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Multilingual ecologies in the Guianas: Overview, typology, prospects

1 Overview and original research questions

This book sketches the multilingual ecologies of the different language groups that have interacted in Suriname and across the Guianas. These groups have maintained a part of the boundaries demarcating their separate identities, and at the same time they show a tendency to cross bridges, metaphorically speaking, in their multilingual practices. Our initial question was which contact-induced changes occurred in the languages of Suriname and how these changes can be explained.

Bettina Migge's contribution has stressed the role of speakers as agents in engaging in new multilingual practices and thus creating new language forms. It is central to the argument in this book that the different groups, as agents in the process of creating multilingual speech forms and undergoing contact-induced language change, start out from radically different positions. Over time, they have occupied very different niches in the chain of multilingual ecologies that we find in Suriname and in the Guianas. Broadly speaking, four groups can be distinguished (in the order of their presence in the territory).

- The Amerindian groups were engaged in competition for different resources at the time of the invasion of the European colonizers, particularly the Arawakan and Cariban groups. Their languages were maintained but underwent influences from their neighbors and from the languages of the newcomers.
- The European colonizers were focused on extracting wealth from the colony, less on permanent settlement, although many did settle eventually and became an integral part of Surinamese society. One of their languages, Dutch, was maintained and developed into a national language with local features.
- The Africans arrived enslaved, in chains. They either created new cultures and languages on the coastal plantations, or they escaped into the interior as Maroons, again taking on new identities and engaging in processes of diversification, language creation, and contact.
- The Asians, who arrived in the nineteenth century as contract laborers on the plantations, slowly adapted to their new environment and explored means of survival far beyond their original status as rural workers. Their languages were maintained as diaspora varieties.

In our book we have dealt with all four groups, in greater or lesser detail.

Three papers focus on the Amerindian groups. The Arawakan Lokono, described by Rybka, have adapted to various other groups over time, and their language shows evidence of Spanish, Sranan, and Dutch influence. A much more isolated group, the Wayana, as shown by Carlin, has undergone different types of influence in various stages and to various degrees, due to contact with the official language of the country, Dutch. Finally, the Caribs have adapted to other groups by creating either pidgin-like forms of their own language or mixing their language with a maroon language, Ndyuka, as shown by Meira and Muysken.

In this book, the European language focused upon is Surinamese Dutch, even if other originally European languages such as Portuguese, Spanish, and English are also spoken. Surinamese Dutch is not a distinct homogeneous variety, but rather a label covering a continuum of speech forms ranging from something approaching European Dutch spoken with a Caribbean accent to varieties which incorporate structures and words from other languages, such as Sranan.

The languages spoken by Afro-Surinamese play a central role in our analysis. We have focused here on developments within Sranantongo (Yakpo, this volume) and Ndyuka (Borges, this volume), leaving aside Saramaccan and its contact relations for later research. We have not analyzed the genesis of the creole languages here, a topic that has received much attention also within our own research group (Muysken and Smith 2014).

Three chapters focus on the Asian groups. Yakpo shows how Sarnami, the Surinamese variety of the languages of contract laborers who came from northern India, has undergone multiple changes in contact settings, including some typological changes. Likewise, Villerius reports on code-switching between Surinamese Javanese and Sranantongo and Dutch, as well as on some changes involving grammar. Rojas Berscia with Jia Ann Shi analyze a small corpus of Surinamese Hakka data in an exploratory chapter, illustrating the older forms of Chinese languages in Suriname. Currently, other Chinese varieties are gaining ground with new migrations.

Before trying to summarize the results of language contact in section 2, we will discuss a few more general issues, beginning with the time dimension.

1.1 The time dimension

Linda Newson (1976: 6), in a pioneering study of culture change on Trinidad, stresses the importance of time, and notes: 'By regarding culture contact as a process and taking into account the historical development of cultures, it should be possible to identify stages in the acculturation process.'

It is crucial to take the time dimension more seriously than is often the case in language contact studies. Time plays at least two roles in language contact: first of all, a longer time depth leads to an increased number of opportunities for a particular type of transfer to become entrenched through frequent use in bilingual settings. Second, a longer time depth may lead to changes in the historical circumstances and in the relation between languages. Sranan and Dutch were present longer than other non-indigenous languages, and this has led to a "founder effect" (Mufwene 1996), in which successive waves of late-comers have acquired these two languages already present at arrival. On the linguistic plane, this has manifested itself in a rather unidirectional influence of Sranan and Dutch on the other languages in Suriname, and the absence of evidence so far of equally systematic and far-reaching influence in the other direction.

The focus in Newson's research is on acculturation, and this perspective is taken up in Carlin, this volume, with reference to Casagrande's work (1954a, b, 1955). In our book a broader perspective than simply acculturation is adopted, since the latter is often framed as unilateral: a changing subordinate culture and an unchanging dominant culture. In the perspective taken here, all cultures and languages in Suriname have experienced change as the result of contact. Since the perspective in this book is that of five hundred years, we have a chance to consider the time perspective seriously.

In the acculturation paradigm used in Newson (1976) and in Casagrande (1954a, b, 1955) time is operationalized in terms of a one-dimensional sequence of stages, while in the case of Suriname, time has led to shifting power and dominance configurations.

