

“Mi no sal tron tongo”
Early Sranan in court records
1667 - 1767

Margot van den Berg

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- Qu'est-ce que vous allez chercher là-bas?
- J'attends d'être là-bas pour le savoir.

André Gide
Voyage au Congo (1927)

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Abbreviations

COP - Copula

COMP - Complementizer

DEF - Definite article

EQ - Equative

FUT - Future tense

LOC - Locative

NEG - Negation particle

PAST - Past tense

PL - Plural

PREP - Preposition

Q - Question particle

QSU - Questioned semantic unit

SL - Singular

Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1 Contemporary Sranan

This thesis concerns Sranantongo – or Sranan, the national lingua franca of Surinam (South America). As a lingua franca it is used by approximately 80% of the population (350,000 inhabitants), including Hindustanis, Javanese, Chinese, American Indians, and Bush Negroes. Besides its function as a lingua franca, it is associated with the creole part of the population i.e. the descendants of African slaves imported into Surinam under Dutch rule, or people with a partly African background. It is spoken by approximately 500,000 first and second language speakers. Around 225,000 speakers of Sranan live in the Netherlands.

1.2 The formation of Sranan

Sranan is a creole language that emerged on the plantations of Surinam in the 17th century. Creole languages are those languages that emerge at a certain point in time as the result of 'linguistic violence' (Muysken & Smith 1995). For example, Sranan did not exist before 1650. After 1650 the English conquered Surinam and English settlers moved in, bringing with them enslaved speakers of various African languages. The language variety which arose during that period served as a means of communication between the slaves and their oppressors, and, in some cases, also as a means of communication between slaves whose languages were not mutually intelligible.

This 'sudden' emergence of Sranan is different from so-called natural languages: The latter are assumed to have emerged gradually. Although English is the major lexifier language of Sranan, it is clear that Sranan did not derive gradually from Early Modern English: "Even a cursory comparison of Early Modern English with the earliest forms of Sranan (first recorded in 1718) will make it abundantly obvious that we are dealing with two completely different forms of speech" (Muysken & Smith (1995: 4).

This break in the natural development of a language is, at this moment, the only undisputed fact on which a definition of a creole language can be based, excluding other so-called natural languages. Attempts have been made to set apart creole languages from other languages (natural languages and other contact-induced language varieties such as pidgins, intertwined languages etc.) based on purely linguistic criteria. However, these attempts to identify distinguishing features of creole languages have not been successful. According to Muysken (1988) and Muysken & Smith (1995) this is due to the foundations on which these attempts are built: Creole languages are assumed to be more alike and/or simple than other languages, they are assumed to have more mixed grammars than other languages and they are assumed to exhibit much more internal variability than other languages.

From the perspective of language acquisition, Sranan emerged as a result of a break in the transmission of the language from generation to generation. The children of enslaved parents probably grew up on the plantations speaking the creole language instead of the African languages of their parents - which is what they might have done if their parents could have stayed on their native soil. In Bickerton's Bioprogram Hypothesis (1984) children are regarded as the main creators or inventors of the creole language: Guided by the innate Bioprogram, they turned their parents' spoken language, a pidgin, into a creole language. The influence of children on the emergence and development of creole languages - or creolization - has been heavily debated in the 1990's¹ within various perspectives, ranging from the number of children required 'to get a creole going' to the existence of expanded pidgins such as Tok Pisin, which is spoken only by adults but has all the characteristics traditionally attributed to a creole.

However, as a result of this debate, creolization is viewed more and more as a process of second language acquisition, as a consequence of which the attention is redirected to the African languages spoken by the (adult) slaves involved in the creolization process.

Findings in the field of history and anthropology concerning the Atlantic slave trade², the plantation system³, demographics etc. are used more and more as extralinguistic arguments on which an African language is chosen as a substrate language (Migge 1998, Bruyn 1995, Lefebvre 1998).

Within the field of creole studies, several scholars have researched 18th and 19th century texts such as dictionaries, grammars, letters, and plays. Scholars conducting this type of empirical research on Sranan are Arends (1989) on the copula system, the comparative and clefting, Bruyn (1995) on relative clauses and determiners, Plag (1993) on the complementizers **taki** and **fu**, and Smith (1987) on phonology. Court records have hardly been used as a source of information⁴.

The formation of Sranan, and other creole languages, has been studied within various perspectives, among which the superstrate (or lexifier) language, the substrate language(s), and grammaticalization processes take prominent positions. These perspectives are outlined in the following sections, in particular with regard to the formation of Sranan.

¹ See for example Singler, J. V. (1992) Nativization and pidgin/creole genesis: A reply to Bickerton. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 7, 319 - 333, Bickerton (1984, 1992) and Arends (1994).

² Postma, J.M. (1990), *The Dutch in the Atlantic slave trade, 1600-1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

³ Beeldsnijder (1994) and Oostindie (1989). See also Van Stipriaan, A. (1993) *Surinaams contrast: Roofbouw en overleven in een Caraïbische plantagekolonie, 1750 - 1863*. Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij.

⁴ The only study I am aware of is Roberts, J. (1995) "Hawaiian court records as a source of old pidgin texts: An update on recent research". Paper presented at the meeting of the Society For Pidgin and Creole linguistics, January 1995, New Orleans.

1.3 Superstrate (or lexifier) language

According to Bickerton (1984), Sranan is a *radical* creole because of early superstrate withdrawal. The superstrate or lexifier language – Early Modern English – of Sranan was spoken by the English who conquered Surinam in 1651. In 1667 the Dutch took over, only to lose Surinam to the English in the same year. In 1668, the Dutch finally defeated the English, from that year onwards they governed Surinam. After 1680, most of the English are assumed to have left Surinam taking their slaves with them. However, even after their departure the English influence is felt in the speech of the slaves, as Arends (1992, 1995b) illustrates with the metalinguistic observations by Reeps (1693)⁵ and Herlein (1718) on the language spoken by the Black slaves in Surinam:

“Apparently for these non-British observers the language they heard the slaves speak was similar enough to whatever English they knew, to say that these slaves spoke English. These statements seem to indicate that the English element in Sranan was clearly recognized by these lay observers, even to the extent that the creole was subsumed under the same category as the lexical donor language” (Arends 1995b: 14).

Linguistic evidence for a lexical and phonological variety of Sranan that was more heavily influenced by English at the beginning of the 18th century is provided for by the Herlein fragment (1718). The English-derived words in this text have diphthongs, which are later replaced by monophthongs; for example, **gaeu** ‘go’ is replaced by **go** ‘go’ (Arends 1992). Examples of English-derived words in Herlein (1718) that have become obsolete are **windels** ‘windows’ and **han(t)sum** ‘pretty’, which have been replaced by **fensre** ‘window’ and **moy** respectively (Arends 1995b).

On the kind of superstrate language spoken, it has been remarked that the slaves may have been presented with a reduced (baby-talk or foreigner-talk) version of the superstrate languages (Arends, Muyksen & Smith 1994, Lefebvre 1998).

The term ‘superstrate language’ is not restricted to European languages. Migge (1998) observes that there are scholars - among whom Smith (1987) - who “attribute a more important role to the superstrate input in the formation of creole grammar and define its nature more clearly. With regard to the latter, they argue that the superstrate input to modern creoles consists of a stable contact vernacular of pidgin (an early West African Pidgin English, (...)) in addition to, or in place of, the regional or colonial varieties of the superstrate language spoken natively by the Europeans” (Migge 1998: 218).

Echteld (1961) investigates to what extent English has contributed to the vocabulary and the word structure of Sranan.

⁵ Jan Reeps is “a shipwrecked sailor, who stayed in Paramaribo with Governor Van Scharphuizen from July 1693 to February 1694: ‘De Engelse hebben hier een colonie gemaect en wort die tael daer nog meest bij de slaven gesproken’ (‘The English have made a colony here and that language is still spoken mostly by the slaves’)” (Arends 1995b: 14).

1.4 Substrate influence

In order to determine the substrate influence on Sranan, the geographical background of the slaves imported to Surinam has to be taken into account. The historian Postma (1990)⁶ has made available extremely detailed demographic information on their geographical origins, based on the study of archival documents concerning the Dutch Atlantic slave trade. Based on these findings, Arends (1995) suggests the following West African languages to be of importance with regard to the emergence and development of Sranan (and the other Surinam creoles):

- 1650 – 1720: most slaves (approximately 50% of the entire slave population) were imported from the Slave Coast (Togo, Benin). In this area languages belonging to the Gbe-cluster are spoken (Fon, Ewe). Circa 40% of the slaves were imported from the Loango area (Gabon, Congo, Zaire, Angola), speaking Bantu-languages (Kikongo).
- 1720 – 1740: The vast majority of the slaves in this period was imported from the Gold Coast (Ghana), where mostly Gbe-languages and languages belonging to the Nyo-branch of the Kwa-languages (Akan, Ga, Anyi-Baule) are spoken.
- 1740 – 1815: Windward Coast (the area stretching from Sierra Leone to Ivory Coast).

In general, the most important substrate languages are assumed to have been Fon (and other closely related languages belonging to the Gbe-cluster) and Kikongo, and, to a lesser extent, Kimbundu and Twi. “In fact, traces of Fon, Kikongo, and Twi have been preserved in ritual languages still in use in Surinam” (Bruyn 1995: 17). Thus, since “the first task in constructing any substratum theory (...) to show that the necessary groups were in the necessary places at the necessary times” (Bickerton 1981: 49) is completed successfully, there is no need to turn to the *Cafeteria Principle*⁷.

However, even when these requirements are met, substrate influence has not yet been proven, the possibility that a correspondence between features of the substrate language and the creole language is caused by universals of language has to be excluded: “the phenomenon to be ascribed to a substrate origin will have to be a marked feature in the languages of the world, since otherwise its emergence in a creole may simply be a matter of universal grammar” (Arends, Kouwenberg & Smith 1995: 101)⁸.

According to Migge (1998), the substrate hypothesis assumes two broad positions: “first, creole formation involves restructuring of the substrate(s) under the influence of the superstrate(s), and

⁶ Postma, J.M. (1990) *The Dutch in the Atlantic slave trade, 1600-1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁷ “As things stand, we are asked to believe that different African languages contributed different rules and features to particular creoles. To accept that this is possible is to accept what Dillard (...), in a slightly different context, aptly termed the “Cafeteria Principle”. Dillard was arguing against the once widespread belief that creoles were mixtures of rules and features from various regional dialects of the British Isles. But if it is absurd to suppose that a creole could mix fragments of Irish, Wessex, Norfolk, and Yorkshire dialects, it is at least as absurd to suppose that a creole could mix fragments of Yoruba, Akan, Igbo, Mandinka and Wolof - to mention some of the African languages which substratomaniacs most frequently invoke” (Bickerton 1981: 49).

⁸ But see Lefebvre (1998: 72 - 75) for a critical account of the use of marked vs. unmarked features proving substrate influence.

second, creole formation involves restructuring of the superstrate(s) under the influence of the substrate(s)" (Migge 1998: 217).

1.5 Grammaticalization

Grammaticalization is the gradual and language-internal process whereby lexical items or combinations of lexical and grammatical items come to serve as grammatical functions (Hopper & Traugott 1993). "A content word loses some of its semantic features and undergoes decategorization, it acquires grammatical meaning and a function in the morphosyntactic system, and the occurrence of the item becomes constrained by grammatical rules" (Bruyn 1995: 21). Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994) describe grammaticalization - or grammaticization, as they call it - as a collection of (gradual and continuous) processes at work in a long chain of developments, starting in lexical morphemes or combinations of lexical morphemes with grammatical morphemes. It is motivated, on the one hand, by the need for regularization and routinization, and, on the other hand, for expressiveness and creativity.

In the textbook on grammaticalization, Hopper and Traugott (1993) turn briefly to the question whether studies of contact situations (among which the study of creole languages) raise any special issues regarding grammaticalization⁹. Creole languages (and pidgins) are thought of as illustrating "in a rather extreme form a number of theoretical issues, and provide a large number of insights into processes of grammaticalization" (Hopper & Traugott 1993: 209), since they emerged relatively recently. They "exemplify rapid change in non-literate situations, unlike most of the more traditional subjects of historical and comparative linguistics, which may have millennia of history, much of it written" (Hopper & Traugott 1993: 210).

With regard to the study of Sranan, two recent studies within the perspective of grammaticalisation have been published: Plag (1993) and Bruyn (1995). Plag (1993) documents the diachronic developments of the complementizer system, while Bruyn (1995) studies the formation of relative clauses and the use of articles and demonstratives in Sranan.

Plag (1993) concludes that, with respect to the diachronic development of the complementizer **fu**, his findings are in agreement with the universal path of grammaticalization from preposition to infinitival complementizer, as it is proposed by Haspelmath (1989)¹⁰.

Bruyn (1995) questions whether or not processes of grammaticalization are identical across non-creole and creole languages: "The main research question is whether the determiner system and the expression of relative clauses have undergone developments between the 18th and 20th century that resemble grammaticalization processes in languages with a longer history" (Bruyn 1995: 18). For example, "the functional need of emerging creoles may result in the relatively rapid emergence of new grammatical categories such as tense markers. Such

⁹ Grammaticalization is defined "as the process whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions. It is the process whereby by the properties that distinguish sentences from vocabulary come into being diachronically or are organized synchronically" (Hopper and Traugott, 1993).

¹⁰ Haspelmath, M. (1989) "From purposive to infinitive - a universal path of grammaticization", *Folia Linguistica Historica* 10, 287-310.

more or less instantaneous instances of grammaticalization may also deviate from the normal developmental route” (Bruyn 1995: 27). **Ben** functions in Sranan as an anterior tense marker, i. e. a grammatical item, but it does not occur in early Sranan as a participle or a lexical verb from which it could have developed. The grammaticalization process of **ben** took place from one language (English) into another (Sranan). In short, patterns of usage in English seem to have functioned as a starting point for a grammatical form in Sranan.

A second reason to assume that processes of grammaticalization during creolization and processes of grammaticalization in natural languages may diverge, concerns the influence of substrate languages:

“Since the patterns in substrate languages can be assumed to have arisen through universal grammaticalization developments, it will often be difficult to establish whether something that looks like grammaticalization is the result of internal development, or of calquing of substrate patterns on lexifier forms, or of the convergence of universal conceptually based developments and features of the languages present in the contact situation” (Bruyn 1995: 28).

1.6 Other factors influencing creole formation and development

Besides the superstrate language, substrate languages and grammaticalization processes there are other factors that might have influenced the formation and development of a creole language, such as language universals, social stratification, nativeness, and geographical location.

For example, within the slave population working on plantations such as in 17th and 18th century Surinam, there was a division of labor between field slaves, house slaves, slave craftsmen and slaves performing various other tasks. This division of labor correlates “not only with differences in status and power within the Black community, but also with the amount of linguistic interaction with Whites” (Arends 1995: 19). Thus, house slaves are expected to speak a variety of the creole language that resembles the superstrate language more closely than the variety of the creole language spoken by field slaves. There is a continuum of speech forms in a setting such as Surinam, varying from the creole language (*basilect*), through intermediate forms (*mesolects*) to the superstrate language (*acrolects*). The field slaves are expected to have spoken the basilect, or what is called in 18th century Sranan **nengretongo** literally ‘Black man’s language’, while the house slaves are assumed to have spoken the acrolect or **bakkratongo** literally ‘White man’s language’ (Arends 1992).

It was part of the seasoning process to put newly imported slaves into the care of more experienced slaves - who might have been born in Africa themselves, but who had lived in the colony for a longer time. The tasks of these slaves included introducing the newly imported slaves to the creole language. In other words, “in these cases, the model for the acquisition of

the creole as a second language by the African-born slaves would be a second, not a first language version of that creole” (Arends 1995: 21).

With regard to geographical location, Arends (1992) reports some differences between the creole language spoken in the main city of Surinam, Paramaribo (*urban Sranan*), and the language spoken on the plantations (*rural Sranan*) based on the study of Schumann’s dictionary (1783). There is also some evidence that differences exist between the language of the formerly British-owned plantations and the language spoken on the other plantations in Surinam, and between Portuguese owned plantations and other plantations in Surinam.

1.7 Conclusion

As Bruyn (1995) points out in the above, a certain feature in Sranan may be the result of internal development or language universals, or it may be caused by a relexification of the substrate patterns on lexifier forms. It might even be the result of a certain configuration of these factors. Although it is not clear to what extent the factors mentioned briefly in section 1.6 have influenced the formation and development of Sranan, they have to be taken into account in any theory aiming to describe and explain the processes that led to the emergence and development of Sranan.

In chapter 2 the aim, method and motivation underlying this thesis are explained. In chapter 3 and 4 the data are presented and discussed. In the last chapter of this thesis, the findings are summarized and reflected upon from the perspective of the formation and development of Sranan.

Chapter 2 - Aim, method and motivation

2.1 Introduction

In the period March until June 1999 several days a week were spent in the Algemeen Rijksarchief (ARA) in the city of The Hague, the Netherlands. The aim was to study the judicial archives of the colony of Surinam and to extract a body of early Sranan (ESR) sentences and words. In the 17th and 18th century, ESR is called **Neegerengelsch**, literally 'negro-English'.

The period under investigation ranges from 1667 - the officially the first year the Dutch controlled the colony of Surinam and therefore the earliest year of which records could be found - until 1767. The year 1767 was chosen for convenience. A century seemed a representative period of time to investigate as to whether or not the judicial archives would be a rich source of linguistic information on the formation and development of Sranan. Besides, the first 70 years of the colony's existence is regarded as the formative period of Sranan by several scholars (Arends 1995, Migge 1998, Bruyn 1998).

The results of this research have been added to the already existing body of words and sentences of ESR. Several 18th century texts and documents¹¹ on 18th century ESR are available. However, there is much debate on whether or not the creole language in these sources is presented accurately. For example, on Van Dyk (±1765) the following is remarked:

"It can be inferred from the author's introduction as well as from the contents of the book that he has spent considerable time in Surinam, and that he had personal experience with plantation life. According to Lichtveld and Voorhoeve (1980), Van Dyk may have been a White overseer himself (...). Lichtveld and Voorhoeve also suggest that he may not have been fully proficient in Sranan, because he provides an inadequate translation of **jan do**, a term used with burial ceremonies meaning 'to have fun'. Similarly, Voorhoeve and Donicie (1963) see heavy Dutch influence in Van Dyk's language use" (Bruyn, 1995:155).

The Herlein-fragment is, up to now, the oldest ESR text known to exist. It is a description in Dutch of Surinam, in which a Sranan dialogue is added to give the reader an impression of the language spoken by the slaves. Bruyn (1995) presents three different views (Voorhoeve &

¹¹ - Herlein, J.D. (1718) "Beschrijvinge van de volks-plantinge Zuriname". Leeuwarden
- Nepveu, J. (1765) "Klad-Aantekeningen op Herlein's beschrijvinge van Zuriname". MS in State Archives, The Hague.
- Van Dyk, P. (±1765) "Nieuwe en nooit bevoorens geziene onderwijzinge in het Bastert Engels, of Neeger Engels, zoo als hetzelve in de Hollandze colonien gebruikt word". Amsterdam.
- Schumann, C.L. (1783) "Neger-Englisches Wörterbuch". MS in State Archives, Utrecht.
- Stedman, J.G. (±1790). "Narrative of a five years' expedition against the revolted negroes of Surinam ... from the year 1772 to 1777". London. (ed. Price & Price, 1988)
- Diaries of the Moravian missionaries, who lived with some of the Saramaccan tribes from 1762.

Lichtveld, Arends and Bickerton) regarding the similarity or dissimilarity of the Herlein-fragment and Sranan spoken more recently:

"(...) one and the same source can be used to support several competing hypotheses. Voorhoeve interpreted the Herlein data as according with his idea that Sranan originated through relexification of Portuguese Pidgin. For Arends, the data provides support for gradual creolization; and for Bickerton, it does the same for catastrophic creolization, or at least it does not constitute counter evidence to his hypothesis. Even though the Herlein-text is only one argument in favor of each of these theories, it has been assigned the burden of proof to various extents with regard to the question of whether or not there existed a fully-fledged creole in the first years of the 18th century, since it is the only text from that period available" (Bruyn 1995:40).

The aim of the research presented here is to extend the body of ESR texts; in particular late 17th and early 18th century data are pursued.

2.1.1 The documents

"As with virtually all other creoles, texts - whether they take the form of fact or fiction, catechism or simulated dialogue - were written by Europeans, with all the biases of their time and without any special linguistic skills or training. Missionaries, who are notorious for producing Europeanized varieties of pidgins and creoles wherever they go (Voorhoeve 1971), wrote many of the texts. This is not to say that a European, even a European missionary, could not on occasion accurately represent a creole. The problem is knowing when the creole is being accurately represented" (Bickerton 1981: 74).

The problem of knowing when a creole is accurately being represented as pointed out by Bickerton, plays a much smaller role in the current research than in the texts mentioned by Bickerton. In the type of document chosen, the chances of inaccurate representation are minimized: court records concerning cases against Blacks¹² are the main sources consulted, in particular depositions, statements and examinations (*examinatiën*).

Court records, it was assumed, offered more chances of discovering ESR than other types of possibly relevant documents available at the ARA. Besides, the words and sentences found were expected to be direct representations of what actually had been said during the examination. Thus, although these ESR words and sentences were written down by Europeans, there is very little chance that these people produced a written Europeanized variety of the creole spoken during the examination. The attitudes, world views etc.¹³ of the interrogators

¹² The term 'Black' is used in this thesis to refer to people of African origin (slaves, maroons and ex-slaves). They may have been born in Africa, or in Surinam. Note that this is an inept definition: The people referred to may not be Black because they may have been born from a Black woman and a White man, a Black woman and an Indian man etc. (Hoogbergen, p.c.).

¹³ These are referred to by Bickerton as 'the biases of their time'.

cannot be held responsible for the form and content of the ESR utterances encountered in the depositions because of the strict procedure followed during the examination. Questions are questions asked, and answers given. Both are written down in the deposition.

In most of the depositions studied the pages were divided into two columns, of which the right column was used to write down the questions, and the left to present the answers. At the end of the document the names of the people present during the examination are listed. Most sessions were held in Paramaribo, although some took place on a plantation. In those cases the owner of the plantation or the manager carried out the interrogation, if the owner was absent. A written account of the interrogation was then sent to Paramaribo to inform the Police Council.

Usually the interrogation started by asking the name of the defendant and the name of the owner. In case of a runaway slave, it was asked for how long he or she had been absent and why he or she had escaped. According to Hoogbergen (1985) answers to the latter question are unreliable, since the cruelty of the punishment depended on the length of stay in the forest. Also the motivation for running away contributed to a lighter sentence in some cases, for example when maltreatment and abuse of the manager were at play. The subsequent questions during the interrogation of a runaway slave would focus on where the slave stayed while being in the forest, how he or she obtained tools and food and whom he or she had met.

2.1.2 Slaves and legislation

During the 17th and 18th century the legislation in the colony of Surinam was based on the *Constitutio Criminalis Carolina* (CCC) of 1532. Since 1532 rules and regulations had been added by the government in the Netherlands or the authorities in the Colony of Surinam. With regard to slaves ancient Roman laws were laid down when the CCC was deficient. According to these laws the slave was the property of the master and could not own anything himself. The master had the right to punish but he was not allowed to kill him. The master was obliged to feed, dress and house the slave (Beeldsnijder 1994). There was no distinction between legislation, executive power and judiciary.

Slaves figure in the legislation merely as objects until 1750: there were rules and regulations on slave trade, the rental of slaves, numerical relations between slaves and Whites etc. Beeldsnijder (1994) mentions a few regulations offering some sort of legal protection for slaves¹⁴, but he states that no supervision was exercised over the observance of these regulations.

There were, on the other hand, several regulations restricting the freedom of movement of the slaves. Slaves were not allowed to own a canoe or leave for the river without permission. Slaves were not permitted to walk around freely in Paramaribo. They were not allowed to assemble and to dance and play the drums, especially on Sundays and holidays. In 1750 it was forbidden for

¹⁴ There is a regulation of 1684, ordering to plant one field with crops for every two slaves. Beeldsnijder (1994) mentions also a prohibition on the separate sale of a mother and child, but this was not formalized in a rule or regulation.

slaves to smoke a pipe in the streets of Paramaribo (Beeldsnijder 1994:239). Slaves were not allowed to sell food on the streets.

In 1759 governor W. Crommelin laid down a set of rules for plantation workers. According to these rules, only owners and managers were allowed to punish slaves, using a whip instead of a stick, which was prohibited. Slaves should not be threatened unnecessarily and should be left to themselves after being punished. Crommelin also demanded to bring to court an owner, who killed or maltreated his slave and to convict him according to the same laws that were followed in Europe.

A slave was punished by the manager when he used foul language, delayed the work in the fields, broke pottery, underachieved etc. When a slave was suspected of committing a more severe crime, he or she was transported to Paramaribo, accompanied by another slave of the same plantation and placed into custody. After two weeks he was interrogated by the Raad fiscaal¹⁵ and two members of the Police Council. Then, the Raad Fiscaal would file a complaint in the name of the Staten-Generaal and the board of the *Sociëteit van Suriname* (see 2.1.3). The Police Council sentenced the defendant.

Beeldsnijder (1994) retrieved documents of 146 trials in the period of 1730-1750¹⁶, although he estimates the total sum of offences and misdemeanors in this period to be around a thousand based on accounts, sentences, journals of governors etc.

The 146 trials Beeldsnijder (1994) studied are also included in the current research. Beeldsnijder (1994: 249) presents the following percentages to give an indication of the crimes committed in these 146 trials (n = 146):

poisoning	36%	illicit use of herbs, false accusations of	5%
running away	11%	poisoning, violence against fellow-slaves,	
theft, receiving	10%	collaboration with runaway slaves during a	
conspiracy and murder	7%	plantation raid, deception of a patrol, abuse of	
murder of fellow slaves	7%	a White	
murder of Whites	6%		
violence towards Whites	4%	burglary	2%
threat, impudence, resisting a White	4%	unknown	8%

Of the slaves involved, 82% was sentenced to death. In 1745 the Police Council decided to abolish capital punishment since it did not discourage the slaves. Instead of execution, the ears and tongue were cut off and the convict was branded after which he served national interest during a few years, or for life, without any communication with others and in chains.

Poisoning appears to be the most frequent crime committed. Beeldsnijder (1994) explains the proportionally large percentage as follows:

¹⁵ Raad Fiscaal: A lawyer who was charged with legislation and jurisdiction.

¹⁶ Beeldsnijder's sources were: ARA-HvP/CP, Resoluties Gouverneur en Raden, SvS/IB, Journaal Gouverneur, 1730-1750.

"Waarschijnlijk grepen sommige planters de beslissing van het gouvernement veroordeelde slaven niet meer te doden aan om lastige slaven van vergiftiging te (laten) beschuldigen en zo te lozen. De eigenaren hadden dan altijd nog de mogelijkheid deze slaven na een jaar of twee zonder kosten terug te krijgen" (Beeldsnijder 1994:250).

While Beeldsnijder (1994) studied the trials of 1730-1750, the period under investigation here ranges from 1667 to 1767. The year 1745 is still the year in which more slaves are accused of poisoning someone or dealing in poisons than in any other year.

Beeldsnijder (1994) judges the investigation of the accusations to be fairly accurate:

"Hoe streng en hard de straffen ook waren, zelfs in vergelijking met het toenmalige Nederland, de procesvoering was zorgvuldig. (...) Wanneer onschuld van de aangeklaagde slaaf duidelijk kon worden aangetoond, werd de gedaagde vrijgelaten indien de planter bereid was de kosten van het proces te betalen. De justitie wenste dus geen onschuldige slaven te bestraffen, al kan ook angst voor oproer op de plantages of eventueel financieel verlies hierbij hebben gespeeld" (Beeldsnijder 1994: 257).

2.1.3 The Society of Surinam and the archives¹⁷

The *Sociëteit van Suriname* (SvS) resulted from the partnership between the West-Indische Compagnie (W.I.C), the city of Amsterdam and Cornelis van Aerssen van Sommelsdijck. The W.I.C. bought Surinam from Zeeland after Abraham Crijnsen had defeated the English in 1667. The British lived in Surinam since 1650. Before 1650, there were some attempts to form settlements in Surinam, but these did not succeed. In 1665 approximately 1500 Whites operated 50 à 60 sugar plantations with circa 3000 African slaves and 400 enslaved Indians. Because the W.I.C. could foresee that maintaining this colony would be more expensive than the W.I.C. alone could handle, a partnership was formed in which every partner would participate for 1/3. In 1683 the partnership was formalized, on May the 21st.

The SvS appointed a governor, who had supreme authority in the colony, although he was obliged to consult the Police Council (*Raad van Politie*) in matters of great importance. This Police Council consisted of distinguished residents of the colony, appointed by the Governor and paid by the taxes levied on the inhabitants of the colony.

The SvS was seated in the city of Amsterdam, the Netherlands. The documents that are preserved in the ARA consist of letters, schematic overviews of taxes, lists of incoming and outgoing ships and their cargo, lists of sugar productions per plantation, judicial documents, etcetera, that were sent to the Netherlands from Surinam. These incoming documents were sorted and some of them were placed in so-called *recueils*. Today almost all *recueils* are lost,

¹⁷ The main source for this short account of the history of the SvS and its administration has been dr. M. E. van Opstall (1976). It is an introduction to the inventory of the SvS in the ARA.

only a few have been saved¹⁸. The remaining documents (i.e. the ones that were not placed in *recueils*) were bound into volumes. They are the volumes that were studied for this thesis¹⁹.

In 1792 a council of colonies in America and possessions in Africa replaced the W.I.C., although the SvS still existed. In 1795 one central committee for all colonies and possessions in Africa en America, the West-Indische committee, replaced these institutions. The archives of the SvS were placed in the care of this new committee. The former secretary of SvS, A. Vereul, was asked to investigate the possessions of the SvS, among which were the archives. On November 13, 1793 seven cases containing parts of the administration archives of the period 1683-1778 were taken to the West-Indische Buitenhuis. Special care and attention was requested for the collection of maps of Surinam. In 1810 several documents of the W.I.C. from different places in Amsterdam were brought to the warehouse Batavia. From 1815 till 1821, documents were shifted regularly to the Binnenhof in The Hague. In 1821 the first major destruction took place, 2.889.200 kilo of archival documents were sold. In 1856 the archives were brought to the Rijksarchief at the city of The Haque where the inventory was drawn up that is still used today (with some minor changes).

2.2 Method

An overview of the documents available at the Rijksarchief is presented in so-called inventories. A list of numbers referring to depositions and verdicts (*sententiën*) was composed to single out the relevant documents after which these documents were studied. The most important task was extracting a body of ESR words and sentences, preferably pre-1765. However, these documents were also scanned for words and sentences referring to places²⁰ and plantations, as well as geographic descriptions. Comments on language and ethnic group²¹ were also noted. The volumes with depositions and verdicts also contain letters and all sorts of documents, including manifests and lists of inhabitants, incoming and outgoing ships, the sale of slaves etc. Although it was not intended to study these documents as well, some of them are included because they appeared relevant at the time to gain insight into life in Surinam or they seemed promising. Especially when the study of court records did not yield as much ESR-data as was hoped for, other types of documents – that were part of the same volumes as the court records - were included in the search for ESR-data. These documents include travel reports, reports of expeditions against the maroons, letters of managers or directors to the plantation-owners in the Netherlands etc. The volumes containing court records that were studied before I decided to expand the search for ESR data to other types of documents were studied once more.

¹⁸ One of these *recueils* has been studied for the purpose of this thesis. It is the "*Recueil van egte stukken en bewijzen door Salomon du Plessis tegen Mr. Jan Jacob Mauricius, gouverneur generaal, etc.*" Amsterdam. I would like to thank the staff of the reading-room at the library of the University of Utrecht, school of humanities, for their help and cooperation.

¹⁹ Each volume has a specific number, a so-called *inventarisnummer*.

²⁰ Except for Paramaribo.

²¹ For example, 'loango neger', 'engelse neeger' etc. The classification 'nieuwe neger' (lit. new negro), a description for Blacks who had been imported from Africa only recently, is also listed in the category of ethnic origin.

Documents were scanned for ESR-data superficially at first, if ESR was found the document was studied more thoroughly for context, content etc.

As the research underlying the dissertations of Beeldsnijder (1994) and Oostindie (1989), respectively, on Surinam's slave-society in general and the plantations Mon Bijou and Roosenburg in particular was based on ARA-documents, their dissertations clarify some of the events reported in the documents that were studied. The importance of Beeldsnijder (1994) for the current research is already expressed in the section on slave legislation. Another useful source is Hoogbergen (1985), who studied the history of the Boni²² and also consulted ARA-documents:

“Ik heb in de archieven vooral gezocht naar processen-verbaal van gevangen Marrons, naar verslagen van bospatrouilles, naar mededelingen over overvallen op plantages. Ik heb daarvoor doorgewerkt: het gouvernementsjournaal van 1757-1795, de notulen van het Hof van Politie over die periode en gedeelten van de 19^e eeuw, de brieven en rapporten van de gouverneurs die naar Nederland werden gezonden en de criminele procedures van het Hof van Politie” (Hoogbergen 1985: 441).

In a deposition of 1757 the following utterance of the Black by the name of Avontuur is reported: **mi wisie mie daa na Tampatie, dan mie sa lerre Backaraman voeroe fom negre** (1757, 1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 v^o)²³. Avontuur refers to a major uprising of slaves and maroons on 22 February 1757, that started at the plantation of La Paix and spread to all the plantations in the Tempati region. The rebels besieged Tempati until July, the month in which they left and joined another group of maroons. This group of people would later be called Aukaners or Djuka (Hoogbergen 1985). Without this knowledge, Avontuur's utterance would not have made much sense.

Another scientist who studied the archives and is consulted for background information on life in the colony of Suriname during the 18th century, is Price (1983):

"As I worked on Early Saramaka history in the Dutch archives during a year at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in 1977-78, it became clear that 1762 represented a major division not only in Saramakan thought but also in the kinds of written materials available to the historian. Before 1762, contemporary materials are limited to reports of military expeditions against the Saramakas, raids conducted by them, punishments of recaptured maroons, and so on. After the Peace, however, two remarkably rich new sources appear: the diaries of the Moravian missionaries who began living with the Saramakas in 1765 and continued their presence through the end

²² The Boni are a bushnegro people, descendants of runaway slaves.

²³ Translation: 'I wish I was at Tempatie, then I would learn Whites to hit negroes'; see chapter 4.

of the century, and the reports of the government officials who, for most of the rest of the century, were permanently stationed among them" Price (1983:24).

2.2.1 Problems encountered

In the above a few advantages of studying 17th and 18th century court records are listed. In this paragraph difficulties encountered while studying these court records are presented. Not only is this type of research dependent on the way documents have been preserved and cared for in the time past, it is also dependent on the people that were responsible for writing the court records, their intentions, attitudes and their handwriting. Price (1983: 39) compares the problems posed by written sources with those posed by oral material,

"(...) in their fragmentation, incompleteness, and obscurity. Rather than providing a solid made-by-colonists whole-cloth backdrop against which we can consider Saramaka selectivity, they permit only intermittent, if vivid, glimpses of the way the colonists regarded Saramakas, and the measures to foil them. The reasons are several and worth spelling out. A large portion of the materials in the Algemeen Rijksarchief dating from this period are in woeful condition, and many volumes have been permanently sealed. Other once-available archives of central importance to Saramaka history (for example, those pertaining to the eighteenth-century Portuguese Jewish community) have disappeared forever. And the major historical works published during the eighteenth century that are based on documentary sources raise as many doubts as they settle, as they are either explicit polemics (for example, Nassy's 1788 defense of the Surinam Jewish community) or quite generally uncritical of their sources (for example, Hartsinck's standard 1770 history of the colony, based on official correspondence received in the Netherlands). The fact that even the available archives are truly voluminous, very largely unindexed, and often in archaic Dutch written in difficult handwriting further complicates the task. I often find myself in the frustrating position of haven a half-dozen scraps of written evidence about an event, (a raid by Saramakas, a military expedition against them) without being able to consult the main report about it, which is contained in a sealed archival volume, or is simply 'missing'." (Price 1983: 39).

The archives that seemed really promising were the archives of the Council of Justice 1669-1689 and the archives of the Court of Civil Justice 1689-1828, since they primarily consist of verdicts, attestations and interrogations. In other words, especially these archives were expected to yield utterances of the slaves of the end of the 17th and most of the 18th century. However, the volumes in these archives cannot be consulted as they are sealed. Other sealed volumes are the ones in archive 1.05.10.10.05 *Inventaris van het archief van het College van Commissarissen voor kleine zaken in Suriname*²⁴. The condition of the above mentioned

²⁴ numbers 134 – 273 Sententiën in grote zaken, met processtukken 1740-1793

volumes is so bad, that they could not have been viewed even once to photograph them for the purpose of constructing a microfilm.

Microfilms are another way of preserving documents. Of every two pages in a volume a picture is taken that is recorded on microfilm. This microfilm can be viewed using a special device. Although this is an effective means of studying the documents without destroying them at the same time, and very suitable for obtaining a general impression of form and content, the method is less suited for the purpose of the current research. The microfilm shows the text in white. The background is black. Sometimes it is very difficult to tell a character apart from an ink stain or the characters on the other side of the page shining through. Examining the original document, it is possible to perceive some contrast between the character on the one side of the page and the ink or the character shining through. However, this contrast is lost on microfilm. Therefore studying the original document was to be preferred. In cases where it was only possible to study the documents on microfilm, these were examined.

