INTENSIFIED! ON REFLEXIVE EXPRESSIONS IN EARLY SRANAN[1]

MARGOT VAN DEN BERG

Abstract. This paper is a follow-up on Muysken & Smith's (1994) preliminary overview of the types of reflexive expressions found in some sources of Early Sranan. It outlines and examines the syntax and semantics of Early Sranan reflexive expressions in all available 18th-century sources stored in the Suriname Creole Archive, including the Court Records and the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762). Subsequently, the Early Sranan findings are compared with their Eastern Maroon Creole equivalents in order to further establish their validity. Finally, a fine-grained analysis of the different uses of Early Sranan *srefi* is presented in order to gain a deeper understanding of the relationship between the adnominal and the non-juxtaposed intensifier and its role in the historical development from intensifier to reflexive.

0. INTRODUCTION

This paper is about expressions that can be assigned a reflexive interpretation in Early Sranan[2]. The term reflexive is used rather loosely, in the sense that a reflexive marker is an item or construction used to indicate that a semantic or a syntactic argument of a predicate is co-referent with another argument of that predicate, typically the subject (see also König & Gast 2002). Thus the reflexive marker, the anaphor, expresses coreference (or binding) with the antecedent, that appears as the object of a verb or headed by a preposition. The expression of the notion of reflexivity in creoles has received much attention in recent years (in particular Muysken & Smith 1994; Heine 2005). Concurrently, there is a renewed interest in the relationships between intensifiers and reflexive anaphors from a typological perspective (König & Siemund 2000a, 2000b; Gast & Siemund 2006).

[1] The title is derived from Desmond Dekker's 1968 party anthem, Intensified (aka Music Like Dirt): "Ram baba looba bam bam ba louie/Ram baba loo bam bam ... intensified!" Desmond Dekker was a Jamaican ska and reggae singer and songwriter, who was particularly successful in the 1960s and 1970s.

[2] Sranan, or Sranantongo, is a Surinamese creole language. It is a native language of the majority of the creole population of Suriname; other ethnic groups use it as a lingua franca. It is also used among a substantial body of speakers in the Netherlands and French Guyana. Early Sranan is the stage of (varieties of) Sranan used from the 1650s to late 18th century (van den Berg 2007).

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The paper is structured as follows. First, a follow-up on Muysken & Smith's (1994, 1995) preliminary overview of the types of constructions that can be assigned a reflexive interpretation in Early Sranan is presented. Muysken & Smith list four types that are encountered in contemporary Sranan as well as in several other creole languages: (1) personal pronouns can have a reflexive interpretation as well as combinations of (2) a personal pronoun with the identifier/intensifier *srefi* or (3) a pronoun with a body word, and (4) reflexivity may not be expressed at all. While Muysken & Smith (1994, 1995) demonstrate that pronouns with a reflexive interpretation and the pronoun plus identifier combination are encountered in Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Van Dyk's (c1765) manual, it is shown here that the whole range of reflexive constructions found in contemporary Sranan is already present in Early Sranan.

In the remainder of this paper the multiple meanings and uses of the item *srefi* is investigated in order to find out more about its origin. Heine (2001) claims that the reflexive marker -*srefi* developed from an intensifier -*srefi* that is a retention of English: it "can be traced back etymologically to items which already had an intensifier meaning in the lexifier" (Heine 2001: 24, see also Heine 2005). However, it is not likely that the Sranan pronoun + *srefi* combination is a retention of English, be it a reflexive marker or an intensifier, because it is not directly inherited from its English lexifier as Smith (1987) has demonstrated already on phonological grounds. In general, the lexifier language of a creole plays only a limited role in the historical derivation of reflexives in creole languages (Muysken & Smith 1995).

Lefebvre (1998) proposes relexification as the source of the pronoun + SELF reflexive in English and Dutch based creole languages such as Gullah and Berbice Dutch. In short, the lexifiers English and Dutch as well as the substrate language Fongbe have a complex reflexive anaphor that can be analyzed as a pronoun in combination with a SELF form. Thus, "the creators of Berbice Dutch Creole and Gullah found appropriate forms in Dutch and English, respectively, to relabel the copied lexical entry meaning – self" (Lefebvre 1998: 166).