1.2 Social relations and urbanization

Crucial to the situation in Suriname is that there is no single dominant source language to which subordinate languages adapt to a greater or lesser degree. This is what we find in many situations all over the world. Rather, there is a complex interaction between the two major supra-ethnic languages or lingua francas, Dutch and Sranantongo, and a lingua franca in the southern interior, Trio, which is dominant over the Arawakan languages used as a language of interaction with the Maroons. The position of the two major supra-ethnic languages differs in two crucial ways.

First, Dutch as a lingua franca was confined to the town of Paramaribo in the early part of the twentieth century, with the countryside being predominantly

Sranantongo speaking. It is only after 1950 that Dutch became more widely spoken. Thus we can assume that in several of the languages studied here, Sranan influence antedates Dutch influence. Furthermore, Dutch has gradually shifted from being only a prestige language that contributed lexicon to other languages, to an adstrate language which through extensive use in bilingual contexts contributed structural features as well, particularly to Sranantongo.

Second, and perhaps even more importantly, the role of the two languages was rather different. Both serve as lingua francas, but Dutch has much more prestige than Sranantongo. Sranantongo was the dominant second language of the other groups, and functioned as an adstrate in the early period, contributing structural features.

The position of Trio as a contact language in the interior, discussed in Meira and Muysken (this volume) is once again very different, but this requires much more research.

The increasing role of Dutch as a source for contact-induced change can be linked to urbanization in Suriname. Paramaribo's population went from 137,000 in 1960 to 365,000 in 2016. The urbanized population of the whole country went from 45% in 1971 to 65% in 1980, and is projected to go up to 72% in 2046 (Trading economics 2016; Worldometers 2016). With two thirds of Suriname's population living in the capital, Dutch is a prominent language now for a great many people there, since Dutch was always centered on the capital in Suriname.

1.3 Lexical versus structural influence and Johanson's code-copying model

In terms of linguistic outcomes, researchers often refer to the major matter-pattern or lexical/structural distinction (this has been labeled the MAT/PAT distinction by Matras and Sakel). This matter-pattern distinction is useful as a starting point but can be refined using Johanson's (1992) typology of code-copying. Johanson distinguishes four dimensions:

- Form copying (corresponding to MAT)
- Meaning copying (partly corresponding to PAT)
- Combinatorial copying (partly corresponding to PAT), in which the combinatory possibilities of elements are copied
- Frequential copying (copying frequency distributions of a particular form, meaning or pattern, corresponding to PAT

1.4 Hierarchies

There is a long tradition in linguistics of trying to establish hierarchies to help organize the material and add some predictive power to the proposed analysis. Both in the lexical and in the structural domains researchers have tried to establish hierarchies at different levels of abstraction and scale. These hierarchies can take various forms. A simple one is:

Structural < Lexical

Generally, when we have structural influence, there is also lexical influence. This holds for most of the languages surveyed here, but least for Surinamese Dutch, which has adopted some but not very many words from other Surinamese languages but does show structural influence from Sranantongo. This is a consequence of social dominance. Socially dominant languages do not adopt many words from less dominant languages.

As noted in Borges et al. (this volume), in the lexical domain we have hierarchies involving different categories, notably one involving minimally nouns and verbs (Moravcsik 1978):

Verb < Noun

Typically, if a language has borrowed verbs, it also has borrowed nouns. This hierarchy holds for all the languages surveyed here, as far as can be established.

More complex hierarchies involve different structural categories. Such hierarchies typically have less empirical support and less consensus in the literature. We return to these below in a next section, where we look at our results in more detail.

2 Results

Before turning to specific grammatical domains, we want to present some general results that hold for Suriname as a whole.

2.1 Macro-linguistic outcomes

A first perspective on outcomes of language contact is the general typology of Thomason and Kaufmann (1988). Even though several of the different minority

languages are under threat in Suriname and are being replaced by the combination Dutch/Sranan, a striking feature of the sociolinguistic situation is the high level of *maintenance* of these languages in Suriname compared to neighboring countries (see the historical overview in Borges, this volume). In Guyana, the Indian koiné has all but disappeared, and in addition to the continuum between English and Guyanese English creole only a few Amerindian languages and some Hakka are still spoken. In French Guiana the diversity is slightly larger, including French and French Guianese Creole, a number of Amerindian and Maroon languages, and the Asian language Hmong Njua.

Of course there have also been cases of *shift*, which is accelerating, and obviously numerous instances of *language creation*. On the level of micro-linguistic outcomes, we can see code-switching, new language ideologies, borrowing of lexemes and phonemes, borrowing of lexical and grammatical structures, and contact-induced innovation/ grammaticalization. Borrowing of structural patterns will be the subject of a separate section. A question yet remaining to be determined for many of the contact phenomena described in this volume is whether they are symptoms of language shift rather than occurring in a context of language maintenance.

In the case of Surinamese Javanese (Villerius), Lokono (Rybka) and Hakka (Luis Miguel Rojas-Berscia with Jia Shi), the authors indicate that there is an ongoing shift. In this case, some of the contact-induced changes might be analyzed as instances of attrition (i.e. shrinkage of grammatical/lexical resources). In the case of Sarnami, the situation is yet unclear, but the data seems to suggest little in the way of structural attrition. Instead, we may be witnessing shrinkage of domains of use, with Sarnami being more and more relegated to the informal and familiar domain with younger speakers. This may also lead to attrition of lexical resources by individual speakers.