In the 17th and 18th century no standardized spelling existed for Dutch and for the other languages spoken in Surinam. It was sometimes difficult to decipher what was written and how it should be interpreted. Since there is no one way to represent what is said, different representations (tokens) of one word (type) can be found: **cappewerij** (1761, 1.05.04.06, 312, f 81v^o) refers to the same phenomenon as **cappewerije** (1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v^o), **capuaris** (1730, 1.05.10.02, 786, f 46 r^o) and **capuerie** (1762, 1.05.04.06, 315, f 98 v^o). These are all tokens of the type referring to secondary rainforest or undergrowth. Another example is **cokerom** (1742, 1.05.10.02, 795, f - v^o), which can also be found as **kokerom** (1750, 1.05.10.02, 789, f 17 v^o), **kokrom** (1759, 1.05.04.06, 307, f 138 v^o), **kookerom** (1754, 1.05.10.02, 939, f 384 v^o) and **kookerum** (1759, 1.05.10.02, 947, f - v^o). It means kitchen. Whether or not these differences in representation reflect differences in pronunciation is not clear.

A similar complication is the way in which what is said corresponds with what is heard and written down. For example, in 1747 M. E. Petersen yells at a Black **mekka tan booy** (1747, 1.05.10.02, 920, f - v^o), which can be translated as "Make him wait, boy" or "Leave it there, boy". **Mekka** is a contraction of the verb **meki** 'to make' and the pronoun **a** 'he, she, it', **tan** is a verb meaning 'to stay, to wait, to remain', **booy** is the word with which a White person addresses a Black person when they live or work at the same plantation. Although **mekka** is perceived as one word (based on the fact that it is being written down as one word), in fact there are two words.

Notice also the absence of the comma in the above-presented sentence. In the studied documents punctuation marks were not always placed where they would be expected. Sometimes punctuation marks were used in places which would today be judged out of place. This might hamper interpretation. In Sranan the subject of the sentence would not be placed at the end of a normal declarative sentence; the word order is subject-verb-object (SVO). This fact,

combined with the knowledge of the context in which M. E. Petersen uttered these words, excludes other translations than the ones given above. It is an imperative and not a declarative sentence. To facilitate interpretation and translation, the context in which the sentences and words were found is described and quoted where necessary.

Inverted commas were not used to signal a quotation, nor were there any other means by which it was made clear that the witness or the accused was quoted in his or her own words or in a translation. Only in the depositions of 1745 the quotations were underlined. These are the exception to the rule.

The documents dealt with are usually originals; when the document in question is a copy, this is mentioned. However, it might not be unimaginable that the clerk took notes during an examination, and later embellished them and/or copied them. Therefore, the possibility that the sentences and words are less than perfect reproductions of what is said during an examination, cannot be excluded. Especially documents such as travel reports (*reisjournalen*) and letters from the managers living on the plantations to the plantation owners residing in Paramaribo or in the Netherlands may have been written in draft first, since they seemed to contain less erasures compared with the reports of examinations. Besides, they serve to inform people who are ranked higher in the social hierarchy. A flawless travel report or letter might have contributed to the writers' status.

2.3 Diagram of the archives consulted

The following table shows the archives consulted and the results. Not represented in the table are metalinguistic remarks such as Dutch reproductions of Sranan-utterances²⁵, remarks on the type of language²⁶ etc. Another category left out is that of ethnic origin. Words indicating ethnic origin are listed in the appendix at the end of this thesis.

It is not possible to give an indication of the total amount of documents studied. Most volumes have 300 to 700 pages. However, there are exceptions: There are volumes with 100 pages, there are also volumes that contain 1000 pages. Since the volumes consist of different types of documents – see above –, not all pages were studied. For example, lists of incoming and outgoing ships were omitted.

The oldest document that mentions a lawsuit concerning an Afro-Surinam slave²⁷ dates from 1684. The earliest Sranan word encountered during this investigation dates from 1702; the earliest Sranan dialogue encountered was placed on record in 1707.

²⁵ For example: “in ‘t neegerengelsch seggende zej luyj blanken bent wel in je land maar ik zal jou luyj leren dat ik cormantie Coffij ben” (1757, 1.05.10.02, 948, f274 r^o).

²⁶ For example: “verders riepen een neeger in de Loowangsche Taal ‘t welck een Commando neeger heeft verstaan genaamt L’Esperance van plantagie Spieringshoek Nu zullen wij sien wat voor een pad gij gaan wilt de vorige riep gij on bedroogen en ‘t Pad gestoolen maar nu nu zullen wij zien waer gij gaan wilt” (1767, 1.05.04.06, 331, f 429 v^o)

²⁷ The slave population in Surinam consisted not only of Black slaves imported from Africa or born in the colony, but also - to a lesser extent - of native Indians.

In the first column of the table the access code of the (sub)archive is given. In the second column the name of the archive is listed. In the third column the numbers of the volumes are mentioned and in the fourth the results are summed up. The number of the volumes is shown either on the cover of the collection of documents (book form), or on the cover of a box containing the particular documents.

Table 1 An overview of the archives at the ARA

Access code	Name	Number (inventory)	Results	
			Words	Sentences
1.05.01.02	Inventaris van de West Indische Compagnie 1700-1732	1137-1140	2	-
1.05.04.01	Overgekomen brieven en papieren uit het archief van de Sociëteit van Suriname 1683-1715	212 - 240	45	11
1.05.04.02	Overgekomen brieven en papieren uit het archief van de Sociëteit van Suriname 1715-1739	242 - 266	-	-
1.05.04.03	Overgekomen brieven en papieren uit het archief van de Sociëteit van Suriname 1740-1750	267 - 285	16	-
1.05.04.06	Overgekomen brieven en papieren uit het archief van de Sociëteit van Suriname 1751-1767	286 - 335	137	14
1.05.10.02	Inventaris van de archieven van de Raad van Politie 1669-1680 en de Raad van Politie en Justitie 1680 – 1683 en het Oud-Archief van het Hof Van Politie en Criminele Justitie in Suriname	781 - 948	354	29
1.05.10.04	Inventaris van de archieven van de Raad van Justitie 1689 – 1828 en het Hof van Civiele Justitie	298 - 955 1279 -1334	sealed; not available for consultation	
1.05.10.05	Inventaris van het archief van het College van Commissarissen voor kleine zaken in Suriname 1740-1793	134 - 273	sealed; not available for consultation	
1.05.10.14	Oud-Notarieel archief Suriname	irrelevant; only last wills		

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter described the aim, method and motivation underlying the research conducted in the judicial archives at the ARA, in the city of The Hague, the Netherlands. The main motivation for this type of research and the choice of research material, is that it is considered to be a solution to the problem of inaccurate and scarce documentation.

The history of *Sociëteit van Suriname* (SvS) is described in brief. Most of the documents studied in order to discover ESR words and sentences are court records (depositions, statements, testimonies, and examinations). In order to give an impression of the contact setting, in which the Blacks were interrogated, the topic of slave legislation is approached.

Other topics handled in this chapter concern the difficulties encountered while studying 17th and 18th century documents, such as the absence of a standardized spelling and the absence of punctuation marks etc.

Chapter 3 - Words

3.1 Introduction

The principal aim of this chapter is to present 561 ESR words that were found in the depositions, testimonies, statements and minutes of examinations of Blacks in the colony of Suriname (1667-1767). These words are studied in this chapter from a lexical and (morpho-) syntactic point of view. Some words are compared with other 18th century data, if such a comparison may provide more information on the meaning, phonological form or semantic and/or syntactic developments of the words in question. For this purpose the following sources were consulted:

- ☞ Herlein (1717), edited by Arends & Perl (1995)²⁸.
- ☞ Van Dyk (± 1765), edited by Arends & Perl (1995). This document is the first manual on Sranan; it contains 112 pages, including a small vocabulary, a list of common idiom, twelve dialogues and a story cast in the form of a play. It is written for merchants doing business with Surinam, as well as plantation owners and other residents. It is assumed to represent a conservative variety of the language, spoken on the plantations located at a distance from Paramaribo.
- ☞ Nepveu (1770), second edition prepared for publication by Arends & Perl (1995). This document is a revision of Herlein's examples of ESR. Nepveu also included an additional list of ESR words, phrases and short sentences. Arends (1995b) estimates that the "language variety represented in Nepveu's annotations is probably *bakra tongo*, the variety of Sranan spoken by Europeans" (Arends 1995b: 19).
- ☞ Schumann (1783), edited by Kramp (1983); "The piece the résistance of Sranan lexicography" (Arends 1989: 13). The author, a Moravian missionary and skilled linguist, made extensive use of one or more informants.

A chronological overview of all the words - including those occurring in ESR sentences - is presented in the appendix.

3.2 From a semantic point of view

In order to give a general impression of the sort of content words encountered, they are presented in table 2 based on a rough semantic categorization. Furthermore, the words are distinguished by *type* (second column) and *token* (third column).

Category A is the category in which words are placed if they refer to anything related to herbs, magic, good medicine, bad medicine etc. Words are placed in category B if they refer to types of wood, trees, undergrowth etc. Category C contains words that denote some sort of food.

²⁸ See chapter 2, section 2.1 for a brief description of this document.

Category D shows words referring to animals. These can be domestic animals, or wildlife. Category E contains words that refer to the environment or describe a location. Words referring to roads, mountains and sandy plains are listed here. Category F presents the words for diseases. Words for bodyparts are listed in category G. In category H words referring to family and kinship are registered. This category includes the words **contreman** (1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v^o) and **(di) contriman** (1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v^o), since they have been used to express that someone belongs to the same ethnic background as the speaker or the person spoken of.

Category I contains words referring to ethnic identity. There is one word that does not really belong here, although it refers to an ethnic group: **fransen** 'the French (people)'. Based on the context it appears that this word is used by the bushnegro's, meaning 'enemies':

“de fransen. Daardoor verstaen de neegers alhier een vijand, schoon sij altijd seggen als de fransen komen, omdat die hier in vorige tijden hier als vijanden gekomen sijn” (1759, 1.05.06.04, 308, f 49 v^o).

Words for articles of use are listed in category J. This category ranges from words for pants, to words for tobacco and basket. Category K contains words describing a task or denoting a job or occupation. This category includes, among others, **gadoman** and **loekoeman**. These words are used to refer to persons who speak with the gods (**gadoman**) and/or who have a prophetic eye (**loekoeman**)²⁹. Category L is used for words denoting 'house' or 'kitchen'.

Although there are a number of animals (category D) that serve as food (category C), the words referring to these animals are presented in one category or another, based on the context in which they occur. For example, **coene coene**³⁰ (1735, 1.05.10.02, 789, f 31 v^o and 1.05.10.02, 789, f 39 v^o) is listed in category C. The Black Quasje has to deliver a note in Paramaribo, and he is carrying **coene coene** with **ooko** to eat during his journey. Unfortunately he literally bumps into Arnoldus Smits, who maltreats Quasje badly:

“heeft den Schipper sijne neeger Quasje, een briefje gegeven, eene Coene Coene met ooko, aldaar te brengen” (1735, 1.05.10.02, 789, f 13 v^o)

“met groote vorsie tegen het lijf heeft aangelopen met een brief en een kweek ooko” (1.05.10.02, 789, f 17 v^o)

“mede te brengen een queecq ooke om naar Paramaribo te senden (...) met groote forsie tegen Arnoldus Smits sijn lijf heeft gelopen” (1.05.10.02, 789, f 30 v^o)

“maar dat hij de coene coene op de grond heeft willen zetten”
(1.05.10.02, 789, f 31 v^o)

²⁹ Both qualities can be united in one man, but they have been named separately in documents that were studied for this thesis.

³⁰ It means 'rabbit' or it is the name of a certain fish. Schumann (1783) lists **konikoni** / **kunni kunni**, 'Kaningen'. ('rabbit'). Focke (1855) lists **koema-kóema**, 'eene soort van visch, gelijkende naar de Passísí, doch donkerder' (fish), it might also be a reduplication of **koenà**, 'naam van eene soort van visch' (Focke 1855).

Thus, **coene coene** is listed in category C.

Table 2. Categorization of content words, presented by type (total : 136) and token (total : 414)

Category	Type	Token	Category	Type	Token
A) Herbs, magic, medicine	20	54	H) Family, kinship	4	7
B) Wood, trees, undergrowth	13	32	I) Ethnic group	9	77
C) Food	21	63	J) Articles of use	21	50
D) Animals	8	12	K) Job, task, occupation	16	62
E) Environment, location	5	7	L) House, kitchen	2	20
F) Diseases	6	11	M) Curses, name-calling	3	3
G) Bodyparts	6	10	N) Other	2	6

3.3 From a syntactic point of view

Since the next chapter deals exclusively with the syntax of the ESR sentences found, it is sufficient here to present the ESR words based on a syntactic categorization. Table 3 shows the number of words per syntactic category, based on the sentential context in which they are found. The categories range from nouns to markers of tense, mood and aspect. The category of verbs includes stative and non-stative verbs, the copula system and auxiliary verbs. If a syntactic category is missing, it simply means that this category was not encountered in the data; it is therefore not represented. The second column lists the number of types per category³¹. The number of tokens is given in the third column.

Table 3. Presentation of ESR words based on their syntactic properties (sum = 561)

Syntactic category	Type	Token	Syntactic category	Type	Token
noun	132	313	complementizer	5	12
pronouns	7	75	preposition	2	15
verbs	38	88	negator	1	13
TMA-marker	4	16	determiner	2	5
adjective	7	9	question-word	3	3
adverb	6	9	interjection	2	3

³¹ The number of nouns (tokens) roughly corresponds with the number of content words (tokens) listed in table 2. The difference is caused by the fact that not all content words are nouns.

3.3.2. Morphology

One of the misconceptions with regard to creole languages is that they do not contain any morphology³². Although Sranan has little inflectional morphology, it is not correct to conclude that morphology is absent. In this section, derivational morphology, reduplication and compounding are studied.

3.3.2.1 Derivational morphology

Several instances of suffixation are encountered: The suffix **'-man'** meaning 'person' or 'do-er' is attached to a noun, a verb or an adjective. In contemporary Sranan, it occupies the same niche as English **-er** (grocer) and Dutch **-man** (groenteman) or **-er** (bakker).

Table 4. Suffixation by means of attaching the suffix **-man** to a noun, a verb or an adjective

[noun]-man 'meaning' year, source	[verb]-man 'meaning' year, source	[adjective]-man 'meaning' year, source
1. gadoman 'oracle' ³³ 1752, 1.05.10.02, 803, f 51 r ^o 2. wieri wieri man 'witch' 1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	1. wiesieman ³⁴ 'witch' 1760, 1.05.10.02, 932, f - v ^o 2. voevoereman 'thief' 1763, 1.05.10.02, 808, f - v ^o 3. loekeman 'seer, witch' 1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o 4. loekeman 1752, 1.05.10.02, 803, f 45 v ^o 5. Loekeman 'seer, witch' 1752, 1.05.10.02, 803, f 46 r ^o 6. Loekeman 'seer, witch' 1752, 1.05.10.02, 803, f 46 r ^o 7. Loekeman 'seer, witch' 1752, 1.05.10.02, 803, f 51 r ^o 8. Loekman 'seer, witch' 1752, 1.05.10.02, 803, f 51 r ^o 9. Lukeman 'seer, witch' 1765, 1.05.10.02, 811, f - v ^o	1. Granman 'chief' 1752, 1.05.10.02, 803, f 44 r ^o

Van Dyk (± 1765: 115-116) lists seven professions³⁵ which involve the suffix **-man** as opposed to ten circumlocutions such as **Wan somma gi monni alle tem** 'cashier', lit. 'a person (who) gives money all the time', one noun, **Dakteren** 'doctor' and one compound **Diki gron** lit. 'Dig ground', 'Digger'. However, in Schumann (1783) circumlocutions occur less often; they have been replaced by complex nouns which have emerged as a result of compounding with **man**.

³² See for an overview of claims with regard to the absence of morphology in creole languages DeGraff (2000).

³³ **gadoman** is counted seven times in 1757: (1.05.10.02, 803, f 46 r^o), (1.05.10.02, 803, f 45 v^o), (1.05.10.02, 803, f 46 r^o), (1.05.10.02, 803, f 51 r^o), (1.05.04.06, 313, f 308 r^o), (1.05.04.06, 313, f 308 r^o). Since these words are all identical in form and content, they are not presented individually in table 4.

³⁴ Although **wiesie** is classified as a verb in table 4, it might have been a noun originally; it is derived from the English **witch**. Based on another occurrence of **wiesie** in the court records studied - **Joe wiesie dat soekre** (1761, 1.05.10.02, 805, f - v^o) - it is categorized here as a verb. Schumann (1783) lists both interpretations of **wissi**: 'Gift', a noun, and 'vergiften, vergeben', two verbs.

³⁵ **Wan zeri man** 'merchant', **schrifi man** 'bookkeeper', **jen jen man** 'watchmaker', **bridde man** 'baker', **koepa man** 'cooper', **verfi man** 'painter' (Arends & Perl 1995: 115-116). According to Bruyn (1995: 168-169, footnote 30), there are more instances of word formation involving **-man** in Van Dyk (± 1765), suggesting that it was already productive in Van Dyk's days.

Some of these complex nouns even refer to females³⁶, which is viewed by Arends (1995b: 42) as the result of a grammaticalization process, “which made possible the use of man as a gender-neutral agentive suffix”.

One might object to viewing **-man** as a suffix. The presence of **-man** might be explained as a result of superstrate influence due to ‘direct borrowing’³⁷, such as **backaraman** ‘White man’ (1757, 1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 v⁰), **bossimam**³⁸ ‘bushman’ (1761, 1.05.04.06, 313, f 318 v⁰) **contreman** ‘countryman’ (1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v⁰) and **contriman** ‘countryman’ (1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v⁰). The ESR words presented in table 4, however, do not have a corresponding English model involving **-man**.

Man can also be regarded as a noun in complex compounds structured [noun-noun]_{NP}, [verb-noun]_{NP} or [adjective-noun]_{NP}. Whether **man** is a noun or a suffix in the compounds presented in table 4 is dependent on the meaning of **man**: if it strongly refers to male gender then it is a noun; if its meaning is eroded, then it is a suffix.

All compounds listed in table 4 refer to male persons. For example, **gadoman** appears to be the term used to refer to male priests or magicians³⁹. In one text, a woman is mentioned who possesses more or less the same spiritual knowledge as a **gadoman**. She is referred to as **gadosabie** ‘priest, oracle’, lit. god-know (1761, 1.05.04.06, 313, f 309 v⁰) and not **gadoman**, as one would expect if the meaning of **man** had eroded. However, it is not clear if **gadosabie** is used here as a general term to refer to a female priest. Instead, it might be a nickname of this particular lady based on her supernatural qualities.

Although there is no grammatical gender in ESR and Sranan, **man** and **uma** ‘female, woman’ function as “sex indicators” (Echteld 1961: 23). Other sex indicators are **kaka** ‘male’ and **wentje** ‘female’. They are prefixed to a noun to distinguish the sexes similar to English boy-friend, cock-canary etc.: **man-pikin** (Echteld 1961: 23) ‘boy’ lit. man-child; **mannpikin** (Schumann 1783); **man-fouru** (Echteld 1961: 23) ‘male bird’, **mann-kau** (Schumann 1783) ‘bull’ lit. male-cow; **mann-Ningre** (Schumann 1783) ‘Black’ lit. ‘male-negro’.

In other words, if one wants to emphasize the gender of a certain noun, then one prefixes **man** (or **kaka**) to this noun in case of male gender, and **uma** (or **wentje**) in case of female gender.

³⁶ For example, **helpiman** lit. ‘help-man’ meaning ‘midwife’ (Schumann 1783: 128).

³⁷ Echteld (1961) distinguishes direct borrowings from indirect borrowings. Direct borrowings are Sranan words modeled /on English compounds. Indirect borrowings are Sranan words that lack an English model. They are formed “by joining two or more Sr. words (of Engl. origin) together to form a morphenemic unit, deliberately coined to suit the need of new words in Sranan” (Echteld 1961: 150). In this thesis indirect borrowing is not viewed as superstrate influence.

³⁸ Smith (1987: 200) “The eighteenth century recorders of Sranan and Saramaccan demonstrate clearly that even then there was widespread confusion between final /n/ and /m/”.

³⁹ The **gadoman** and **lukuman** referred to in (1.05.10.02, 803, f 51 r⁰), (1.05.10.02, 803, f 46 r⁰), (1.05.10.02, 803, f 45 v⁰) and most listings in footnote 6 all concern the Black (male) Quamina who is charged with causing grief to several persons at the plantation.

Note that the above cannot be taken as conclusive evidence to refute the claim that **man** is a noun in the complex compounds presented in table 4. It shows, however, that there is a strategy in ESR (and contemporary Sranan) to indicate and emphasize gender: A sex indicator is prefixed to a noun. Thus, in constructions in which **man** is suffixed to the noun, the gender of the noun appears to be less important; otherwise **man** would be prefixed.

3.3.2.2 Reduplication

Reduplication is the process in which a verb, a noun or an adjective is repeated *in toto* or in part in order to expand the original meaning of the reduplicated word. It is not merely an iconic representation signaling plurality, it conveys specialized meanings: The reduplication of a verb, for instance, may result in a deverbal nominalization⁴⁰ or an iterative⁴¹, to emphasize the individuality of the multiple actions of the verb involved. Reduplication is often regarded as characteristic of pidgins and creoles. However, “reduplication is in fact quite rare in pidgins, and there seems to be no case in which it has evolved into a regular plural-marking mechanism” (Bruyn 1995:260).

Reduplication in the creole languages of the Caribbean region (including the creole languages spoken in Surinam) is often assumed to have an African background, although this is not always the case (Kouwenberg & LaCharité 1999). In table 5 all reduplications encountered are presented.

Table 5. Reduplication

Type Meaning	Source Year	Tokens	
1. tanki tanki 'thank'	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 v ^o 1762		
2. kras kras 'rash' (skin affection)	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o 1745		
3. wiriwiri 'grass, leaves, herbs, human hair'	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o 1745	wierrijwierrij wierwieri wiriwiri wiriwiri wiriwirie wiriwirrie wirri wirri wirri wirrie wirriwiri wirriwirries wirriwirri wirriwirries	1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o 1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o 1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o 1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o 1763, 1.05.10.02, 808, f - v ^o 1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o 1761, 1.05.04.06, 313, f 308 v ^o 1761, 1.05.04.06, 313, f 308 v ^o 1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o 1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o 1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o 1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o 1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o 1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o

⁴⁰ The reduplication of the verb **ari** 'to draw' results in the noun **arari** 'rake' (Smith and Adamson 1995: 224).

⁴¹ The reduplication of the verb **bow** 'to build' results in the verb **bowbow** 'to build in different places' (Smith and Adamson 1995: 223).

4. tgerre tgerre Cloth or leaves worn on the head to carry weight	1.05.04.06, 313, f 308 v° 1761		
5. tom tom dish of boiled and mashed banana	1.05.10.02, 803, f 106 v° 1752	tom tom tom tom tom tom	1752, 1.05.10.02, 803, f 109 v° 1752, 1.05.10.02, 803, f 109 v° 1752, 1.05.10.02, 803, f 109 v°
6. wanne wanne Leaves or wood of <i>Ocotea rubra</i>	1.05.10.02, 795, f 159 v° 1742		
7. coene coene 'rabbit' or 'fish'	1.05.10.02, 789, f 31 v° 1735	coene coene	1735, 1.05.10.02, 789, f 13 v°

Except for 1. **tanki tanki**, 2. **kras kras** and 5. **tgerre tgerre**, the reduplications in this table are reduplicated nouns.

Tanki tanki is a reduplication of the verb **tanki**, derived from English **to thank**. Not much attention is paid to this reduplication, since it is more likely to be a repetition like **nou nou** (Dutch) or **kom kom** (Dutch) than a reduplication meaning for instance 'a thousand thanks' or 'thank you continuously'.

Kras kras is related to the verb **krasi** (contemporary Sranan 'to scratch'), **to scratch** (English) and/ or Dutch **kras**, the stem of the infinitive **krassen** 'to scratch with a sharp object'⁴². In Surinam- Dutch it appears as **kraskrasi** (Van Donselaar 1989: 218). The reduplication results in a shift in category: The verb **krasi** turns into a noun.

Note the deletion of the epithetic vowel. Instead of the expected **krasi krasi** i.e. the reduplication of the verb **krasi**, the epithetic vowel is deleted in both words. Although deletion of the final vowel in the first word of the reduplication occurs more often⁴³, deletion of both vowels here might be explained as a case of hypercorrection, either by the secretary taking minutes of the examination or by the Black examined. The confessions of the interrogated Black Askan are paraphrased in the minutes of the examination, so it is not possible to retrieve what Askan said literally:

"voor 't overige segt hij wat 't touwetine aangong hij haar die had gegeven voor die **kras kras**" (22 November 1742, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v°)⁴⁴.

The reduplication **tgerre tgerre** is a deverbal nominalization of the verb **tjari** 'to carry'. The meaning of the reduplication is given in the text:

⁴² According to Smith (19877: 36) **krasi** is a relexification of English (**to**) **scratch**, based on its meaning. Although the Dutch verb **krassen** 'to scratch with a sharp object' is (nowadays) less frequently used than the Dutch noun **krassen** 'scratches', it can be used to express exactly the same meaning as English **scratch**. Thus, the semantic match of Sranan **krasi** and English **to scratch** is not explicitly in favor of an English background of **krasi**. One should also take into account that Sranan only borrows the stem of the verbs. In this case, the stem of the verb **krassen** is **kras**, a more likely candidate for **krasi** to be derived from than **scratch**.

⁴³ for example **kraskrasi** and **wierwieri** (1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f- v°).

⁴⁴ Translation: 'further he says with regard to the charm, that he has given it to her to cure the rash.'

"Tgerre Tgerre is een in malkander gerold stof van blaade dat op t rond van 't hoofd sluijten kan om zwaarte op te dragen" (1761, 1.05.04.06, 313, f 308 r^o)⁴⁵.

This description corresponds with the meaning of (contemporary Sranan) **titjari** or **tjatjari** (Van Donselaar 1989: 371)⁴⁶. Both words are still used today to refer to this article of dress. They are related to the verb **tjari** 'to carry'. Besides **tjarri** 'to carry', Schumann (1783) also mentions **tjerri** 'to carry'. Based on this observation, it is concluded that the stem vowel may vary between **-a-** and **-e-**, while the meaning of the word does not change. Variation in the realization of epithetic vowels is not unusual in the eighteenth century (Arends 1992, Smith 1989), which accounts for the differences in the final vowel **-i** and **-e**.

The only aspect left to present a tight link between **tgerre tgerre** and **tjarri/tjerri** is the shift of **tg-** to **tj-**. It may be related to the process of palatalization. Although this process only operates on word-initial /k/ followed by a front vowel, Echteld (1961: 6) remarks: "*tjari* goes back to Engl. 'carry': the [k], though not before a front vowel, is palatalized here. Presumably palatalization, a common feature of Sranan, was readily seized upon to solve the clash with the homonymous word *kari*, meaning 'to call'".

Wiriwiri 'grass, leaves, herbs, human hair' is a somewhat peculiar reduplication. There is no base form **wiri** to be found in ESR. There are two possibilities: Either the singular form ceased to exist, or it is borrowed *in toto* from another language, either the superstrate or the substrate. Van Donselaar (1989: 405) mentions **wiri** 'marihuana', but also mentions that it is an abbreviation of **wiwirrie**, which is already an abbreviation of **wiriwiri**. In Van Dyk (±1765), **wiri wiri fo heden** is listed, meaning 'hair of the head' (Arends & Perl 1995: 108). In the dictionary of the Saramaccan language by J. A. Riemer (1779) only the reduplicated form **wirriwirri** 'grass, leaves, herbs, human hair' (Arends & Perl 1995: 367) appears. **Wiriwiri** 'all sorts of vegetables and herbs' is found in Nepveu (1770). To refer to the hair of people and animals, Nepveu (1770) lists **Wiri-Wiri** (with capitals). In other words, the singular **wiri** occurs in none of the eighteenth century sources consulted. Although it cannot be ruled out that there was a singular **wiri** in ESR – it may just never have been recorded –, it is more likely that **wiri wiri** was borrowed *in toto* from another language.

Echteld (1961) suggests that **wiriwiri** is modeled on the English **weed**: "Reduplication often operates to indicate plurality (cf. **busi/busbusi**); as to *d/r* rendering compare 'seed' beside *siri*" (Echteld 1961:111). Echteld (1961) presents three arguments to account for the semantic divergence between **wiriwiri** 'grass, leaves, herbs, human hair' and the English **weed**:

- ∞ Echteld (1961) refers to Focke (1855) to illustrate that **wiriwiri** is used in the sense of grass in the nineteenth century. "Presumably 'grass' and 'weeds', so closely connected were identified" (Echteld 1961: 111).

⁴⁵ Translation: 'Tgerre Tgerre is a construction of leaves rolled together enclosing the head to facilitate carrying weight.'

⁴⁶ I am grateful to Smith (p.c.) for suggesting that **tgerre tgerre** might be related to **titjari** or **tjatjari**.

- ☞ Echteld (1961) presents Beach-la-Mar⁴⁷ **grass-bilong-head** (lit. grass belong to head) for 'hair' and 'grass belong pigeon'⁴⁸ for 'feather' as examples that support a transfer of lexical meaning from 'weed' to 'grass'.
- ☞ Finally, Echteld (1961) refers to Papiamentu **wiriwiri** that also means 'leaves, grass, hair'.

The earliest finding of **wiriwiri** in the documents dates from 1745. All uses of **wiriwiri** from 1745 onwards occur in the minutes of interrogations of Blacks, who were interrogated because they were in possession of herbs, concoctions of herbs, potions or other mixtures of plants, animals and wood. For the examining Whites it was often not clear whether these herbal mixtures, referred to as **wiriwiri**, were used as a cure or as a poison. Especially at the end of the first half of the eighteenth century, the Whites in the colony of Suriname were terrified of an uprising of the oppressed slaves⁴⁹ in Suriname because of the uprising of slaves in the neighboring colony of Berbice. The Whites were therefore very circumspect of anything that might disturb the peace in the colony, such as, for example, poisoning of Whites or Blacks. This is the context in which the Black Baron is interrogated. He is accused of poisoning the Black Chocolaat. Baron denies having done this:

"(...) dat de neeger Chocolaat een neeger sijnde die hem ten tijde hij nog nieuw en de taal nog niet (sprak) en wat hij bij gem: Chocolaat gewoont heeft en hem opgepast als een vader, eeten en drinken te hebben gekregen naar zijn genoeg en daar inne geen quaade intentie the hebben gehad. Voorts aan hem gedetineerde gevraagd de naam van die Cruijde, segt tselve in zijn lant te nomen **assoua wiri wiri** waar op hem is voorgehouden vraege ter materie dienen en hem verder gedreijgt hem te sullen opbinden en torturen" (1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v^o)⁵⁰.

Baron has to name a certain herb that is shown to him. He says that in his country - an African country - it is called by the name **assoua wiri wiri** 'elephants grass' (*Pennisetum purpureum*). This might be an indication that **wiriwiri** was not borrowed from English **weed** in Suriname, but that this process took place in Africa and that the outcome of this process - **wiriwiri** - was exported to Suriname with the slaves. This hypothesis also provides an explanation for the similarities of Sranan **wiriwiri** and Papiamentu **wiriwiri**.

According to Van Donselaar (1989: 374, 1996: 89), the reduplication **tom tom** (1752, 1.05.10.02, 803, f 106 v^o) is also of African origin (Twi). In Herlein (1718) the singular form **Tom**

⁴⁷ A language variety related to Tok Pisin.

⁴⁸ The Beach-la-Mar word for 'feather' is not given in the text. Echteld (1961) merely describes its structure and he refers to Jespersen, O. (1922). *Language. Its Nature, Development and Origin*. Londen, 218-220.

⁴⁹ See chapter 2.

⁵⁰ Translation: 'The negro Chocolaat is a negro who accomodated him (Baron) when he was a new negro and did not speak the language, he took care of him like a father, nurished him to his satisfaction and thus (Baron) had no bad intentions. Further the defendant is asked the name of the herbs, (he) says they are called in his country assoua wiri wiri, then he is asked what it is for, and he is threatened to be bound up and tortured'.

appears to denote porridge in general. The reduplicated form **Tom, Tom** is used to denote white porridge made of corn flour. The oldest occurrence of **tom tom** as the name of a dish with a ball of boiled and mashed banana (sometimes yam or rice) is H. Schouten (1787) according to Lichtveld & Voorhoeve (1980)⁵¹. However, Schumann (1783) lists **tum tùm** and **tun tum**, 'steif geschlagener od. gestamfter Brey' (Kramp 1983: 287). It is not known whether the **tom tom** mentioned in the interrogation is made of corn flour or that it is made of boiled and mashed banana.

The reduplication **wanne wanne** (1742, 1.05.10.02, 795, f 159 v^o) is troublesome, for it is unclear what it means:

"(...) geleert aan dagga vis, een klijn pattage, een klijne sirica en een wanne wanne gedroogt en een beetje dan van in de nagel van de vinger genomen, en de dram onder geschonken is voor gewijnende siekte en koortsen" (1742, 1.05.10.02, 795, f 159 v^o)⁵².

Wanne wanne might be the name of a plant, herb, piece of wood or even an animal. It is even doubtful if the reduplication here is used to signal plurality, since the word is preceded by Dutch **een**, which is used in Dutch to signal singularity.

The word that comes closest although it is no reduplication, is **wana** or **wane** 'leaves or wood of *Ocotea rubra*, Advocaat-familie' in Van Donselaar (1989:396). According to Van Donselaar (1989) the oldest form is to be found in Herlein (1718:81) **cederen en wanenhout**. It may have been derived from the Carib⁵³ **wonoe**.

Other words in the examinations that one might consider to be reduplications are **tourara** (1743, 1.05.10.02, 797, f - v^o) and **voevoereman** (1763, 1.05.10.02, 808, f - v^o). These words are not included in table 5, since it is not clear whether or not they should be regarded as reduplications.

Should **-rara** in **tourara** be regarded as a reduplication? It could be the reduplication of the morpheme **-ra**. However, not much is known of **tourara**. The Black Samsam is arrested and interrogated for possession of and dealing in herbs:

"(...) de kruidendeeg aan de neeger Gottenzo hebt gegeven, wat is dat voor goet gewesen die te noemen. Segt de gem: kruidendeeg te zijn geweest die men noemt **tourara**" (1743, 1.05.10.02, 797, f - v^o)⁵⁴.

⁵¹ Lichtveld, U.M. & J. Voorhoeve (1980). Suriname: Spiegel der vaderlandsche kooplieden, 2e druk. Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff (1e druk 1958).

⁵² Translation: 'fish, a little bit of potash, a little bit of crab and dried **wanne wanne**, a little of which taken in the nail of the finger, put in the liquor (to cure) disease and fever'.

⁵³ The Caribs are a native people of Suriname.

⁵⁴ Translation: '(...) has given the dough of herbs to the negro Gottenzo, what has that been. (He) says that the dough of herbs is the one that is named **tourara**'

The word that comes closest to the form and possible content of **tourara** is Saramaccan **tollolà**. **Tollolà** is found in the 18th century Saramaccan dictionary of the Hernhutter missionary J. A. Riemer⁵⁵ and means 'to like something/someone more than anything else, to be dearest; to captivate someone with love; a particular herb'. The following sentences are presented to illustrate its meaning⁵⁶:

1. **ju tollola mi**

'I like you more than anything, I love you more than everything'

2. **mi putta tollola na ju**

'I do anything to make you love me'

Smith (1987) has documented the development of liquids /r/ and // in Sranan and Saramaccan words derived from English and Portuguese words. Of the section on liquids, the development of medial liquids might be relevant for the purpose of linking **tollola** with **tourara**. Especially the development of the Portuguese medial liquid // is relevant, since Portuguese is one of the lexifier languages of Saramaccan. According to Smith (1987), the Portuguese medial liquid // turns into /l ~ ø/ in Saramaccan and /r/ in ESR. This might explain the differences between ESR **tourara** and Saramaccan **tollola**.

To illustrate this development, one of the many Portuguese verbs presented by Smith (1987) is the Portuguese verb **rolar** 'to roll'. This verb is assumed to have served as the model for the Saramaccan verb **lolá** 'to roll'. In Weygandt (1778)⁵⁷ an ESR verb with the same meaning occurs: **lolà**. Note the similarities between Weygandt's **lolà** and Riemer's **tollolà**.

Summarizing it is concluded that there are three possible options:

- ☞ **Tourara** may be an ESR borrowing from Saramaccan **tollola**.
- ☞ Both **tourara** and **tollola** may be of Portuguese origin.
- ☞ Both words are not of Portuguese origin but were susceptible to the same phonological rules operating upon the Portuguese medial liquid // during the transformation of Portuguese words.

3.3.2.3 Compounding

"Compound words are syntactic atoms, i.e. they constitute islands to or from which no lexical material can be inserted, deleted or moved out by syntactic rules" (Lefebvre 1998: 334).

Different combinations of compounds occur: [noun-noun]_{NP}, [verb-noun]_{NP}, [adjective-noun]_{NP}, [verb-adjective]_{VP} and [noun-verb]_{NP}. In contemporary Sranan, the first three combinations are the frequent types (Adamson and Smith 1995).

⁵⁵ Reprinted in Arends & Perl (1995).

⁵⁶ Both sentences come from the Saramaccan dictionary of J.A. Riemer (1779), reprinted in Arends & Perl (1995), they are translated by Perl.

⁵⁷ I have not been able to consult the original copy of Weygandt (1798). The examples referred to above are reproductions in Smith (1987).

It is possible to analyze some of these compounds not as a compound at all, but as a construction of an adjective and a noun instead: For example, **bitta wirriwirri**. However, these constructions are presented here as a compound if they occur in other sources with a fixed meaning: **bitawiwiri** is listed as a lemma in Van Donselaar (1989:73) and refers to a shrub (*Cestrum latifolium*, Tomaatfamilie) of which the young leaves are edible.