Muysken & Smith (1994, 1995) and van der Voort & Muysken (1995) explore the emergence of the pronoun + SELF reflexive from a grammaticalization perspective, assuming that it may have developed from a discourse marker, an emphatic highlighter, to a non-discourse-oriented anaphoric marker. The main motivation for this development would be grammatical disambiguation, but in the case of Negerhollands and to a lesser extent Papiamentu, Muysken & Smith (1994, 1995) and van der Voort & Muysken (1995) find no evidence in support of this hypothesis[3].

[3] Van der Voort & Muysken (1995) found that the percentage of self forms increased over time in Negerhollands texts, but not in the case of 3rd persons where they expected the SELF form to occur more and more as it can express coreference as well as disjoint reference. Instead they found that SELF forms increased for 1st and 2nd persons, but not in the case of 3rd persons, and therefore dismissed

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All in all it seems worthwhile to investigate the multiple meanings and uses of *srefi* in the sources of Early Sranan in more detail, in order to shed some light on its origin and development.

1. THE SURINAME CREOLE ARCHIVE

From 2005 to present, several scholars at the University of Amsterdam, Leiden and Nijmegen collaborated to build a digital archive for the related Surinamese creoles Sranan and Saramaccan. Upon completion the Suriname Creole Archive (SUCA) will include some 550,000 Early Sranan and Early Saramaccan tokens[4]. Ten sources are included in the Sranan section of SUCA, dating from the beginning, middle and end of the 18th century, as well as one 19th century source.[5] For the present study only the 18th century sources are consulted. An overview is presented in table 1.

Table 1

An overview of the sources in the Sranan section of SUCA

Author	*year*	*text type*	*# pages*	*# SR tokens*	*total # tokens*
Anonymous (Court Records)	1707-1767	dl; we	-	500	-
Herlein	1718	w; dl	3	200	400
Nepveu	1762	pt	12	1.900	1.900
van Dyk	c1765	w; dl; pl	108	14.000	28.000
Nepveu	1770	w; dl	8	700	1.800
Schumann	1781	e	90	70.000	70.000
Schumann	1783	dl; dc	205	20.000	40.000
Stedman	1790/96	we	-	300	-
Weygandt	1798	w; dl; pl	144	15.000	30.000
Anonymous	c1800	e	80	30.000	30.000
Focke	1855	dc	166	17.000	40.000
Total			*816*	*169.600*	*202.100*

(dc = dictionary; dl = dialogue; e = evangelical; pl = play; pt = peace treaty; w = word list; we = words and expressions)

grammatical disambiguation as the driving force and grammaticalization as the source of the reflexive marker. However, König & Siemund (2000) report that in standard English 1st and 2nd persons SELF-forms are more acceptable than 3rd persons. This may also be applied to the Negerhollands findings. Further research is clearly needed.

[4] The Suriname Creole Archive is supervized by prof. dr. Pieter Muysken and supported financially by the Netherlands Organization for Research (NWO). Both are hereby gratefully acknowledged.

[5] Focke's 19th century Sranan-Dutch dictionary is included because it is the first dictionary by a native speaker of Sranan.

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The Sranan section stores several types of documents, including a) religious texts such as bible translations and hymns (Schumann 1781; Anonymous c1800); b) judicial documents such transcripts of interrogations and witness reports (Court Records); c) official documents such as a peace treaty; d) travel reports and e) documents that were created for the purpose of language instruction such as dictionaries and language manuals. The latter were created by a Moravian missionary (Schumann) as well as others (Herlein, van Dyk, Nepveu, Weygandt). Based on several factors such as the type of text, background of the author, intended readership, whether or not the author used consultants, and so on, we need to bear in mind that these sources may present different varieties of Early Sranan, ranging from basilectal to acrolectal varieties, in various degrees of competence. Variation within and among the texts may correspond to different dimensions, ranging from diachronic to social, stylistic as well as geographical (Smith 1987; Arends 1989, 1992; Bruyn 1995; van den Berg 2007).