Even in the case of the Sranan the issue of shift versus maintenance is not clear. Yakpo mentions the general feeling in parts of the older, Afro-Surinamese population that there is a decrease in competence in *dipi Sranan* 'elaborate Sranan' of the olden days. Instead a register of Sranan (which probably always existed alongside other registers of Sranan) seems to be generalizing as the default, characterized by extensive codeswitching and code mixing with Dutch, and heavy form, meaning, combinatorial and frequential copying from Dutch. Hence although there is good reason to assume that Sranan is not threatened by shift per se, the kind of Sranan that will be spoken in decades to come might be even more mixed, and more Dutch-like than it already is. The mid- to long-term macro-linguistic outcome of contact in Suriname might therefore be one of a considerable reduction of linguistic diversity, as in other parts of the world, both intra-linguistic diversity by way of typological alignment of individual languages with Dutch (and to a lesser degree with Sranan) and inter-linguistic diversity

through language shift and death. Language ideologies play an important part in consolidating and perpetuating the dominance of Dutch in Suriname as well as in language choice and the domain specialization typical of Suriname.

Generally, it seems then that multilingual competence and the widespread domain-specific language choice and codeswitching typical for most, if not all linguistic groups and individuals in Suriname is having a decisive impact on the mid- and long-term macro-linguistic outcomes. In the middle ground of the continuum between borrowing and codeswitching a set of loose pragmatic conventions has emerged about the appropriate use of a similar set of Dutch and/or Sranan words, collocations and phrases in plurilingual discourse in the languages looked at more closely in this respect, i.e. Sranan, Sarnami and Surinamese Javanese (see Yakpo 2015). It seems therefore that a common communicative space is emerging in which similar strategies and criteria of codeswitching and language choice hold for the different languages involved.

2.1.1 Patterns of multilingualism

A complex mix of typological, socio-cultural and identitarian factors, as well as patterns of multilingualism appears to be responsible for the differences in influence that Sranan and Dutch have had, and still have on other languages of Suriname. Rybka reports, for example, that some Amerindian villages are shifting towards Sranan as a primary language, while others are shifting towards Dutch. Further, we may hypothesize that there has been a stronger influence of Sranantongo on Javanese and the Maroon languages, but possibly less on Sarnami. This may also have to do with the geographical distribution of these languages in the country, but issues of social identity and language use patterns may also have played a role. Possibly also the typology of Sarnami was a factor here. Javanese, for example, is more isolating in nature than Sarnami. The influence of Sranan serial verb constructions on clause linkage patterns in Javanese core syntax is therefore more seamlessly and directly possible than in Sarnami, where we do not find similar structures.

Differing attitudes towards multilingualism in various social groups and the relative status and prestige of Surinamese languages vis-à-vis each other also seem to have an impact on the likelihood of particular patterns of multilingualism. This can affect the possibilities for contact-induced change in particular languages quite directly. More specifically this means that for example speakers for whom the language with the highest prestige, namely Dutch, is the primary or only language of socialization, there will be a significant tendency towards monolingualism in Dutch (even if there will often be at least a minimal degree of exposure and passive knowledge of Sranan). A similar degree of monolingualism is not normally

possible for primary speakers of Sranan due to the privileged role of Dutch (cf. 2.1.1 and 2.1.2). With such speakers, traditionally the Afro-Surinamese population of the coast, the tendency will be towards bilingualism in Dutch and Sranan.

Members of other ethno-linguistic groups are potentially characterized by trilingual (or more) patterns of multilingualism, even if language shift may in many individual cases lead to bi- or even monolingualism. Hence speakers with an Indo-Surinamese connection will typically have a pattern of trilingualism involving Sarnami, Dutch and Sranan and Javanese Surinamese will have the same pattern with Javanese. Only in rare and individual cases do we find other patterns. Everybody in Suriname can, for example, tell a story about "unexpected" cases of language competence, i.e. the Afro-Surinamese person who speaks fluent Sarnami, or the Indo-Surinamese person with a mastery of Javanese, or the Chinese-Surinamese in fluent command of Saramaccan. Scenarios in which the range of language competence increases by primary speakers of smaller, less prestigious or regionally confined languages are of course known from other scenarios with a similar hierarchically layered multilingualism, e.g. in many African nations.

This unbalanced distribution of multilingual practices along ethnolinguistic lines is not absolute of course. In the capital of Paramaribo and its peri-urban zone, where the majority of Surinamese reside and also Dutch has the strongest presence, we witness a tendency towards Dutch-Sranan bilingualism across ethnolinguistic groups. In upper and middle class groups, again irrespective of ethnolinguistic background, we recognize a tendency towards the dominance of Dutch, with Sranan (or better, the mixed Sranan-Dutch code) restricted to informal interaction outside of the family and outside of institutional settings. Many of our interview partners of higher socio-economic standing profess to a limited competence in Sranan as opposed to that in Dutch. We thus find a scenario in Suriname with a general lack of reciprocity and accommodation by the speakers of the two supralects Dutch and Sranan. The situation in Suriname is therefore very different from the one described as "egalitarian multilingualism" for northern Vanuatu by François (2012).

2.1.2 Language choice and code-switching

In all communities, there is domain specialization on a formality/familiarity cline, with the ethnic community language being used in familiar and home contexts and Dutch in more formal contexts.

There also is unmarked code-switching (Myers-Scotton 1993a). However, pragmatic rules of conversational engagement suggest beginning with Dutch, and once intimacy is established, a switch to Sranan/Dutch multilingual discourse. A distinction could be made between 1st and 2nd order code-switching

(i.e. code-switching with Sranan or Dutch (1st order) and code-switching involving the mixed Sranan-Dutch code (2nd order).