Table 6 [noun-noun] compounds

[noun-noun] _{NP}		[noun-noun] _{NP}	
1. bambahout tree - wood (Dutch) (<i>Ocotea</i>)	1.05.10.02, 787, f 25 r ^o 1730	2. houtbamba wood (Dutch) - tree (<i>Ocotea</i>)	1.05.10.02, 787 (II), f 31 v ^o , 1732
3. banna bomen banana trees (Dutch) 'banana trees' (<i>Musa</i> , <i>Bakovefamilie</i>)	1.05.10.02, 792, f 2 v ^o 1732	4. boombamba tree (Dutch) - tree (<i>Ocotea</i>)	1.05.10.02, 792, f 1 v ^o 1738
5. Bongo Contre ? country/region name of maroon village	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o 1761	6. boesi neger bush negro 'bushman'	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o 1759
7. Bongo Dotti ? soil, earth, dirt name of a maroon village	1.05.04.06, 317, f 144 v ^o 1762 1.05.04.06, 315, f 97 v ^o 1762 (Bonkodotie) 1.05.04.06, 317, f 144 v ^o 1762(Bongo dotti)	8. Papamonie papa-money 'cowry shell', used by the bushnegroes	1.05.10.02, 808, f - v ^o 1763 1.05.10.02, 795, f 51v ^o 1742 (papamonies) 1.05.10.02, 794, f - v ^o 1741 (papageld)
9. crioole keen 'creole sugarcane' a type of sugar cane	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o 1761	10. keentras 'sugarcane-leaves', leaves or crushed stems of sugarcane	1.05.10.02, 938, f 122 r ^o 1747
11. DeddiePassie death-road/passage nickname of a Black	1.05.10.02, 812, f - v ^o 1766	12. boteijs wiriewirrie bones (Dutch) grass, feather 'mixture of bones'	1.05.10.02, 938, f 122 r ^o 1763
13. mompe wirriwirrie tree - leaves (<i>Spondias Mombin</i>)	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o 1745	14. bannanne wirriwirrie banana leaves 'banana leaves'	1.05.10.02, 812, f - v ^o 1766
15. agoema wieri wieri black nightshade - leaves (<i>Solanum nigrum</i>)	1.05.10.02, 803, f 106 v ^o 1752 1.05.10.02, 803, f 109 r ^o 1752	16. Backra contries White country 'Europe' or 'the Netherlands'	1.05.04.06, 330, f 114 v ^o 1766
17. massaranengre mister-Black form of adress among slaves of the same plantation	1.05.04.06, 313, f 318 v ^o 1761	18. matuarinegre Matuari-negro tribe of maroons	1.05.04.06, 938, f 122 r ^o 1766
19. Maurici maca Morisi thorn/prickle type of palmtree (<i>Mauritia flexuosa</i>)	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o 1762	20. maka klossie thorn/prickle cloth certian type of cloth (<i>Osnabrughs linnen</i>)	1.05.10.02, 812, f - v ^o 1766
21. qujavisboom guave-tree (Dutch) (<i>Psidium guajave</i>)	1.05.10.02, 787, f 25 v ^o 1730	22. sopie dram sip/glass liquor	1.05.10.02, 791, f 13 v ^o 1737 1.05.10.02, 798, f 45 r ^o 1745
23. Kattentrie cotton-tree 'cottontree' ⁵⁸	1.05.10.02, 803, f 51 r ^o , 1752 1.05.10.02, 803, f 46 r ^o , 1752 (Cottentrie) 1.05.10.02, 803, f 46 r ^o 1752, (Cattentries ⁵⁹) 1.05.10.02, 803, f 51 r ^o) 1752, (kattentries ⁶⁰)	24. Wataamamas water-mother the name of the river goddess	1.05.10.02, 795, f 54 v ^o 1742 1.05.10.02, 795, f 54 v ^o 1742

⁵⁸ Echteld (1961) does not agree with this translation. According to him, the correct translation is 'combtree': "*kankan-tri* lit. a comb-tree; it is not a corrupted form of 'cotton-tree'" (Echteld 1961: 7).

⁵⁹ The plural marker is Dutch; Sranan does not express plurality by means of suffixation.

⁶⁰ See footnote 35.

25. daggu vis dog fish (Dutch) <i>type of fish (Elops saurus)</i>	1.05.10.02, 795, f 159 v ^o 1742	26. soldate baccara soldiers White 'White soldiers'	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o 1760
27. meesterskookrom master-kitchen	1.05.10.02, 808, f 109 r ^o 1733	28. wisje wasje 'trifle'	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o 1745
29. foete booi feet boy 'household slave'	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o 1762 1.05.04.06, 313, f 308 v ^o 1761 (voeteboeijs) 1.05.04.06, 313, f 308 v ^o , 1761 (voeteboij) 1.05.10.02, 784, f 74 v ^o 1721 (voetebooi) ⁶¹		

Lefebvre (1998) has compared Haitian Creole with its contributing languages (French – a European language, and Fongbe – a West African language). One of the phenomena she compared across these languages is the concatenation of words into compounds. According to Lefebvre (1998: 334), “the semantics and structure of many Haitian compounds parallel those of Fongbe compounds and contrast with French, showing that the creators of Haitian used the principles of their own grammar in concatenating simplexes into compounds. Furthermore, concepts expressed by compounds in Haitian and Fongbe are often expressed by simplexes in French. The fact that the French simplexes did not make their way into Haitian is argued to follow from the relexification hypothesis: the creators of Haitian had no such lexical entries to relexify”.

Compounds can be divided into heads and arguments. The head of the compound is the constituent of which the word is a hyponym. For example, the head of the compound **doghouse** is **house**, because a doghouse is a kind of house.

Furthermore, the order in which the words are compounded is similar to the word order in syntactic phrases: “In short, the word order in Haitian compounds follows the order in Haitian syntactic phrases, which, in turn, follows the order in French syntactic phrases. Thus, Haitian and French compounds have the position of the head in common, since it is determined by the position of the syntactic head in phrases” (Lefebvre 1998: 324).

Lefebvre (1998: 340) illustrates this with the following Haitian Creole examples:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>3. <u>[noun-noun]</u> Compound (left headed)
po-bouch
skin mouth
'lip'</p> | <p>4. <u>noun</u> noun in NP
rob Mari a
dress mary DET
'Mary's dress'</p> |
|--|--|

The [noun-noun] compounds in table 6 differ from the Haitian Creole [noun-noun] compounds concerning the position of the head - the heads of the compounds are underlined. While the head in Haitian Creole [noun-noun] compounds is the first noun of the compound (left-headed), the head in ESR [noun-noun] compounds is the second noun of the compound (right-headed).

⁶¹ Also: (1723, 1.05.10.02, 784, f - v^o), (1743, 1.05.04.03, 272, f 838 v^o), (1743, 1.05.04.03, 272, f 839 v^o), (1750, 1.05.10.02, 801, f 294 v^o), (1761, 1.05.04.06, 313, f 308 v^o)

Then how is a syntactic phrase in Sranan constructed? The head of the phrase is positioned on the right, as one would expect based on Lefebvre (1998):

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>5. [noun-noun] Compound (right headed)
 massaranengre
 mister-Black
 <i>form of adress among slaves of the same plantation</i></p> | <p>6. noun <u>noun</u> in NP
 a datra oso
 the doctor house
 the doctor's house'</p> |
|--|---|

However, there are two ESR compounds have been found which are left-headed: **boombamba** (1738, 1.05.10.02, 792, f 1 v^o) and **hoùtbamba** (1732, 1.05.10.02, 787 (II), f 31 v^o).

It is not justifiable to explain these occurrences merely as mistakes made by either the person interrogated or the clerk recording the interrogation. They occur in different depositions and they are uttered by different persons at different moments in time. Moreover, although the word **boombamba** does not occur in contemporary Sranan, **bambaboom** is listed in Van Donselaar (1989:59) as the name of an unknown tree of the genus *Ocotea*.

The word **bambahout** and its variant **hoùtbamba** are found in the examination of the Black Lalande and the examination of the Black Mainby. Lalande is charged with poisoning, Mainby is a witness. The compound **hoùtbamba** occurs in the minutes of the interrogation of the latter:

“Segt van Lalande verstaen te hebben dat hetselve hoùtbamba genaamt werd, en op hooge gronden groeyt” (1732, 1.05.10.02, 787 (II), f 31 v^o)

Is it possible to explain the left-positioned head in these compounds? It was thought at first that it might have been caused by substrate influence: Instead of the compounds being placed in agreement with the word order of syntactic phrases based on the superstrate, they might have been modeled according to the directionality parameters of a substrate. However, Fongbe, one of the West-African Gbe-languages and a substrate language of Haitain Creole as well as Sranan⁶², is left headed: “in Fongbe noun-noun compounds (...) the first noun is the argument of the second, following the basic word order in syntactic phrases, and the second noun is the head of the construction, as is also the case in syntactic phrases” (Lefebvre 1998: 340). In other words, the position of the head in Fongbe [noun-noun] compounds is similar to the position of the head in English [noun-noun] compounds. On the other hand, substrate influence cannot be excluded based on the fact that Fongbe has left headed [noun-noun] compounds; the Blacks imported into Surinam spoke a variety of West-African languages. Malinke, another West-African substrate language, appears to have right headed [noun-noun] compounds: Sranan **watra-ay** lit. ‘water eye’ i.e. ‘tear’ is derived from Malinke **nye-ji** lit. ‘eye-water’ meaning ‘tear’,

⁶² See chapter 1.

according to Echteld (1961)⁶³. In the 18th century, **watra-ay** ‘tear’ occurs in the dictionary of Schumann (1783) as **watra va hai** ‘tear’; **wan hai watra** also occurs in this dictionary, meaning ‘a drop of water’.

However, one can only explain the position of the head in the compounds **hòutbamba** and **boombamba** as a result of substrate influence, if one disregards the influence of the word order in the syntactic phrase on the ordering of compounds. If Lalande and Mainby were newly imported Malinke-speakers and still acquiring the creole language, then this could be accounted for. Since these facts are not recorded, it is concluded that it is not possible to explain why **hòutbamba** and **boombamba** are left headed.

According to Echteld (1961), there are Sranan words that are modelled on English compounds (such as **libi-ten** ‘life-time’, **futu-boy** ‘foot-boy’) - those are called ‘direct borrowings’. ‘Indirect borrowings’ are Sranan words that lack an Engl. model; “Although they have no distinct English model, many of them have been inspired by Dutch or African make-up, whereas other are definitely indigenous” (Echteld 1961: 151). Examples of the latter are compounds such as **agu-fatu** lit. ‘pig fat’ meaning ‘lard’, **sopo-watra** lit. ‘soap water’ meaning ‘soapy water’ and **watra-ay** lit. ‘water eye’ i.e. ‘tear’.

Within the perspective of Lefebvre (1998) it is clear that there is no need to distinguish between Sranan compounds that are modeled on English compounds, and those that lack an English model: Both ‘types’ of [noun-noun] compounds are right headed due to the directionality parameters governing word order in the syntactic phrase in Sranan.

Table 7. Compounds of verbs and nouns⁶⁴

[verb-noun]_{NP}			
1. kweek ooko to cultivate-okra ‘cultivated okra’	1.05.10.02, 798, f 17 v ^o 1735 1.05.10.02, 798, f 30 v ^o 1735 (queecq ooke)	2. dresneger to cure-negro (Dutch) ‘Black doctor’	1.05.06.04, 308, f 55 v ^o 1759
3. mistre worke to lay bricks-work ‘masonry’	1.05.10.02, 808, f - r ^o 1763	4. crabbejas to itch-disease (Dutch) ‘yaws’, a disease	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o 1762
[noun-verb]_{NP}			
5. belli jam belly eat ‘belly acke’	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o 1745 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o 1745 (belle jam) 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o 1745 (belli jam)		
6. gadosabie god-to know ‘female priest, oracle’	1.05.06.04, 313, f 309 v ^o 1761	7. hatti tron heart-to turn ‘nausea’	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o 1745

⁶³ On the other hand, Arends (p.c) points out that Malinke is of no importance to the emergence and development of Sranan, and that Echteld (1961) is wrong with regard to the origin of **watra-ay**. It is mentioned here merely as an example of an West-African language that has left-headed compounds.

⁶⁴ Not listed in this table is **cockerom** (1763, 1.05.10.02, 808, f - v^o), **cokerom** (1742, 1.05.10.02, 795, f - v^o) **kokerom** (1732, 1.05.10.02, 787^(ll), f 11 v^o) **Kookerom** (1736, 1.05.10.02, 790, f 2/169 v^o) **kokrom** (1759, 1.05.04.06, 307, f 138 v^o) **kookerom** (1732, 1.05.10.02, 787, f 37 r^o) **kookerum** (1759, 1.05.10.02, 947, f - v^o), because it is not an ESR compound. It is borrowed *in toto* from English (Echteld 1961).

The word order in Haitian Creole [verb-noun] compounds is expected to follow the verb-complement order in verb phrases. Lefebvre (1998: 341) presents the following Haitian Creole examples:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>7. [verb-noun] Compound (left headed)</p> <p>mare-tèt
attach-head
'headband'</p> | <p>8. <u>verb</u> noun in VP</p> <p>mare li sere
tie it tight
'tie it tight'</p> |
|--|---|

In Sranan, there are two types of compounds based on two different combinations of the verb and the noun, while Lefebvre (1998) only reports Haitian Creole [verb-noun] compounds.

In examples (1) - (4) presented in table 7, the head is the noun and the verb modifies the noun.

Examples (5), (6) and (7) in table 7 are the ESR equivalents of Haitian Creole example (7) presented above; the head of these compounds is the verb. However, the word order of these compounds does not seem to follow the order of Sranan verb complements:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>9. [noun-<u>verb</u>] Compound (right headed)</p> <p>belli jam
belly eat
'belly ache'</p> | <p>10. <u>verb</u> noun in VP</p> <p>jam mufte (Schumann 1783: 137)⁶⁵
eat mouth
'to break one's word'</p> |
|---|---|

More study is needed to fully understand the structure of compounds in Sranan, and to determine to what extent the rules underlying Haitian Creole as pointed out by Lefebvre (1998) govern Sranan compounds.

The remaining ESR compounds encountered are presented in tables (8) - (10).

Table 8. Compounds of verbs and adjectives

[verb-adjective]_{VP}			
loekebon to look-good 'watch out' <i>name of bush negro village</i>	1.05.04.06, 312, f311 r ^o 1761	Lukkebon Lukebon	1763, 1.05.04.06, 320, f 188 v ^o 1763, 1.05.04.06, 320, f 188 v ^o

Table 9. Compounds involving verbs and adverbs

[verb-adverb]_{VP}			
kom oppo 'to come-up'	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o 1745		

Table 10. Compounds of adjectives and nouns

[adjective-noun]_{NP}			
bitta wirriwiri bitter leaves <i>leaves of Cestrum latifolium</i>	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o 1745	beta wiriwiri bitta wirriwiri	1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o 1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o
biegie Pascientie big patience <i>name of a certain Black</i>	1.05.10.02, 948, f - v ^o 1760		
pikien Bergerac little Bergerac <i>name of a certain Black</i>	1.05.10.02, 948, f - v ^o 1760		

⁶⁵ Schumann (1783: 137): **Ju jam mufte soso, ju no do sanni ju takki**
you eat mouth simply you NEG do things you say
'You simply broke your word, you didn't do the things you said'

3.3.2.4 Mixed compounds

Not all compounds encountered consist of ESR words. There are several nouns involved in the compounds listed above that are Dutch. The compound **bombelmoeseboom** ‘grapefruit’ (1754, 1.05.10.02, 939, f 158 v^o), for instance, is a concatenation of the noun **bombelmoes** ‘grapefruit’ and the noun **boom** ‘tree’. The latter is clearly a Dutch word. In correct Sranan **tri** ‘tree’ would be used, such as in contemporary Sranan **kakantri**. While in the eighteenth century this word occurs as **Cottentrie** (1752, 1.05.10.02, 803, f 46 r^o), **Kattentrie** (1752, 1.05.10.02, 803, f 51 r^o), **Cattentries**⁶⁶ (1752, 1.05.10.02, 803, f 46 r^o) and **kattentries**⁶⁷ (1752, 1.05.10.02, 803, f 51 r^o), also the mixed compound **kattentreeboom** (1747, 1.05.10.02, 938, f 122 r^o) is found.

An interesting mixed compound is **papamonies**⁶⁸, it also occurs as **papageld**⁶⁹. **Papamonie** is the name for the small horn shells of a certain snail (*Monetaria Moneta*). These shells were used as a means of pay at the West-African Coast. In Suriname they are used in the trade with the bushnegros or the maroons, who make protective charms of them (Van Donselaar 1996) as is illustrated in the text:

“is gegeven een klijne stokje van een vinger lang, aan eene end omgebogen, waar aan (...) papamonies gebonden was” (1745, 1.05.10.02, 795, f 51v^o).

The text presented here is part of a Whiteman’s testimony of an incident at the plantation Beekvliet.

“en ik moet je seggen dat hij een schurk is, een criool, soo een cormantie Cojo, dat is hij voor bekend en een papaneger, want hij draagt de papamonie onder aan sijn broeck” (1763, 1.05.10.02, 808, f - v^o)⁷⁰.

The compound is a concatenation of the noun **papa** – a name for a certain people of West-Africa, also known as the Popo’s - and the word **moni** – derived from English **money**. In the related compound **papageld**, **moni** is replaced by the Dutch word for money, **geld**.

The compound **dresneger** is another concatenation of a ESR word and a Dutch word: ESR **dresi** ‘to cure’ and the Dutch word meaning ‘Black (person)’. Depending on one’s view, **dresneger** might also be regarded as a fully Dutch compound, since there is evidence that the ESR word **dresi** ‘to cure’ or ‘good medicine’ is borrowed by the Whites and incorporated in their language. The word **dressen** – note the Dutch infinitive marker **-en** – occurs in 1735⁷¹ and in 1745⁷², even the Dutch past perfect **gedrest**⁷³ is used.

⁶⁶ The plural marker is Dutch; Sranan does not express plurality by means of suffixation.

⁶⁷ See footnote 35.

⁶⁸ 1742, 1.05.10.02, 795, f 51 v^o, 1763, 1.05.10.02, 808, f - v^o (**papamonie**)

⁶⁹ “aen ‘t verkopen en uytgeven van vergift aen d Neeger Larocke, verkogt hebbende een soort van roodagtig aerden aen den in een klein snoertie papagels, welk aerde geprobeert geen vergift is” (1741, 1.05.10.02, 794, f - v^o).

⁷⁰ Translation: “and I have to tell you that he is a villain, a criool, like Cormantie Cojo, that he is known for and (he is) a papanegro, because he wears the papamonie attached to his pants”

⁷¹ 1.05.10.02, 798, f 40 r^o

⁷² 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v^o

⁷³ 1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v^o

3.3 Summary

The aim of this chapter is to present 561 ESR words discovered in the court records studied. In order to give an indication of the range of these content words, they have been categorized and counted; the results are shown in table 2.

The ESR words have also been studied from a syntactic point of view. Within this perspective they have been categorized and counted once more; these results are presented in table 3.

Although it is generally assumed that morphology does not appear in creole languages, morphology is dealt with in the remainder of this chapter. Instances of derivational morphology (the suffix **-man**), reduplication and compounding have been found in the data.

There is little to no inflectional morphology in ESR, however. Occasionally plurality is expressed by means of a plural marker attached to an ESR noun, but this can be explained as a result of hypercorrection by the Black being interrogated or, it is a mistake made by the clerck attending the interrogations. In some cases it shows that an original ESR concept - for example **wiriwiri** or **papamonie** - is incorporated in the superstrate language.

Chapter 4 – Sentences

4.1 Introduction

The main aim of this chapter is to present 54 sentences found in the depositions, statements and reports of examinations. If one takes a closer look at the sentences as they are numbered and presented in the Appendix, one sees that the actual number of sentences is higher (65). For example, **joe saa libe mistre worke, goo selle joe voule, joe noe sa go** (1763, 1.05.10.02, 808, f - v^o)⁷⁴ consists of three consecutive sentences though it is listed as one sentence – number (51) in the Appendix. To list these sentences individually would result in the loss of (part of) their semantic content, since the correct interpretation of these sentences is largely dependent on the context in which they appear.

The chapter is divided into two parts. In section 4.2 the oldest Sranan sentences recorded are presented and analyzed in detail. Dating from 1707, they are even older than the Herlein fragment (1718).

Section 4.3, focusing on the sentences from 1707 – 1767, is compiled differently. Instead of focusing on each sentence individually, several topics related to (sentence) syntax are studied. The verbal system and function words such as question words and complementizers are aspects of creole languages that have been much debated by scholars studying these languages. The verbal system, in particular the order in which the markers of tense, mood and aspect appear, has been viewed as one of the most characteristic properties of creole languages setting them apart from other non-creole languages (Bakker, Post & Van der Voort 1995). Question words in creole languages have been demonstrated to be a clear case of substratum influence (Muysken & Smith 1990). The emergence of complementizers in creole languages has been claimed to be part of the creolization process (Plag 1993).

In section 4.3.2, various features of the Sranan verbal system are presented that appear in the data. The Sranan question words found are presented and studied in section 4.3.4. The preposition **voor** and the complementizer **fu** are studied in section 4.3.5.

4.2 Sentences - 1707

The earliest sentences date from 16-18 July 1707. They are part of a short dialogue between the Blacks Mingo and Waly. The first deposition in which the conversation is reported is Waly's version of the conversation:

⁷⁴ **joe saa libe mistre worke, goo selle joe voule, joe noe sa go** (1763, 1.05.10.02, 808, f - v^o)
you FUT leave lay-bricks work go sell you poultry you NEG FUT go
'You shall leave your masonry, go sell your poultry, you won't go'

“en seijde tegens zijn broeder (die voor thuijs stond) **mingo Joù⁷⁵ no man** waarop den selven hadde geantwoord **mie man**” (1.05.04.01, 234, f 257 r^o)⁷⁶.

In two other depositions, presumably the examinations of the Blacks Bartham and Scharl, the conversation is reported as following:

“Ging Walij uit de galerij en sprack mingo die voor het huis onder de hoop stont met deese woorden aan, **Mingo joù no man**, waarop mingo seijde **mij man, joù gho tham** sey Walij, daarop sij alle naar de negerhuijsen gingen met groot geras en vertier” (1.05.04.01, 234, f 268 v^o)⁷⁷

“met deese woorden aan **joù no man**, waarop Mingo seijde **Mi man, joù go dan** seyde Wali, op welke woorden mingo niet alleen met al de negers hem volghde en veel riepen al voortgaande dat sij alle naa het bosch soude gaan” (1.05.04.01, 234, f 272 v^o)⁷⁸

What has happened? Mingo, a Black slave of the plantation Palmeneribo (at Suriname River) and presumably from Congo⁷⁹, had a wife on another plantation belonging to Miss Servatijn. He wanted to visit her, but the manager Jonas Witten/Witsen/Wittens did not permit this, although he did have permission of the director Westphaal. So he decided to go anyway. While he was walking to the river with his canoe, he was caught by the manager, who smashed his canoe and thus prevented him from leaving. Mingo ran off to the forest and returned (a few days?) later, his mind set on compensation for the canoe. He discussed this with Waly and several other Blacks from Palmeneribo. Based on a comparison of the reports on the conversation between Waly and Mingo, Waly appears to be the one urging Mingo to go to the manager and demand compensation (**yoù gho tham/yoù go dan**). Waly himself appears to be aware of the impression this last instigation makes: In the deposition of Waly's interrogation the last sentence of the dialogue (**yoù gho tham/yoù go dan**) is left out, while it is reported in the depositions of other interrogations. In the letters that were sent with these depositions, the Whites regard Waly and Tham or Barratham as the most important instigators of the revolt, while Mingo is portrayed as merely following Waly's orders.

⁷⁵ In the original text the punctuation mark on top of /u/ is represented somewhat differently; a copy of the original text is added to the Appendix in which it occurs. It is not clear what it means, though it might be indicative of a certain pronunciation of /u/ or used to distinguish /u/ from /v/.

⁷⁶ Translation: “and said to his brother (who stood before the house) ‘Mingo, you can not (do it)’, to which the same Mingo replied ‘I can’.

⁷⁷ Translation: “left Waly the galery and spoke to Mingo who stood before the house below the heap with these words ‘Mingo, you can not (do it)’, to which Mingo replied ‘I can’, ‘You go then’ said Waly, after which they all went to the houses of the Blacks with much noise and clamour”.

⁷⁸ Translation: “with these words ‘You can not’, to which Mingo said ‘I can’, ‘you go then’ said Waly, after which Mingo not alone (but) with all Blacks following him and many shouting that they all would go to the forest”

⁷⁹ “dat hij een neger van de plantage Palmeneribo is toebehoorende den heere Jonas Witten, dat hij van geboorte een Congoneger is” (1.05.04.01, 234, f 255 v^o). Translation: “That he is a Black from the plantation Palmeneribo belonging to Mister Jonas Witten, that he is a Congo Negro by birth”.

Several documents including letters, depositions and statements report on the circumstances in which the slaves of the plantation Palmeneribo revolted. Other provocations that led to the uprising of the slaves were:

- ☞ the killing of livestock by the manager (a punishment for ruining the garden),
- ☞ the refusal of the manager to permit an exchange of wives (Waly wants Mingo's wife because his own wife has fallen ill),
- ☞ the hard work on the plantation.

Especially the life and character of Mingo are investigated thoroughly in these documents. Mingo had run away from the plantation quite often, together with the Black Artro, who drowned himself while he was imprisoned at Paramaribo. Mingo often picked a fight, whether it was in the fields or in the houses of the Blacks. In one of these documents, other creole statements occur. It is a report on a fight between Mingo and the director:

“doch de directeur nam sijn stock sloeg en goijde die op sijn huid den genoemde neger gebruijckte ‘telkens dese woorden, **nù wanti dat** en raapte eijndelijk de stock (...) gingham de directeur uijt de galderije hem weder met een stock begroete den neger gebruijckte weer de vorige worde **nù wanti dat jou no meester voor mi** en gingham soo raasende en scheldende naa de negerhuysen” (1.05.04.01, 234, f 268 v^o)⁸⁰

4.2.1 Man: Verb or noun?

The sentences **jou no man - mi man** resemble some sentences Focke (1855: 76) presents to illustrate various uses of the noun man:

1. **Mi no man foe doe datti** ‘ik ben niet mans genoeg om dat te doen; ik kan dat niet doen’⁸¹
2. **Mi no man moro** ‘ik kan niet meer’⁸²
3. **Ai ba’! Joe man!** ‘Nu, maat! Gij zijt bij de hand’⁸³

Apparently, Focke (1855) analyses **man** in these sentences as a noun with a zero copula, expressing physical or mental ability, which is translated in Dutch by using the auxiliary verb **kunnen** ‘to be able to/can’. The categorization of **man** as a noun in the sentences above is remarkable, since in twentieth century Sranan **man** in these contexts would be classified as an auxiliary verb **man** ‘be able to/can’. In his study on mood and modality in contemporary Sranan, Winford (to appear) notes that the “auxiliary *man* is (...) used primarily to express one type of

⁸⁰ Translation: “However, the manager took his stick, (he) hit and threw it on his skin, the mentioned Black uttered again and again these words, now want that, and finally took the stick (...) the owner left the hallway and greeted him with the stick again, the Black uttered the former words again ‘now want that you no master for me’ and left yelling and swearing for the houses of the Blacks”. If these ESR sentences are analyzed in terms of *pro-drop*, and if **nù** is a negator, then the sentence would be translated as follows: ‘(I) don’t want that (...) (I) don’t want that, you (are) no master for me’.

⁸¹ Translation: ‘I am not man enough to do that; I can’t do that’

⁸² Translation: ‘I can’t anymore’

⁸³ Translation: ‘Hi mate! You are cheeky!’

ability, that involving physical enabling conditions internal to the agent or imposed on the agent by forces beyond his/her control (e.g. physical laws, misfortune or accident, injury, poverty etc.)" (Winford, to appear: 14). Winford presents an example from a conversation he recorded in 1994, in which the poverty of the agent prevents her from being able to afford a peanutbutter sandwich:

4. **a diri k'falek, yu no man bai en. Mi no man**

it dear terrible, you NEG can buy it. I NEG can

"It's terribly expensive. You can't buy it. I can't"

Did a category shift take place? Or is Focke's categorization of **man** as a noun flawed? In this section both categorizations of **man** - **man** as a noun and **man** as a verb - are studied.

In favor of the categorization of **man** as a noun in the sentences above is the treatment of **man** by Focke (1855), which Arends (1989) - among others - judges "an excellent dictionary (Sranan-Dutch) by a creole, who was probably a native speaker" (Arends 1989:16). In other words, Focke (1855) is certainly able to tell apart a noun from a verb. He even distinguishes auxiliary verbs as a separate subcategory.

Based on Focke's translation of **mi no man foe doe datti** 'I am not man enough to do that', the possibility of a zero equative copula with attributive use expressing a time-unstable condition in the sentences **you no man - mi man** has to be considered. The development of Sranan copulas - including zero copulas - in the eighteenth century is studied by Arends (1989). According to Arends (1989) the development of the equative copula in Sranan from 1718 to the middle of the nineteenth century can be divided into two stages. The first stage (1718-1800), the equative copula expressing attribution was **da** in cases where it occupied sentence-initial position: (**mi sie him**) **da no boesi neger** (1759, 1.05.10.02, 947, f - v⁰). When occupying other positions, the equative copula with attributive use was expressed as a zero copula i.e. not expressed at all⁸⁴: "The relative high frequency of the zero copula in stage I (around 35%) is in agreement with the fact that it is the only copula form to be found in the one pre-1750 source available (Herlein 1718)" (Arends 1989: 60). Around 1800 a differentiation between time-stable and time-unstable conditions of the entities referred to, led to a decrease in usage of the zero copula as the common equative copula with attributive use. The favored equative copula in cases of attribution is **de** after 1800, though "zero copulas can occur in attributive (...) sentences, but their use is largely restricted to contexts where some other element (such as a negator, a demonstrative pronoun or a clefting copula) is present to take over the function of the copula" (Arends 1989:63). This is the second stage.

⁸⁴ Arends (1989: 62) presents the following example from Schumann (1783:83):

djinja wan bune dressie vo tranga heddi-hatti

ginger Ø a good medicine for strong head-ache

'ginger is a good medicine against head-aches'

Bearing in mind these observations on the development of the equative copula expressing attribution, Focke's analysis of **man** as a noun in the sentences (1) and (2) might be correct. They contain a negator, which could have taken over the function of the copula as Arends (1989) suggests. However, Focke (1855) also lists a sentence in which no negator, demonstrative pronoun or clefting copula are present, repeated here for convenience:

5. **Ai ba'! Joe man!** 'Nu, maat! Gij zijt bij de hand'⁸⁵

In this sentence, no overt copula is used, while the equative copula **de** would have been appropriate if **man** really was a noun. Based on the absence of the copula, **man** should be categorized as a verb in Focke's sentences (1-3). Therefore, it is proposed that **man** in the sentences **yoù no man - mi man** is a verb.

Other supporting evidence for the analysis of **man** as a verb is provided for by Winford (to appear), who remarks on the auxiliary **man**: "The source of *man* is not clear to me, but it may well be the modal *mun* found in some traditional regional dialects of English" (Winford to appear: 14).

4.2.2 Yoù gho tham/yoù go dan

On the third sentence of the dialogue between Waly and Mingo (**yoù gho tham/yoù go dan**) the following can be noted. Tham is short for Barat(h)am or Bartham, one of the slaves involved in the revolt. It is very likely that the adverb **dan** was replaced by **Tham** in one of the depositions by mistake, especially since a general locative preposition – for example **na/a** – would be appropriate if the meaning of the sentence was in fact 'you go to tham'.

Even a third interpretation of **tham/dan** is possible: **Tham** or **dan** might have been mistaken for the Sranan verb **tan** 'to stay, wait'.

4.2.3 nù wanti dat – nù wanti dat jou no meester voor mi

The sentences **nù wanti dat - nù wanti dat jou no meester voor mi** show several peculiarities, which will be discussed in this section.

Based on the SVO-order of Sranan sentences, the first word of the sentences **nù wanti dat – nù wanti dat (...)** would be the subject of the sentence. However, the first word in the sentence occupying subject position is **nù**, while the proper word in that position would be the pronoun **mi** considering the semantics of the sentence. There is no doubt about the spelling of the word **nù**, the punctuation mark on top of the /u/ might be characteristic for a certain pronunciation of /u/. It does not occur on top of /i/ or /a/. On the other hand, it is not clear whether this word is part of the quoted phrase or not. A Dutch adverb **nu** exists. Since it is not customary to use a certain word in Dutch eighteenth century documents to introduce a quotation, and the Dutch adverb is

⁸⁵ Translation: 'Hi mate! You are cheeky!'

rather out of place in the (Dutch) text preceding the quotation, it is assumed that **nù** is part of the phrases uttered by Mingo. But why is it occupying subject position?

The word **nù** might be a fronted (Dutch?) adverb. Somehow, perhaps even as a result of the fronting process, the real subject of the sentence - **mi** - has been deleted. When Mingo uttered these words, he was very angry and perhaps might have fronted the adverb **nù** to emphasize that he really wants the stick the director is hitting him with, i.e. not just within a few minutes, but immediately.

Another explanation for the absent subject in this sentence is to assume that it has a null pronoun in subject position (so-called *pro-drop*); *pro-drop* is often encountered in pidgins. In the latter scenario, **nù** might be regarded as a negator.

Other peculiarities concern the use of the noun **masra** or **massera** 'master', the use of the pronoun **dat** where **datti/dati** is expected and the use of **wanti** 'to want' instead of **wanni**. There are no satisfactory explanations for the use of the Dutch noun **meester** or the pronoun **dat**. Since both are common Dutch words, and Dutch was the language spoken in Surinam by the Whites, they might be instances of hypercorrection by Mingo, or inaccurate representations of Mingo's utterances by the recorder.

Besides **wanti**, other variants meaning 'to want' are reported in the 18th century. Smith (1987), for example, lists **wantje** (1718), **wanti** and **wandi** (1765), **wandi** and **wan** (1780)⁸⁶, **wanni** (1783), **wannie** and **wanie** (1798). According to Smith (1987) these variants illustrate a change resulting in a simplification of the nasal cluster in modern Sranan: /nt/ to /n/ via an intermediate stage /nd/. On /nt/ in **wanti**, he notes "in 1765 in Sranan want - the consistently most advanced of the nt-words - still had an optional pronunciation in /nt/, while in 1718 the /nt/ pronunciation is the only one given" (Smith 1987: 205). Thus, based on Smith (1987), **wanti** is the proper form to be used in 1707.

⁸⁶ Smith (1987: 204) reckons Van Dyk to be written in 1780, while Arends (p.c.) considers Van Dyk to be written circa 1765. Since there are several good reasons to assume that Van Dyk dates from 1765 and there is no doubt that it is pre-1769, the text is dated in this thesis (± 1765). Based on Schuchardt (1914) it is generally agreed upon that it represents a more conservative form of Sranan spoken on the plantations.

4.2.4 On the significance of these early sentences

Although these sentences are not so abundant to really boost the knowledge of early Sranan, they do expand the body of early Sranan sentences. There are 11 sentences from 1707, of which four are repetitions of the same dialogue produced by different persons. These sentences consist of 33 words (tokens), of which

- ☞ two (or three) are names (**Mingo, (Tham)**) – depending on whether Tham is regarded as mistaken for **dan**, an adverb,
- ☞ one or two are adverbs (**dan, (Tham)**),
- ☞ four are negative particles (**no**),
- ☞ ten are pronouns (**jou, mi/mie/mij, dat**) of which one (**mi**) occurs in a prepositional phrase,
- ☞ thirteen are verbs (**gho/go, wanti, (man)**),
- ☞ two are demonstratives and used as independent pronouns (**dat**),
- ☞ one is a noun (**meester**).

4.3 Sentences 1707 - 1767

The other sentences date from 1745 (9), 1747 (1), 1755 (6), 1759 (5), 1760 (1), 1761 (5), 1762 (8), 1763 (2), 1766 (2), 1767 (1). Coincidentally, 15 sentences dating from 1827 were come across. Although the latter are presented in the appendix, they are not included in the analysis here.

4.3.1 The verbal system

The verbal system of Sranan involves the negative **no**, TMA-markers, auxiliary verbs and serial verbs (Adamson & Smith 1995). Verbs can be divided into stative and non-stative verbs (Voorhoeve 1980, Adamson & Smith 1995, Winford in prep.)⁸⁷.

In the following table these components of the verbal system encountered in the judicial archives are presented. The numbers in the fifth column refer to the utterances given in the Appendix. Note that the use of the term ‘marker’ is not a statement with regard to the grammatical status of the item referred to. It is still an open question whether they should be regarded as modal auxiliaries⁸⁸, or particles⁸⁹.

⁸⁷ Seuren (1981) proposes to distinguish between A-verbs and E-verbs, the difference between A-verbs and E-verbs being roughly that the latter require the marker **e** to indicate the durative nature of the act expressed by the verb.

⁸⁸ See for example Seuren (1981, 1983) and Adamson & Smith (1994), except for /o/ and /e/ which Adamson and Smith treat as TMA-prefixes. According to Plag (1993: 112) there are no auxiliary verbs in Sranan.

⁸⁹ For example Voorhoeve (1957), Bickerton (1981) and Winford (1999, in prep).

Table 11 An overview of components of the verbal system encountered

item	type		token	utterances	combinations:	
negative particles	no		15	1, 3, 7, 8, 13, 16, 34, 37, 40, 44, 46, 49,	<i>Pres + V:</i> de foen (41)	
	noe		1	51		
TMA markers	ben		5	24 (2), 26, 27 (2)	<i>Fut + V:</i> sal tron (13) da hietie (14) sa lenne (23) zoe leere (25) sa doe (34) sal doe (39) saa libe (50) sa go (50) goo selle (51)	
	son		1	26		
	de		1	42		
verb BE	da	'it is'	2	30 (2)	<i>Past + V:</i> ben sendie (24, 26) ben sende (27)	
	da	EQ	2	40, 42		
	daa	LOC	1	23		
	de	LOC	1	25		
	dee	LOC	1	12		
	auxiliary verbs	caba	'finish'	4		15, 17, 18, 19, 20
goo		'go'	1	51		
habi		'have'	1	11, 33		
kan		'can'	1	49	<i>V + Perf.:</i> pothi (...) caba (18) pothie (...) caba (19) potti (...) Caba (20) doe (...) caba (15)	
man		'can'	6	1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9		
sa		'will'	5	23, 24, 26, 27, 34, 51		
saa		'will'	1	51		
sal		'will'	1	13		
zal		'will'	1	40		
da (sa)		'will'	1	14		
zoe		'will'	1	25		
sabi		'know'	5	16, 52(3), 54		
wanti		'want'	2	6, 7		
						<i>A + V:</i> kan kom (47)

When the data presented in this overview are compared with the verbal system of present-day Sranan, some differences emerge. For example, in the data there are no occurrences of the durative marker **e**.