In order to get a better understanding of the many ways in which reflexivity is expressed in Early Sranan, reflexive expressions as well as certain verbs were collected (by means of a concordance program as well as manual selection), analyzed, and subsequently compared with their Eastern Maroon Creole equivalents. Eastern Maroon Creole is a cover term for the related Marron languages Aluku, Ndyuka and Pamaka that split off from Sranan in the first half of the 18th century. I assume that these languages maintained many of their original features, as they have been less subjected to change due to language contact than for instance the contemporary varieties of Sranan. Therefore, these languages make excellent standards for comparison to distinguish between true Early Sranan variants in the texts on the one hand, and those that result from errors by the authors, typesetters and other sources.

2. CONSTRUCTIONS WITH REFLEXIVE INTERPRETATIONS IN THE SOURCES OF EARLY SRANAN

Muysken & Smith (1994) list four constructions that can be assigned a reflexive interpretation in contemporary Sranan: Personal pronouns can have a reflexive interpretation as well as combinations of a personal pronoun with the identifier *srefi* or a personal pronoun with a body word, and reflexivity may not be expressed at all. Their Early Sranan equivalents are presented below.

2.1. Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns in object position can be assigned a reflexive interpretation, see (1) and (2).

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(1) a. *Mi wassi mi* (VD c1765: 24)
1S wash 1S
['Ik was myn.']
'I wash myself.'

b. *mi gi mi abra na hem* (Sch 1783: 3)
1S give 1S over LOC 3S
['ich übergebe mich ihm.']
'I surrender myself to him.'

(2) *Hoe fa joe hessi jo zo* (VD c1765: 21)
Q manner 2S hurry 2S so
['Heb je zoo'n haast.']
'Why are you hurrying so?'

In contemporary Sranan the third person singular object pronoun can be interpreted as a reflexive pronoun as well as a referential pronoun that is non-coreferential with the subject with certain verbs (Adamson 1993 in Muysken & Smith 1994). Examples of third person singular pronouns with a reflexive interpretation are rare in the sources of Early Sranan, the third person singular pronoun is usually followed by *srefi,* resulting in an unambiguous reflexive construction. Early Sranan examples of a third person singular pronoun that can be assigned a reflexive interpretion, are given in (3).

(3) a. *abron hem* (N 1770: 280)
3S.SUB-burn 3S
['hij of zij heeft zig gebrandt']
'He burned himself.'

b. *bunne jorka kibri hem, ougri jorka de wakka va meki trobbi*

good ghost hide 3S evil ghost ASP walk to make trouble
'While the good spirit hides himself, the evil spirit goes out to make trouble.' (Sch 1783: 75)

2.2. Pronoun + body word

The noun *skin* 'body' (< English *skin*) can be preceded by a personal pronoun denoting the possessor, forming a construction that can be assigned a reflexive interpretation, see (4).[6]

[6] Although the Sranan word *skin* is derived from English *skin*, they denote different concepts: while the former clearly refers to the body (see for example Schumann's (1783: 156) translation of *skin* 'der Leib, Korpen; der Stamm' lit. the body, torso; the trunk'), the latter refers to the outer covering of man, animal, or object. The earliest attestation of the Sranan word for *skin* is *boeba van schien*, lit. peel of body 'skin' (Van Dyk c1765: 12), but in his playlet *schien* is translated with Dutch *huid* 'hide, skin' (Van Dyk c1765: 48). In Schumann (1783: 24) it is recorded as *buba,* 'Schale, Rinde;

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(4) a. *wassi ju skin na bilò tu* (Sch 1783: 17)
wash 2S body LOC down too
['wasch dich auch unten am Leib.']
'Wash yourself at the lower part too.' / 'Wash your body at the lower part too.'

b. *a no kann sheki hem skin* (Sch 1783: 153)
3S.SUB NEG can shake 3S skin
['er kan sich nicht ruhren.']
'He can't move.' / 'He can't move his body.'