Much work remains to be done on the dynamics of multilingual speech in Suriname. For Eastern Maroon Creole the situation has been described in detail by Migge and Léglise (2013) in terms of a cline of linguistic heterogeneity (and hence potential presence and absence of contact phenomena) dependent on interactional settings and social events. These can be arranged on a continuum ranging from those involving little linguistic heterogeneity (in terms of use of different languages or linguistic practices) such as in the case of formal settings in the village context to situations and events that are rife with linguistic heterogeneity such as interactions beyond the confines of the community in the urban setting. There are three broad categories of social events and situations: (a) status-sensitive or formal interactions; (b) subsistence work-related and leisure time events; (c) interactions beyond the local community. Migge's typology could possibly be extended and adapted to other language pairs in Suriname.

2.1.3 Language ideologies

Sociolinguistically, the Surinamese language contact situation is characterized by the stigmatization, characteristic of many post-colonial societies, of all Surinamese languages except for (Surinamese) Dutch, and negative language attitudes towards these varieties. Even though the Netherlands as the former colonizer is regarded with some distance, the Dutch language continues to have much prestige, leading to the domain specialization mentioned above. These negative attitudes are generated by a complex of factors. The most important socio-psychological aspect is probably the mere reality of dominance of Dutch in the public and official sphere, and in socializing institutions like school, but also via family language policies. Our sociolinguistic interviews indicate that even in working class families, Dutch has penetrated the family sphere. Sranan is often avoided in status-sensitive interactions (e.g. between socially disparate interactants, like parent and child, or boss and employee, and of course, teacher and student). Sranan also tends to be avoided in the initial stages of face threatening interactions, with Dutch being preferred as a means of establishing contact in situations such as flirtation, asking for directions, etc.

Although the worst excesses of Dutch imposition in schools through punitive measures, as in many other colonial societies, are largely a thing of the past, there is still a clear association in the discourses we recorded, of Dutch-based speech with attributes like *beschaafd* 'civilized' and *beleefd* 'polite'. Sranan-based discourse, on the other hand, tends to be construed as *grof* 'raw' and *onbeschaafd* 'crude'. Other Surinamese languages suffer from equally negative categorizations. For example, many explain their avoidance of using Surinamese Javanese outside of the family sphere by the anxiety of being seen as *boiti*, a Sranan term for 'rural, parochial'.

The other side of the coin of the overt prestige held by Dutch and the attribution of sophistication to Dutch is that Sranan retains covert prestige as a language of youth counterculture, street credibility, masculinity, local and regional rootedness, cool and swagger, urbanity, the Black experience, resistance against institutional control, and the experience that characterizes the daily struggle for survival of the economically marginalized majority in a precarious postcolonial economy like Suriname's. The covert prestige and subversive appeal of Sranan is also exploited by members of the political class, including the Surinamese President Bouterse himself, in order to signal closeness to, and concern for ordinary people. It is also mirrored in the dominance of Sranan in Surinamese popular music and in the private media (in spite of an important and increasing section of Dutch-medium Surinamese pop). The appropriation and instrumentalization of Sranan by parts of the political elite in such ways has also led to a marked rise in the last decade or so, of the presence of Sranan in the public sphere, often in competition with Dutch. A similar development has taken place to a lesser degree with other larger Surinamese languages, and Sarnami and Surinamese Javanese in particular, both of which are also regularly heard on the radio.

The emergence of Sranan in the sound scape of Suriname has not, however, led to any advances in the improvement of the legal status of Sranan or other Surinamese languages. The relative "success" of Sranan in asserting itself in particular domains does not seem to have fundamentally altered reigning language ideologies and valuations inherited from the Dutch colonial period, and has therefore not undermined the cultural capital of Dutch.

2.1.4 Lexical borrowing

A number of chapters in this book report on lexical borrowing phenomena. A summary of our findings is given in Tab. 1. For better visibility language names are provided in small capital letters in this and the following tables.

Clearly both Sranan and Dutch are a dominant source of lexical material, but initially with different roles for the two main languages. Sranantongo and Dutch are adstrate, superstrate languages/supralects and substrate languages at the same time, simultaneously evidencing source- and recipient language agentivity.

It should also be borne in mind that the noun-verb asymmetry revealed in earlier studies is widely supported by the data from lexical borrowing in the Surinamese languages. In Lokono, verbs can only be borrowed if they are verbalized again, and in Trio and Wayana, they are treated as nouns from the perspective of recipient language morphology.

Tab. 1: Overview contact results for the lexicon.

Phenomenon	Recipient	Description	Source
Simplification, leveling	Hakka	Reduction of classifier inventory; generic classifier in 70% of cases	
Innovation	Hakka	Innovative lexicon	
Innovation	Amerindian languages of the interior	New coinage, extension of old meanings	
Retention	Hakka	Retention of archaic lexicon in immigrant koinés	
Temporally staggered borrowing	Sarnami, Javanese, Hakka	Borrowing of older layer of Sranan from indenture period and 1st half of 20th century, borrowing of newer layer from Dutch	Sranan, Dutch
Borrowing	Amerindian languages of the interior	Amerindian languages of the southern Guianas do not borrow many lexemes, but pre-/early colonial diffusion of indigenous and Spanish fauna, flora, new technology items	Tupian or Arawakan (origin often unclear) for early phase, Sranan & Dutch for later and present
Borrowing	Trio, Wayana	Progressions (numerals, time, cardinal directions), new technologies and concepts. Dominance of Sranan. Sranan & Dutch verbs are borrowed as nouns	In later period Sranan, Dutch, Ndyuka contact outcomes not enough studied
Borrowing	Lokono	Borrowings complex and difficult to periodize. Progressions (numerals, days), early Sranan loans for trade goods & cultural items; creative coinage; morphological integration of Dutch/Sranan verbs	Spanish, Dutch, Sranan
Borrowing	Dutch	fauna, flora, culturally salient items	Sranan, Lokono
Borrowing	Sranan	Through code-switching, virtually whole Dutch lexicon can be used in Sranan	Dutch