There is, however, one instance in which the duration of the action expressed by the verb is expressed by **de**, the precursor of **e**:

8. **goedoe gado massra, Koudemaas de foen mi misjie** (1762, 1.05.10.02, 806, f - v⁰)

O good Lord master Oudemaas PRES rape my wife

'O good lord, master, Oudemaas is raping my wife'

Another element of the contemporary verbal system that does not appear is the use of **o** to refer to some future event. The precursor of **o** is the verb **go**. There are five sentences containing **go**. When presented in chronological order, they seem to reflect several stages of **go** during its development from movement verb (including an allative component i.e 'movement toward') to future tense marker. Since the semantics of movement verbs such as **go** imply movement in time as well as in space, the transition to future is relatively easy compared to other constructions that develop into futures (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994)⁹⁰:

⁹⁰ For example, the temporal meaning of this movement verb is not activated through metaphorical use, it is already present as an inference from its spatial meaning (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994).

“When one moves along a path toward a goal in space, one also moves in time. The major change that takes place is the loss of the spatial meaning (...) When the speaker announces that s/he is going somewhere to do something, s/he is also announcing the intention to do that thing. Thus intention is part of the meaning from the beginning, and the only change necessary is the generalization to contexts in which an intention is expressed, but the subject is not moving spatially to fulfill that intention” (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 269).

In the sentences (9) and (10) presented below, the spatial meaning of **go** is the most important, the addressee is told to go somewhere (see section 4.1). In (11) and (12), the spatial meaning as well as the intentional meaning are present: The speaker expresses his desire, which could have been fulfilled if he were somewhere else (in Tempatie) than where he is at present (in Paramaribo), see section 4.2.3. In that respect the second **go** in sentence (13) resembles sentences (11) and (12): The addressee wants to abandon his work to sell his chicken(s); in order to do so, he has to go to the market i.e. leave the plantation. The first **go** in sentence (13), however, may be analyzed as having relatively more intentional meaning than spatial meaning, although its spatial meaning is not entirely absent. Thus, it may be analyzed as an auxiliary verb.

9. **jou gho tham** (1707, 1.05.04.01, 234, f 268 v^o)

‘you go then’

10. **jou go dan** (1707, 1.05.04.01, 234, f 272 v^o)

‘you go then’

11. **evie mi massra ben sendie mi go na Tampatie dan mie sa ben Soria dem Backara**

if my master PAST send me go to Tampati then I FUT PAST show DEF.PL White

‘If my master had send me to go to Tempatie, then I would have shown the Whites’

(1757, 1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 v^o)

12. **evie mi massra ben sende migo na Tempatie dan mie sa ben soorie dem Backara**

if my master PAST send me+go to Tampati then I FUT PAST show DEF.PL White

‘If my master had send me to go to Tempatie, then I would have shown the Whites’

(1757, 1.05.10.02, 942, f 269 v^o)

13. **jou saa libe mistre worke, goo selle joe voule, jou noe sa go**

you FUT leave bricklaying go sell your chicken you NEG FUT go

‘you will leave the bricklaying work, go sell your chicken(s), you will not go’

(1763, 1.05.10.02, 808, f - v^o)

4.3.2 Combinations of markers of tense and mood

Two sentences with combined TM-markers are emerge in the data. Before the Black Avontuur is arrested, he utters the following words, which are reported in the minutes of two interrogations (probably to illustrate the mischievous character of Avontuur). The first sentence

is taken from the minutes of the interrogation of Avontuur himself; the second sentence is taken from the minutes of the interrogation of a White who witnessed Avontuur uttering these words:

14. **evie mi massra ben sendie mie go na Tampatie dan mie sa ben Soria dem Backara**

if my master PAST send I go to Tempati then I FUT PAST show DEF.PL White

'if my master had send me to Tempati, then I would have shown the Whites'

(1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 v^o)

15. **evie mie massra ben sende migo na Tampatie dan mie sa ben soorie dem Backara**

if I master PAST send I + go to Tempatie then I FUT PAST show DEF.PL White

'If my master had send mi to Tempati, then I would have shown the Whites'

(1.05.10.02, 942, f 269 v^o)

16. **eevie a ben dee na tampatie tan mie sa son leerie da bakra voeroe fom negre**

If he PAST be-there LOC Tempati then I FUT PAST teach the White COMP hit negro

'If he was in tampatie then I would teach the Whites to hit negros'

(1757, 1.05.10.02, 942, f 269 v^o)

The threatening nature of Avontuur's statement becomes even clearer if the events that took place in the Tempati region in 1757 are taken into consideration. In february 1757, several maroons raided the plantation La Paix. The Whites from the nearby military station who came to the rescue were defeated and both the plantation and the military station fell into in the hands of the maroons.

"Na de overgave bleek dat de slaven van La Paix zich daags te voren bij de Marrons hadden aangesloten en aan hun zijde meevochten. Ook de slaven van de omliggende plantages: Maagdenburg, Bleyenburg en L'Hermitage hadden zich bij de marrons gevoegd. (...) Ook Beerenburg en Wolvega werden door de opstandelingen overvallen en verwoest. Men probeerde door het inzetten van militairen de Marrons te verjagen, maar deze pogingen bleven vruchteloos en tot juli beheersten de opstandelingen het Tempatiegebied. Pas toen verlieten zij deze streek" (Hoogbergen 1981:9).

For nearly five months the Blacks reigned the Tempati region!

The statement of Avontuur is classified as a past counterfactual based on its semantic content and the presence of the required markers: "In unreal conditions in Sranan, the sense of counterfactuality is conveyed by Past tense *ben* in the protasis, and by combinations of Past plus Future, i.e. *ben sa* or *bo* (<ben o) or Past plus other suitable modals in the apodosis (consequent)" (Winford to appear: 44). However, the order of markers in Avontuur's utterance is different. See, for the purpose of comparison, Schumann (1783)⁹¹:

⁹¹ Reprinted in Kramp (1983).

17. **effi mi no ben takki gi ju, ju no ben sa sabi**, "wenn ich dirs nicht gesagt hätte, so würdest du es nicht wissen (od. gewusst haben)" (Kramp 1983:60).
18. **effi a ben jeri, a ben sa komm**, "wenn ers gehört hätte, so würde er kommen" (Kramp 1983:61).

Winford (in prep.: 44) presents the following 20th century Sranan past counterfactual:

19. **Efu mi ben sabi taki a ben abi yepi fanowdu, mi ben sa (...) yepi en.**

if I PAST know COMP he PAST have help need I PAST FUT help him
 'If I'd known he needed help, I'd have helped him'

Not only are the markers **sa** and **ben** in sentences (14), (15) and (16) ordered unlike other past counterfactuals in ESR - (17), (18) - as well as in contemporary Sranan - (19), the exhibited order is a contradiction of Bickerton (1981): "the ordering of markers in creoles is always TMA, anterior-irrealis-nonpunctual" (Bickerton 1981: 281). In the sentences presented above, the 'anterior' (**ben**) is placed *after* the 'irrealis' (**sa**).

Is it possible to explain this unexpected order of markers? Of course, it might be an idiosyncrasy of Avontuur. However, nowhere in the reports on this trial or in the minutes of the interrogation it is mentioned that Avontuur has a poor understanding of the language, nor it is mentioned that he has difficulty speaking the language. Usually, if a Black experiences these difficulties, this is reported⁹². Therefore, I assume that Avontuur is speaking a common variety of ESR.

Seuren (1981) describes the tense and aspect system of two different sociolects of Sranan. **Sa** is one of the markers discussed in terms of basically morphophonemic rules that constitute a transformational rule system.

Characteristic of **sa** is its inability to occur as an infinitive, or to take the future marker **o**. "But it does allow for *ben* preceding and/or following it (...) It has the further peculiarity that, when in the past or perfect, (i.e. preceded by *ben*), and followed by a past infinitive (i.e. also with *ben*), the second *ben* is deleted: hence the ambiguity of (9b). Only rarely do we find *ben sa ben* as a grammatically correct sequence: (9c). In these cases *ben sa* is the past of the modal, and expresses the speaker's disbelief; the second *ben* represents the past perfect" (Seuren 1981:

⁹² See, for example, (1.05.04.06, 331, f 424 v^o: "een wegloper neeger aan de rivierkant gevangen zijnde een nieuwe neger, die de taal niet magtig is"), (1.05.10.02, 798, f - v^o: "dat de neeger Chocolaat een neeger sijnde die hem ten tijde hij nog nieuw en de taal nog niet sprak"), (1.05.10.02, 806, f - v^o: "De neeger Adje van Castilho verstaat de taal wijnig, segt dat zijn landsman hem heeft mede genoomen"), (1.05.10.02, 806, f - v^o: "Africaan, sijnde een Cormantijn neeger die de neeger Engelsche Spraak niet magtig was en dies desselfs gedeclareerde door een neeger van die lande aart getranlateert zijnde heeft verclaert dat hij een nieuwe neeger was"), (1.05.10.02, 809, f - v^o: "Gem. neeger is de taal nog niet regt magtig, en dien halve niet worden kunnen gexamineert worden"), (1.05.10.02, 809, f - v^o: "een nieuwe neeger de welke na de reeden zijne desertie door een Tolk ondervraagd, zegt zijn naam, nog zijn meesters naam niet te weten, dog zijn naam Diko te weesen"), (1.05.10.02, 932, f - v^o: "dat de nieuwe slaven die de neeger engelsche taal niet verstonden en Cormantijns waaren, welke taal hij Reule konde spreken om deselve Cormantijnse nieuwe neegers te examineren"), (1.05.10.02, 948, f - v^o: "dat de gemelde sergeant hem van het gevangenneeme der voorschreeve neger rapport heeft gedaan, met bijvoeging dat niemand die neeger verstond kon, dat hij daarop de directeur van de plantagie had versogt nu negers te zoeken die deselve konde verstaan ten einde hem te kunnen examineren"), (1.05.10.02, 948, f - v^o: "de gem^e neeger die zig hield als off hij der neeger Engelsche taal niet verstondt").

1053). The numbers and characters referred to in the quotation correspond to the following examples in Seuren (1981):

20. **a sa ben nyan** (9a)

'he will have eaten'

21. **a ben sa nyan** (9b)

'he would eat; he would have eaten'

22. **a taki dati mi ben sa ben du en** (9c)

'he said that I (subjunctive) had done it'

Sa has a temporal meaning and several modal functions, "and these are more salient than the temporal meaning" (Seuren 1981: 1054). **Sa** is used to indicate future or temporal posteriority relative to a defined moment of time. Its modal functions are (1.) to indicate the speaker's wish or order; (2.) to indicate the speaker's hypothesis and (3.) to express the speaker's disbelief or doubt on the matter of the truth of the following infinitive in the utterance. According to Seuren (1981) the latter modal function is expressed by the occurrence of **sa** in the past tense: **ben sa**, see example (c) above. The use of **ben sa** indicates "the speaker's implicit denial of the truth of the subordinate clause" (Seuren 1981:1054). Seuren (1981) does not report whether this modal function also occurs in past counterfactuals. The occurrence of **sa** with **ben** is characteristic of past counterfactuals where the past perfect is used: "*Sa* occurs regularly in the main clause of past counterfactuals (...), where the past perfect, with *ben*, is used in the subordinate clause, just as in English" (Seuren 1981: 1055). In present counterfactuals **ben o** is preferred.

Syntactically, the combination **sa ben** in Avontuur's utterance resembles (a): **Sa** is followed by a past infinitive. Based on this resemblance one might argue that it is indicating speaker's hypothesis⁹³. Avontuur might have decided to use the combination of **sa** and **ben** - indicating speaker's hypothesis - instead of **ben sa** - indicating the speaker's denial of the truth of the subordinate clause: Avontuur does not appear to have any doubt that he would have "shown" the Whites.

Winford (in prep.) focuses on the modal categories of Sranan, and the way various auxiliaries are used to convey epistemic⁹⁴ and deontic⁹⁵ meanings. He also discusses the way modal meanings are expressed in conditionals and other subordinate clauses.

⁹³ Seuren (1981: 1054) presents the following sentence to illustrate what is meant by speaker's hypothesis:

a sa ben dringi doti wani '

he FUT PAST drink dirty water

'he will/must have drunk dirty water'

⁹⁴ Epistemic modality is a type of modality that involves an element of will. It concerns matters of knowledge, belief or opinion. It can be either speaker-oriented or agent-oriented. Agent-oriented modality in Sranan is generally expressed by auxiliaries such as **musu** 'must', **kan** 'can' and **abi fu** 'have to', in some cases it is expressed by lexical verbs or verb phrases.

⁹⁵ Deontic modality is concerned with the necessity or possibility of acts performed by morally responsible agents. It conveys the extent to which the speaker is committed to the truth of the proposition.

Winford assigns **sa** to the domain of mood, based on its dominant sense of uncertainty about the future⁹⁶. Several secondary epistemic uses arise from this dominant sense, among which the expression of hypothetical or counterfactual meanings. **Sa** is used in cases “where the speaker is unsure whether the future event will come about and has little commitment of its happening” (Winford, in prep.: 36)⁹⁷. In past contexts, “*sa* conveys the sense of “supposedly” or “probably”, marking situations which one can assume actually did, or would be expected to occur” (Winford, in prep.: 38).

With regard to conditionals and other subordinate clauses, Winford argues that the use of future markers in these constructions differs from what is called “subjunctive” mood in other languages like Spanish etc:

“the “subjunctive” uses of future markers in Sranan are essentially the same as those they display in primary or matrix clauses (...) in certain contexts such as conditionals or hypotheticals, future markers by themselves cannot convey notions like counterfactuality or hypotheticality associated with subjunctive mood. Rather, such notions are conveyed by combinations of past and future, or indeed by past alone” (Winford 1999, in prep.: 41-42).

Futures differ from conditionals with regard to the way in which the distinction between real (“open”) conditions and unreal conditions is dealt with: In the former the speaker leaves open the possibility of some event occurring, while in unreal conditions, the speaker indicates that the event is unlikely to occur or even out of the question. In the language this is expressed as follows: In open conditions the future is used, while in unreal conditions a combination of future and past is used, i.e. the same range of TMA categories is applied as in simple declarative sentences:

“Conditional meaning in these cases is conveyed solely by the subordinator *efu* in the protasis, while various TMA markers can appear freely in both clauses. These markers may include futures as well as modal auxiliaries” (Winford 1999, in prep.: 42, underlining mine, MvB).

In short, **sa ben** does not convey conditional meaning, it merely signals an unreal condition just as **ben sa** would have done. The conditional meaning is conveyed by the subordinator **evie** in Avontuur’s statement.

In other words, Winford (p.c.) is not convinced that **sa ben** and **ben sa** convey subtle differences in meaning, whereas Seuren translates **sa ben** in a simple declarative sentence with ‘will have’, and **ben sa** with ‘would have’ (see above)⁹⁸.

⁹⁶ By contrast, another future marker of Sranan, **o**, is assigned to the domain of tense based on its use to express predictive future. See also section 4.3.1.

⁹⁷ See for example, sentences(13), (23), (25), (34), (39) in the Appendix.

⁹⁷ Other modals, such as **kan**, **musu** etc. show a similar flexibility of ordering: **Ben** can either occur in front of these modals or it may follow it without a clear change in meaning (Winford p.c., see also Winford 1999, in prep.)

⁹⁸ Adamson & Smith (1995: 229) present a selection of combinations of TMA-markers and auxiliaries with a typical non-stative verb in Sranan. Among these combinations there is one instance of **sa ben**, which is translated as ‘will have’.

Still, these observations on the behavior of **sa** do not seem to lead to an explanation of the use of **sa ben** in Avontuur's statement instead of **ben sa**, which is judged more appropriate even during the 18th century. Either we hold on to the TMA order and accept that the markers of tense and mood have switched categories somewhere along the way, or we make an exception to the rule that the markers of tense, mood and aspect are ordered TMA in creole languages. We could argue in favor of the latter that Avontuur's utterance represents an acrolectal variety of Sranan (both the lexifier languages of Sranan, Dutch and English, have MTA order).

A native speaker of Sranan consulted judged the use of **sa ben** in Avontuur's statement to be obsolete⁹⁹. If this is true, if **sa ben** can be regarded as a precursor of **ben sa**, then the switch in categories (while maintaining the TMA order characteristic of creoles) may have been caused by the increase of the significance of the (epistemic) modal meanings of **sa** 'at the expense of tense'.

Perhaps the explanation for the change of **sa ben** into **ben sa** lies in the interaction of tense with mood and modality. Compare Bybee's reflections on the future or posterior marker **a**, **ava** or **va** in Haitian Creole: "Unmodified by tense this marker probably indicates an agent-oriented modality. However, when the same marker occurs in combination with the Anterior marker **t'**, it yields a fused morph **ta / tav** (...) a Conditional (...) the marker does not necessarily imply a past context" (Bybee 1985: 199). This shows that a tense marker may be located in front of an agent-oriented modality with respect to the verb stem. Since mood develops out of agent-oriented modality, Bybee (1985) is confronted with a problem that is contrary to our problem. According to Bybee (1985) the regularities in morpheme order can be stated in terms of the subsequent ordering of the morphemes with respect to the verb stem: mood-tense-aspect-verb or verb-aspect-tense-mood.

The explanation for the change in ordering in the case of the Haitian Creole marker **ta / tav** lies in the interaction of tense with modality and mood according to Bybee (1985), modality markers originate in main verbs which are marked for tense.

"In VO languages, the tense markers are more likely to be pre-verbal, yielding the order TENSE-MODAL-VERB. However, as the modal auxiliary loses its agent-oriented meaning and becomes epistemic, it can no longer be modified by tense (...) The order MOOD-TENSE-VERB (...) can arise from the preceding situation if some other means is found to indicate tense independently of the mood, as in the English auxiliary, where *have* is used after the modal to indicate past time" (Bybee 1985: 200).

It is clear that this problem is too complex to be solved here. It is hoped that this section can be

There are five examples in which **ben sa** is encountered, which are all translated as 'would have'. Adamson & Smith (1995) thus seem to agree with Seuren (1981).

⁹⁹ According to this informant, this combination of markers might still be used in the **singibuku** of the Church, which represents an older, more conservative variety of Sranan. I have not yet been able to follow up on her suggestions, therefore no examples are presented here to illustrate the informant's observations.

used as a stepping stone to a more thorough investigation of the development of Sranan TMA-markers in the eighteenth century.

4.3.3 Questions

Two questions were found:

23. **joe no sie bakkra** (1762, 1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 v^o)

you NEG see White

'Don't you see any Whites?'

24. **hoe sambre dee** (1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v^o)

Q people there

'Who is there?'

Although the first utterance has the appearance of a simple declarative sentence, it is a question. In spoken Sranan the difference between a declarative sentence and a question is expressed by a change of intonation at the end of the sentence. A question is expressed by the rise of the voice. Evidence that this particular (written) utterance should be interpreted as a question (there is no question mark present in the text), is to be found in the testimony of Arie Arens, who is one of the other (White) people interrogated:

“art. 18. Off denk Directeur Ossenbruggen daar koomende geroepen heeft naar negers Wil je niet ophouden, en wat de slave van Clivia daar op hebben gesegt Segt Jaa, dat hij de neegerEngelsche woorden niet wel kon verstaan, als alleen dat een van de neegers gesegt heeft **Sie je daar geen masara**” (1762, 1.05.04.06, 315, f^f 336)

The second question is more interesting, since it involves a combination of a question particle (Q) **hoe** and “a questioned semantic unit (QSU)” (Muysken and Smith 1990: 884), which is **sambre**. In their article, Muysken and Smith (1990) show how the study of function words in pidgin and creole languages can contribute to the study of pidgin and creole genesis. They analyse the composition of question words in several creole languages in order to determine the influence of the substrate languages in the formation of the analytical system underlying the composition of question words. Muysken and Smith (1990) distinguish several types of question words; Sranan is one of the languages that contain so-called atrophied question words. An atrophied question word originally consisted of Q plus QSU, but has dropped Q, so that only SU remains. In the sentence presented above, Q has not yet been dropped which is in accordance with other reports on question words in eighteenth century Sranan (and Saramaccan) (Smith 1986, Arends 1989, Muysken & Smith 1990, Bruyn 1999).

Muysken and Smith (1990) propose the Saramaccan question-word system as a likely case of substratum influence. Saramaccan **ambe** ‘who’ is connected to the African substrate language

Fon **me/mɛ** ‘who’ – the missing initial **a** in the Fon word is presumably a recent development based on its cognates in other Gbe-dialects. The occurrence of the prenasalized **mb** in the Saramaccan word is presented as one of the arguments in favor of Fon as an influential substrate language in the formation of the Saramaccan question-word system. “As the development of prenasalized stops from nasals only takes place in Saramaccan preceding oral vowels we can identify the Fon variant *m* or rather **ame* as the source of the Saramaccan form” (Muysken and Smith 1990:893).

Note that **mb** in the ESR SU **sambre** is similar to the Saramaccan question word **ambe** ‘who?’ mentioned above. On the other hand, there is no **mb** present in the Sranan SU **súma** or **sma**. Could this sentence then be one of the first recorded Saramaccan sentences? In both Sranan and Saramaccan the eighteenth century Q-element is **hu** (Smith 1987).

Smith (1987: 177) presents the following overview¹⁰⁰ of the development of the Sranan word **súma** / **sma** ‘somebody’ from which the Sranan QSU-element is derived:

1718
som badi

1765
soma

1783
Somma
Soma

1798
soema
sama

Although at the time Smith (1987: 177-178) argued that the **súma** mentioned is derived from the English **someone**, he does not hold this opinion now. Instead it is considered to be (more) probable that **hu-soma** and its variants are reduced forms of **hu-sombadi** which is derived from the English **somebody** (Bruyn 1999: footnote 3, p.c. and Smith, p.c.). Therefore, the presence of **mb** in the QSU in a question word of 1745 is not out of place at all. However, the development of **súma** - which is derived from the English **someone** - does not explain the presence of **r** following **mb** in **sambre**. It is more likely that **sambre** is related to eighteenth century Saramaccan forms **sombre** ‘somebody’ (1778) and **sombreh** (1781) ‘somebody’¹⁰¹.

The latter line of reasoning does present one problem: The QSU of an eighteenth century Saramaccan question word is **ambeh** (1778), and not **sombre** or **sombreh**. It is on precisely these grounds that Smith (1987) rejects the analysis of Schuchardt (1914), according to whom ‘who?’ is derived from collapsing the Q-element and the following morpheme in Saramaccan:

“the 1778 form for “who” would have to have been ombre if Schuchardt’s theory (...) had been correct:

hu-sombre ----> h(u)-(s)ombre ----> (h)ombre

There is no way a form **ambeh** could be derived in these terms. In fact a more probable origin for the items “who?” and “what” in Saramaccan is to be sought in Gbe” (Smith 1987: 99).

¹⁰⁰ Smith (1987) consulted the following sources for this overview: Herlein (1718), Van Dyck (1765), Schumann (1783) and Weygandt (1798).

¹⁰¹ These eighteenth century Saramaccan forms are presented in Smith (1987: 177).

Therefore, it is not possible to conclude (yet) if these sentences are Saramaccan or Sranan.

There is one sentence among those found in which a question word (**hoe ple**) functions as an embedded question word:

25. **mi no sabi hoe ple alle santi kom oppo** (1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f- v^o)

I NEG know Q place all thing come-from

'I don't know where all the things have come from'

4.3.4 Voor, voe and voeroe: from preposition to complementizer

Plag (1993) investigates some synchronic and diachronic aspects of the complementizer system of Sranan. Complementizers "are test cases for various theories on creoles and creolization" (Plag 1993: 1) and "from the development of complementizers one may gain insight not only into the expansion of an individual language's grammar, but also into the nature and process of creole formation in general" (Plag 1993: 2). One of the main complementizers focused upon in this dissertation is **fu**. It is probably related to the English **for**¹⁰², although the variety of different forms (spellings) of **fu**¹⁰³ in eighteenth century documents might be caused by "Dutch *voor* and *van*, since Sranan prepositional *fu* shares functions of *voor* (e.g. as benefactive maker) and *van* (e.g. as possessive marker), i.e. we are faced with a strong similarity of form and function in Dutch and Sranan" (Plag 1993:124).

Fu occurs in Sranan not only as a complementizer, it is also a preposition expressing possession (Bruyn 1995). An example of prepositional **fu** is the following:

26. **tori fu oso**

story of house

'story/stories from (the) home (land)'

Fu as a complementizer occurs in non-factive clauses with overt subjects (27) and in non-finite clauses without overtly expressed subject pronouns in subject position (28):

27. **Mi winsi fu a kon tamara** (Plag 1993: 101, example 37)

I wish COMP he/she come tomorrow

'I want her to come tomorrow'

28. **Amba taki bun fu Pieter fu kisi na moni** (Plag 1993: 117, example 68)

Amba say good PREP Pieter COMP get the money

'Amba praised Pieter in order to get the money'

¹⁰² With regard to the infinitive marker (complementizer) **fe** in Jamacain Creole, Lalla & DaCosta (1990) consider English to be a more likely source than Twi.

Especially English dialects such as Western Cornish, Northern Cornish and dialects spoken in Liverpool and North Devonshire are expected to have influenced the emergence of **fe** in Jamacain Creole as a complementizer. There is extralinguistic evidence to support this claim: The areas mentioned above were important places of embarkation for the Caribbean.

¹⁰³ Plag (1993) lists **ver**, **vor**, **va**, **vo**, **van**, **voe**, **foe**, and **fe**.

According to Plag (1993) the complementizer **fu** originated in the preposition **fu**, a process which was more or less completed at the end of the eighteenth century: “the category change from preposition to complementizer was triggered and fostered by the multiple category status of many lexical items in Sranan. Nouns as complements of prepositions could be reanalyzed as verbs, thereby necessitating a reanalysis of *fu* as a complementizer of empty type sentences. The possibility of *fu* taking a clausal complement plus the additional referential possibilities lead to overt type sentences as complements of *fu*” (Plag 1993:142).

In the data gathered at the judicial archives, **fu** is encountered as a preposition (29, 30) and as a complementizer (31, 32, 33):

29. **nù wanti dat you no meester voor mi** (1707, 1.05.04.01, 234, f 271 v^o)

? want that you NEG master for me

‘I want that (now), you are not my master’

30. **mie wisie mie daa na Tampatie, dan mis sa lerre Backaraman voeroe fom negre**

I wish I be-there in Tempati then I FUT teach Whiteman COMP hit negro

‘I wish I was in Tempatie, then I would teach the Whitemen to hit negros’

(1757, 1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 v^o)

31. **mie wie sie me de Tampati, dan mie zoe leere bakra voe fom ningre**

I wish I be Tempati then I FUT teach White COMP hit negro

‘I wish I was in Tampati, then I would teach the Whites to hit negros’

(1757, 1.05.10.02, 942, f 261 v^o)

32. **eevie a ben dee na tampatie tan mie sa son leerie da bakra voeroe fom negre**

If he PAST be-there LOC Tempati then I FUT PAST teach the White COMP hit negro

‘If he was in tampatie then I would teach the Whites to hit negros’

(1757, 1.05.10.02, 942, f 269 v^o)

33. **danki massara wie da ningre voor joe no kill** (1762, 1.05.10.02, 806, f - v^o)

please master we are Black for you NEG kill

‘Please, master, we are your Blacks, don’t kill (us)’

The preposition **voor** expressing possession is also found in Herlein (1718)¹⁰⁴, it occurs in Van Dyk (1765) as **fo**:

34. **Oe sombody Mastre vor joe?**

QSU master of you

‘Who is your master?’

Another source in which possession is expressed by **fu** is Van Dyk (1765):

35. **Da mastra fo mi a ben takki mi zo toe.** (Van Dyk 1765: 29)

COP master of me he PAST say I like do

‘It was my master who told me to do so’

¹⁰⁴ Adrienne Bruyn supplied the examples from Herlein (1718) and Van Dyck (1765), for which I am very grateful.

The use of **voor** as a variant of **fu** in examples (29), (30) and (34) is probably a consequence of Dutch being the official language of the colony of Suriname at that time, as Plag (1993) suggests above. The use of the complementizer **voeroe** in examples (31) and (33) is more problematic. **Voeroe** has not been found in other eighteenth century sources as a complementizer in Sranan¹⁰⁵. There is no explanation for the occurrence of the complementizer **fu** as **voeroe** at this moment. On the other hand, there is no doubt that it is a complementizer: In example (32) it occurs as **voe**, while the rest of the sentence is – more or less – similar to (31) and (33). **Voeroe** (31) and (33) and **voe** (32) introduce a clause in which there is no overtly expressed subject. Note that the status of the words in the embedded clauses in (31), (32) and (33) are in agreement with Plag's assumptions with regard to the category change of **fu** as a preposition to a complementizer. The embedded clauses following **voe/voeroe** consist of the verb **fom** 'to hit' and the object of **fom**, **ningre** 'Black(s)'. According to Schumann (1783: 105) **fom** can be analyzed as a noun, and as a verb; he translates **fumm** with "schlagen; stossen, stampfen; ein Schlag; Schlage. it. züchtigen".

Plag (1993) also studied the Herlein fragment (1718) and the Van Dyk text (\pm 1765). In the Herlein fragment four sentences involving **fu** are encountered. Since all four occurrences can be analyzed as [P NP], Plag (1993) concludes that **fu** has prepositional status at the beginning of the eighteenth century. This is confirmed by the current research: example (26) dates from 1707.

In the Van Dyk text the complements of **fu** are judged to be ambiguous in many cases: It can be analyzed as an NP or as a VP. The analysis as VP allows the insertion of objects, adverbs etc., which in turn leads to a structure which can no longer be regarded as NP, since it has all these VP characteristics. "This leads to a conflict with the lexical properties of *fu*, which can no longer be regarded as a case assigner, since there is no NP which case can be assigned to. *Fu* in such structures thus must lose its status as a preposition, and becomes reanalyzed as a complementizer" (Plag 1993: 130).

¹⁰⁵ Based on Plag (1993).

Chapter 5 - "The world is much better documented than you think"

The Third Westminster Creolistics Workshop held at the University of Westminster, London, England (29-31 March 1996) was concluded with a debate on creole origins. This debate was recorded, transcribed and eventually published by Huber & Parkvall (1999). At a certain point during this lively debate, the participants focused on the lack of historical evidence to substantiate certain linguistic claims. For example, there is no historical evidence that slaves were imported from Kalabari-speaking regions to Berbice, but there is linguistic evidence that this has happened (...). Bickerton then replies: "(...) That's because people haven't looked. That's exactly what we got in Hawaii (...) **John McWhorter**: You can't compare it with Hawaii. It was more recent (...) **Norval Smith**: (...) for Berbice, the years from 1625 to 1675 are a complete blank. **Derek Bickerton**: Where are the van Peere [the owners of the Berbice colony] papers? The van Peeres didn't keep any papers? **Norval Smith**: They may have written letters sometimes.... **Derek Bickerton**: Oh, come on, people write. The world is much better documented than you think. People write things down, officials have to write things down" (Huber & Parkvall 1999: 307, the names of the participants are bold in the original text).

5.1 Concise summary and discussion of the findings

The main aim of the current investigation of the archives at the ARA was based on precisely these grounds: 'The world is better documented than you think. People write things down'. The court records (depositions, statements and examinations) available at the ARA were studied in order to determine whether or not they could be a valuable source of information on the emergence and development of ESR. Based on the amount of data gathered one might conclude that they are not, since relatively few ESR words (561) and sentences (54) were found. This is not enough to substantiate any claims on the emergence and development of ESR without adding information from other 18th century sources.

On the other hand, the search of the archives yielded the oldest sentences in ESR (section 4.2.); they are even older than the Herlein fragment (1718). This discovery alone justifies the search for ESR data in the archives.

With regard to the ESR words identified, instances of derivational morphology, reduplication and compounding have been studied in chapter 3.

Derivational morphology occurs in the data as suffixation of **-man**. A distinction is made between direct borrowings from English or Dutch involving **-man** (such as **bossimam**), and those ESR words that are created by means of suffixing **-man** to a noun (**gadoman**), a verb (**lukuman**) or an adjective (**granman**). It might be a bit premature to define **-man** as a true suffix in these instances; it is not clear whether **-man** strongly refers to male gender - all words encountered refer to males, no words involving **-man** that refer to females have been discovered - or that its meaning has weakened to include males as well as females i.e.

changing from noun to a gender-neutral agentive suffix. It is argued that in constructions in which **man** is suffixed to the noun, the gender of the noun appears to be less important, otherwise **man** would be prefixed. Prefixed **man** and **kaka** function as sex indicators, specifying and emphasizing male gender; prefixed **uma** and **wentje** indicate and emphasize female gender.

Seven instances of reduplication were found; three are reduplications of verbs - **tanki tanki** 'thank', **kras kras** 'rash' and **tgerre tgerre** 'cloth or leaves worn on the head to carry weight'. The reduplication of the latter two - **kras kras** and **tgerre tgerre** - results in a categorial shift from verb to a "result noun" and an "instrument noun"¹⁰⁶, respectively. According to the framework developed by Kouwenberg & LaCharité (1999), these reduplications have a non-iconic meaning¹⁰⁷ and they are non-productive; it is likely that they developed under the influence of a West African substrate language.

Other reduplications encountered are **wiriwiri** and **tom tom**. These are probably borrowed *in toto* from a West-African language; no ESR base forms of these reduplications are known. It is difficult to establish what sort of reduplication **wanne wanne** is; it is unclear what it means. It might be the name of a plant, an herb, an animal or a piece of wood. Most likely, it is a reduplication of **wana** or **wane** 'leaves or wood of *Ocotea rubra*', borrowed from the Carib language. However, since its meaning is unclear, it is impossible to establish what type of reduplication it is, or to establish substrate influence.

The ESR compounds found are structured [noun-noun]_{NP}, [noun-verb]_{NP} or [verb-noun]_{NP}, [verb-adverb]_{VP}, [adjective-noun]_{NP} or [noun-adjective]_{NP}. Two [noun-noun]_{NP}'s - **hoūtbamba** and **boombamba** - deviate from other ESR and contemporary Sranan compounds with regard to the position of the head. Generally, the head in ESR compounds is placed on the right. The heads of these compounds, however, occur on the left.

At first, I presumed that these left-headed compounds could be explained as a result of substrate influence. However, this explanation is not compatible with Lefebvre's (1998) theory of compounding based on compounding in Haitian Creole. According to Lefebvre (1998), where [noun-noun] compounds are concerned the word order of compounds is determined by the word order in the syntactic phrase of the creole language. On the other hand, the word order in ESR and contemporary Sranan [noun-verb] compounds does not follow the word order in verb complements, while according to Lefebvre (1998) it should.

To my knowledge, compounds in ESR or contemporary Sranan have not been studied recently. The most recent study I am aware of is Echteld (1961); the objective of this study is to investigate to what extent English has contributed to the vocabulary and the word structure of

¹⁰⁶ Kouwenberg, S. & D. LaCharité (1999).

¹⁰⁷ "Iconicity of reduplication: *More of the same form stands for more of the same content*" (Kouwenberg & LaCharité 1999, italics in the original text).

Sranan. As a result of this objective, Echteld (1961) distinguishes between contemporary Sranan compounds, which have been created in accordance with an English model, and those which have not. As is shown in chapter 3, section 3.3.2.3, this distinction is superfluous since all compounds are ordered following the word order in syntactic phrases ([noun-noun]_{NP}), verb complements ([noun-verb]_{NP}) or noun phrases ([adjective-noun]_{NP}). Within this perspective, there is no difference whether a word originally derives from the superstrate languages or the substrate languages.

It would therefore be interesting to investigate all compounds (not only those with an English background) thoroughly in both ESR and contemporary Sranan, within a diachronic and a synchronic perspective. An additional comparison with Haitian Creole might be interesting from the point of view of refuting Lefebvre's theory on compounding. Haitian Creole - the creole language on which the theory is based - has [noun-noun]_{NP}'s, [adjective-noun]_{NP}'s, [noun-adjective]_{NP}'s and [verb-noun]_{NP}'s, while Sranan exhibits a wider variety of types of compounds: [noun-noun]_{NP}'s, [noun-verb]_{NP}'s, [verb-noun]_{NP}'s, [adjective-noun]_{NP}'s, [adjective-verb]_{NP}'s, [verb-adjective]_{NP}'s, [noun-adjective]_{NP}'s, [adjective-adjective]_{NP}'s, [adverb-adverb]_{adverb}, [preposition-noun]_{NP}'s, [numerical-noun-noun]_{NP}'s and [noun-preposition-noun]_{NP}'s¹⁰⁸.

In chapter 4 the first ESR sentences are studied thoroughly, in particular the possibility of **man** having multiple category status.

A selection of topics related to sentence syntax is made, based on the ESR sentences encountered. Negators, tense markers, the copula and auxiliary verbs are presented schematically in table 11. Other aspects of the verbal system are the 18th century durative (aspect) marker **de** and several occurrences of the movement verb **go** 'go'. These occurrences appear to represent several stages in the development of the movement verb **go** while turning into a future tense marker via processes of grammaticalization.

