7 derivational morphemes. In some of the varieties (e.g. Maxi) three are used to realize the meanings covered by *–man* in the EMC; in other varieties (e.g. Gen) this area is covered by mainly one suffix. Only the diminutive suffix *–vi*, the one to derive ordinal numbers, *–gOn*, and *–(ÿ)i/e* which is used to differentiate attributive adjectives from stative ones (cf. Migge in press) are not found in the EMC.[37] This then suggests that the paucity of bound morphology in the plantation creole has three possible sources. First, the European input varieties did not have any or only few bound morphemes. Second, the agents of creole formation did not identify the bound morphemes in the European input varieties. Third, the L1 input also only had few bound morphemes. Thus, at least in the case of the predecessor(s) of the modern creoles of Suriname, the lack of a broad range of obligatory bound morphemes cannot be said to be entirely due to processes of structural reduction. It seems to be due to multiple reasons.[38]

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[37]Note that both languages also make use of reduplication to derive new words.

[38]Note also that a similar argument could be made in the case of grammatical tone. Gbe does not really have much in terms of grammatical tone. Based on the varieties investigated, it seems that only Xwela marks habitual aspect with a high tone on the verb. As in the case of the EMC and Saamaka, tone (or accent in the case of the creoles of Suriname) is primarily

Overall, the findings from this study suggest that McWhorter's creole prototype summarizes some possibly salient features of radical creoles. They, however, call into question the assumption, that these features are solely due to the rapid and incomplete acquisition of a contact vernacular. This study suggests that they result from multiple causation. Strategies of incomplete shift were only one of the possible reasons for their emergence.

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used to distinguish phonologically homophonous elements (Capo, personal communication March 2002).

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[1]Portuguese (and Dutch) also functioned as an input to the plantation creole (see Chapter 3). The present chapter, however, restricts its attention to the English input for two reasons: First, it was clearly the more important input. Second, given the nature of the contact setting, it can be safely assumed that the nature of the Portuguese (and Dutch) input resembled the English input since it was subject to the same mechanisms of reduction and simplification.

[2]There are documents written in Sranan Tongo that date from that period but they are either too short (cf. Herlein 1718, in Arends & Perl (1995)) or they are not yet easily available (Court Records 1707, see van den Berg 2000). It is hoped that further archival research will discover more such documents and will also make them more easily available to a wider audience.

[3]Unless otherwise indicated, all examples were collected by the author. Elicited examples carry the abbreviation EMC (or Gbe in the case of the Gbe varieties) and the abbreviation ND (Ndjuka) or PM (Pamaka) to indicate the variety. Examples that were selected from natural recordings also include the number of the recording (e.g. EMC, PM 2).

[4]Note that in the EMC such constructions are expressed with *moo* following the verb (i). *Moo* only precedes the verb if the standard of comparison is omitted (ii).

(i) *A koni moo mi*. (EMC)
he intelligent more me
'He is more intelligent than me.'

(ii) *A moo koni*. (EMC)
He more intelligent
'He is more intelligent.'

[5]I omitted tone markings in the examples since they were not consistently marked in the data. Gbe has mainly lexical tone. The only case of grammatical tone I am familiar with is the marking of habitual aspect in Xwela.

[6]In the creoles of Suriname word-final nasals always have a velar place of articulation.

[7]For more information on this morphological pattern, see Chapter 5.

[8]They are functionally not very salient because the information they express can also be easily inferred from the context.

[9]Note that the maroon creoles, unlike Sranan Tongo, also use a second negation marker *á*(*n*).

In the EMC, *ná* is used preceding vowel initial verbs (e.g. *Mi ná abi moni*. 'I don't have money.') and in contexts of emphasis (mi ná wani a sani. 'I DON'T want the thing.') while *á*(*n*) is used preceding consonant initial verbs (e.g. *U á*(*n*) *sabi a toli*. 'We don't know about this matter.'). At this point it is not quite clear what the origin of *á*(*n*) is. Note also that *ná* in the EMC alternates with *no*. In some cases (among young people) this may be due to contact with Sranan Tongo. In other cases (among old people/in formal contexts) it may be a relic from the earlier stage.