2.2 Borrowing of structural patterns in several parts of the language system

We now will overview the contact results in different parts of the language system, starting with pragmatics and discourse, and then turning to syntax, lexical semantics, phonology and morphology.

An objective of the Traces of Contact project was to investigate to what extent and in which way the grammatical systems of the various languages spoken in Suriname and parts of the Guianas have converged, and in which way the changes these languages have undergone result from language contact. Again, as with the lexicon, we can observe a disproportional importance of the two supralects Dutch and Sranan as donor languages.

Tab. 2: Overview contact results for pragmatics and discourse.

Phenomenon	Recipient	Description	Source
Overt clause linkage	Hakka	More use of conjunction *en* 'and' instead of asyndetic coordination	Dutch
	Lokono	Lokono shows no general class of sentence connectors; clause relations marked by nominalizers, enclitics, postpositions. Contact: general tendency to mark clausal relations overtly. Borrowing of *taki / dati* quotative and its functions, replacement of complementation by nominalization and paratactic constructions, carry-over of distributional rules of *taki* into Lokono; also *wanti, efu, ma*.	Sranan
Address	Lokono	Greeting formula	Dutch, Sranan
Focus	Dutch	Focus construction with *is*, use of *no* as final tag	Sranan

2.2.1 Pragmatics and discourse

Several of the studies assembled in this volume report on pragmatics and discourse. As we see in many other communities, there is borrowing of coordinating conjunctions from the dominant language, Dutch. There are also cases of transfer of pragmatic patterns in cases of shift towards Dutch.

Probably much more could be found in the area of discourse and pragmatics once other conversational data in the different Surinamese languages are analyzed. Tab. 2 above summarizes some contact outcomes in the domains of pragmatics and discourse.

2.2.2 Syntax

Syntax has been the focus of a number of the studies reported on here in Tab. 3, and we see a number of interesting phenomena, some of them involving shifts in frequency distributions (Johanson 1992) rather than outright innovations.

In fact, there may be opposing directions in the source for a particular change: Sranantongo influence on Javanese may lead to increased reliance on serial verb constructions in Surinamese Javanese. In contrast, Dutch influence on Sranantongo may lead to decreased use of serial verbs in this language.

Similarly, Sranan influence on Javanese may lead to increased use of Double Object constructions in Surinamese Javanese (Villerius et al. in prep.). In contrast, Dutch influence on Sranantongo may have led to decreased use of Double Object Constructions in Sranantongo and a rise in the frequency of Prepositional Object Constructions (Yakpo, this volume).

Tab. 3: Overview contact results for syntax.

Phenomenon	Recipient	Description	Source
Head-final to head-initial order	Sarnami	Higher frequencies of SVO, NRel, AuxV than in Indian languages	Sranan, Dutch
	Javanese	Rigid SVO in non-agentive DI clauses	Sranan, Dutch
	Hakka	VAdv order in Hakka instead of AdvV	Sranan
	Dutch	SVO in subordinate clauses and after clause-initial adverb in main clauses	Sranan
Overt copula	Hakka	Overt use of copula *hai* in predicative contexts (e.g. Stative verbs/adjectives/adj)	Sranan, Dutch
	Sranan	Postpositional locative nouns replaced by prepositonal locative nouns and prepositions	Dutch
De-serialization	Sranan	*Gi* 'give' reanalyzed as a preposition in line with Dutch *aan*, hence SVCS become POCs	Dutch
Increase of Path SVCs	Javanese	Use of motion direction SVCS to replicate path 'away'	Sranan
Reference	Dutch	Overuse of *die* 'that' with definite referents and in anaphoric contexts	Sranan (?)

2.2.3 Lexical semantics

As argued by Borges (2013) in a case study on kinship systems in Suriname, there have been many cases of convergent change in lexical semantics in the Surinamese languages. This area has barely been explored yet, but in this book a number of cases have been documented, with both Sranan and Dutch as the source languages, as shown in Tab. 4.

Tab. 4: Overview contact results for lexical semantics.

Phenomenon	Recipient	Description	Source
Semantic copying/calquing	Sranan	Use of POC *langa-gi* in literal transfer events, copy of 'geven/overhandigen aan' ('hand over')	Dutch
Semantic copying/calquing	Lokono-Dutch		Lokono
Semantic copying/calquing	Dutch	Overgeneralization of *zetten* 'put', preposition usage, untypical use of *gaan* 'go'	Sranan
Semantic copying/calquing	Javanese	Overgeneralization of *arep*, calquing of distinction between immediate and uncertain future	Dutch, Sranan
Semantic copying/calquing	Ndyuka	Subtle changes in the meanings of TMA markers	Sranan

Tab. 5: Overview contact results for phonology.