Three combinations of tense marker and mood markers occur; they have been discovered in several court records dating from 1757. Prior to this date, combinations of markers of tense, mood and aspect were not encountered until Van Dyk (±1765). However, the order of the combinations of these markers is opposite of what one would expect: A characteristic of creoles is their tense-mood(-aspect) (TM(A)) ordering of markers (Bickerton 1981, Bakker, Post & Van der Voort 1995), while combinations of markers found here are ordered mood-tense (MT). A choice, then, has to be made to explain the order in which these markers have occurred. If one wants to hold on to the creole-specific ordering of the markers of tense, mood and aspect, then one must accept that a category shift of the markers mentioned above has taken place. Alternatively, an exception needs to be made with regard to the rule that the markers of tense, mood and aspect occur in the invariant order TMA. More research of (the flexibility of) the 18th century TMA system of ESR is needed to explain what has happened here.

¹⁰⁸ This overview is based on Echteld (1961).

Other topics touched upon in chapter 4 concern the way questions are expressed in ESR, and the preposition **voor** and complementizer **voe** (**voeroe**). Questions are expressed by a change of intonation at the end of the utterance (rise of pitch), while word order etc. remain identical to the word order in declarative sentences. Another way of forming a question is by means of a question word (**hoe sambre**) in sentence initial position. The composition of this question word is in accordance with Muysken and Smith (1990), although it is not entirely clear if the questioned semantic unit (QSU) is ESR or, perhaps, (early) Saramaccan.

The ESR preposition **voor** and the ESR complementizer **voe(roe)** are related via processes of grammaticalization (Plag 1993). In the beginning the preposition **voor** - as it is found in the data from the archives, **fu** is its contemporary SR variant - only occurred preceding NPs. However, many lexical items have multiple category status i.e. they can be verbs and nouns as is illustrated with the verb/noun **fom**. If such an item is combined with, for example, a tense marker, then **fu** is reanalyzed as intermediate between a preposition on the one hand, and a complementizer on the other: It can take on both NPs and VPs, although its prepositional function as a case-assigner is weakened. The next step in the grammaticalization of **fu** is its acceptance of non-factive clauses with overtly expressed subjects, and non-finite clauses without overt subjects. Plag (1993) assumes that this process was completed by the end of the 18th century.

5.2 *Bakkratongo or nengretongo?*

Based on this investigation one might ask whether or not there are any differences in comparison with the variety of ESR reported in other 18th century sources. Although I have not been able to study all these sources as thoroughly as is required to answer this question definitively, there generally appear to be only a small number of differences, of which the left headed compounds **hoūtbamba** and **boombamba** and the order of the combined tense and mood markers **sa ben** stand out.

Several instances occur in which plural marking **-s** is attached to a noun¹⁰⁹, for example **papamonies** 'cowry shell' (1742, 1.05.10.02, 795, f 51 v^o), **wataamamas** 'rivergoddess' (1742, 1.05.10.02, 795, f 51 v^o) and **wirriwieries** 'weed, grass, feathers, human hair' (1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - r^o). These are probably Dutch borrowings from Sranan. They show up in texts written in Dutch i.e. they are Dutch interpretations of what is said in ESR during the investigation. The clerk attending the interrogation may not have known any suitable Dutch translations for these - in most instances- culturally highly salient words, and decided to borrow these words from ESR, adding the Dutch plural marker. In chapter 3 two other instances of

¹⁰⁹ Dutch plural marking or other explicit Dutch influence on ESR words are indicated with an asterisk in the Appendix.

Dutch borrowing Sranan words are presented: **dresneger** and **papageld**. The ESR verb **dresi** 'to cure' is the precursor of the Dutch verb **dressen** 'to cure' - which is related to the [verb-noun] compound **dresneger**, literally to cure-negro 'slave doctor'. The Dutch borrowing **papageld** is interesting, since the originally English word **(papa)moni** is replaced by the Dutch word **geld** 'money'. The texts in which these two Dutch borrowings are encountered are also written in Dutch.

Dutch influence is also felt in the use of the auxiliary verb **sal**¹¹⁰ instead of **sa**. See for example the occurrence of **sal** in the utterance of the Black Coridon, who is charged with possession of (poisonous?) elixirs:

“dat gem. stokies goed sijn voor belle jam, men moet het koken en drinken (...) dat hij als hun gesegt de voorm: stokies goed om tandpijn waere, ontkend zulx maer heer heald sijn gesegde met exprissie **mi no sal tron tongo**”
(1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v^o)¹¹¹

The difference between the occurrence of plural markers attached to the noun and the use of **sal** instead of **sa** is that the former is probably caused by the clerk i.e. it is not associated with ESR, while the latter might be regarded as **bakkratongo**, the acrolectal variety of ESR, which is more or less expected since Coridon answers a question directed at him by one of the white prosecutors.

The ESR sentences dating from 1707 are definitely not acrolectal: These sentences represent a dialogue between the two quarreling Blacks Mingo and Waly on the plantation Palmeneribo located at the Suriname River.

In other words, the ESR data discovered in the judicial archives represent a wide variety of ESR.

In chapter 2 the problem of knowing when the creole is being quoted accurately has been discussed. It is argued that the chances of inaccurate representation are minimized in the current investigation due to the nature of the documents consulted. Since they are court records (depositions, statements and examinations), it was expected that the ESR words and sentences found were direct representations of what was actually being said during the examination.

In general, there is no reason to doubt that the ESR data discovered are accurate reproductions of the ESR spoken during the interrogation. In some cases, several court records documenting

¹¹⁰ There is a Dutch auxiliary verb **zullen** (1-3SG **zal**) expressing future time reference in much the same way. On the other hand, the auxiliary **sal** also occurs in Van Dyk (± 1765), which is regarded by several scholars as a representation of a conservative variety of ESR, spoken on the plantations located at a distance from the main city of Surinam, Paramaribo.

¹¹¹ **mi no sal tron tongo**
I NEG FUT turn tongue
'I shall not contradict (deny)'
(1745, 1.05.10.02, 798, f - v^o)

the same event were available. For example, with regard to the order of the mood marker **sa** and the tense marker **ben**, there were three records in which they occurred: The interrogation of the Black Avontuur and two other records of the Whites, who witnessed Avontuur uttering these words. Other cases concern the first ESR sentences encountered, the left-headed compounds **hoūtbamba** and **boombamba**, the reduplication **coene coene** and the complementizer **voe(roe)**. The availability of several records per case provided the means to check thoroughly whether or not the ESR utterances spoken were represented accurately.

One of the most interesting questions regarding the emergence of creole languages is whether they emerge gradually (at least 60-70 years) or instantly (within one or two generations). Although this question is not reflected in the main aim of this thesis, the perspective within which several topics are discussed to present the ESR data, associates with this fundamentally important question. For example, the question whether **man** in the sentences dating from 1707 could be analyzed as a noun or a verb is studied in order to establish if the dialogue could be regarded as early - perhaps even pidgin - ESR.

With regard to the suffix **-man**, it is concluded that it is premature to define it as a true suffix meaning 'person' or 'do-ER', because it is not clear whether **-man** strongly refers to male gender in the ESR examples discovered or that it already operates as a gender neutral agentive suffix. Instead it is argued that the process of word-formation involving **-man** reached an intermediate stage in the middle of the 18th century in which the use of **-man** meaning '(male) person' or '(male) do-er' was productive (cf. Arends (1995b), Bruyn (1995)), but not completely gender-neutral. The suffix **-man** is gender-neutral at the end of the 18th century.

Other instances of grammaticalization studied also indicate that during the 18th century ESR was a highly dynamic language: The development of the ESR preposition **fu** or **voor** - as it is encountered in the ESR data - into a complementizer; and several stages in the development of the main lexical verb **go** turning into a tense marker.

The answer to the question whether creole languages emerge gradually or instantly ultimately depends on which linguistic features are judged to be the defining or essential features of a language. In this thesis, no such claims have been made. The emphasis here lies primarily on change and variation in ESR, stressing its dynamic nature.

5.3 Other archives

The research described in this thesis was conducted in the judicial archives of the ARA, located in The Hague, the Netherlands. There are other collections of 17th and 18th texts, which might contain linguistic and metalinguistic evidence of the emergence and development of ESR. For example, the archives of the Public Record Office at Middelburg in the province of Zeeland, the Netherlands, could be examined; Voorhoeve (1961) has conducted an initial investigation of

these archives, which has not yet been completed. There are also the archives of (heirs of) plantation-owners; Beeldsnijder (1994) and Oostindie (1989) have conducted their research there from a historical point of view. The Moravian missionaries have also set up archives. These have been studied by the anthropologists Hoogbergen (1981), and Price & Price (1983) primarily from an anthropological point of view.

5.4 The significance of metalinguistic evidence

To conclude this chapter, and this thesis, the significance of metalinguistic evidence for the study of the emergence and development of ESR (and other creole languages, for that matter) is brought up once more. For example, without the knowledge of the geographical origins of the people imported into Surinam it is impossible to determine which substrate languages have influenced Sranan. If one didn't know that Surinam was ruled by the English in the early days of its colonization, then one could not explain the English features in ESR. In other words, a scholar of the creole languages of Surinam needs to know the history of Surinam. Other metalinguistic factors that might have influenced the formation and development of ESR are social stratification, nativeness and geographical location - see chapter 1.

The ESR data discovered have been presented with as much metalinguistic information as possible. Names of the persons involved, plantations, origin, the nature of the accusation, information on the contact setting etc. have been reported where possible. Therefore, I would like to conclude with a short account of a trial, although no ESR words or sentences have been found in the court records documenting this trial. The non-appearance of ESR is the keyword here, since this is exactly the reason why the widow Mrs. Coenen accused the Jew Mr. S.C. Nassy: In 1773, he had sold her 22 slaves, who, according to Coenen, did not speak ESR, while Nassy claimed they did. Coenen even had to invite a translator, Mr. Reule, to communicate with her slaves:

“Heeft wijlen den Heer Coenen niet op uwen raad den Directeur Reule van de plantagie Soeten aan Paramaribo ontboden, om reedenen dat de nieuwe slaaven die de neeger engelsche taal niet verstonden en Cormantijns waaren, welke taal hij Reule konde spreken om deselve Cormantijnse nieuwe neegers te examineren en te vragen of sij wel genegen waren den Heer Koenen en uw te dienen” (1773, 1.05.10.02, 932, f - r^o)

“Segt ter liefde van de Waarheid door welke middelen van uwe swakheid hoopt te weten te bedienen om uw te doen verklaring, dat die nieuwe slaaven prompt de neegerengelsche taal kunnen spreken en een geheel gesprek in die taal met uwe te houden dat deselve bij uw niet souden verkrijgen de Joodsche sabbat en feestdagen, daar deselve neegers so als bewesen is selfs door uwe daden met het sende van den Directeur Reule, dat die slaven neegerengelsche taal niet of weinig kunde spreken, daar deselve enige maanden van te voren bij Cancannes

gewoont te hebben, alwaar immers geen Joodsche Sabbat en feestdagen wordt gehouden. Segt dat haar slaven aan haar deposanten heben gesegt, dat toen die slaven op de plantagie wonen en op zondag brand houd voor de keuken en de kost voor haar moest halen zig beklagt te hebben dat sij geen feesten en Sabbathdag kregen, soo als sij gewent waren bij haar vorige meesters te krijgen” (1773, 1.05.10.02, 932, f - r^o)

The following passages are quoted from the interrogation of Nassy, who sticks to his story:

“Hoe hebt uw op uw kunnen verkrijgen, ligtvaardig te geen krijgen, dat de slaaven de neeger engelsche taal prompt spreken konde, daar Reule expres aan Paramaribo moest komen met de slaven de cormijnsche taal te spreken op daar denselve Reule, Cannas, Rijnet en alle getuygen ja uw selve bekent is, dat die neegers weinig of niet de neegerEngelsche taal konden spreken. Blijft persisteren dat verschiejde van die slaven de neegerengelsche taal hebbe kunnen spreken soo als hij na dato op de plantage heeft ondervonden, dat hij alle meest, de negerengelschee taal konden verstaan en hebbe gehoord te krijgen” (1773, 1.05.10.02, 932, f - v^o)

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Appendix

Categorization of ESR content words per type.....	75
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Table 12. Categorization of content words, presented by type (sum = 136) and token (sum = 414) - chapter 3

Category	Type	Token	Category	Type	Token
A) Herbs, magic, medicine	20	54	H) Family, kinship	4	7
B) Wood, trees, undergrowth	13	32	I) Ethnic group	9	77
C) Food	21	63	J) Articles of use	21	50
D) Animals	8	12	K) Job, task, occupation	16	62
E) Environment, location	5	7	L) House, kitchen	2	20
F) Diseases	6	11	M) Curses, name-calling	3	3
G) Bodyparts	6	10	N) Other	2	6

Categorization of ESR content words per type

Words marked with an asterisk have a Dutch plural marker **-s** or **-en**, or are Dutch borrowings from ESR.

A) Herbs, magic, medicine (type = 21, token = 54)

*loeckt	2
agoema wiriwiri	2
assoua wiriwiri	1
beta wiriwiri	3
campoene	1
cibolo	1
cormarnie	1

doopi	1
dressie	5
enobia	1
gado	5
genge	1
magie	1
majes	1

mompe wirriwierie	1
ogerii	4
*papamonies	3
tourara	1
wanne wanne	1
wiriwiri	16
wisie	2

B) Wood, trees, undergrowth (type = 12, token = 32)

*makayen	1
appoucahout	1
bambahout	4
banna	5

capuarie	5
gujavie (boom)	1
kaoro	1
kattentree	5

maka	2
mangro	3
maripa	1
tras	3

C) Food (type = 20, token = 63)

*napis	2
bakkeljauw	12
biesie	1
coemoe	1
coene coene	2
daggu vis	1
dram	15

kain	3
kasaba	4
koebiston	2
kweek ooko	2
malassie	7
omakkay	1
ooko	1

ookrom	1
pampoene	1
papa	1
patassie	1
soekre	1
tom tom	4

D) Animals (type = 8, token = 12)

cawerie	2
kajeman	2
krabbe	2

monkie	1
pattage	1
paka	2

sirica	1
voule	1

E) Environment, location (type = 5, token = 7)

contre	3
mongo	1

pasi	1
ple	1

*swampe	1
---------	---

F) Diseases (type = 6, token = 11)

belli jam	3
hatti tron	1

*jaas	3
krabbejaas	2

kras kras	1
siekke	1

G) Bodyparts (type = 6, token = 10)

hedé	2
nekkie	1

pima	2
rassie	1

sij	3
tongo	1

H) Family, kinship, relatedness etc. (type = 4, token = 7)

mama	3
tata	1

contreman	2
masseranegre	1

I) Ethnicity (type = 10, token = 77)

baccara	8
boesineger	7
bossiman	1
crioole	17

colingo neger	1
cormantijn	14
fransen ¹¹²	1

loango	12
ningre	5
papa	11

J) Articles of use (type = 21, token = 50)

barbekotte	2
bassekiete	4
cloosie	3
calbassie	8
garden	1
hangmack	2
kamisie	1

kassie	1
lancie	2
rokoe	2
pontie	1
koja	1
pagale	1
tgerre tgerre	1

toebaka	1
santi	4
soopie	1
kissie	3
warimboe	8
wisjewasje	1
zokkie	2

K) Job/Task/Occupation (type = 16, token = 62)

*dresneger	1
basa	2
boy	7
capa~o	1
gadoman	7
gadosabie	1

granman	1
lukuman	7
masra	11
missie	9
mistre worke	1

voetebooj	9
voevoereman	1
wataamamas	2
wiesieman	1
wiriwiriman	1

L) House, kitchen (type = 2, token = 20)

hosse	1
-------	---

kookerom	19
----------	----

M) Curses, term of abuse etc. (type = 3, token = 3)

gadamie	1
---------	---

lasi	1
------	---

mamzei	1
--------	---

N) Other (type = 2, token = 16)

soeman	4
--------	---

libi	2
------	---

¹¹² De fransen. Daardoor verstaen de neegers alhier een vijand, schoon sij altijt seggen als de fransen komen, omdat die hier in vorige tijden hier als vijanden gekomen sijn (1759, 1.05.04.06, 308, f 49 v^o).

Table 13. Presentation of ESR words based on their syntactic features (sum = 561) - chapter 3

Syntactic category	Type	Token	Syntactic category	Type	Token
noun	132	313	complementizer	5	12
pronouns	7	75	preposition	2	15
verbs	38	88	negator	1	13
TMA-marker	4	16	determiner	2	5
adjective	7	9	question-word	3	3
adverb	6	9	interjection	2	3

Presentation of ESR words based on their syntactic features (per type)

Nouns (type = 132, token = 313)

*dresneger	1
*jaas	3
*makayen	1
*napi	2
*papamonies	3
*swampe	1
wataamamas	2
agoema wiriwiri	2
appoucahout	1
assoua wiriwiri	1
baccara	8
bakkeljauw	12
bambahout	4
banna	5
basa	2
bassekiete	4
barbekotte	2
belli jam	3
beta wiriwiri	3
biesie	1
boesineger	7
bossiman	1
boy	7
calbassie	8
campoene	1
capa~o	1
capuarie	5
cawerie	2
cibolo	1
cloosie	3
coemoe	1
coene coene	2
colingo (neger)	1
contre	3
contreman	2
cormantijn	14
cormarnie	1
crioole	17
daggu (vis)	1
dram	15
dressie	5
enobia	1
fransen	1

gado	5
gadoman	7
gadosabie	1
garden	1
granman	1
genge	1
gujavie (boom)	1
hangmack	2
hatti tron	1
hedé	2
hosse	1
kain	3
kajeman	2
kamisie	1
kaoro	1
kasaba	4
kassie	1
kattentree	5
kissie	3
koebiston	2
koja	1
kookerom	19
krabbe	2
krabbejaas	2
kras kras	1
kweek ooko	2
lancie	2
lasi	1
libi	2
loango	12
lukuman	7
majes	1
magie	1
maka	2
malassie	7
mama	3
mamzei	1
mangro	3
maripa	1
masra	11
masseranegre	1
missie	9
mistre worke	1

mompe wirriwierie	1
mongo	1
monkie	1
nekkie	1
ogerii	4
ookrom	1
omakkay	1
ooko	1
pagale	1
paka	2
pampoen	1
papa	12
pasi	1
patassie	1
pattage	1
pima	2
ple	1
pontie	1
rassie	1
rokoe	2
santi	4
sij	3
sirica	1
soekre	1
soeman	4
soopie	1
tata	1
tgerre tgerre	1
toebaka	1
tom tom	4
tongo	1
tourara	1
tras	3
voetebooj	9
voevoerman	1
voule	1
wanne wanne	1
warimboe	8
wiriwiri	16
wirwiriman	1
wisie	2
wiesieman	1
wisjewasje	1
zokkie	2

Pronouns (type = 7, token = 75)

a	2
dat	2
dem	1

hem	9
joe	20

mi	38
wie	3

Verbs - stative (type = 4, token = 6)

*capto	1
dede	1

tan	2
-----	---

tappe	2
-------	---

Verbs - nonstative (type = 25, token = 54)

audi	1
dankie	7
doe	5
fom	3
go	5
helpi	1
hietie	1
kiesie	1
killi	2

kom	2
kom oppo	2
leerie	2
loekoe	6
mekka	1
pakie	1
potti	3
romotto	1
selle	1

sendie	2
sie	2
soetoe	3
sorie	3
takie	1
tron	1
voeloe	1
wakke	1

TMA markers (type = 4, token = 16)

ben	5
de	1

go	1
----	---

sa	9
----	---

Copula (type = 3, token = 8)

da (LOC)	5
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da (EQ)	1
---------	---

de (LOC)	2
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Auxiliary verbs (type = 6, token = 20)

caba	4
habi	2

kan	1
man	6

wanti	2
sabi	5

Negator (type = 1, token = 13)

no	13
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Adjectives (type = 7, token = 9)

alle	1
biegie	1
bon	1

goedoe	1
gran	3

han	1
pikien	1

Adverbs (type = 6, token = 9)

dan	1
dape	1

nú	2
siekke	1

tide	3
oppo	1

Complementizers (type = 5, token = 12)

dan	5
date	1

eevie	2
langa	2

voeroe	2
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Determiners/Demonstratives (type = 2, token = 5)

di	1
----	---

wan	4
-----	---

Prepositions (type = 2, token = 15)

na	13
----	----

voor	2
------	---

Question words (type = 3, token = 3)

hoe ple	1
---------	---

hoe sambre	1
------------	---

hoe santi	1
-----------	---

Interjections (type = 2, token = 3)

aaïj	2
------	---

o	1
---	---

Presentation of ESR sentences

1707:		
1.	Mingo, Joù no man Mingo you NEG can 'Mingo, you can't'	1.05.04.01, 234, f 257 r ^o
2.	Mie Man I can 'I can'	1.05.04.01, 234, f 257 r ^o
3.	Mingo Joù no man Mingo you NEG can 'Mingo, you can't'	1.05.04.01, 234, f 268 v ^o
4.	Mij man I can 'I can'	1.05.04.01, 234, f 268 v ^o
5.	joù gho tham you go then 'You go then'	1.05.04.01, 234, f 268 v ^o
6.	nù wanti dat now want that 'Now, I want that'	<i>Alternative (see chapter 4):</i> NEG want that 'I don't want that'
7.	nù wanti dat now want that 'I want that now', yoù no meester voor mi you NEG master for I 'You are not my master'	<i>Alternative (see chapter 4):</i> NEG want that 'I don't want that'
8.	Joù no man you NEG can 'you can't'	1.05.04.01, 234, f 272 v ^o
9.	mi man I can 'I can'	1.05.04.01, 234, f 272 v ^o
10.	Joù go dan you go then 'You go then'	1.05.04.01, 234, f 272 v ^o

1745:		
11.	Gado, doopi hem Lord possess (?) he 'the lord possessed him' mama, kom na hem hede, mother come LOC he head 'the goddess came to his head', soo habi hem na di libi have him LOC that leave (departure) 'and made him leave that (the head)'	<i>This translation is not completely accurate.</i>
12.	hoe sambre dee Q people there 'Who is there?'	1.05.10.02, 798, f- v ^o
13.	mi no sal tron tongo I NEG FUT turn tongue 'I shall not deny (contradict)'	1.05.10.02, 798, f- v ^o
14.	mi da hietie joe I FUT hit you 'I'll hit you'	1.05.10.02, 798, f- v ^o
15.	mi doe langa hem caba I do with him finish 'I am done with him'	1.05.10.02, 798, f- v ^o

16.	mi no sabi hoe ple alle santi kom oppo I NEG kwno Q place all thing come-from 'I don't know where all these things have come from'	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o
17.	mi potti na wan sij caba I put LOC one side finish 'I have put (him) on one side'	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o
18.	mi pothi hem na wan sij caba I put LOC him one side finish 'I have put him on one side'	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o
19.	mie pothie hem na wan sij caba I put LOC one side finish 'I have put him on one side'	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o
20.	mie potti hem na wan sij Caba I put LOC one side finish 'I have put him on one side'	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o

1747:

21.	mekka tan booy make+him stay boy 'Make him stay, boy'	1.05.10.02, 929, f - v ^o
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1755:

22.	dankie dankie booy thank thank booy 'Thank you, thank you, boy'	1.05.04.06, 296, f 674 r ^o
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1757:

23.	mie wisie mie daa na Tampatie, I wish I be-there in Tempati 'I wish I was in Tempatie' dan mis sa lerre Backaraman voeroe fom negre then I FUT teach Whiteman COMP hit negro 'then I would teach the Whitemen to hit negroes'	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 r ^o
24.	evie mi massra ben sendie mie go na Tampatie If I master PAST send I go LOC Tempati 'If my master sent me to Tempati', dan mie sa ben Soria dem Backara then I FUT PAST show the White 'then I would show the Whites'	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 r ^o
25.	mie wie sie mie de Tampati I wish I be Tempati 'I wish I was in Tampati', dan mie zoe leere bakra voe fom ningre then I FUT teach White COMP hit negro 'then I would teach the Whites to hit negroes'	1.05.10.02, 942, f 261 v ^o
26.	eevie a ben die na tampatie If he PAST be-there LOC Tempati 'If he was in tampatie', tan mie sa son leerie da bakra voeroe fom negre then I FUT PAST teach the White COMP hit negro 'then I would teach the Whites to hit negroes'	1.05.10.02, 942, f 269 r ^o
27.	evie mie massra ben sende migo na Tampatie If I master PAST send I go LOC Tempati 'If my master sent me to Tempati', dan mie sa ben soorie dem Backara then I FUT PAST show the White 'then I would show the Whites'	1.05.10.02, 942, f 269 r ^o

1759:		
28.	na nekkie na hedi tappe en na bakkie lange na rassie LOC neck LOC head on-top-of and LOC back and LOC arse 'from the neck to the top of the head and on the back, and on the buttocks'	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o
29.	Argus mie dede Argus, I be-dead 'Argus, I am dying'	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o
30.	hoe santie tide Q thing today 'this is what happened today', Picorna soetoe mi Picorna shoot I 'Picorna shot me', da him, it-be he 'It is him', mie sie him I see him 'I saw him', da no boesi neger it-be NEG bushnegro 'It was not a bushnegro'	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o
31.	Aaij booij tide mie kiesie joe Yes boy today I catch you 'Yes, boy, today I caught you'	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o
32.	massara Apolo takie Asart vae Picorna soetoe him master Apolo say Asart of Picorna shoot he 'Master, Apolo said, that Asart belonging to Picorna shot him'	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o
33.	mie habi jou tide booij I have you today boy 'Today, I have you, boy'	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o

1760:		
34.	dem no sa doe joe wan santie they NEG FUT do you one thing 'They shall not do you a thing (harm)'	1.05.04.06, 309, f 47 v ^o
35.	louke soldate baccara look soldier White 'Look, white soldier'	1.05.04.06, 309, f - v ^o

1761:		
36.	Joe wiesie dat soekre you poison that sugar 'You poisoned that sugar'	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o
37.	Mino fia I+NEG fear 'I am not afraid'	1.05.04.06, 312, f 81 r ^o
38.	tata paki mongo father ? mountain	<i>name of a mountain</i> 1.05.04.06, 313, f 307 v ^o
39.	gado brooki sandie lord break sand	<i>name of a sandy plain?</i> 1.05.04.06, 313, f 307 v ^o
40.	kom hier masseranegre, come here fellow-slave 'Come here, fellow-slave', mi da bossimam I be bushnegro 'I am a bushnegro', mi no zal doe joù okri I NEG FUT do you evil 'I shall not do you harm'	1.05.04.06, 313, f 318 v ^o

41.	tan boy of mi schoete joù stay boy or I shoot you 'Wait, boy, or I shoot you'	1.05.04.06, 313, f 318 v°
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1762:

42.	O goedoe gado masra, koudemaas de foen mi misjie O good lord master Koudemaas PRES rape I woman 'O good heavens, master, Koudemaas is raping my wife'	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v°
43.	joù kielle mie, joù kielle mie you kill I you kill I 'You killed me, you killed me'	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v°
44.	danki massara wie da ningre voor joe please master we be negro for you 'Please, master, we are your negroes', no kill NEG kill 'Don't kill us'	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v°
45.	tanki tanki massera kom helpi mi, please please master come help I 'Please, please, master, come and help me, dem kili ningre they kill negro 'they are killing negros'	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 v°
46.	joe no sie bakkra you NEG see whites 'Don't you see any Whites?'	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 r°
47.	Joe mama P: you mother cunt 'your mothers cunt'	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 r°
48.	Joù mama, Pima you mother cunt 'your mothers cunt'	1.05.04.06, 315, f 347 r°
49.	Massera mi no kan kom, master I NEG can come 'Master, I can't come', somma voeloe rommotto mi people many surround I 'many people surround me', detappe pasi they+close road 'they block the road'	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 r°

1763:

50.	moses moses kom oppe Moses Mosed wake up 'Moses, Moses, wake up', voevoereman na hosse dappe thief LOC house on-top-of 'a thief is on the roof of the house'	1.05.10.02, 808, f - v°
51.	joe saa libe mistre worke, you FUT leave lay-bricks work 'You shall leave your masonry', goo selle joe voule, go sell you poultry 'Go sell your poultry', joe noe sa go you NEG FUT go 'You won't go'	1.05.10.02, 808, f - v°

1766:		
52.	<p>Grand Gado soli wi , big lord show we 'The master showed us', date wi no do bon that we NEG do good 'we did not do that well', maar mi no sabi but I NEG know 'But I didn't know', Musingo sabi, Mattuari negre doe ourgie, Musingo know, Matuari negro do evil 'Musingo knows, the Matuari negroes did harm', mi no sabi grand Gado I NEG know big lord 'I didn't know the master'</p>	1.05.04.06, 330, f 116 r ^o
53.	<p>Jou Captein Dorig mama p ----- you captain Dorig mother cunt</p>	1.05.04.06, 331, f 429 v ^o
1767:		
54.	<p><i>Aja, mie sabie jou</i> Ay I know you 'Ay, I know you'</p>	1.05.10.02, 813, f - v ^o

1827:	
America, opo doro, mi tjorie goedoe America open door I carry goods 'America, open the door, I am carrying goods'	1.05.10.02, 918, f- v ^o
da pekien bakra soetoe massera Pruising the little White shoot master Pruising 'The little White shot master Pruising'	1.05.10.02, 918, f- v ^o
datti mi zweri that I swear 'That I swear'	1.05.10.02, 918, f- v ^o
dattie mi zweri that I swear 'That I swear'	1.05.10.02, 918, f- v ^o
loeke wan mooi sanie look one pretty thing 'Look, (that is) a pretty thing'	1.05.10.02, 918, f- v ^o
loekoe wan mooi sanie look one pretty thing 'Look, (that is) a pretty thing' loeke boen, masera! look good master 'Beware, master', da gon laai the gun are-loaded 'The gun is loaded'	1.05.10.02, 918, f- v ^o
loekoe wan mooi sanij look one pretty thing 'Look, (that is) a pretty thing'	1.05.10.02, 918, f- v ^o
loekoeboen, masra, da gon laai beware master the gun are-loaded 'Beware master, the gun is loaded'	1.05.10.02, 918, f- v ^o
masra scriviman dede, master bookkeeper be-dead 'The bookkeeper is dead', da pekien masra soetoe him the little master shoot him 'The young master shot him'	1.05.10.02, 918, f- v ^o
Masra scriviman dede, master bookkeeper be-dead 'The bookkeeper is dead', pekien masra soetoe him little master shoot him 'The young master shot him'	1.05.10.02, 918, f- v ^o
masra! Scriviman dede master bookkeeper be-dead 'Master, the bookkeeper is dead', pekien masra soetoe him little master shoot him 'The young master shot him'	1.05.10.02, 918, f- v ^o
Massera joe no moe teki da gon, a laai master you NEG must take the gun it be-loaded 'Master, you must not take the gun, it is loaded'	1.05.10.02, 918, f- v ^o
massera joe no moe teki dan gon, bien a ben laai master you NEG must take the gun Bien he PAST be-loaded 'Master, you must not take the gun, Bien, he had it loaded'	1.05.10.02, 918, f- v ^o
massera jou no moe teki da gon, dan gon laai master you NEG must take the gun, the gun be-loaded 'Master, you must not take the gun, the gun is loaded'	1.05.10.02, 918, f- v ^o
massera scrifiman dede master bookkeeper be-dead 'The bookkeeper is dead'	1.05.10.02, 918, f- v ^o

Presentation of words

Abbreviations:

S – Schumann's dictionary (3rd edition, 1783)

F – Focke's dictionary (1855)

VA - Woordenlijst Sranan Nederlands English (1981)¹¹³

VD - Van Donselaar (1989)

1702:			
1.	rokoe	1.05.01.02, 1137, f - v ^o	no gloss in S or F, VD: roekoe , 'anatto of orleaan'
2.	rokoe	1.05.01.02, 1137, f - v ^o	no gloss in S or F, VD: roekoe , 'anatto of orleaan'
	Rack a Rack	1.05.01.02, 1137, f - v ^o	plantation
	Coppenname	1.05.01.02, 1137, f - v ^o	region in Suriname
	Tijgerhol	1.05.01.02, 1137, f - v ^o	alias of Commewijne (river)
1704:			
3.	bananes boomen	1.05.04.01, 231 f 137 r ^o	'banana trees', S: bánnana , banna , 'bannane, pisang', F: baäna , 'bananne'
	Acaroribo	1.05.04.01, 231 f 137 v ^o	plantation
1707:			
4.	dat	1.05.04.01, 234, f 271v ^o	'that', S: datti 'das, dieses; it. dieser, diese', F: dátti , 'dat'
5.	dat	1.05.04.01, 234, f 271 v ^o	'that', S: datti 'das, dieses; it. dieser, diese', F: dátti , 'dat'
6.	dram	1.05.04.01, 234, f 255 r ^o	strong liquor, no gloss in S, F: dram , 'eene soort van geestrijke drank (Eng. a dram)'
7.	go	1.05.04.01, 234, f 272 v ^o	'go', S: go 'gehen, weggehen', F: go 'gaan, vertrekken, 2) zullen'
8.	gho	1.05.04.01, 234, f 268 v ^o	'go', S: go 'gehen, weggehen', F: go 'gaan, vertrekken, 2) zullen'
9.	jou	1.05.04.01, 234, f 257 v ^o	'you', 2SG S: ju 'du, dir, dich; dein, deine', F: joe (ji) 'gij, u; 2) uw, uwe'
10.	jou	1.05.04.01, 234, f 268 v ^o	'you', 2SG S: ju 'du, dir, dich; dein, deine', F: joe (ji) 'gij, u; 2) uw, uwe'
11.	jou	1.05.04.01, 234, f 268 v ^o	'you', 2SG S: ju 'du, dir, dich; dein, deine', F: joe (ji) 'gij, u; 2) uw, uwe'
12.	jou	1.05.04.01, 234, f 272 v ^o	'you', 2SG S: ju 'du, dir, dich; dein, deine', F: joe (ji) 'gij, u; 2) uw, uwe'
13.	jou	1.05.04.01, 234, f 271 v ^o	'you', 2SG S: ju 'du, dir, dich; dein, deine', F: joe (ji) 'gij, u; 2) uw, uwe'
14.	jou	1.05.04.01, 234, f 272 v ^o	'you', 2SG S: ju 'du, dir, dich; dein, deine', F: joe (ji) 'gij, u; 2) uw, uwe'
15.	lancie	1.05.04.01, 234, f 270 v ^o	'spear', no gloss in S, F: lánsri "lans, jagtspriet"
16.	malassie	1.05.04.01, 234, f 83 v ^o	'treacle', no gloss in S, F: malássi 'melasse, stroop'
17.	man	1.05.04.01, 234, f 257 r ^o	'can', S: mann , "Mannsperson; der Mann einer Frau; alles, was männlichen geschlechts ist", F: mán , "zwn. man; 2) het mannetje van een dier. 2) bijv. nw. mans, voor iets berekend, bekwaam"
18.	man	1.05.04.01, 234, f 272 v ^o	'can', S: mann , "Mannsperson; der Mann einer Frau; alles, was männlichen geschlechts ist", F: mán , "zwn. man; 2) het mannetje van een dier. 2) bijv. nw. mans, voor iets berekend, bekwaam"
19.	man	1.05.04.01, 234, f 272 v ^o	'can', S: mann , "Mannsperson; der Mann einer Frau; alles, was männlichen geschlechts ist", F: mán , "zwn. man; 2) het mannetje van een dier. 2) bijv. nw. mans, voor iets berekend, bekwaam"
20.	man	1.05.04.01, 234, f 268 v ^o	'can', S: mann , "Mannsperson; der Mann einer Frau; alles, was männlichen geschlechts ist", F: mán , "zwn. man; 2) het mannetje van een dier. 2) bijv. nw. mans, voor iets berekend, bekwaam"

¹¹³ A more recent copy of the *Woordenlijst* has been published in 1995. Since I have not succeeded in obtaining this copy, I had to use the older copy. However, there are some instances in the list with a reference to the more recent copy, these have been provided by Dr. J. van Donselaar. I would like to thank him for making this effort and for taking the time to tutor me.