Phenomenon	Recipient	Description	Source
Simplification	Javanese	Loss of marked segments such as retroflex consonants	Sranan, Dutch, internal change?
Simplification	Sarnami	Loss of retroflex consonants	Sranan
Simplification	Trio-Ndyuka pidgin	Loss of retroflex consonants and flaps of Trio	Ndyuka, pidginization?
Simplification, borrowing	Trio-Ndyuka pidgin	Simple stress, no tone, fewer vowels, reduction of clusters	Ndyuka, pidginization?
Borrowing	Javanese	Velarization of word-final / n /, e.g. / ŋ / in *bolongaŋ* 'hole'	Sranan

2.2.4 Phonology

Although phonology was not a key focus of our research, in a number of the studies assembled here, we do find phonological changes that may be attributed to contact. The trouble with many of the possible changes involved is that they could be attributed either to loss of a marked structure or to direct language contact, as illustrated in Tab. 5. In the case of Trio-Ndyuka Pidgin, the changes have been drastic and could be the result of pidginization.

2.2.5 Morphology and morphosyntax

As in the case of the phonology, it is not always easy to attribute morphological changes to specific source contact languages, particularly in the case of simplification, as illustrated in Tab. 6. We see substantial restructuring in the aspectual and modal systems. Sranan has been the most important source here. The Dutch-derived form *proberi* 'try' has entered Sarnami and Javanese as a lexical loan via Sranan.

While some of the changes in the TMA system involve borrowed words, these are subject to grammaticalization in the recipient language, and become part of new subsystems. Typically, changes in TMA involve modality and to some extent aspect, much more than tense.

Tab. 6: Overview contact results for morphology and morphosyntax.

Phenomenon	Recipient	Description	Source
Simplification	Javanese	Less verbal morphology in younger speakers	Sranan?
Simplification	Dutch	Tendency towards simplification in function words and in inflection	Sranan?
Fossilization, simplification	Trio-Ndyuka Pidgin	Polymorphemic forms become monomorphemic	Ndyuka, Pidginization?
Simplification	Trio-Ndyuka Pidgin	General reduction of form inventory & morphological complexity (clusivity, person indexing, negation morphology), no bound morphology	
Simplification	Trio	Some simplification of complex or semantically opaque structures (loss of ventive in imperatives, reordering of verbal prefixes)	Waiwai
Structural change	Mawayana	Consolidation of structural changes and borrowings; borrowing of 1pl exclusive pronoun; semantic borrowing of nominal tense categories	Waiwai, Trio

2.3 Overview

2.3.1 The broader picture

The story of multilingual developments in Surinam centers on Sranantongo and Dutch as the two supra-lects that have profoundly influenced the other languages. A first general observation is the difficulty of determining whether Sranantongo or Dutch was the source or recipient language at any moment in time.

Until the mid 1950s Sranantongo was the main agent of change in other languages of Suriname. This includes the long-standing influence of Sranan on Dutch and on all other languages. As successive waves of additional social and ethnic groups acquired and appropriated Dutch in the course of the 20th century, they did not seem to have developed stable ethnolectal varieties of Dutch besides an infusion of lexical items and the phonology. Suriname was largely rural at the time, and in the countryside Sranantongo was the main contact language, probably very widely used in day-to-day interactions. Only after WWII does urbanization begin.

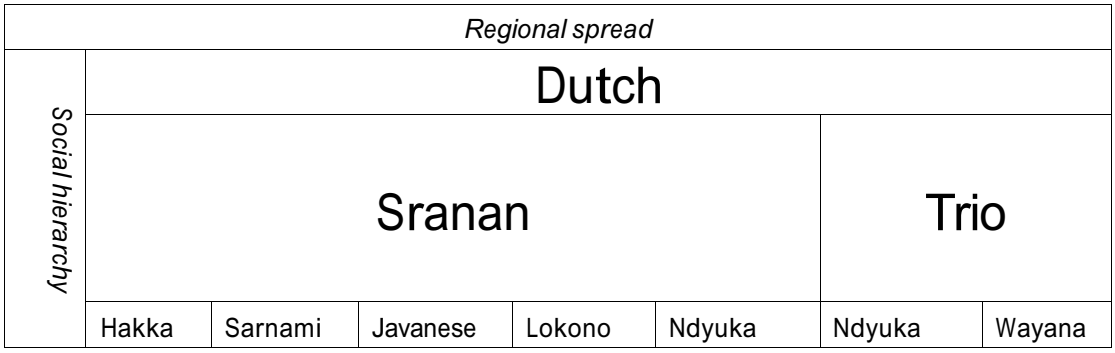

Fig. 1: The language situation in Suriname around 1900. On the vertical axis social hierarchy is marked, and on the horizontal axis geographical spread, very roughly from the coast to the interior.

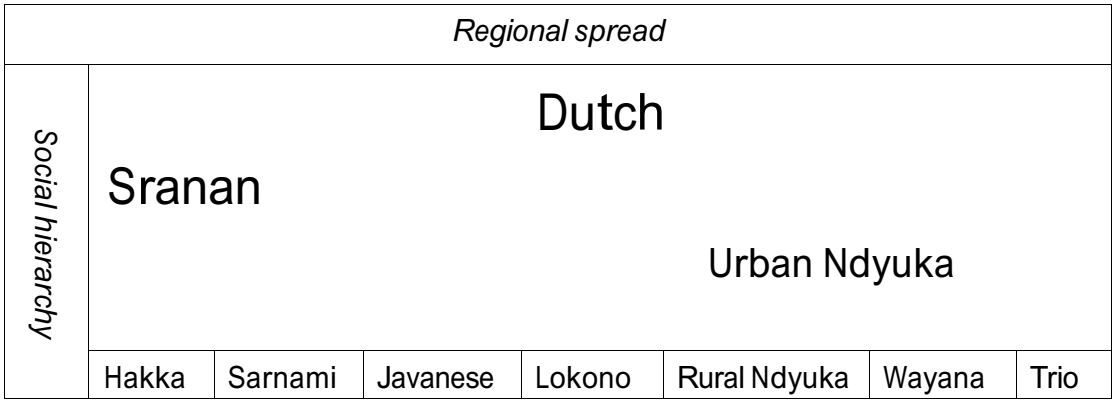

Fig. 2: The language situation in Suriname around 2000. On the vertical axis social hierarchy is marked, and on the horizontal axis geographical spread, very roughly from the coast to the interior.

We may portray the situation around 1900, in a simplified and schematic fashion, as in Fig. 1. Dutch was a language largely confined to the urban elites and the colonial administration, while Sranantongo was the most important language of the coastal region. In the interior, several languages were spoken, but contact varieties of Trio were used in interethnic communication. From 1950 onward we see a growing presence of Dutch, particularly in the urban sector, which grew exponentially particularly after 1970. Therefore we find that Dutch has gained ground in 2000, due to urbanization, while Sranantongo has become a more general language of local prestige next to Dutch. Now Dutch has become the primary source of influence for most of the languages of Suriname, next to Sranan. In the urban environment, we find Urban Ndyuka interacting with mostly Sranan, as noted by Borges (this volume) and Migge (this volume). All other languages are now in direct contact with both Sranan and Dutch. In the urban context there is frequent code-switching and – mixing. This is illustrated

in Fig. 2, where we have located Sranan, Dutch, and urban Ndyuka in the same (urban) space.

Apart from Sranan and Dutch, where the situation is relatively clear, the role of Ndyuka as an important source language in the interior and southern Suriname needs further study.

2.3.2 Factors involved

Socio-economic and cultural factors influencing the rate of contact-induced change include questions such as whether the social structures are more hierarchical or more egalitarian, and which groups have external and internal political and economic control. The density and multiplexity of social networks also play an important role, as does the orientation of the community: mono- or pluri-cultural, mono- or heteroglossic? It is fair to say that Suriname always was a hierarchical society. Boundaries between ethnic groups were taken for granted, and political and economic control were for a long time external, and exercised by a small white minority and enforced through coercive measures.

Demographic and time-depth factors include the speed and size of migratory flows, the relative group size, the duration and intensity of group contact, and of course the resulting extent of multilingualism. A contributing factor here is whether we find extensive endogamy or rather exogamy. As shown by de Hart (2014), there were strong formal and informal constraints on interethnic marriages in the period when Suriname was still a Dutch colony. That has now changed, but earlier practices contribute to the maintenance of ethnic boundaries.

Cognitive and linguistic factors have been extensively discussed in this volume and include bilingual transfer, simplification, lexical or typological distance (congruent lexicalization), and markedness.

3 A broader perspective and prospects for future research

After all the studies that have been reported on in this book and in the literature cited, a number of issues come to the foreground as promising areas for further research.

3.1 Code-copying

In the studies of language contact in this volume, we find all four types of copying defined by Johanson's code-copying model (see section 1.3). Frequential copying

appears to play an important role in many of the studies due to its particular nature. This kind of copying does not require the simultaneous transfer of Sranan or Dutch material and (is therefore often pure PAT) and occurs along existing pathways in the recipient language. Changes can therefore take place in cognitively less salient and more seeping ways. They take place without violating the recipient language's grammatical norms, while at the same time contravening pragmatic norms and statistical tendencies. We see this, for example, in the case of frequential copying with three of the languages in this book: Sarnami is orienting frequencies in basic, relative clause and verb-auxiliary order towards those of Sranan/Dutch. Sranan has copied tendencies of possessor-possessed placement in locative constructions from Dutch as part of more complex changes including material, meaning, and combinatorial copying, and Javanese has aligned the frequency of certain types of serial verb constructions with that of Sranan. Changes in frequency distribution can therefore occur alone or in mutual reinforcement with other types of changes.

The copying of content words from Sranan and Dutch is very frequent in all languages (though we find other source languages in Amerindian contacts in the interior) — disregarding for an instant the notoriously difficult distinction between borrowing and code-switching. At the same time, outright material copying of function words, whether freestanding or simultaneously with combinatorial copying is rarer.

Of course, we find evidence for a large degree of material, semantic and combinatorial copying of function words from contributing languages through the structurally more transformative processes leading to the rise of the Surinamese creole languages, the emergence of Trio-Ndyuka Pidgin, and the Indic koiné Sarnami. The last century or so has however been characterized by relatively stable multilingualism without significant population upheavals. This seems to be reflected in a more gradual rate of change in the recipient languages and may explain the relative modesty of more profound structural borrowing beyond frequential copying.

Material and semantic copying of function words and morphosyntactic structures (from Dutch) is more characteristic of, on the one hand, Sranan, due to the time factor (which has the longest period of coexistence with Dutch). On the other hand, we find a higher degree of material copying (often in combination with semantic and combinatorial copying) in instances where the languages share a higher degree of formal-lexical similarity due to genealogical relatedness, i.e. Sranan and the Maroon creoles. These languages all have far-reaching structural overlaps in word order, morpho-syntactic categories and grammatical elements, even in more tightly organized areas of the grammar. Thus, borrowed items can be grafted onto similar forms, and give rise to multiple variants and hybrid forms.