21.	man	1.05.04.01, 234, f 268 v ^o	'can', S: mann , "Mannsperson; der Mann einer Frau; alles, was männlichen geschlechts ist", F: mán , "zwn. man; 2) het mannetje van een dier. 2) bijv. nw. mans, voor iets berekend, bekwaam"
22.	man	1.05.04.01, 234, f 257 r ^o	'can', S: mann , "Mannsperson; der Mann einer Frau; alles, was männlichen geschlechts ist", F: mán , "zwn. man; 2) het mannetje van een dier. 2) bijv. nw. mans, voor iets berekend, bekwaam"
23.	mie	1.05.04.01, 234, f 257 r ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
24.	mi	1.05.04.01, 234, f 271 v ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
25.	mi	1.05.04.01, 234, f 272 v ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
26.	mij	1.05.04.01, 234, f 268 v ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
27.	no	1.05.04.01, 234, f 257 r ^o	NEG, S: no 'nein, nicht', F: no 'neen, niet'
28.	no	1.05.04.01, 234, f 272 v ^o	NEG, S: no 'nein, nicht', F: no 'neen, niet'
29.	no	1.05.04.01, 234, f 271 v ^o	NEG, S: no 'nein, nicht', F: no 'neen, niet'
30.	no	1.05.04.01, 234, f 268 v ^o	NEG, S: no 'nein, nicht', F: no 'neen, niet'
31.	nú	1.05.04.01, 234, f 271 v ^o	'now' (probably Dutch?) no gloss in S, F or VD
32.	nú	1.05.04.01, 234, f 271 v ^o	'now' (probably Dutch?) no gloss in S, F or VD
33.	tham	1.05.04.01, 234, f 268 v ^o	'then', see chapter 3
34.	voor	1.05.04.01, 234, f 271 v ^o	'for', S: va, vo 'von; für; dass, auf dass, damit; um zu', F: foe 'van, voor, om, tot'
35.	wanti	1.05.04.01, 234, f 271 v ^o	'to want', S: wanni "wollen, mögen", F: wánni "willen, begeren, verkiezen, verlangen, bedoelen"
36.	wanti	1.05.04.01, 234, f 271 v ^o	'to want', S: wanni "wollen, mögen", F: wánni "willen, begeren, verkiezen, verlangen, bedoelen"
	luxemombo	1.05.04.01, 234, f 259 r ^o	plantation
	Palmeribo	1.05.04.01, 234, f 255 r ^o	plantation
	Luxemombo	1.05.04.01, 234, f 259 r ^o	plantation
	Waterland	1.05.04.01, 234, f 264 r ^o	plantation
1710:			
	Coppename	1.05.04.01, 238, f 233 r ^o	region in Suriname
	Saramaca	1.05.04.01, 238, f 233 v ^o	region in Suriname
1711:			
37.	mangroe	1.05.04.01, 239, f 42 v ^o	'mangrove', S: mangru , 'der Mangre, oder Mangel Baum (...) welcher an den Ufern der Flüsse u. See wächst, u. mit seinen vielen Füßen oder Luft-wurzeln dag ganze Ufer bedeckt', F: mángro , 'duizenbeenboom (Rizophora); 2) het land buiten de bedamming, dat met die heesters en boomen begroeid is; voorland, uiterwaarde', VD: mangro
	Sauribo	1.05.04.01, 239, f 42 r ^o	In the text is noted that this is the Indian name for a certain place, where mulat Ieremias lives with a few Indians.
	Wajampebe	1.05.04.01, 239, f 42 v ^o	Indian name for a place at the river to go ashore.
1713:			
	Wajampobo	1.05.04.01, 239, f 18 v ^o	Indian name for a place at the river to go ashore.
	Para	1.05.04.01, 240, f 18 v ^o	region
1723:			
38.	dram	1.05.10.02, 784, f 101 v ^o	strong liquor, no gloss in S, F: dram , 'eene soort van geestrijke drank (Eng. a dram)'
39.	hangmack	1.05.10.02, 784, f 116 v ^o	'hammock', F: hamákka , 'hangmat (Arr. hamakka)', S: hámma , 'hangmatte'.
40.	voetebooj	1.05.10.02, 784, f 74 v ^o	'servant', S: futuboi , 'Diener, Bedienter, Laquay' F: foetoe-bói , 'lijf knecht, kamenier'
1730:			
41.	bambahout	1.05.10.02, 787, f 25 r ^o	type of wood. No gloss in S or F, VD: bambahout , 'onbekende boom behorende tot het genus Ototea'
42.	capuarie	1.05.10.02, 786, f 46 r ^o	'thicket', S: kappewirri 'junger Busch, wieder aufgeschossenes Gesträuch', F: kapewéri 'struikgewas', VD kapoweri 'secundaire vegetatie'
43.	*missies	1.05.10.02, 786, f 46 v ^o	'lady, mistress', S: missi , 'sich vergehen (...); Vergehung (...); Frau, Meisterin, Egethümerin' F: mísi , 'dame, juffrouw, mevrouw, vrouw des huizes, meesteres'
44.	qujavie (boom)	1.05.10.02, 787, f 25 v ^o	sort of tree. S: kujába 'kujabas-Aepfel', F: goejába 'goyave, naam eener vrucht; 2) de boom daarvan', VD: goejave 'guave of gujave (Psidium guajava)'

1735:			
71.	campoene (bladeren)	1.05.10.02, 789, f 25 v ^o	type of leaves, no gloss in S, F, or VD. "dat het cruyt dat hij aen haer heeft gegeven is geweest Campoene bladeren en dat deselve aen hem niet anders hadde versogt als wieri wirrie om de blancke van de boekhouder (...) te dooden om hals te brengen"
72.	cibolo	1.05.10.02, 789, f 58 v ^o	nickname of a certain slave, no gloss in S, F, or VD.
73.	Coene Coene	1.05.10.02, 789, f 39 v ^o	rabbit or fish? S: kunnikunni – konikoni , 'Kaningen' F: koema-kóema , 'eene soort van visch, gelijkende naar de Passísí, doch donkerder' and koenà , 'naam van eene soort van visch'
74.	Coene Coene	1.05.10.02, 789, f 31 v ^o	rabbit or fish? S: kunnikunni – konikoni , 'Kaningen' F: koema-kóema : "eene soort van visch, gelijkende naar de Passísí, doch donkerder" and koenà "naam van eene soort van visch"
75.	dram	1.05.10.02, 789, f 43 v ^o	strong liquor, no gloss in S, F: dram , 'eene soort van geestrijke drank (Eng. a dram)'. F: dréssi , 'genezen, verbinden (...); 2) geneesmiddel, verband, zalfje, drankje, artenij'
76.	*dressen	1.05.10.02, 789, f 40 r ^o	framboesia tropica, S: jássi , 'eine Westindische Krankheit, ein böser Ausschlag oder Schwären, eine Art Blattern oder Pocken, welche fast alle Neger, auch manche Blanke krigen; sie is ansteckend. Die Krankheit währt gemeinlich über ein Jahr lang, auch wol 2 Jahr', F: jássi , 'jas, huidziekte, guinesche pokken'
77.	*Jaas	1.05.10.02, 789, f 40 r ^o	'kitchen', S: kukru , 'Küche; it. Herd, Ofen, Backofen' F: koekroe 'keuken', VD: kokerom 'uitbouw aan huis of losstaand gebouwtje in gebruik als keuken'
78.	kokerom	1.05.10.02, 789, f 40 r ^o	'kitchen', S: kukru , 'Küche; it. Herd, Ofen, Backofen' F: koekroe 'keuken', VD: kokerom 'uitbouw aan huis of losstaand gebouwtje in gebruik als keuken'
79.	kokerom	1.05.10.02, 789, f 40 r ^o	kweek 'cultivated', ooko : beverage of ripe banana/yucca-bread or edible fruit of <i>Hibiscus esculentus</i> . No gloss in S, F: okó , 'drank van cassavebrood of rijpe banannen vervaardigd' VA (1995) oko 'vruchtenmoes, spijssoort'
80.	kweek ooko	1.05.10.02, 789, f 17 r ^o	'treacle', no gloss in S, F: malássi 'melasse, stroop'.
81.	malassie	1.05.10.02, 789, f 43 v ^o	beverage of ripe banana/yucca-bread or edible fruit of <i>Hibiscus esculentus</i> . No gloss in S, F: okó , 'drank van cassavebrood of rijpe banannen vervaardigd' VA (1995) oko 'vruchtenmoes, spijssoort'
82.	Ooko	1.05.10.02, 789, f 39 v ^o	'pumpkin', S: pampún , 'Kurbis', F: pampoen , 'pompoen', VD: pampoen
83.	pampoen	1.05.10.02, 789, f 28 v ^o	queecq 'cultivated', ooke = ooko : beverage of ripe banana/yucca-bread or edible fruit of <i>Hibiscus esculentus</i> . No gloss in S, F: okó , 'drank van cassavebrood of rijpe banannen vervaardigd' VA (1995) oko 'vruchtenmoes, spijssoort'
84.	queecq ooke	1.05.10.02, 789, f 30 v ^o	'grass, hair, leaves, herbs', S: wirriwirri , 'Blätter von Baumen u. allen Gemachsen; alles Gras: Kraut; Blättchen Gras; Haare von Menschen u. Thieren; Borsten; Federn von Vögele; Stroh; ein Halm', F: wiwiri '(verkort voor wiri-wiri) 'haar, veeren, bladeren, kruid'
85.	wieri wirrie	1.05.10.02, 789, f 25 v ^o	
1736:			
86.	Kokerom	1.05.10.02, 102/169 v ^o	'kitchen', S: kukru , 'Küche; it. Herd, Ofen, Backofen' F: koekroe 'keuken', VD: kokerom 'uitbouw aan huis of losstaand gebouwtje in gebruik als keuken'
87.	kokerom	1.05.10.02, 104/171 v ^o	'kitchen', S: kukru , 'Küche; it. Herd, Ofen, Backofen' F: koekroe 'keuken', VD: kokerom 'uitbouw aan huis of losstaand gebouwtje in gebruik als keuken'
1737:			
88.	dram	1.05.10.02, 791, f 45 v ^o	strong liquor, no gloss in S, F: dram , 'eene soort van geestrijke drank (Eng. a dram)'. F: dréssi , 'genezen, verbinden (...); 2) geneesmiddel, verband, zalfje, drankje, artenij'
89.	*dram (smokkelaer)	1.05.10.02, 791, f 50 v ^o	'liquor smuggler', smokkelaer is Dutch

90.	barkeljouw	1.05.10.02, 791, f 11 v ^o	dried fish, no gloss in S, F: bákjáú (batjáú) , 'bakkeljauw, Amerikaanse gedroogde visch', VD: bakeljauw, bakkeljauw , 'sterk gezouten, gedroogde en weer opgekweekte kabeljauw'
91.	gadامية	1.05.10.02, 791(II), f 96 v ^o	curse 'God damn me'
1738:			
92.	boombamba (lans)	1.05.10.02, 792, f 1 v ^o	type of wood. No gloss in S or F, VD: bambaboom , 'onbekende boom behorende tot het genus Ototea'
93.	banna	1.05.10.02, 791, f 2 r ^o	'banana', S: bánnana, banna , 'bannane, pisang', F: baäna , 'bananne'
94.	kasaba	1.05.10.02, 792, f 2 v ^o	'cassava, manioc', S: kassaba , 'Kassabi-Wurzel u. brodt', F: kasába , 'kassave'
95.	koebistoon	1.05.10.02, 792, f 2 v ^o	fish. S: kubi 'der hiesige Schellfisch', F: kóebi 'naam van een visch, hier wel eens schelvisch genoemd', VD: koebiston 'kalksteen uit het evenwichtsorgaan in de kop van een koebi'
1740:			
96.	malassie	1.05.10.02, 793, f 208 v ^o	'treacle', no gloss in S, F: malássi 'melasse, stroop'.
1741:			
97.	*snoertie papageld	1.05.10.02, 794, f - v ^o	'string of shells', dutch derivation of papamoni .
98.	kallebasse	1.05.10.02, 795, f 75 v ^o	'gourd', S: kallabassi , 'ein Kallabas', F: krabási , 'kalebas', VD: kalebas .
99.	*soopies	1.05.10.02, 794, f - v ^o	'glasses/liquor' S: sopi , 'ein Schluck Brandtwein, soopje' F: sópi , 'zoopje, borrel, slok'
	Cottica	1.05.04.03, 268, f 886 v ^o	region
	Panika	1.05.04.03, 268, f 886 v ^o	plantation
1742:			
100.	basa	1.05.10.02, 795, f 57 v ^o	'black overseer', S: bassia , 'der Aufseher über die Neger bey der Arbeit', F: basiä (basjà) , 'bastiaan, negerofficier op de plantaadjen'
101.	cokerom	1.05.10.02, 795, f - v ^o	'kitchen', S: kukru , 'Küche; it. Herd, Ofen, Backofen' F: koekroe 'keuken', VD: kokerom 'uitbouw aan huis of losstaand gebouwtje in gebruik als keuken'
102.	cormarnie (blaaderen)	1.05.10.02, 795, f 57 v ^o	probably orthographic kromanti . No gloss in S, F: kromanti-wiwiri , 'een kruid, aldus genoemd (Justicia pectoralis)'. VA (1995): <i>Struchium Sparganophorum</i> .
103.	daggu vis	1.05.10.02, 795, f 159	'dog fish', no gloss in S or F, VA. VD: dagoeboi 'tienponder, een zilverkleurige vis (Elops saurus)'
104.	dram	1.05.10.02, 795, f 51 r ^o	strong liquor, no gloss in S, F: dram , 'eene soort van geestrijke drank (Eng. a dram)'. 105. dram 1.05.10.02, 795, f 61 v ^o strong liquor, no gloss in S, F: dram , 'eene soort van geestrijke drank (Eng. a dram)'. 106. dram 1.05.10.02, 795, f 61 v ^o strong liquor, no gloss in S, F: dram , 'eene soort van geestrijke drank (Eng. a dram)'.
105.	dram	1.05.10.02, 795, f 61 v ^o	
106.	dram	1.05.10.02, 795, f 61 v ^o	
107.	kallebasse	1.05.10.02, 795, f 75 v ^o	'gourd', S: kallabassi , 'ein Kallabas', F: krabási , 'kalebas', VD: kalebas .
108.	kookerom	1.05.10.02, 795, f 13 v ^o	'kitchen', S: kukru , 'Küche; it. Herd, Ofen, Backofen' F: koekroe 'keuken', VD: kokerom 'uitbouw aan huis of losstaand gebouwtje in gebruik als keuken'
109.	*papamonies	1.05.10.02, 795, f 51 v ^o	'cawry shell', S: papa-moni , 'eine Art musscheln, welche bey der Negern in Guinea als Geld münztze gelten ;hhier aber sehr haulig als obia gebraucht werden'. F: papà-móni , 'muntschulpjes, katjes in Afrika als geld in omloop; 2) een staar op het oog', VD: papamoni , 'kaurischelp'
110.	pattagge	1.05.10.02, 795, f 159 v ^o	probably a fish, S: patákka , 'eine Art Fische von mittlerer grösse, wohlsmeckend, aber sehr voll Gräten', F: patákka , 'eene soort van zoetwater-visch, patakker, VD: pataka
111.	sirica	1.05.10.02, 795, f 159 v ^o	crab. S: sirrisirra , 'Flusskrebse', F: sriká 'eene soort van rivier-krabbe met twee zwempoten', VA: srika
112.	wanne wanne	1.05.10.02, 795, f 159 v ^o	herb? S: wána, wana húdu , 'eine gute dauerhafte Art. Holz, zu Fahrzuegen u. Brettern. No gloss in F, VD: wana, wane , 'soor boom met kleine geurende bloempjes in gehaarde pluimen (Ocotea rubra)'
113.	Wataamamas	1.05.10.02, 795, f 54 v ^o	'water goddess', S: watra-mamma , 'eine der den Gado krigt oder hat, so viel als wintiman. it. ein faberhaftes abentheuerliches Ungefeuer im Wasser', F: watra-mamá ,

			'meermin, waterafgod', VD: watramama .
114.	wataamamas	1.05.10.02, 795, f 54 v ^o	'water goddess', S: watra-mamma , 'eine der den Gado krigt oder hat, so viel als wintiman. it. ein faberhaftes abentheuerliches Ungefeuer im Wasser', F: watra-mamà , 'meermin, waterafgod', VD: watramama .
1743:			
115.	dram	1.05.10.02, 937, f 174 v ^o	strong liquor, no gloss in S, F: dram , 'eene soort van geestrijke drank (Eng. a dram)'.
116.	kain	1.05.10.02, 796, f - v ^o	'cane', no gloss in S, F: ken , 'suikerriet', VD: keen, kaan , 'sugar cane'
117.	krabbe	1.05.10.02, 796, f - v ^o	'crab', S: krabbu , 'Krabben', F: kráboe , 'krabbe'
118.	soeman	1.05.10.02, 796, f - v ^o	'person', S: somma , 'Mensch, die Leute, jemand, wer?', F: sóema , 'mensch, persoon, iemand'
119.	voetebooi	1.05.04.03, 272, f 838 v ^o	'servant', S: futuboi , 'Diener, Bedienter, Laquay' F: foetoe-bói , 'lijf knecht, kamenier'
120.	voetebooi	1.05.04.03, 272, f 839 v ^o	'servant', S: futuboi , 'Diener, Bedienter, Laquay' F: foetoe-bói , 'lijf knecht, kamenier'
	Courmoutibo	1.05.04.03, 272, f 17 v ^o	river in Suriname
	Sinabo	1.05.04.03, 272, f 837 v ^o	plantation
1744:			
121.	tourara	1.05.10.02, 797, f - v ^o	no gloss in F, S or VD, see chapter 3.
122.	dram	1.05.04.03, 274, f 105 v ^o	strong liquor, no gloss in S, F: dram , 'eene soort van geestrijke drank (Eng. a dram)'.
1745:			
123.	alle	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'all', S: alla , 'alle, adjectivum constructum', F: alla , 'al, alle, alles'
124.	assoua wiri wiri	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	"segt tselve in sijn lant te nomen assoua wiri wiri ". No gloss in F, S, or VD. It might be of African origin as stated in the utterance of the interrogated slave. wiri wiri : 'grass, hair, leaves, herbs', S: wirriwirri , 'Blätter von Baumen u. allen Gemachsen; alles Gras: Kraut; Blättchen Gras; Haare von Menschen u. Thieren; Borsten; Federn von Vögele; Stroh; ein Halm', F: wiwiri '(verkort voor wiri-wiri) 'haar, veeren, bladeren, kruid. VD (p.c.) suggest that it might be translated as 'olifantsgras', since Sranan asaw means 'elephant'. However, the species of plants that are referred to by this name have not been imported into Suriname until 1945 (VD, p.c.)
125.	beta wiriwiri	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	sort of shrub/vegetable, no gloss in S or F, VD: name for a shrub with green-whitish leaves, the leaves are edible.
126.	bitta wirriwirri	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	sort of shrub/vegetable, no gloss in S or F, VD: name for a shrub with green-whitish leaves, the leaves are edible.
127.	bitta wirriwirri	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	sort of shrub/vegetable, no gloss in S or F, VD: name for a shrub with green-whitish leaves, the leaves are edible.
128.	belle jam	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'stomach-acke', belly eat, S: mi belle de jam mi , 'der Bauch thut mir weh', F: bére '(zelden) béle '
129.	belli jam	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'stomach-acke', belly eat, S: mi belle de jam mi , 'der Bauch thut mir weh', F: bére '(zelden) béle '
130.	belli jam	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'stomach-acke', belly eat, S: mi belle de jam mi , 'der Bauch thut mir weh', F: bére '(zelden) béle '
131.	boy	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'boy', used to adress a slave. S: boi , 'ein Knabe, Junge; Jüngling, junge Mannsperson (sie sagen auch mannboi)', F: boi , 'jongen, knaap, knecht'
132.	caba	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'already', past perfect, S: kabà , 'schon, fertig, genug, zu Ende seyn, fertig machen', F: kabà , 'reeds, alreede'
133.	caba	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'already', past perfect, S: kabà , 'schon, fertig, genug, zu Ende seyn, fertig machen', F: kabà , 'reeds, alreede'
134.	caba	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'already', past perfect, S: kabà , 'schon, fertig, genug, zu Ende seyn, fertig machen', F: kabà , 'reeds, alreede'
135.	caba	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'already', past perfect, S: kabà , 'schon, fertig, genug, zu Ende seyn, fertig machen', F: kabà , 'reeds, alreede'
136.	cappewerije	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'thicket', S: kappewirri 'junger Busch, wieder aufgeschossenes Gesträuch', F: kapewéri 'struikgewas', VD kapoweri 'secundaire vegetatie'
137.	cassavie	1.05.04.03, 275, f 517 r ^o	'cassava, manioc', S: kassaba , 'Kassabi-Wurzel u. brodt', F: kasába , 'kassave'
138.	contreman	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'countryman', S: kondreman , 'Landsman', F: kondre-mán ,

			'landsmán, landgenoot'
139.	(di) contriman	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'countryman', S: kondreman , 'Landsman', F: kondre-mán , 'landsmán, landgenoot'
140.	da	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'shall' (mi da hietie joe)
141.	dee	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'be-there', S: de , 'seyn', F: dè , 'daar'
142.	doe	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'do', S: du , 'thun; dat Thun; die That; die Aufführung', F: doe , 'doen, verrigten, 2) de handelswijze'
143.	doopi	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'to put?', S: doop, doopu , 'die Taufe, taufen', no gloss in F.
144.	dram	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	strong liquor, no gloss in S, F: dram , 'eene soort van geestrijke drank (Eng. a dram)'
145.	*dressen	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'to cure', Dutch verb borrowed from Sranan. S: dressi , 'heilen, kuriren; verbinden; die Arzney', F: dréssi , 'gezezen, verbinden (...); 2) geneesmiddel, verband, zalfje, drankje, artelij'
146.	Enobia	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	certain mixture of leaves. No gloss in S, F, VD, or VA.
147.	Gado	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'god', S: Gado , 'Gott', F: Gádo , 'God'
148.	*gedrest	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'to cure', Dutch verb borrowed from Sranan. S: dressi , 'heilen, kuriren; verbinden; die Arzney', F: dréssi , 'gezezen, verbinden; 2) geneesmiddel, verband, zalfje, drankje, artelij'
149.	genge	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'bel', S: gingèh , 'ein Glocke; eine Schelle', F: gen-gén, gjengjén , 'schel, bel, klok'
150.	habi	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'to have', S: ha, habi , 'haben', F: hábi , 'hebben, bezitten, houden'
151.	hatti tron	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	"mislíjkheid", 'sick', hatti , 'stomach', tron , 'to turn', no gloss in S, F: mi hátti de tron , 'ik ben misselijk'
152.	hedé	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'head', S: heddi , 'der Kopf, das Haupt; die Ursache; der Keim', F: héde , hoofd, kop, hoofdeind, top, het bovenste'
153.	hem	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'he, him' 3SG, S: hem 'er, sie, es (...) ihn, sie (die Frau); it. sein, seine, ihr, ihre, ihres' F: hem 'hij, zij, hem, haar; 2)zijn, zijne, haar, hare'
154.	hem	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'he, him' 3SG, S: hem 'er, sie, es (...) ihn, sie (die Frau); it. sein, seine, ihr, ihre, ihres' F: hem 'hij, zij, hem, haar; 2)zijn, zijne, haar, hare'
155.	hem	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'he, him' 3SG, S: hem 'er, sie, es (...) ihn, sie (die Frau); it. sein, seine, ihr, ihre, ihres' F: hem 'hij, zij, hem, haar; 2)zijn, zijne, haar, hare'
156.	hem	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'he, him' 3SG, S: hem 'er, sie, es (...) ihn, sie (die Frau); it. sein, seine, ihr, ihre, ihres' F: hem 'hij, zij, hem, haar; 2)zijn, zijne, haar, hare'
157.	hem	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'he, him' 3SG, S: hem 'er, sie, es (...) ihn, sie (die Frau); it. sein, seine, ihr, ihre, ihres' F: hem 'hij, zij, hem, haar; 2)zijn, zijne, haar, hare'
158.	hem	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'he, him' 3SG, S: hem 'er, sie, es (...) ihn, sie (die Frau); it. sein, seine, ihr, ihre, ihres' F: hem 'hij, zij, hem, haar; 2)zijn, zijne, haar, hare'
159.	hietie	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'to hit', S: hiti , 'werfen; wegwerfen, schütten', F: hiti , 'werpen, gooijen, vellen'
160.	hoe (sambre)	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'who?' hoe : S: hu , 'wie, was vor? welke?' F: ho , 'welke; wat?'
161.	hoe (ple)	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'where?' hoe : S: hu , 'wie, was vor? welke?' F: ho , 'welke; wat?'
162.	jou	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'you', 2SG S: ju 'du, dir, dich; dein, deine', F: joe (ji) 'gij, u; 2) uw, uwe'
163.	kokerom	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'kitchen', S: kukru , 'Küche; it. Herd, Ofen, Backofen' F: koekroe 'keuken', VD: kokerom 'uitbouw aan huis of losstaand gebouwtje in gebruik als keuken'
164.	kokerom	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'kitchen', S: kukru , 'Küche; it. Herd, Ofen, Backofen' F: koekroe 'keuken', VD: kokerom 'uitbouw aan huis of losstaand gebouwtje in gebruik als keuken'
165.	kom oppo	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'come from', S: kommoppo, kommotto 'heraus gehen, heraus kommen; loskommen, befreit werden; aufstehen', F: kom-ópo 'ergens uitkomen, van eene plaats weggaan'
166.	kras kras	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'rash', S: krassikrassi , 'Ausschlag', F: krassi-krássi , 'schruft, uitslag, brand', VD: kraskrasi
167.	langa	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'with', S: nanga 'und, mit, durch; bey', F: nanga, langa 'met benevens, bij'
168.	(di) libi	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'live', S: libi , 'leben; lebendig; das Leben, wohnen, lassen, verlassen', F: libi , 'leven, wonen, laten, laten blijven, overlaten, achterlaten, vertalen (Eng. to leave)'

169.	loecke man	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'prophet', S: lukkuman , 'ein Weissager, Zauberer', F: lóekoe-man , 'een arts onder de Negers, die tevens profeet, droomuitlegger enz is'
170.	*loeckt	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'see', text: "Wat loeckt gij aan?" S: lukku , 'sehen, nachsehen, acht geben', F: lóekoe , 'kijken, opletten, bezoeken'
171.	majes	1.05.04.03, 275, f 517 v ^o	no gloss in S, F, or VD. Perhaps james : 'yam', S: jámmessi , jámmisi , 'Jams, Erdfrucht', F: njam , 'eten, opeten, de vrucht van een gewas' VD: jams , jamsi
172.	mama	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'mother', S: mámma , 'Mutter', F: mamá , 'moeder'
173.	mi	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
174.	mi	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
175.	mi	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
176.	mi	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
177.	mi	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
178.	mie	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
179.	mie	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
180.	miessie	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'lady, mistress', S: missi , 'sich vergehen (...); Vergehung (...); Frau, Meisterin, Egethümerin' F: misi , 'dame, juffrouw, mevrouw, vrouw des huizes, meesters'
181.	mompe wirriwirie	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	leaves or fruit of a certain tree. No gloss in S, F: mope , 'naam eener vruchtsoort', wirriwirie : 'grass, hair, leaves, herbs'. VD: mope 'boom met kleine bloemen in pluimen en zachte, gele vruchten (Spondias mombin)'
182.	na	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	PREP, 'out (of)' S: na , 'zu; bey; an; nach; in; auf; von; aus', F: na , 'in, op, naar, te, aan, uit, van, bij'
183.	na	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	PREP, 'in, up, at' S: na , 'zu; bey; an; nach; in; auf; von; aus', F: na , 'in, op, naar, te, aan, uit, van, bij'
184.	na	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	PREP, 'in, up, at' S: na , 'zu; bey; an; nach; in; auf; von; aus', F: na , 'in, op, naar, te, aan, uit, van, bij'
185.	na	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	PREP, 'in, up, at' S: na , 'zu; bey; an; nach; in; auf; von; aus', F: na , 'in, op, naar, te, aan, uit, van, bij'
186.	na	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	PREP, 'in, up, at' S: na , 'zu; bey; an; nach; in; auf; von; aus', F: na , 'in, op, naar, te, aan, uit, van, bij'
187.	no	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	NEG
188.	no	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	NEG
189.	ogerii	1.05.10.02, 798, f - r ^o	'evil', S: ougri , 'böös, schlimm, schlecht, schädlich, gefährlich', F: ogri , 'kwaad, ondeugend, slecht, erg, streng'
190.	ogerii	1.05.10.02, 798, f - r ^o	'evil', S: ougri , 'böös, schlimm, schlecht, schädlich, gefährlich', F: ogri , 'kwaad, ondeugend, slecht, erg, streng'
191.	(swarte) papa	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'black porridge', S: pappa , 'Brey, Papp, dicke Suppe', F: páppa , 'pap, brij'
192.	ple	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'place', S: pleši 'Plaz, Ort, Raum, Stelle' (hupeh 'woh, wohin?', F: prési 'plaats, oord, ruimte (verkort pé)'
193.	pothi	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'to put', S: poti , 'arm; arm seyn; elend seyn') F: pótti , 'leggen, indoen, insteken, bijdoen, plaatsen, stellen (Eng. to put)'
194.	pothie	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'to put', S: poti , 'arm; arm seyn; elend seyn') F: pótti , 'leggen, indoen, insteken, bijdoen, plaatsen, stellen (Eng. to put)'
195.	potti	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'to put', (S: poti , 'arm; arm seyn; elend seyn') F: pótti , 'leggen, indoen, insteken, bijdoen, plaatsen, stellen (Eng. to put)'
196.	sabi	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'to know', S: sabi , 'wissen; kennen; verstehen; erkennen', F: sábi , 'weten, verstaan, beseffen, kunnen, kennen, bewust zijn'
197.	sackie	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'bag', S: sakka , 'ein Sack, Tasche', F: sákka , 'zak, zakje, beurs, baal'
198.	sal	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'shall', S: sa 'werden (...) it. sollen', F: sa 'hulpww. zullen'
199.	sambre	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'person', S: somma 'Mensch; die Leute, jemand; wer?' F: sóema (s'ma oudtijds ook sáma) 'mensch, persoon, iemand'
200.	santi	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'things', S: sanni , 'was, etwas; es; was?', F: sani , 'ding, zaak, waar, goed, voorwerp, iets'
201.	sij	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'side', S: sei , 'die Seite', F: sei , 'kant, zijde, oever, buurt'
202.	sij	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'side', S: sei , 'die Seite', F: sei , 'kant, zijde, oever, buurt'
203.	sij	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'side', S: sei , 'die Seite', F: sei , 'kant, zijde, oever, buurt'
204.	soo	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'so, in this way', S: so 'so; solcher', F: so 'zoo, aldus, in dier voege'
205.	Tamadoreque	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	herb, no gloss in S, F, VD or VA
206.	Tamadorque	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	herb, no gloss in S, F, VD or VA
207.	tongo	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'tongue', S: tongo , 'die Zunge; die Stinnen; Sprache', F: tóngo , 'tong in alle beteekenissen; 2) taal; 3) stem'

208.	tron	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'turn', S: tron , 'dicto enclitica', tronn , 'umkehren, umdrehen', F: tron , 'worden, veranderen, keeren', tron , 'een keer, maal, reis'
209.	wan	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'a / one', S: wan , 'ein; einer, eine, eines (es mag zehlen oder nicht)', F: wan , 'een, eene; 2) getalw. één, ééne'
210.	wan	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'a / one', S: wan , 'ein; einer, eine, eines (es mag zehlen oder nicht)', F: wan , 'een, eene; 2) getalw. één, ééne'
211.	wan	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'a / one', S: wan , 'ein; einer, eine, eines (es mag zehlen oder nicht)', F: wan , 'een, eene; 2) getalw. één, ééne'
212.	wieri wieri man	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'herb doctor', no gloss in S, F, VD or VA.
213.	wierrijwierrij	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'grass, hair, leaves, herbs', S: wirriwirri , 'Blätter von Baumen u. allen Gemachsen; alles Gras: Kraut; Blättchen Gras; Haare von Menschen u. Thieren; Borsten; Federn von Vögele; Stroh; ein Halm', F: wiwiri '(verkort voor wiri-wiri) 'haar, veeren, bladeren, kruid
214.	wierwieri	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'grass, hair, leaves, herbs', S: wirriwirri , 'Blätter von Baumen u. allen Gemachsen; alles Gras: Kraut; Blättchen Gras; Haare von Menschen u. Thieren; Borsten; Federn von Vögele; Stroh; ein Halm', F: wiwiri '(verkort voor wiri-wiri) 'haar, veeren, bladeren, kruid
215.	wiriwiri	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'grass, hair, leaves, herbs', S: wirriwirri , 'Blätter von Baumen u. allen Gemachsen; alles Gras: Kraut; Blättchen Gras; Haare von Menschen u. Thieren; Borsten; Federn von Vögele; Stroh; ein Halm', F: wiwiri '(verkort voor wiri-wiri) 'haar, veeren, bladeren, kruid
216.	wiriwiri	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'grass, hair, leaves, herbs', S: wirriwirri , 'Blätter von Baumen u. allen Gemachsen; alles Gras: Kraut; Blättchen Gras; Haare von Menschen u. Thieren; Borsten; Federn von Vögele; Stroh; ein Halm', F: wiwiri '(verkort voor wiri-wiri) 'haar, veeren, bladeren, kruid
217.	wiriwirrie	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'grass, hair, leaves, herbs', S: wirriwirri , 'Blätter von Baumen u. allen Gemachsen; alles Gras: Kraut; Blättchen Gras; Haare von Menschen u. Thieren; Borsten; Federn von Vögele; Stroh; ein Halm', F: wiwiri '(verkort voor wiri-wiri) 'haar, veeren, bladeren, kruid
218.	wirriwiri	1.05.10.02, 798, f - r ^o	'grass, hair, leaves, herbs', S: wirriwirri , 'Blätter von Baumen u. allen Gemachsen; alles Gras: Kraut; Blättchen Gras; Haare von Menschen u. Thieren; Borsten; Federn von Vögele; Stroh; ein Halm', F: wiwiri '(verkort voor wiri-wiri) 'haar, veeren, bladeren, kruid
219.	*wirriwirries	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'grass, hair, leaves, herbs', S: wirriwirri , 'Blätter von Baumen u. allen Gemachsen; alles Gras: Kraut; Blättchen Gras; Haare von Menschen u. Thieren; Borsten; Federn von Vögele; Stroh; ein Halm', F: wiwiri '(verkort voor wiri-wiri) 'haar, veeren, bladeren, kruid
220.	wirriwirri	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'grass, hair, leaves, herbs', S: wirriwirri , 'Blätter von Baumen u. allen Gemachsen; alles Gras: Kraut; Blättchen Gras; Haare von Menschen u. Thieren; Borsten; Federn von Vögele; Stroh; ein Halm', F: wiwiri '(verkort voor wiri-wiri) 'haar, veeren, bladeren, kruid
221.	*wirriwirries	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'grass, hair, leaves, herbs', S: wirriwirri , 'Blätter von Baumen u. allen Gemachsen; alles Gras: Kraut; Blättchen Gras; Haare von Menschen u. Thieren; Borsten; Federn von Vögele; Stroh; ein Halm', F: wiwiri '(verkort voor wiri-wiri) 'haar, veeren, bladeren, kruid
222.	*wirriwirries	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'grass, hair, leaves, herbs', S: wirriwirri , 'Blätter von Baumen u. allen Gemachsen; alles Gras: Kraut; Blättchen Gras; Haare von Menschen u. Thieren; Borsten; Federn von Vögele; Stroh; ein Halm', F: wiwiri '(verkort voor wiri-wiri) 'haar, veeren, bladeren, kruid
223.	wisje wasje	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	'fiddle faddle', S: wissiwassi , 'läppische Dinge, nichts würdig Kleinigkeiten, Zanck über Bapalien', no gloss in F, VD or VA.
Essequibo		1.05.04.03, 275, f984 r ^o	other Dutch colony
1747:			
224.	boy	1.05.10.02, 929, f - v ^o	'boy', used to adress a slave. S: boi , 'ein Knabe, Junge; Jüngling, junge Mannsperson (sie sagen auch mannboi)', F: boi , 'jongen, knaap, knecht'
225.	kattentreeboom	1.05.10.02, 938, f122 v ^o	'Cotton-trees', S: kattantri , 'der wilde Baumwollen Baum', no gloss in F. VD: kattentri(e) , kattentri(e)boom .