3.2 Suriname as a linguistic area

Looking at Suriname as a linguistic area offers a fresh perspective. Thomason (2001) defines a linguistic area (Sprachbund) as "a geographical region containing a group of three or more languages that share some structural features as a result of contact rather than as a result of accident or inheritance from a common source". It is clear that Suriname conforms to this definition in that languages from various families have converged due to language contact.

Considering the processes of convergence in Suriname among the languages spoken until today, we can conclude with sufficient certainty that Dutch and Sranan are the pull-factors in the contact scenarios: these two languages are the target of shifting individuals and groups and exert the most pressure on the structures of the other languages of Suriname. The overall influence of Dutch and Sranan as the main agents of change, both on each other and on the other languages of Suriname, has been confirmed by the studies in this book. We have seen converging change towards Sranan and Dutch across all the languages of Suriname.

In a well-studied convergence scenario like the Balkan Sprachbund, we find an eclectic collection of common features uniting genealogically and typologically distinct languages (see Tomic 2006 for a recent overview). The tendency towards analytic structures (e.g. analytic tenses, fewer case distinctions and syncretisms) seems to be an overall trend in the Balkan Sprachbund, attributed to contact and L2 learning by some (e.g. Wahlström 2015). Beyond that, the Balkan Sprachbund features several hundred common loanwords and common calques.

The convergence trends that we can identify for Suriname have similar tendencies. As in the Balkans, we find a "common core" of loanwords (Yakpo 2015) of Sranan (an older layer) and Dutch (a more recent layer). Our data also contains numerous calques of idiomatic expressions from Dutch that are replicated in Sranan, Sarnami and Javanese, which could probably be found in further languages. A similar process of lexical convergence by borrowing, albeit with more historical depth, characterizes the Indigenous languages of southern Suriname. Trio, Wayana, Mawayana, Taruma, Wapishana, and Kari'na have borrowed from each other and from other sources (e.g. Spanish), and since the 1960s from Sranan and Dutch. Equally, a leveled variety of the Maroon Creoles, based largely on Eastern Maroon Creole and Sranan forms and communicative practices, is gaining ground in the urban sphere in Suriname and in French Guiana. However, this would not constitute convergence in the classical sense, since the resulting koiné is based on genealogically closely related languages.

Regarding structural/grammatical convergence, we find a few interesting tendencies summarized in Tab. 7, which provides an open list of convergent features involving more than two languages:

Tab. 7: Structural convergence in the Suriname Sprachbund.

Feature	Participating lgs.	Donor lgs.
Common loan words & calques	All languages	Sranan, Dutch
Head-dependent order	Sranan, Sarnami, Javanese, Dutch	Sranan, Dutch
Non-core aspect/mood auxiliary constructions	Sranan, Sarnami, Dutch, Javanese, Ndyuka, Lokono	Sranan, Dutch (many Sranan forms are Dutch-derived)
Overt clause linkers (replacing nominal or serial strategies)	Sranan, Javanese, Lokono, Hakka, Dutch	Dutch (into Sranan), Sranan (into Javanese, Lokono)
Reciprocal pronouns	Sranan, Sarnami, Javanese, Dutch	Sranan, Dutch (but Sranan form also Dutch-derived)
Numerals, day & week names, time & other measurement terms	All languages	Dutch, less from Sranan
Pragmatic elements	All languages	Sranan, Dutch

3.3 New groups

In present-day Suriname, a number of new groups have entered both the urban environment and the interior. These include speakers of Brazilian Portuguese and Haitian Creole, as well as several other language groups. Beyond anecdotal accounts of multilingual practices and code-switching, we know very little about their language use. Furthermore, the increasing role of Caribbean English should be studied.

3.4 Prospects for the Guianas as a whole

Suriname is in a sense a textbook example of a multilingual Caribbean and South American language community. But we know little about how different it is from other countries in the region, and how similar to these. This question holds for all ethno-linguistic communities. We have focused on the center of the Guianas, leaving aside Venezuela and Brazil, but eventually the latter two will need to be included as well. What is the current status of the different languages spoken in the region, in terms of language contact and change, and language endangerment? It should be borne in mind that in recent years the interior of Suriname and

neighbouring countries is being exploited at a more rapid pace than ever before for various commodities including hardwood and gold. This will have profound effects on multilingual practices in the region.

We know quite a bit about the creole languages in the Guianas structurally (although probably less about French Guiana), and of course Léglise and Migge (e.g. 2013) have explored the Maroon languages in detail, but there is little work on the status of the coastal creoles in a comparative perspective.

Similarly, there are remnants of Asian diaspora languages throughout the Guianas, and we have already remarked upon the relative vitality of these languages in Suriname as compared to e.g. Guyana. However, we have less information about the overall picture, including the development of the Chinese languages, and other Asian languages in French Guiana.

Finally, the European former colonial languages in the Guianas have been studied individually (again with French in French Guiana less studied, as far as we know), but these studies have not been undertaken in a much needed comparative perspective.

Thus we hope to have sketched an interpretive and descriptive framework in which these broader concerns can be productively approached, both in the region this book has dwelt on, as well as in highly multilingual ecologies in other parts of the world.