226.	keentras	1.05.10.02, 938, f 122 v ^o	'sugar cane leaves', no gloss in S, F: ken , 'suikerriet', trássi , 'tras, uitgeperst suikerriet' Or: F: kwassimamà 'naam van een visch, ook keentras geheeten'.
227.	mekka	1.05.10.02, 929, f - v ^o	'make+him/it', S: meki , 'machen; zeugen; gebären; etwas thun lassen', F: méki , 'maken, doen, veroorzaken, voortbrengen, baren, toelaten'
228.	tan	1.05.10.02, 929, f - v ^o	'to stay', S: tann , 'bleiben; warten; stehen; stille stehen' F: tan , 'blijven, wachten, staan; 2) gelijken, schijnen; zich bevinden'
1749:			
229.	bakkeljauw	1.05.04.03, 285, f 100 v ^o	dried fish, no gloss in S, F: bákjáu (batjáu), 'bakkeljauw, Amerikaanse gedroogde visch', VD: bakeljauw , bakkeljauw , 'sterk gezouten, gedroogde en weer opgekweekte kabeljauw'
230.	dram	1.05.04.03, 285, f 100 v ^o	strong liquor, no gloss in S, F: dram , 'eene soort van geestrijke drank (Eng. a dram)'
231.	*warimboes	1.05.04.03, 285, f 99 r ^o	plant used to make baskets and the like, S: warimbo , 'ein von Blätter geflochtener Umschlag, um Sachen darin zu tagen; it. der Rohr, wovon die Baskiten, Kakahle, u. Dergleichen geflochten werden', F: wariembo , 'naam eener plant, welker stengel door de Negers en Indianen gebezigd wordt, om daarvan pagalen, koeroe-koeroes en ander mandwerk te vervaardigen (Phrynium Casupo)', VD: warimbo
232.	*warimboes	1.05.04.03, 285, f 105 r ^o	plant used to make baskets and the like, S: warimbo , 'ein von Blätter geflochtener Umschlag, um Sachen darin zu tagen; it. der Rohr, wovon die Baskiten, Kakahle, u. Dergleichen geflochten werden', F: wariembo , 'naam eener plant, welker stengel door de Negers en Indianen gebezigd wordt, om daarvan pagalen, koeroe-koeroes en ander mandwerk te vervaardigen (Phrynium Casupo)', VD: warimbo
Saramacca		1.05.04.03, 285, f 105 v ^o	region
1750:			
233.	kockerom	1.05.10.02, 801, f 376 v ^o	'kitchen', S: kukru , 'Küche; it. Herd, Ofen, Backofen' F: koekroe 'keuken', VD: kokerom 'uitbouw aan huis of losstaand gebouwtje in gebruik als keuken'
234.	siekke	1.05.10.02, 801, f 376 r ^o	'sick', no gloss in S, F: siki , 'ziek, krank'
235.	voetebooj	1.05.10.02, 801, f 294 v ^o	'servant', S: futuboi , 'Diener, Bedienter, Laquay' F: foetoe-bói , 'lijf knecht, kamenier'
1752:			
236.	agoema wieri wieri	1.05.10.02, 803, f 106 v ^o	'black nightshade' (Solanum crythrocarpum (F), Solanum nigrum (VD)). S: agumà , 'enige sorte schwarze beeren, an einer neidrigen Staude, essbar u. wohlschmeckend; die Blätter der Staube sind gut zu suppen', VA: agoema (wiwiri) , 'black nightshade; Solanum oleraceum'
237.	agoema wieriewerie	1.05.10.02, 803, f 109 r ^o	'black nightshade' (Solanum crythrocarpum (F), Solanum nigrum (VD)). S: agumà , 'enige sorte schwarze beeren, an einer neidrigen Staude, essbar u. wohlschmeckend; die Blätter der Staube sind gut zu suppen', VA: agoema (wiwiri) , 'black nightshade; Solanum oleraceum'
238.	*callebassies	1.05.10.02, 803, f 47 v ^o	'gourd', S: kallabassi , 'ein Kallabas', F: krabási , 'kalebas', VD: kalebas .
239.	*Cattentries	1.05.10.02, 803, f 46 r ^o	'Cotton-trees', S: kattantri , 'der wilde Baumwollen Baum', no in F. VD: kattentri(e) , kattentri(e)boom .
240.	Cottentrie	1.05.10.02, 803, f 46 v ^o	'Cotton-tree', S: kattantri , 'der wilde Baumwollen Baum', no gl F. VD: kattentri(e) , kattentri(e)boom
241.	gadoman	1.05.10.02, 803, f 46 r ^o	"aangaande het eerste woord Gadoman verklaare de negers, dat hij somtijds met sijn God sprak zijnde Cottentrie een groote boom staande bij de neger kostgronden in 't bos" (description in the text)
242.	gadoman	1.05.10.02, 803, f 51 r ^o	"dat zij somteyds met sijn god sprak sijnde een Kattentrie" (description in the text)
243.	gadoman	1.05.10.02, 803, f 45 v ^o	'shaman', no gloss in S, F, VD, VA.
244.	gadoman	1.05.10.02, 803, f 46 v ^o	'shaman', no gloss in S, F, VD, VA.
245.	gadoman	1.05.10.02, 803, f 51 v ^o	'shaman', no gloss in S, F, VD, VA.
246.	Granman	1.05.10.02, 803, f 44 r ^o	'chief', S: granman (gloss grang) 'der Gouverneur, Regent', F: granmán , 'de Gouverneur, opperbevelhebber, gezaghebber'

247.	Kattentrie	1.05.10.02, 803, f 51 r ^o	'Cotton-tree', S: kattantri , 'der wilde Baumwollen Baum', no gl F. VD: kattentri(e) , kattentri(e)boom
248.	*kattentries	1.05.10.02, 803, f 51 v ^o	'Cotton-trees', S: kattantri , 'der wilde Baumwollen Baum', no in F. VD: kattentri(e) , kattentri(e)boom
249.	loekeman	1.05.10.02, 803, f 45 v ^o	'prophet', S: lukkuman , 'ein Weissager, Zauberer', F: lóekoe- man , 'een arts onder de Negers, die tevens profeet, droomuitlegger enz is'
250.	loekeman	1.05.10.02, 803, f 46 v ^o	'prophet', S: lukkuman , 'ein Weissager, Zauberer', F: lóekoe- man , 'een arts onder de Negers, die tevens profeet, droomuitlegger enz is'
251.	Loekeman	1.05.10.02, 803, f 46 v ^o	"segts volgens getuijge van de slaave tovernaer waarseggen" (description in the text)
252.	loekeman	1.05.10.02, 803, f 51 v ^o	"segts volgens getuijgen van de slaveen tovenaer waer seggen" (description in the text)
253.	loekman	1.05.10.02, 803, f 51 r ^o	'prophet', S: lukkuman , 'ein Weissager, Zauberer', F: lóekoe- man , 'een arts onder de Negers, die tevens profeet, droomuitlegger enz is'
254.	missie	1.05.10.02, 803, f 30 r ^o	'lady, mistress', S: missi , 'sich vergehen (...); Vergehung (...); Frau, Meisterin, Egethümerin' F: mísi , 'dame, juffrouw, mevrouw, vrouw des huizes, meesteres'
255.	tom tom	1.05.10.02, 803, f 106 v ^o	food, S: tumtùm , tuntum , 'steif geschlagener od. gestampfter Brey', F: tontóom , 'podding van gekookte en gestampfte bannanen, ook van meel of dergelijke', VD: tomtom , VA: tonton
256.	tom tom	1.05.10.02, 803, f 109 r ^o	food, S: tumtùm , tuntum , 'steif geschlagener od. gestampfter Brey', F: tontóom , 'podding van gekookte en gestampfte bannanen, ook van meel of dergelijke', VD: tomtom , VA: tonton
257.	tom tom	1.05.10.02, 803, f 109 r ^o	food, S: tumtùm , tuntum , 'steif geschlagener od. gestampfter Brey', F: tontóom , 'podding van gekookte en gestampfte bannanen, ook van meel of dergelijke', VD: tomtom , VA: tonton
258.	tom tom	1.05.10.02, 803, f 109 r ^o	food, S: tumtùm , tuntum , 'steif geschlagener od. gestampfter Brey', F: tontóom , 'podding van gekookte en gestampfte bannanen, ook van meel of dergelijke', VD: tomtom , VA: tonton
	marawina	1.05.10.02, 803, f 99 r ^o	river
	parakie	1.05.10.02, 803, f 99 v ^o	"dat de wegloopers alteijt twee dorpen met kost hebben indien zij door de blanken van eenen dorp worden verjaegt dat se na de andere kan vlieden om geen grek aan kost te hebben"
	parakie	1.05.10.02, 803, f 99 v ^o	name of maroon village
	parakie	1.05.10.02, 803, f 99 v ^o	name of maroon village
	parakie	1.05.10.02, 803, f 99 v ^o	name of maroon village
1753:			
	Emveria	1.05.04.06, 291, f 83 v ^o	plantation
1754:			
259.	audi	1.05.10.02, 939, f 157 r ^o	'greeting; hello!', S: odi (hodi) , 'guten Tag! it. ein Gruss', F: odi , 'goeden dag!; 2) groet (Eng. howd'ye do?)'
260.	han (bannannen)	1.05.10.02, 939, f 408 r ^o	'hand' S: hann 'die Hand, der ganze Arm; ein Ast, Zweig, Rebe', F: han 'hand, arm, handvat, steel, twijg van een rank gewas'
261.	kookerom	1.05.10.02, 938, f 158 r ^o	'kitchen', S: kukru , 'Küche; it. Herd, Ofen, Backofen' F: koekroe 'keuken', VD: kokerom 'uitbouw aan huis of losstaand gebouwtje in gebruik als keuken'
262.	kokerom	1.05.10.02, 939, f 384 v ^o	'kitchen', S: kukru , 'Küche; it. Herd, Ofen, Backofen' F: koekroe 'keuken', VD: kokerom 'uitbouw aan huis of losstaand gebouwtje in gebruik als keuken'
263.	kookerom	1.05.10.02, 939, f 384 v ^o	'kitchen', S: kukru , 'Küche; it. Herd, Ofen, Backofen' F: koekroe 'keuken', VD: kokerom 'uitbouw aan huis of losstaand gebouwtje in gebruik als keuken'
264.	na	1.05.10.02, 939, f 157 r ^o	PREP, 'in, up, at' S: na , 'zu; bey; an; nach; in; auf; von; aus', F: na , 'in, op, naar, te, aan, uit, van, bij'
1755:			
265.	kappes	1.05.04.06, 296, f 178 v ^o	palm-cabbage, i.e. heart of palm, no gloss in S, F: kjábisi (kábbisi ; tjábbisi), 'kabbes, palmkool, meest van de Koembóe- en Mariapalmen' VD: kabbes .

266.	dankie dankie	1.05.04.06, 296, f 674 r ^o	'thank (you)', S: tangi , 'Dank; danken', F: tangi , 'dank, dankzegging'
267.	booy	1.05.04.06, 296, f 674 r ^o	'boy', used to adress a slave. S: boi , 'ein Knabe, Junge; Jüngling, junge Mannsperson (sie sagen auch mannboi)', F: boi , 'jongen, knaap, knecht'
268.	booy	1.05.04.06, 296, f 674 r ^o	'boy', used to adress a slave. S: boi , 'ein Knabe, Junge; Jüngling, junge Mannsperson (sie sagen auch mannboi)', F: boi , 'jongen, knaap, knecht'
L'Esperance		1.05.04.06, 296, f 180 v ^o	plantation in Tempati
1757:			
269.	a	1.05.10.02, 942, f 269 v ^o	'he', S: a 'er, sie, es / : aber nur im nominative; in fallen andren casibus wird hem gebrauch', F: a 'hij, zij, het' ook a 'voor da, dat'
270.	ben	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 v ^o	PAST, S: ben , 'hat, hatte, ist, war (verbum auxiliare)', F: ben , 'hulpww. om den verledenen tijd uit te drukken'
271.	ben	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 r ^o	PAST, S: ben , 'hat, hatte, ist, war (verbum auxiliare)', F: ben , 'hulpww. om den verledenen tijd uit te drukken'
272.	ben	1.05.10.02, 942, f 269 r ^o	PAST, S: ben , 'hat, hatte, ist, war (verbum auxiliare)', F: ben , 'hulpww. om den verledenen tijd uit te drukken'
273.	ben	1.05.10.02, 942, f 269 r ^o	PAST, S: ben , 'hat, hatte, ist, war (verbum auxiliare)', F: ben , 'hulpww. om den verledenen tijd uit te drukken'
274.	daa	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 v ^o	'there/to be (there)'
275.	dan	1.05.10.02, 942, f 269 b ^o	'then'. No gloss in S, F, VD or VA.
276.	dan	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 v ^o	'then'. No gloss in S, F, VD or VA.
277.	dan	1.05.10.02, 942, f 261 v ^o	'then'. No gloss in S, F, VD or VA.
278.	dan	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 r ^o	'then'. No gloss in S, F, VD or VA.
279.	dankie	1.05.10.02, 942, f 262 v ^o	'thank (you)', S: tangi , 'Dank; danken', F: tangi , 'dank, dankzegging'
280.	de	1.05.10.02, 942, f 261 v ^o	'be', S: de 'seyn; it. nota presentis', F: de 'wezen; 2) hulpwoord om den tegenwoordigen tijd uit te drukken (Eng. <i>there</i>)'
281.	eevie	1.05.10.02, 942, f 269 r ^o	'if', S: effi , 'oder; ob', no gloss in F
282.	evie	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 r ^o	'if', S: effi , 'oder; ob', no gloss in F
283.	fom	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 v ^o	'to flog, to beat', S: fumm , 'schlagen; stossen, stampfen', F: fom , 'slaan, kloppen, stampen, geselen, kastijden, tuchtigen'
284.	fom	1.05.10.02, 942, f 261 v ^o	'to flog, to beat', S: fumm , 'schlagen; stossen, stampfen', F: fom , 'slaan, kloppen, stampen, geselen, kastijden, tuchtigen'
285.	go	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 r ^o	'go', S: go 'gehen, weggehen', F: go 'gaan, vertrekken, 2) zullen'
286.	go	1.05.10.02, 942, f 269 r ^o	'go', S: go 'gehen, weggehen', F: go 'gaan, vertrekken, 2) zullen'
287.	kajeman	1.05.10.02, 942, f 24 v ^o	'cayman', S: kaiman , 'ein Krokodill (ist ein Arawackisch Wort)', F: káiman 'krokodil, kaiman'
288.	kaejman	1.05.10.02, 942, f 27 v ^o	'cayman', S: kaiman , 'ein Krokodill (ist ein Arawackisch Wort)', F: káiman 'krokodil, kaiman'
289.	leerie	1.05.10.02, 942, f 261 v ^o	'to teach', S: leri , 'lehren; lernen', F: léri , 'leeren, onderwijzen', VD: leren
290.	lerre	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 v ^o	'to teach', S: leri , 'lehren; lernen', F: léri , 'leeren, onderwijzen', VD: leren
291.	massra	1.05.10.02, 942, f 262 v ^o	'master', S: massra , 'Herr; Eigenthümer', F: mássra , 'meester, heer; 2) titel voor vrije personen'
292.	massra	1.05.10.02, 942, f 269 r ^o	'master', S: massra , 'Herr; Eigenthümer', F: mássra , 'meester, heer; 2) titel voor vrije personen'
293.	massra	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 r ^o	'master', S: massra , 'Herr; Eigenthümer', F: mássra , 'meester, heer; 2) titel voor vrije personen'
294.	mi	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 r ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
295.	mi	1.05.10.02, 942, f 269 r ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
296.	mie	1.05.10.02, 942, f 269 r ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
297.	mie	1.05.10.02, 942, f 269 r ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
298.	mie	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 r ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
299.	mie	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 r ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
300.	mie	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 v ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
301.	mie	1.05.10.02, 942, f 261 v ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
302.	mie	1.05.10.02, 942, f 261 v ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
303.	mie	1.05.10.02, 942, f 261 v ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
304.	mie	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 v ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
305.	mis	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 v ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
306.	na	1.05.10.02, 942, f 269 r ^o	PREP, 'in, up, at, out' S: na , 'zu; bey; an; nach; in; auf; von; aus', F: na , 'in, op, naar, te, aan, uit, van, bij'

307.	na	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 v ^o	PREP, 'in, up, at, out' S: na , 'zu; bey; an; nach; in; auf; von; aus', F: na , 'in, op, naar, te, aan, uit, van, bij'
308.	na	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 r ^o	PREP, 'in, up, at, out' S: na , 'zu; bey; an; nach; in; auf; von; aus', F: na , 'in, op, naar, te, aan, uit, van, bij'
309.	sa	1.05.10.02, 942, f 269 r ^o	'shall', S: sa 'werden (...) it. sollen', F: sa 'hulpww. zullen'
310.	sa	1.05.10.02, 942, f 261 v ^o	'shall', S: sa 'werden (...) it. sollen', F: sa 'hulpww. zullen'
311.	sa	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 v ^o	'shall', S: sa 'werden (...) it. sollen', F: sa 'hulpww. zullen'
312.	sa	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 v ^o	'shall', S: sa 'werden (...) it. sollen', F: sa 'hulpww. zullen'
313.	sendie	1.05.10.02, 942, f 269 v ^o	'to send', S: senni, sendi , 'senden, schicken', F: séndi , 'zenden, afzenden, toezenden, uitzenden'
314.	sendie	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 r ^o	'to send', S: senni, sendi , 'senden, schicken', F: séndi , 'zenden, afzenden, toezenden, uitzenden'
315.	son	1.05.10.02, 942, f 261 v ^o	PAST, S: ben , 'hat, hatte, ist, war (verbum auxiliare)', F: ben , 'hulpww. om den verledenen tijd uit te drukken'
316.	soorie	1.05.10.02, 942, f 269 r ^o	'to show', S: soli, sori , 'weizen, zeigen', F: sóri , 'wijzen; aanwijzen, toonen, vertoonen, laten zien, leeren, onderrigten'
317.	soria	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 r ^o	'to show', S: soli, sori , 'weizen, zeigen', F: sóri , 'wijzen; aanwijzen, toonen, vertoonen, laten zien, leeren, onderrigten'
318.	voeroe	1.05.10.02, 942, f 261 v ^o	'to', (compementizer) no gloss in S, F, VD or VA
319.	voeroe	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 v ^o	'to', (complementizer) no gloss in S, F, VD or VA
320.	wisie	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 v ^o	'to wish', S: wensi , wenschen; der Wensch', F: wísi (wénsi) , 'wenschen, toewenschen'
321.	wiesie	1.05.10.02, 942, f 261 v ^o	'to wish', S: wensi , wenschen; der Wensch', F: wísi (wénsi) , 'wenschen, toewenschen'
	Cottica	1.05.04.06, 304, f 17 v ^o	region, name of a river
	marewine	1.05.04.06, 304, f 19 v ^o	river
	Tampatie	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 v ^o	region
	Tampatie	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 r ^o	region
	Tampatie	1.05.10.02, 942, f 269 r ^o	region
	Tempatij	1.05.04.06, 300, f 278 v ^o	region
	Tempatij	1.05.04.06, 300, f 578 v ^o	region
	carraivassibo	1.05.10.02, 942, f 27 v ^o	plantation
	L'Esperance	1.05.04.06, 304, f 17 v ^o	plantation
	Cottaca	1.05.04.06, 304, f 19 v ^o	region in Suriname
1759:			
322.	aaïj	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'yes', S: ai , 'ja', F: ai , 'ja (in gemeenzamen stijl)'
323.	booij	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'boy', used to adress a slave. S: boi , 'ein Knabe, Junge; Jüngling, junge Mannsperson (sie sagen auch mannboi)', F: boi , 'jongen, knaap, knecht'
324.	booij	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'boy', used to adress a slave. S: boi , 'ein Knabe, Junge; Jüngling, junge Mannsperson (sie sagen auch mannboi)', F: boi , 'jongen, knaap, knecht'
325.	da	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'be', S: de 'seyn; it. nota presentis', F: de 'wezen; 2) hulpwoord om den tegenwoordigen tijd uit te drukken (Eng. <i>there</i>)'
326.	dede	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'to be dead/ in need of help', S: dedde , 'sterben, der Todt, todt; verlöschen; stumpf seyn', F: déde , 'sterven, te niet gaan, uitgaan, verstompen; 2) de dood'
327.	dram	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	strong liquor, no gloss in S, F: dram , 'eene soort van geestrijke drank (Eng. a dram)'. 'to cure-black ', Dutch verb borrowed from Sranan.
328.	*dres neger	1.05.04.06, 308, f 55 v ^o	S: dressi , 'heilen, kuriren; verbinden; die Arzney', F: dréssi , 'genezen, verbinden (...); 2) geneesmiddel, verband, zalfje, drankje, artenij'
329.	fransen	1.05.04.06, 308, f 49 v ^o	"De fransen. Daardoor verstaen de neegers alhier een vijand, schoon sij altijd seggen als de fransen komen, omdat die hier in vorige tijden hier als vijanden gekomen sijn"
330.	habi	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'to have', S: ha, habi , 'haben', F: hábi , 'hebben, bezitten, houden'
331.	hedï	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'head', S: heddi , 'der Kopf, das Haupt; die Ursache; der Keim', F: héde , hoofd, kop, hoofdeind, top, het bovenste'
332.	him	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'he, him' 3SG, S: hem 'er, sie, es (...) ihn, sie (die Frau); it. sein, seine, ihr, ihre, ihres' F: hem 'hij , zij, hem, haar; 2)zijn, zijne, haar, hare'
333.	him	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'he, him' 3SG, S: hem 'er, sie, es (...) ihn, sie (die Frau); it. sein, seine, ihr, ihre, ihres' F: hem 'hij , zij, hem, haar; 2)zijn, zijne, haar, hare'
334.	him	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'he, him' 3SG, S: hem 'er, sie, es (...) ihn, sie (die Frau); it.

			sein, seine, ihr, ihre, ihres' F: hem 'hij, zij, hem, haar; 2)zijn, zijne, haar, hare'
335.	hoe (santie)	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	hoe : S: hu , 'wie, was vor? welke?' F: ho , 'welke, wat?' santie : 'things', S: sanni , 'was, etwas; es; was?', F: sani , 'ding, zaak, waar, goed, voorwerp, iets'
336.	jaas	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	framboesia tropica, S: jássi , 'eine Westindische Krankheit, ein böser Ausschlag oder Schwären, eine Art Blattern oder Pocken, welche fast alle Neger, auch manche Blanke krigen; sie is ansteckend. Die Krankheit währt gemeinlich über ein Jahr lang, auch wol 2 Jahr. F: jássi , 'jas, huidziekte, guinesche pokken'
337.	joe	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'you', 2SG S: ju 'du, dir, dich; dein, deine', F: joe (ji) 'gij, u; 2) uw, uwe'
338.	jou	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'you', 2SG S: ju 'du, dir, dich; dein, deine', F: joe (ji) 'gij, u; 2) uw, uwe'
339.	kiesie	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'to catch', S: kissi , 'krigen, bekommen, erlangen, erhalten, empfangen; fassen, fangen; erreichen; zureichen', F: kísi , 'krijgen, ontvangen, vatten, vangen, grijpen, bereiken'
340.	kokrom	1.05.04.06, 307, f 138 r ^o	'kitchen', S: kukru , 'Küche; it. Herd, Ofen, Backofen' F: koekroe 'keuken', VD: kokerom 'uitbouw aan huis of losstaand gebouwtje in gebruik als keuken'
341.	kookerum	1.05.10.02, 947, f - r ^o	'kitchen', S: kukru , 'Küche; it. Herd, Ofen, Backofen' F: koekroe 'keuken', VD: kokerom 'uitbouw aan huis of losstaand gebouwtje in gebruik als keuken'
342.	lange	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'long', S: langa , 'lang; lang seyn; die Länge; (so wohl von er Grösse als von der Zeit', F: lánga , 'lang; 2) lengte'
343.	magie	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'magic', no gloss in S, F, VD. Dutch. Used here however by a black to explain a certain situation.
344.	massara	1.05.10.02, 947, f - r ^o	'master', S: massra , 'Herr; Eigenthümer', F: mássra , 'meester, heer; 2) titel voor vrije personen'
345.	masra	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'master', S: massra , 'Herr; Eigenthümer', F: mássra , 'meester, heer; 2) titel voor vrije personen'
346.	Masra	1.05.04.06, 307, f 138 r ^o	'master', S: massra , 'Herr; Eigenthümer', F: mássra , 'meester, heer; 2) titel voor vrije personen'
347.	mi	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
348.	mie	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
349.	mie	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
350.	mie	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
351.	mie	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
352.	misje	1.05.04.06, 308, f 55 v ^o	'lady, mistress', S: missi , 'sich vergehen (...); Vergehung (...); Frau, Meesterin, Egethümerin' F: mísi , 'dame, juffrouw, mevrouw, vrouw des huizes, meesteres'
353.	na	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	PREP, 'in, up, at, out' S: na , 'zu; bey; an; nach; in; auf; von; aus', F: na , 'in, op, naar, te, aan, uit, van, bij'
354.	na	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	PREP, 'in, up, at, out' S: na , 'zu; bey; an; nach; in; auf; von; aus', F: na , 'in, op, naar, te, aan, uit, van, bij'
355.	na	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	PREP, 'in, up, at, out' S: na , 'zu; bey; an; nach; in; auf; von; aus', F: na , 'in, op, naar, te, aan, uit, van, bij'
356.	na	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	PREP, 'in, up, at, out' S: na , 'zu; bey; an; nach; in; auf; von; aus', F: na , 'in, op, naar, te, aan, uit, van, bij'
357.	nekkie	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'neck', S: nekki , 'der Hals; der Nacken, das Genick; die Gurgel, Kehle', F: nékki , 'hals, keel; 2) halssnoer'
358.	rassie	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'arse', no gloss in S, F.
359.	santie	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'things', S: sanni , 'was, etwas; es; was?', F: sani , 'ding, zaak, waar, goed, voorwerp, iets'
360.	sie	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'to see', S: si , 'sehen', F: si , 'zien, kijken, bemerken'
361.	soetoe	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'to shoot', no gloss in S, F: sóetoe , 'schieten, afschieten, afsteken, prikken, insteken'
362.	soetoe	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'to shoot', no gloss in S, F: sóetoe , 'schieten, afschieten, afsteken, prikken, insteken'
363.	takie	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'to say', S: takki , 'reden; sagen, spreken', F: táki , 'spreken, praten, zeggen, verhalen'
364.	tappe	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'to close, obstruct', S: tappa , 'zumachen, zustopfen, verstopfen; bedecken, zudecken; hindern, zuschliessen', F: tappoe , 'sluiten, dicht doen, toedekken; stuiten, tegenhouden, beletten, verhinderen'
365.	tide	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'today', S: tideh , 'heute; heut zu Tage, jetziger Zeit', F: ti, tidè , 'heden, van daag'
366.	tide	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'today', S: tideh , 'heute; heut zu Tage, jetziger Zeit', F: ti, tidè , 'heden, van daag'
367.	tide	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'today', S: tideh , 'heute; heut zu Tage, jetziger Zeit', F: ti, tidè , 'heden, van daag'

			tidè , 'heden, van daag'
Sukemombo	1.05.04.06, 307, f 137 v ^o		'plantation'
1760:			
368.	bassia	1.05.10.02, 932, f - v ^o	'black overseer', S: bassia , 'der Aufseher über die Neger bey der Arbeit', F: basiä (basjà) , 'bastiaan, negerofficier op de plantaadjien'
369.	biegie Pascientie	1.05.10.02, 948, f - v ^o	'big patience' (name of a certain Black) S: biggi 'gross; dick; gross seyn, dick seyn, die Grösse, die Dicke; weit, geräumig', F: bigi 'groot, dik, grof aanzienlijk'. S: pasiensie , patientie 'Gedult, Langmuth, unverdrossenheit; it. ein gewisses Kraut', F: pasénsi 'geduld, lankmoedigheid'
370.	*calbassies	1.05.04.06, 310, f 129 r ^o	'gourd', S: kallabassi , 'ein Kallabas', F: krabási , 'kalebas', VD: kalebas .
371.	dankie	1.05.10.02, 932, f - v ^o	'thank (you)', S: tangi , 'Dank; danken', F: tangi , 'dank, dankzegging'
372.	dem	1.05.04.06, 309, f 47 v ^o	'they, them' 3PL S: dem 'sie, die', F: dem 'zijlieden; 2) hun, hunne, haar, hare'
373.	doe	1.05.04.06, 309, f 47 v ^o	'to do', S: du , 'thun; das Thun, die That; die Aufführung', F: doe , 'verrigten, maken; 2) het doen, de handelswijze'
374.	joe	1.05.04.06, 309, f 47 v ^o	'you', 2SG S: ju 'du, dir, dich; dein, deine', F: joe (ji) 'gij, u; 2) uw, uwe'
375.	kalbassie	1.05.04.06, 310, f 129 r ^o	'gourd', S: kallabassi , 'ein Kallabas', F: krabási , 'kalebas', VD: kalebas .
376.	kamisie	1.05.10.02, 932, f - v ^o	'loin cloth', S: kamissa , 'der schmale lappen womit die Männer ihr Schamtheille bedecken', F: kamisa , 'smalle langwerpige broek, dien de mannegers dragen', VD: kami(e)s , kamisa , VA: kamisa 'g-string'
377.	loucke	1.05.04.06, 309, f 47 v ^o	'see', S: lukku , 'sehen, nachsehen, acht geben', F: lóekoe , 'kijken, opletten, bezoeken'
378.	missie	1.05.10.02, 932, f - v ^o	'lady, mistress', S: missi , 'sich vergehen (...); Vergehung (...); Frau, Meisterin, Egethümerin' F: mísi , 'dame, juffrouw, mevrouw, vrouw des huizes, meesteres'
379.	monkie	1.05.10.02, 932, f - v ^o	"sijn landsman bij monkie genaamt Akara", no gloss in S, F: monki-mónki , 'een kleine soort van apen', VD: monkimonki , 'aapje', VA: monki 'slice, segment'
380.	no	1.05.04.06, 309, f 47 v ^o	NEG
381.	pagale	1.05.04.06, 310, f 133 v ^o	No gloss in S, F: pagála/pakára , 'pagaal, kofferman'. VD: pagaal , 'mand of mandje in de vorm van een rechthoekige doos met deksel, gevlochten van warimbo'
382.	patassie	1.05.10.02, 932, f - v ^o	perhaps F: patátta , 'pattate, een soort van aardvrucht' (compare Eng. potash)
383.	pikien Bergerak	1.05.10.02, 948, f v ^o	'little Bergerak', Bergerak is the name of a slave, who is named after a plantation
384.	sa	1.05.04.06, 309, f 47 v ^o	'shall', S: sa 'werden (...) it. sollen', F: sa 'hulpww. zullen'
385.	santie	1.05.04.06, 309, f 47 v ^o	'things', S: sanni , 'was, etwas; es; was?', F: sani , 'ding, zaak, waar, goed, voorwerp, iets'
386.	soldate Baccara	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	'soldiers whites', soldate: no gloss in S, F, VD or VA. S: bakkra 'ein Blanker', F: bakrà 'een blanke, in onderscheiding van andere kleuren; 2) een meester, in tegenoverstelling van een slaaf, onverschillig of die meester balk zij; 3) Nederduitsch'
387.	wan	1.05.04.06, 309, f 47 v ^o	'a / one', S: wan , 'ein; einer, eine, eines (es mag zehlen oder nicht', F: wan , 'een, eene; 2) getalw. één, ééne'
388.	wiesieman	1.05.10.02, 932, f - v ^o	"vergeever", S: wissiman , 'ein Giftmischer; der andern Gift beybringt', F: wisi-man , 'gifmenger, vergever, toverkol'
lamastronge	1.05.04.06, 310, f 133 v ^o		plantation
lamastronge	1.05.04.06, 310, f 133 v ^o		plantation
1761:			
389.	appouca hout	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o	type of wood, no gloss in S, F, VD or VA.
390.	bakkeljauw	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o	dried fish, no gloss in S, F: bákjáu (batjáu) , 'bakkeljauw, Amerikaanse gedroogde visch', VD: bakeljauw , bakkeljauw , 'sterk gezouten, gedroogde en weer opgekweekte kabeljauw'
391.	bakkeljauw	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o	dried fish, no gloss in S, F: bákjáu (batjáu) , 'bakkeljauw, Amerikaanse gedroogde visch', VD: bakeljauw , bakkeljauw , 'sterk gezouten, gedroogde en weer opgekweekte kabeljauw'
392.	baskiete	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o	'basquet', S: baskita , 'ein gemeiner geflochtener Korb', F: báksi (baksita) , 'mand, korf', VD: baskiet
393.	booj	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o	'boy', used to adress a slave. S: boi , 'ein Knabe, Junge;

			Jüngling, junge Mannsperson (sie sagen auch mannboi), F: boi , 'jongen, knaap, knecht'
394.	cappewerij	1.05.04.06, 312, f 81 v ^o	'thicket', S: kappewirri 'junger Busch, wieder aufgeschossenes Gesträuch', F: kapewéri 'struikgewas', VD kapoweri 'secondaire vegetatie'
395.	cappewerij	1.05.04.06, 312, f 81 v ^o	'thicket', S: kappewirri 'junger Busch, wieder aufgeschossenes Gesträuch', F: kapewéri 'struikgewas', VD kapoweri 'secondaire vegetatie'
396.	crioole keen	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o	'creole sugar cane', no gloss in S, F: ken , 'suikerriet', VD: keen, kaan , 'sugar cane', also creole riet .
397.	da	1.05.04.06, 313, f 318 v ^o	'be', S: de 'seyn; it. nota presentis', F: de 'wezen; 2) hulpwoord om den tegenwoordigen tijd uit te drukken (Eng. <i>there</i>)'
398.	dat	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o	'that', S: datti 'das, dieses; it. dieser, diese', F: dátti , 'dat'
399.	doe	1.05.04.06, 313, f 318 v ^o	'to do', S: du , 'thun; das Thun, die That; die Aufführung', F: doe , 'verrigten, maken; 2) het doen, de handelswijze'
400.	gadoman	1.05.04.06, 313, f 308 r ^o	'shaman', no gloss in S, F, VD, VA.
401.	gadoman	1.05.04.06, 313, f 308 r ^o	'shaman', no gloss in S, F, VD, VA.
402.	gadosabie	1.05.04.06, 313, f 309 r ^o	god-(to) know 'shaman', no gloss in S, F, VD, VA.
403.	joe	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o	'you', 2SG S: ju 'du, dir, dich; dein, deine', F: joe (ji) 'gij, u; 2) uw, uwe'
404.	jou	1.05.04.06, 313, f 318 v ^o	'you', 2SG S: ju 'du, dir, dich; dein, deine', F: joe (ji) 'gij, u; 2) uw, uwe'
405.	jou	1.05.04.06, 313, f 318 v ^o	'you', 2SG S: ju 'du, dir, dich; dein, deine', F: joe (ji) 'gij, u; 2) uw, uwe'
406.	loekoebon	1.05.04.06, 312, f 81 v ^o	'watch out', name of maroonvillage. S: lukku bun 'nimm dich in acht', F: lóekoe boen , 'pas op'
407.	loekoebon	1.05.04.06, 313, f 311 r ^o	'watch out', name of maroonvillage. S: lukku bun 'nimm dich in acht', F: lóekoe boen , 'pas op'
408.	kassie	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o	'closet, cupboard', S: kassī , 'ein Schrank', F: kássi , 'kast; kastje'
409.	keen	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o	'sugar cane', no gloss in S, F: ken , 'suikerriet', VD: keen, kaan , 'sugar cane'
410.	kissie	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o	S: kissi , 'ein Kasten; Kiste, Schrank', F: kísi , 'kist, kistje'
411.	*makayen	1.05.04.06, 313, f 237 r ^o	No gloss in S, or F. Perhaps Dutch plural of the plant makkai , VD (p.c.) voor 2 stekelige (= maka) planten.
412.	masseranegre	1.05.04.06, 313, f 318 v ^o	used to adress fellow-slaves from the same plantation
413.	mi	1.05.04.06, 313, f 318 v ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
414.	mi	1.05.04.06, 313, f 318 v ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
415.	mi	1.05.04.06, 313, f 318 v ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
416.	misie	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o	'mistress', S: missi , 'Frau, Meisterin', F: mísi , 'dame jufvrouw, mevrouw, vrouw des huizes, meesteres'
417.	missie	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o	'mistress', S: missi , 'Frau, Meisterin', F: mísi , 'dame jufvrouw, mevrouw, vrouw des huizes, meesteres'
418.	mongo	1.05.04.06, 313, f 307 r ^o	'mountain', based on the original text, no gloss in S, For VD.
419.	no	1.05.04.06, 313, f 318 v ^o	NEG
420.	okri	1.05.04.06, 313, f 318 v ^o	'evil', S: ougri , 'böös, schlimm, schlecht, schädlich, gefährlich', F: ogri , 'kwaad, ondeugend, slecht, erg, streng'
421.	pontie	1.05.10.02, 805, f - r ^o	'boat', no gloss in S, F: póndo , 'pont, platboomd plantaadje-vaartuig', VD: pont , 'grote, platboomde roeiboot voor het vervoer van goederen'
422.	schoete	1.05.04.06, 313, f 318 v ^o	'to shoot', no gloss in S, F: sóetoe , 'schieten, afschieten, afsteken, prikken, insteken'
423.	soekre	1.05.04.06, 313, f 318 v ^o	'sugar', S: sukru , 'Zucker', F: sóekroe , 'suiker'
424.	swampe	1.05.04.06, 313, f 237 r ^o	'swamp', S: swampo , 'Sumpf, Morast', F: swámpoe , 'moeras, poel, zwamp', VD: zwamp , 'moeras'
425.	tan	1.05.04.06, 313, f 318 v ^o	'to stay', S: tann , 'bleiben; warten; stehen; stille stehen' F: tan , 'blijven, wachten, staan; 2) gelijken, schijnen; zich bevinden'
426.	tgerre tgerre	1.05.04.06, 313, f 308 r ^o	'is een in malkander gerold stof van blaade dat op t rond van t hoofd sluijten kan om zwaarte op te draagen', S: tjarritjarri , 'der Kranz, den die Neger unter die Last legen, welke sie auf dem Kopf', F: tjári (kjári), 'verkort tja', dragen, bij zich hebben, brengen'
427.	thas	1.05.04.06, 312, f 81 r ^o	'sugar cane leaves', no gloss in S, F: trássi , 'tras, uitgeperst suikerriet'
428.	*voeteboeijs	1.05.04.06, 313, f 308 v ^o	'servant', S: futuboi , 'Diener, Bedienter, Laquay' F: foetoe-bói , 'lijf knecht, kamenier'
429.	voeteboij	1.05.04.06, 313, f 308 v ^o	'servant', S: futuboi , 'Diener, Bedienter, Laquay' F: foetoe-bói , 'lijf knecht, kamenier'
430.	voetebooj	1.05.04.06, 313, f 308 v ^o	'servant', S: futuboi , 'Diener, Bedienter, Laquay'

			F: foetoe-bóí , 'lijf knecht, kamenier'
431.	wirri wirrie	1.05.04.06, 313, f 308 r ^o	'grass, hair, leaves, herbs', S: wirriwirri , 'Blätter von Baumen u. allen Gemachsen; alles Gras: Kraut; Blättchen Gras; Haare von Menschen u. Thieren; Borsten; Federn von Vögele; Stroh; ein Halm', F: wiwiri '(verkort voor wiri-wíri) 'haar, veeren, bladeren, kruid
432.	wirri wirri	1.05.04.06, 313, f 308 r ^o	'grass, hair, leaves, herbs', S: wirriwirri , 'Blätter von Baumen u. allen Gemachsen; alles Gras: Kraut; Blättchen Gras; Haare von Menschen u. Thieren; Borsten; Federn von Vögele; Stroh; ein Halm', F: wiwiri '(verkort voor wiri-wíri) 'haar, veeren, bladeren, kruid
433.	wiesie	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o	'to poison', S: wissi , 'Gift; vergiften, vergeben', F: wísi , 'vergiftigen, betooveren; 2) vergift, toovermiddel', VD: wísi , 'zwarte magie, met opzettelijke vergiftiging; 2) gifmengsel'
434.	zal	1.05.04.06, 313, f 318 v ^o	'shall', S: sa 'werden (...) it. sollen', F: sa 'hulpww. zullen'
	Barbiesjes	1.05.04.06, 313, f 240 v ^o	other Dutch colony near Suriname
	bongo contre	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o	'drum country', name of a maroon village
	gado brooki sandie	1.05.04.06, 313, f 307 v ^o	'god break things/sand' description of a certain place
	Hoeman grond	1.05.04.06, 313, f 311 v ^o	'woman ground', name of a maroon village
	Joha/Joka	1.05.04.06, 312, f 81 v ^o	name of a maroon village, also a river
	Toetoeceeq	1.05.04.06, 313, f 307 v ^o	creek, S: tutu , 'ein Horn; holes Kohr; jedes Blas-Instrument'
	Corrabo	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o	plantation
	Moor	1.05.04.06, 313, f 238 v ^o	plantation
	Para	1.05.04.06, 313, f 238 v ^o	region
	Auka	1.05.04.06, 313, f 306 v ^o	region
	cato momgo	1.05.04.06, 313, f 308 v ^o	c. mountain, name of a mountain
	cottica	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o	region
	crascreeq	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o	creek
	Klein Toka	1.05.04.06, 313, f 308 v ^o	creek
	mamadina mongo	1.05.04.06, 313, f 307 v ^o	m. mountain, name of a mountain
	minofia	1.05.04.06, 312, f 81 v ^o	I NEG trust, name of a maroon village
	Saron	1.05.04.06, 313, f 240 v ^o	short name of a plantation
	tati paki mongo	1.05.04.06, 313, f 307 v ^o	'father take mountain' name of mountain
	Toka	1.05.04.06, 313, f 311 r ^o	name of a maroon village
	Wanica	1.05.04.06, 313, f 239 v ^o	region
	Saramacca	1.05.04.06, 313, f 237 v ^o	region
	Saramacca	1.05.04.06, 313, f 237 v ^o	region
	Bongo do tijtj	1.05.04.06, 313, f 311 v ^o	name of a maroon village
1762:			
435.	*baakies	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	'tray', S: bákki , 'eine hölzerne Schüssel, Trog', F: bákka , 'bakken'
436.	*cabbies	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	palm-cabbage, i.e. heart of palm, no gloss in S, F: kjábisi (kábbisi ; tjábbisi), 'kabbes, palmkool, meest van de Koembóe- en Mariápalmen' VD: kabbes
437.	capuerie	1.05.04.06, 315, f 98 v ^o	'thicket', S: kappewirri 'junger Busch, wieder aufgeschossenes Gesträuch', F: kapewéri 'struikgewas', VD kapoweri 'secondaire vegetatie'
438.	cawerie	1.05.04.06, 315, f 97 r ^o	'catfish' No gloss in S or F, VD: kauwerie 'egaal bruine meerval uit de midden- en benedenloop van de rivieren (<i>Pimelodes blochii</i>)'
439.	coemoe	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	S: kumû , 'eine hiesige Baumfrucht, die wie die Europäischen Schleen aussieht, nachdem sie mit warmen (aber ja nicht heissem) Wasser abgebrühet worden, zerdrückt man sie in Wasser, schlägts durch ein Turch, u. mengt etwas süssets darunter: so hat man einen gesunden, lieblichen u: nahrhaften Tranck, der der Chocolate sehr ähnlich ist', F: kóemboe , 'eene palmsoort, waarvan de vrucht een aangenaamen drank oplevert', VD: koemboe .
440.	crabbejas	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	framboesia tropica or rash. S: krabbo-jassi , 'eine der Jass ähnliche Art von Ausschlag, den nur mance Neger krigern, u. meistens an der Beinen', F: kraboe-jássi , 'eene ziekte aan de voeten, een eigenaardige vorm van yaws, klaver-jas geheeten', VD: krabbejas
441.	danki	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	'thank (you)', S: tangi , 'Dank; danken', F: tangi , 'dank, dankzegging'
442.	de	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	'be', S: de 'seyn; it. nota presentis', F: de 'wezen; 2) hulpwoord om den tegenwoordigen tijd uit te drukken (Eng. <i>there</i>)'
443.	detappe	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 v ^o	'they'+to close, obstruct', S: tappa , 'zumachen, zustopfen,

			verstopfen; bedecken, zudecken; hindern, zuschliessen', F: tappoe , 'sluiten, dicht doen, toedekken; stuiten, tegenhouden, beletten, verhinderen'
444.	foen	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	'to flog, to beat', S: fumm , 'schlagen; stossen, stampfen', F: fom , 'slaan, kloppen, stampen, geselen, kastijden, tuchtigen'
445.	foete booij	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	'servant', S: futuboi , 'Diener, Bedienter, Laquay' F: foetoe-bóí , 'lijf knecht, kamenier'
446.	helpi	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 v ^o	'to help', S: helpi , 'helfen; Hülfe', F: hélpi , 'helpen (Meestal uitgesproken <i>Jerépi</i>)'
447.	joe	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 r ^o	'you', 2SG S: ju 'du, dir, dich; dein, deine', F: joe (ji) 'gij, u; 2) uw, uwe'
448.	joe	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 r ^o	'you', 2SG S: ju 'du, dir, dich; dein, deine', F: joe (ji) 'gij, u; 2) uw, uwe'
449.	jou	1.05.04.06, 315, f 347 r ^o	'you', 2SG S: ju 'du, dir, dich; dein, deine', F: joe (ji) 'gij, u; 2) uw, uwe'
450.	jou	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	'you', 2SG S: ju 'du, dir, dich; dein, deine', F: joe (ji) 'gij, u; 2) uw, uwe'
451.	kalbasje	1.05.04.06, 317, f 140 v ^o	'gourd', S: kallabassi , 'ein Kallabas', F: krabási , 'kalebas', VD: kalebas .
452.	kan	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 v ^o	'can', S: kan , kann, 'können, vermögen', F: kan , 'kunnen, vermogen'
453.	kill	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	'to kill', S: kili , 'tödten, umbringen; plagen, quälen', F: kili , 'dooden, vermoorden, ter dood brengen, slagten'
454.	kili	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 v ^o	'to kill', S: kili , 'tödten, umbringen; plagen, quälen', F: kili , 'dooden, vermoorden, ter dood brengen, slagten'
455.	kom	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 v ^o	'to come', S: komm , 'kommen; werden', F: kom , 'komen, aankomen; 2) worden'
456.	kom	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 v ^o	'to come', S: komm , 'kommen; werden', F: kom , 'komen, aankomen; 2) worden'
457.	lasi	1.05.04.06, 315, f 337 v ^o	'loss, to loose, arse', here: 'loser/arse', S: lasi , 'verlieren; verloren gehen; das Hintere; der eigentliche Sinn von etwas. it. versäumen', F: lási , 'het achterdeel, achterste, aars'
458.	mama	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 v ^o	'mother', S: mámma , 'mutter', F: mamá , 'moeder'
459.	mama	1.05.04.06, 315, f 347 v ^o	'mother', S: mámma , 'mutter', F: mamá , 'moeder'
460.	mangro	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	'mangrove', S: mangru , 'der Mangre, oder Mangel Baum (...) welcher an den Ufern der Flüsse u. See wächst, u. mit seinen vielen Füßen oder Luft-wurzeln dag ganze Ufer bedeckt', F: mángro , 'duizenbeenboom (Rzophora); 2) het land buiten de bedamming, dat met die heesters en boomen begroeid is; voorland, uiterwaarde', VD: mangro
461.	maripa	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	'palm tree', S: maríppa "die köstliche Frucht einer hiesigen Art Palm-bäume; it. der Baum selber, dessen Herz der Kabbeskohl ist", F: marípa "vrucht van een palmsoor; 2) de boom zelf", VD: mari'pa "soort palm (<i>Attalea marípa</i>)"
462.	masara	1.05.04.06, 315, f 347 v ^o	'master', S: massra , 'Herr; Eigenthümer', F: mássra , 'meester, heer; 2) titel voor vrije personen'
463.	masara	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	'master', S: massra , 'Herr; Eigenthümer', F: mássra , 'meester, heer; 2) titel voor vrije personen'
464.	massara	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	'master', S: massra , 'Herr; Eigenthümer', F: mássra , 'meester, heer; 2) titel voor vrije personen'
465.	massera	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 r ^o	'master', S: massra , 'Herr; Eigenthümer', F: mássra , 'meester, heer; 2) titel voor vrije personen'
466.	massera	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 v ^o	'master', S: massra , 'Herr; Eigenthümer', F: mássra , 'meester, heer; 2) titel voor vrije personen'
467.	maurici maca	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	palm tree. maurici , S: morosi , 'der Maurizen - Baum u. dessen Frucht', F: morisi , 'de Mauritia-palm', VD: maurisi , maurisipalm , 'grote soort waaierpalm (<i>Mauritia flexuosa</i>), maca : S: makka , 'Dorn; Dornstauch; Stachel; Splitter', F: makkà , '1) doren, stekel; 2) Osnabrugs of grof linnen; 3) pit of steen eener palmvrucht' VD: maka
468.	mi	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
469.	mi	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 r ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
470.	mi	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 r ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
471.	mi	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 r ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
472.	miesie	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	'mistress', S: missi , 'Frau, Meisterin', F: mísi , 'dame jufvrouw, mevrouw, vrouw des huizes, meesteres'
473.	misjie	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	'mistress', S: missi , 'Frau, Meisterin', F: mísi , 'dame jufvrouw, mevrouw, vrouw des huizes, meesteres'
474.	no	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 r ^o	NEG
475.	no	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 r ^o	NEG
476.	no	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	NEG

477.	o goedoe gado	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	'O good God', S: O Gado! , 'ach Gott!'
478.	pasi	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 r ^o	'path, permission', S: pasi , 'der Weg, die Strasse, Gasse; die Reise', F: pási , 'weg, voetpad, laan; 2) verlof, permissie'
479.	pima	1.05.04.06, 315, f 347 r ^o	'cunt', S: píma , 's. umanpleši (die weiblichen Schaamtheille)', no gloss in F.
480.	rommotto	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 r ^o	'to surround', S: rombotto , lombotto , 'umringen, umgeben; rund herum; rings herum, auf allen seiten; umringt seyn; umgeben seyn', F: rómoto (rómboto , lómoto), 'rondom van lle zijden', VA: romboto .
481.	sie	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 r ^o	'to see', S: si , 'sehen', F: si , 'zien, kijken, bemerken'
482.	somma	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 r ^o	'person', S: somma , 'Mensch, die Leute, jemand, wer?', F: sóema , 'mensch, persoon, iemand'
483.	tanki tanki	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 v ^o	'thank (you)', S: tangi , 'Dank; danken', F: tangi , 'dank, dankzegging'
484.	tras	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	'sugar cane leaves', no gloss in S, F: trási , 'tras, uitgeperst suikerriet'
485.	voeloe	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 r ^o	'many, full', S: fulu , 'viel, viele; viel seyn; voll; voll seyn; füllen; voll machen', F: fóeloe (fóeroe), 'vol, veel'
486.	voor (jou)	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	'for', S: va , vo 'von; für; dass, auf dass, damit; um zu', F: foe 'van, voor, om, tot'
487.	wie	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	'we' 1PL S: wi 'wir, uns; unser, unsre', F: wi 'wij, ons; ons, onze'
	auka	1.05.04.06, 315, f 98 v ^o	region
	auka	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	region
	Bongo Dotti	1.05.04.06, 317, f 144 v ^o	'drum dirth/earth'
	Bongo dotti	1.05.04.06, 317, f 144 v ^o	'drum dirth/earth'
	bonkodotie	1.05.04.06, 315, f 97 v ^o	'drum dirth/earth'
	kankakriekje	1.05.04.06, 317, f 140 v ^o	creek
	marewijne	1.05.04.06, 315, f 98 v ^o	river
	paracreeq	1.05.04.06, 317, f 138 v ^o	creek
	Sarameca	1.05.04.06, 317, f 136 v ^o	region
	Sarameca	1.05.04.06, 317, f 140 v ^o	region
	corrabo	1.05.04.06, 315, f 98 v ^o	plantation
	Toeka	1.05.04.06, 317, f 144 v ^o	name of a maroon village
1763:			
488.	boteijs wiriewirie	1.05.10.02, 808, f - v ^o	crushed bones (Dutch botjes 'bones'), wiriewirie : 'grass, hair, leaves, herbs', S: wirriwiri , 'Blätter von Baumen u. allen Gemachsen; alles Gras: Kraut; Blättchen Gras; Haare von Menschen u. Thieren; Borsten; Federn von Vögele; Stroh; ein Halm', F: wiwiri ('verkort voor wiri-wiri) 'haar, veeren, bladeren, kruid
489.	coekerom	1.05.10.02, 808, f - v ^o	'kitchen', S: kukru , 'Küche; it. Herd, Ofen, Backofen' F: koekroe 'keuken', VD: kokerom 'uitbouw aan huis of losstaand gebouwtje in gebruik als keuken'
490.	dappe	1.05.10.02, 808, f - v ^o	'up, on top of', S: tappo , 'hoch, oben: der Himmel; ein Deckel; der Gipfel, F: táppoe , 'boven'.
491.	dressie	1.05.10.02, 808, f - v ^o	'to cure', Dutch verb borrowed from Sranan. S: dressi , 'heilen, kuriren; verbinden; die Arzney', F: dréssi , 'genezen, verbinden (...); 2) geneesmiddel, verband, zalfje, drankje, artenij'
492.	go	1.05.10.02, 808, f - v ^o	'go', S: go 'gehen, weggehen', F: go 'gaan, vertrekken, 2) zullen'
493.	goo	1.05.10.02, 808, f - v ^o	'go', S: go 'gehen, weggehen', F: go 'gaan, vertrekken, 2) zullen'
494.	joe	1.05.10.02, 808, f - v ^o	'you', 2SG S: ju 'du, dir, dich; dein, deine', F: joe (ji) 'gij, u; 2) uw, uwe'
495.	joe	1.05.10.02, 808, f - v ^o	'you', 2SG S: ju 'du, dir, dich; dein, deine', F: joe (ji) 'gij, u; 2) uw, uwe'
496.	joe	1.05.10.02, 808, f - v ^o	'you', 2SG S: ju 'du, dir, dich; dein, deine', F: joe (ji) 'gij, u; 2) uw, uwe'
497.	hosse	1.05.10.02, 808, f - v ^o	'house', S: hosso , 'Haus; Wohnung; Hütte', F: hóso (óso), 'huis, woning, hut'
498.	kom oppe	1.05.10.02, 808, f - v ^o	'to wake up', S: kommoppo , kommotto , 'heraus gehen, heraus kommen; loss kommen, befreyt werden; aufstehen', F: kom-ópo , kom-óto , 'ergens uitkomen, van eene plaats weggaan'
499.	libe	1.05.10.02, 808, f - v ^o	'to leave', S: libi , 'lassen, verlassen, zurücklassen', F: libi , 'laten, laten, laten blijven, overlaten, achterlaten, verlaten'
500.	maka	1.05.10.02, 788, f 202 v ^o	cloth, prickle or plant with thorns, S: makka , 'Dorn;'

			Dornstauch; Stachel; Splitter', F: makkà , '1) doren, stekel; 2) Osnabruks of grof linnen; 3) pit of steen eener palmvrucht' VD: maka
501.	mistre worke	1.05.10.02, 808, f - v ^o	'masonry', set-bricks (to) work, S: messelar , 'Maurer, mauren', F: mésre , 'metselen'
502.	na	1.05.10.02, 808, f - v ^o	'in, up, at, out' S: na , 'zu; bey; an; nach; in; auf; von; aus', F: na , 'in, op, naar, te, aan, uit, van, bij'
503.	papamonie	1.05.10.02, 808, f - v ^o	cawry shell, S: papa-moni , 'eine Art muscheln, welche bey der Negern in Guinea als Geld münzte gelten ;hhier aber sehr haulig als obia gebraucht werden'. F: papà-móni , 'muntschulpjes, katjes in Afrika als geld in omloop; 2) een staar op het oog', VD: papamoni , 'kaurischelp'
504.	sa	1.05.10.02, 808, f - v ^o	'shall', S: sa 'werden (...) it. sollen', F: sa 'hulpww. zullen'
505.	saa	1.05.10.02, 808, f - v ^o	'shall', S: sa 'werden (...) it. sollen', F: sa 'hulpww. zullen'
506.	selle	1.05.10.02, 808, f - v ^o	'to sell', S: seli, selli, seri , 'verkaufen, verkaucht seyn', F: séri , 'verkoopen, te koop aanbieden, uitventen'
507.	voevoereman	1.05.10.02, 808, f - v ^o	'thief', S: fufurman , 'ein Dieb', F: foefóeróeman , 'dief, rover, snoeper, guit'
508.	voule	1.05.10.02, 808, f - v ^o	'fowls', S: vool , 'ein Vogel; ein Huhn', no gloss in F, VD. VA: fowroe , 'bird'
509.	wiriwirie	1.05.10.02, 808, f - v ^o	'grass, hair, leaves, herbs', S: wirriwirri , 'Blätter von Baumen u. allen Gemachsen; alles Gras: Kraut; Blättchen Gras; Haare von Menschen u. Thieren; Borsten; Federn von Vögele; Stroh; ein Halm', F: wiwiri '(verkort voor wiri-wíri) 'haar, veeren, bladeren, kruid'
510.	wissie	1.05.10.02, 808, f - v ^o	'sorcery', S: wissi , 'Gift; vergeben: Die Neger verstehen aber auch darunter eine abergläubische Zauberkraft, dass einer einen anderen etswas böses oder gar den Tod anhepen kann, wenn er gleich weit von ihm weg ist, u. ohm ihm Gift oder irgend etwas zuzuschicken', F: wisi , 'vergiftigen, betooveren; 2) vergif, toovermiddel'
	auka	1.05.04.06, 320, f 188 v ^o	region
	lukebom	1.05.04.06, 320, f 188 v ^o	'watch out', name of maroonvillage. S: lukku bun 'nimm dich in acht', F: lóekoe boen , 'pas op'
	lukkebom	1.05.04.06, 320, f 188 v ^o	'watch out', name of maroonvillage. S: lukku bun 'nimm dich in acht', F: lóekoe boen , 'pas op'
	mosesarom	1.05.04.06, 320, f 188 v ^o	plantation
1764:			
511.	bakeljauw	1.05.10.02, 809, f - v ^o	dried fish, no gloss in S, F: bákjáu (batjáu) , 'bakkeljauw, Amerikaanse gedroogde visch', VD: bakeljauw, bakkeljauw , 'sterk gezouten, gedroogde en weer opgekweekte kabeljauw'
512.	bakeljauw	1.05.10.02, 809, f - v ^o	dried fish, no gloss in S, F: bákjáu (batjáu) , 'bakkeljauw, Amerikaanse gedroogde visch', VD: bakeljauw, bakkeljauw , 'sterk gezouten, gedroogde en weer opgekweekte kabeljauw'
1765:			
513.	lukeman	1.05.10.02, 811, f - v ^o	'prophet', S: lukkuman , 'ein Weissager, Zauberer', F: lóekoe-man , 'een arts onder de Negers, die tevens profeet, droomuitlegger enz is'
1766:			
514.	*Backra contries	1.05.04.06, 330, f 114 v ^o	'Europe', S: bakkra - kondre , 'Europa', F: bakrà-kóndre , 'Europa; 2) Nederland'
515.	bannane	1.05.10.02, 812, f - r ^o	'banana trees', S: bánnana, banna , 'bannane, pisang', F: baána , 'bananne'
516.	bannanne wirriwirrie	1.05.10.02, 812, f - r ^o	banana mixture, wirriwirrie : 'grass, hair, leaves, herbs', S: wirriwirri , 'Blätter von Baumen u. allen Gemachsen; alles Gras: Kraut; Blättchen Gras; Haare von Menschen u. Thieren; Borsten; Federn von Vögele; Stroh; ein Halm', F: wiwiri '(verkort voor wiri-wíri) 'haar, veeren, bladeren, kruid'
517.	bon	1.05.04.06, 330, f 116 r ^o	'good, well', S: bun, bunne , 'gut, wohl; gesund; vergnügt; gut seyn', F: boen , 'goed, het goede, wel (Port. Sp. bueno)'
518.	callbassie	1.05.10.02, 812, f - v ^o	'gourd', S: kallabassi , 'ein Kallabas', F: krabási , 'kalebas', VD: kalebas .
519.	date	1.05.04.06, 330, f 116 v ^o	'that', S: datti , 'das, dieses; it. dieser, diese', F: dátti , 'dat'
520.	deddiepassie	1.05.10.02, 812, f - v ^o	'dead-road', nickname of a slave. S: dedde 'sterben, der Todt, todt; verlöschen; stumpf seyn', F: déde 'sterven, te niet gaan, uitgaan, verstompen; 2) de dood' S:pasi 'der Weg; die strasse, Gasse; die Reise; Erlaubniss; Gelegeheit' F: pási ,

			'voetpad, laan; 2) verlof, permissie; 3) kier'
521.	do	1.05.04.06, 330, f 116 r ^o	'to do', S: du , 'thun; das Thun, die That; die Aufführung', F: doe , 'verrigten, maken; 2) het doen, de handelswijze'
522.	doe	1.05.04.06, 330, f 116 r ^o	'to do', S: du , 'thun; das Thun, die That; die Aufführung', F: doe , 'verrigten, maken; 2) het doen, de handelswijze'
523.	Gran Gado	1.05.04.06, 330, f 115 v ^o	'big lord' S: Grang Gado 'der almächtige Gott', F: Gádo 'God'
524.	grand Gado	1.05.04.06, 330, f 116 r ^o	'big lord' S: Grang Gado 'der almächtige Gott', F: Gádo 'God'
525.	Grand Gado	1.05.04.06, 330, f 116 v ^o	'big lord' S: Grang Gado 'der almächtige Gott', F: Gádo 'God'
526.	kaoro bladen	1.05.10.02, 812, f - v ^o	corn or cabbage? S: karo (auch karu), 'Welschkorn, eine Kolbe von derselven' or kool, kólo , 'Kohl, Kopfkraut', F: kàroe , 'Indiaansch of Tursch koren (Zea mays L.)' or kólo (koro) , 'kool'
527.	maar	1.05.04.06, 330, f 116 r ^o	Dutch, 'but, however'
528.	maka klossie	1.05.10.02, 812, f - v ^o	specific type of cloth, S: makka-klossie , 'Pack-Leinwand, grob Leinen', no gloss in F, VD or VA (grof Osnabrugs linnen)
529.	mangros	1.05.10.02, 812, f - v ^o	'mangrove', S: mangru , 'der Mangre, oder Mangel Baum (...) welcher an den Ufern der Flüsse u. See wächst, u. mit seinen vielen Füßen oder Luft-wurzeln dag ganze Ufer bedeckt', F: mángro , 'duizenbeenboom (Rzophora); 2) het land buiten de bedamming, dat met die heesters en boomen begroeid is; voorland, uiterwaarde', VD: mangro
530.	mi	1.05.04.06, 330, f 116 r ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
531.	*napies	1.05.10.02, 812, f - r ^o	'cush cush', S: napi , 'Napjes, eine Erdfrucht, den Kartoffeln áhnlich', F: napi , 'een klimmend aardgewas als de yams'
532.	no	1.05.04.06, 330, f 116 r ^o	NEG
533.	no	1.05.04.06, 330, f 116 r ^o	NEG
534.	ourgie	1.05.04.06, 330, f 116 r ^o	'evil', S: ougri , 'böös, schlimm, schlecht, schädlich, gefährlich', F: ogri , 'kwaad, ondeugend, slecht, erg, streng'
535.	paka	1.05.10.02, 812, f - v ^o	"sijnde een soort slakken", 'snailles', S: pakrò , 'Schnecken mit häusgen, Landmuscheln', F: pakrò , 'slakken'
536.	*pakas	1.05.10.02, 812, f - v ^o	"sijnde een soort slakken", 'snailles', S: pakrò , 'Schnecken mit häusgen, Landmuscheln', F: pakrò , 'slakken'
537.	sabi	1.05.04.06, 330, f 116 v ^o	'to know', S: sabi , 'wissen; kennen; verstehen; erkennen', F: sâbi , 'weten, verstaan, beseffen, kunnen, kennen, bewust zijn'
538.	sabi	1.05.04.06, 330, f 116 v ^o	'to know', S: sabi , 'wissen; kennen; verstehen; erkennen', F: sâbi , 'weten, verstaan, beseffen, kunnen, kennen, bewust zijn'
539.	sabi	1.05.04.06, 330, f 116 r ^o	'to know', S: sabi , 'wissen; kennen; verstehen; erkennen', F: sâbi , 'weten, verstaan, beseffen, kunnen, kennen, bewust zijn'
540.	solì	1.05.04.06, 330, f 116 r ^o	'to show', S: solì, sori , 'weizen, zeigen', F: sóri , 'wijzen; aanwijzen, toonen, vertoonen, laten zien, leeren, onderrigten'
541.	wi	1.05.04.06, 330, f 116 r ^o	'we' 1PL S: wi 'wir, uns; unser, unsre', F: wi 'wij, ons; ons, onze'
542.	wi	1.05.04.06, 330, f 116 r ^o	'we' 1PL S: wi 'wir, uns; unser, unsre', F: wi 'wij, ons; ons, onze'
1767:			
543.	aja	1.05.10.02, 813, f - v ^o	'yes', S: ai , 'ja', F: ai , 'ja (in gemeenzamen stijl)'
544.	bakkeljauw	1.05.04.06, 331, f 424 v ^o	dried fish, no gloss in S, F: bákjáu (batjáu) , 'bakkeljauw, Amerikaanse gedroogde visch', VD: bakeljauw, bakkeljauw , 'sterk gezouten, gedroogde en weer opgekweekte kabeljauw'
545.	*biesies	1.05.04.06, 331, f 161 v ^o	'pea', S: pesi, piesjes 'eine Hülsenfrucht wie kleine Erbsen oder Bohnen', F: pési 'peulvrucht'
546.	capto	1.05.04.06, 331, f 412 v ^o	"want Mosinga is in staat van ons in eene nagt capto te maaken"
547.	dram	1.05.04.06, 331, f 424 v ^o	strong liquor, no gloss in S, F: dram , 'eene soort van geestrijke drank (Eng. a dram)'
548.	jou	1.05.04.06, 331, f 429 v ^o	'you', 2SG S: ju 'du, dir, dich; dein, deine', F: joe (ji) 'gij, u; 2) uw, uwe'
549.	jou	1.05.10.02, 813, f - v ^o	'you', 2SG S: ju 'du, dir, dich; dein, deine', F: joe (ji) 'gij, u; 2) uw, uwe'
550.	*kissies	1.05.04.06, 331, f 424 v ^o	S: kissi , 'ein Kasten; Kiste, Schrank', F: kísi , 'kist, kistje'
551.	*kissies	1.05.04.06, 331, f 424 v ^o	S: kissi , 'ein Kasten; Kiste, Schrank', F: kísi , 'kist, kistje'
552.	malassie	1.05.04.06, 331, f 424 v ^o	'treacle', no gloss in S, F: malássi 'melasse, stroop'.
553.	mie	1.05.10.02, 813, f - v ^o	'I', 1SG S: mi 'ich, mir, mein, meine', F: mi 'ik, mij; 2) mijn'
554.	*nappies	1.05.04.06, 331, f 161	S: napi , 'Napjes, eine Erdfrucht, den Kartoffeln áhnlich', F: napi , 'een klimmend aardgewas als de yams'
555.	omakkaj (nooten)	1.05.04.06, 331, f 161 r ^o	nuts. No gloss in S, F, VD or VA.

556.	ookrom	1.05.04.06, 331, f 161 r ^o	beverage of ripe banana/yucca-bread or edible fruit of <i>Hibiscus esculentus</i> . S: okro , 'ein seher gesudes u. nützliches Kraut oder Stauden-gewächs, der Stockrohr ähnlich' F: okó , 'drank van cassavebrood of rijpe banannen vervaardigd'
557.	p-----	1.05.04.06, 331, f 429 v ^o	pima , 'cunt', S: pîma , 's. umanple si (die weiblichen Schaamtheille)', no gloss in F.
558.	sabie	1.05.10.02, 813, f - v ^o	'to know', S: sabi , 'wissen; kennen; verstehen; erkennen', F: sâbi , 'weten, verstaan, beseffen, kunnen, kennen, bewust zijn'
559.	*waribo es	1.05.04.06, 331, f 424 v ^o	plant used to make baskets and the like, S: warimbo , 'ein von Blätter geflochtener Umschlag, um Sachen darin zu tagen; it. der Rohr, wovon die Baskiten, Kakahle, u. Dergleichen geflochten werden', F: wariembo , 'naam eener plant, welker stengel door de Negers en Indianen gebezigd wordt, om daarvan pagalen, koeroe-koeroes en ander mandwerk te vervaardigen (Phrynium Casupo)', VD: warimbo
560.	*warimbo es	1.05.04.06, 331, f 419 r ^o	plant used to make baskets and the like, S: warimbo , 'ein von Blätter geflochtener Umschlag, um Sachen darin zu tagen; it. der Rohr, wovon die Baskiten, Kakahle, u. Dergleichen geflochten werden', F: wariembo , 'naam eener plant, welker stengel door de Negers en Indianen gebezigd wordt, om daarvan pagalen, koeroe-koeroes en ander mandwerk te vervaardigen (Phrynium Casupo)', VD: warimbo
561.	*warimbo es	1.05.04.06, 331, f 419 r ^o	plant used to make baskets and the like, S: warimbo , 'ein von Blätter geflochtener Umschlag, um Sachen darin zu tagen; it. der Rohr, wovon die Baskiten, Kakahle, u. Dergleichen geflochten werden', F: wariembo , 'naam eener plant, welker stengel door de Negers en Indianen gebezigd wordt, om daarvan pagalen, koeroe-koeroes en ander mandwerk te vervaardigen (Phrynium Casupo)', VD: warimbo
562.	*warimbo es	1.05.04.06, 331, f 425 r ^o	plant used to make baskets and the like, S: warimbo , 'ein von Blätter geflochtener Umschlag, um Sachen darin zu tagen; it. der Rohr, wovon die Baskiten, Kakahle, u. Dergleichen geflochten werden', F: wariembo , 'naam eener plant, welker stengel door de Negers en Indianen gebezigd wordt, om daarvan pagalen, koeroe-koeroes en ander mandwerk te vervaardigen (Phrynium Casupo)', VD: warimbo
563.	*warimbo es	1.05.04.06, 331, f 135 v ^o	plant used to make baskets and the like, S: warimbo , 'ein von Blätter geflochtener Umschlag, um Sachen darin zu tagen; it. der Rohr, wovon die Baskiten, Kakahle, u. Dergleichen geflochten werden', F: wariembo , 'naam eener plant, welker stengel door de Negers en Indianen gebezigd wordt, om daarvan pagalen, koeroe-koeroes en ander mandwerk te vervaardigen (Phrynium Casupo)', VD: warimbo
1769:			
564.	krabbejas	1.05.0.02, 923, f - v ^o	framboesia tropica or rash. S: krabbo-jassi , 'eine der Jass ähnliche Art von Ausschlag, den nur mance Neger krigern, u. meistens an der Beinen', F: kraboe-jâssi , 'eene ziekte aan de voeten, een eigenaardige vorm van yaws, klaver-jas geheeten', VD: krabbejas
1773:			
cancannes		1.05.10.02, 932, f - v ^o	"dat die slaven de neeger engelsche taal niet of weinig kunne spreken daar deselve eenige maanden van te vooren bij Cancannes gewoont hebben, alwaar immers geen Joodsche sabbat en feestdagen wordt gehouden"
1777:			
565.	Capa~o	1.05.10.02, 933, f - v ^o	"kapoen", 'capon'
566.	mamzei	1.05.10.02, 933, f - v ^o	"overspeelskind", no gloss in S, F or VD.
wagamoe creeq		1.05.10.02, 932, f - v ^o	creeck

References to ethnic groups

1684:		
Cormantijn Claas	1.05.04.01, 212, f 199 v ^o	
1687:		
arawacken	1.05.04.01, 217, f 120 v ^o	
caribische indianen	1.05.04.01, 217, f 120 v ^o	
1704:		
crioolen	1.05.04.01, 231, f 137 v ^o	
1707:		
Claas Cormantijn	1.05.04.01, 234, f 264 r ^o	
Claas Cormantijn	1.05.04.01, 234, f 273 r ^o	
criool	1.05.04.01, 234, f 257 v ^o	
criool van Cajane	1.05.04.01, 234, f 255 r ^o	
crioolen	1.05.04.01, 234, f 259 v ^o	
papa Kees	1.05.04.01, 234, f 257 r ^o	
papa neger	1.05.04.01, 234, f 254 r ^o	
pappa Wil	1.05.04.01, 234, f 258 r ^o	
1711:		
mulatt	1.05.04.01, 239, f 42 r ^o	
1730:		
bos criool neegerin	1.05.10.02, 786, f 44 v ^o	
cormantie	1.05.10.02, 786, f 46 v ^o	
cormantie	1.05.10.02, 786, f 46 v ^o	
cormanties	1.05.10.02, 786, f 46 v ^o	
papa negers	1.05.10.02, 786, f 46 v ^o	
1733:		
Loango	1.05.10.02, 788, f 202 v ^o	
loango	1.05.10.02., 788, f 202 v ^o	
Loango Jantje	1.05.10.02, 788, f 65 ptdnr v ^o	
zijn landsman Loango Jantje	1.05.10.02, 788, f 65 ptdnr v ^o	
1735:		
bootnegers	1.05.10.02, 789, f 39 v ^o	
Luango neger	1.05.10.02, 789, f 59 v ^o	
negerin Battie Papa	1.05.10.02, 789, f 7 v ^o	
1737:		
mulat	1.05.10.02, 791, f 45 v ^o	
portugeesche mulat	1.05.10.02, 791, f 47 v ^o	
1742:		
Colingo neger	(1.05.10.02, 795, f 27 r ^o	
Criole Jannie	1.05.10.02, 795, f 52 r ^o	
crioole suster	1.05.10.02, 795, f 54 v ^o	
1743:		
Engelsman	1.05.10.02, 796, f - v ^o	
jooide neeger	1.05.10.02, 937, f 174 v ^o	
1745:		
arawackse indiaan	1.05.04.03, 275, f 984 v ^o	
boknooyt	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	
crioolen	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	
crioolen	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	
in 't Luango	1.05.10.02, 798, f - v ^o	
parrawane off prohane natie	1.05.04.03, 275, f 984 v ^o	
1747:		
mulatten	1.05.04.03, 281, f 400 v ^o	

1749:		
Loango dorp	1.05.04.03, 285, f 117 r ^o	
1755:		
acuri indianen	1.05.10.02, 939, f 311 v ^o	
acuris	1.05.10.02, 939, f 316 v ^o	
cormantijns	1.05.10.02, 939, f 316 v ^o	
creole dorp	1.05.10.02, 998, f 122 v ^o	
creolen van 't bos	1.05.10.02, 939, f 311 v ^o	
creole dorpen	1.05.10.02, 939, f 316 v ^o	
loango	1.05.10.02, 939, f 311 v ^o	
loango	1.05.10.02, 939, f 316 v ^o	
loango	1.05.10.02, 939, f 316 v ^o	
papa	1.05.10.02, 939, f 311 v ^o	
papaes	1.05.10.02, 939, f 316 v ^o	
1756:		
cormantijn negers	1.05.10.02, 940, f 332 r ^o	
papaneger	1.05.10.02, 940, f 337 v ^o	
1757:		
Backara	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 r ^o	
Backara	1.05.10.02, 942, f 269 r ^o	
Backaraman	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 v ^o	
bakra	1.05.10.02, 942, f 261 v ^o	
bakra	1.05.10.02, 942, f 269 r ^o	
cormantie Coffij	1.05.10.02, 942, f 274 v ^o	
negre	1.05.10.02, 942, f 260 v ^o	
negre	1.05.10.02, 942, f 269 r ^o	
ningre	1.05.10.02, 942, f 261 v ^o	
1758:		
bokkin	1.05.04.06, 305, f 23 v ^o	
1759:		
boesi neger	1.05.10.02, 947, f - v ^o	
fransen	1.05.04.06, 308, f 49 v ^o	
mulat	1.05.04.06, 308, f 55 v ^o	
1761:		
Akornische	1.05.04.06, 313, f 240 v ^o	
bandiet neeger Nero	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o	"nero segt dat hij een nieuwe neeger sijnde"
bandite neeger Nero	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o	
boschnegers	1.05.04.06, 315, f 98 v ^o	
bosnegers	1.05.04.06, 313, f 240 v ^o	
bosnegers	1.05.04.06, 313, f 240 v ^o	
bossimam	1.05.04.06, 313, f 318 v ^o	
carboekel	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o	
Carboekel Hendrik	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o	
creole	1.05.04.06, 313, f 311 r ^o	
crivitse indianen	1.05.04.06, 313, f 240	
lolosie seijnde een nieuwe meijt	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o	
mulatten	1.05.04.06, 313, f 240 v ^o	
oude bokke grond	1.05.04.06, 313, f 239 v ^o	
prins van Abarnel	1.05.10.02, 805, f - v ^o	
Saramecaanse boschcreolen	1.05.04.06, 317, f 140 v ^o	
soutwaaternegers	1.05.04.06, 313, f 311 v ^o	
vrijnegers	1.05.04.06, 313, f 240 v ^o	
zoutwaeters	1.05.04.06, 313, f 311 r ^o	
1762:		
bakkra	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 r ^o	
bosneger	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	
cormantijn neeger	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	
crioolen	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	
ningre	1.05.04.06, 315, f 336 v ^o	
ningre	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	
papaneeger	1.05.10.02, 806, f - v ^o	

1763:		
criool	1.05.10.02, 808, f - r ^o	
cormantie cojo	1.05.10.02, 808, f - r ^o	
crioolen	1.05.04.06, 320, f 188 v ^o	
joode negers	1.05.04.06, 320, f 188 v ^o	
papaneger	1.05.10.02, 808, f - v ^o	
zoutwaternegers	1.05.04.06, 320, f 188 v ^o	
1764:		
Correntijn	1.05.04.06, 323, f 167 v ^o	
1765:		
boschneger	1.05.04.06, 325, f 73 v ^o	
boschneger	(1.05.04.06, 325, f 77 v ^o	
1766:		
boscreole	1.05.04.06, 330, f 50 v ^o	
criole	1.05.04.06, 330, f 50 v ^o	
soudwater	1.05.04.06, 330, f 50 v ^o	
vrije boschneger van Saramacca	1.05.04.06, 330, f 114 v ^o	
1767:		
boschneegers van Saramacca	1.05.04.06, 331, f 398 v ^o	
Saramaccaanse negers	1.05.04.06, 331, f 98 v ^o	
1773:		
brometie slaven	1.05.10.02, 932, f - v ^o	
cormantijns	1.05.10.02, 932, f - v ^o	
cormantijns nieuwe negers	1.05.10.02, 932, f - v ^o	
smouse neegers	1.05.10.02, 932, f - v ^o	
1775:	1.05.10.02, 928, f 563 v ^o	
krioole Quassie	1.05.10.02, 928, f 563 v ^o	
loango Jantie	1.05.10.02, 928, f 563 v ^o	
loango Manuel	1.05.10.02, 928, f 563 v ^o	
papa Quassie	1.05.10.02, 928, 563 v ^o	