But note that a reflexive interpretation is not obligatory; the examples in (4) can alternatively be assigned a literal or free interpretation. Thus, (4a) can be interpreted as 'wash your body at the lower part too', (4b) 'he can't move his body'. In fact, all pronoun + *skin* combinations in the sources allow for a reflexive as well as literal interpretation[7]. Note that its Eastern Maroon Creole equivalent is likewise ambiguous: Examples allow a reflexive interpretation as well as a literal reading (Huttar & Huttar 1994; Goury 2003). Furthermore, no examples of pronoun + *skin* combinations co-occurring with other pronoun + body part word constructions are found in the Early Sranan sources. So alongside the examples in (4) we find constructions such as the ones in (5) in the sources.

(5) a. *Wasie joe hanoe na ienie foe da tem* (Wey 1798: 94)
wash 2S hand LOC in of the time
['Wascht uw handen ontusschen.']
'Wash your hands in the mean time.'

b. *mi no ben sheki mi hann* (Sch 1783: 153)
1S NEG PAST shake 1S hand
['ich habe meine Hand nicht gerührt.']
'I did not move my hand.'

Moreover, the pronoun can be left out of the construction, for example when another modifier such as the quantifier *alla* 'all' precedes *skin* (6a). The examples in (6b) and (6c) illustrate that the pronoun can be left out even if no other modifier

Haut; Fell; Leder; Schuppen; Spint' lit. 'shell, rind, hide, skin, leather, scale'. Note that this overview of body-part nouns functioning as reflexive markers presents a problem for recent studies suggesting that the recruitment of body-part nouns for use as reflexives proceeds either directly from body-part nouns to reflexives, or via intensifiers/identifiers which are in turn derived from body-part nouns (König & Siemund 2000: 56, König 2001). Although the productive pronoun + *srefi* reflexive is indeed derived from the intensifier/identifier *srefi*, *srefi* is not derived from a Sranan body part noun *srefi.* No records of nominal *srefi* are encountered in 18th century sources nor in contemporary Sranan or Ndyuka. Schumann (1783: 165) lists the following meanings of *srefi*: *selbst, selber, eigen, gar, sogar, ja*, lit. 'even, self, own, very, even, very', clearly indicating that *srefi* is a function word.

[7] Pronoun + *skin* combinations that can be assigned a reflexive interpretation are rare in the sources (n=4, found in Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Van Dyk's (c1765) language guide).

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is present; in (6b) *skin* is headed by a preposition, in (6c) it is the object of *bendi* 'bend down'. Pronouns appear to be optional in the case of inalienable possession.

(6) a. *ju de go wassi alla skin?* (Sch 1783: 6)
2S ASP go wash all body
['wilst du dir den ganzen Leib waschen?']
'Are you going to wash (your) whole body?'

b. *a habi vlakka na skin* (Sch 1783: 192)
3S.SUB have spot LOC body
['er hat Flecken in der Haut.']
'He has marks on (his) body.'

c. *pulu hatti, hali futu, bendi skin* (Sch 1783: 88)
pull hat haul feet bend body
'Pull (one's) hat, move (one's) feet and bend over.'

From the discussion above it appears that *skin* is not fully grammaticalized as a reflexive marker in Early Sranan.

As is the case with the body word *skin*, other body part nouns that may be assigned a reflexive interpretation are found exclusively in Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Van Dyk's (c1765) manual. Examples are given in (7). In Van Dyk's (c1765) manual, the body part noun *hede* 'head' is found, whereas in Schumann's (c1783) dictionary, *belle* 'belly; stomach' and *hatti* 'heart' are encountered.

(7) a. *Hoe zanti ono memere na hede* (VD c1765: 62)
Q thing 3S-NEG think LOC head
['Wat denkt zy wel']
'What's she thinking?!' ('What's going on in her head?')

b. *mi membre na mi belle, mi membre na mi hatti* (Sch 1783: 110)
1S think LOC 1S belly 1S think LOC 1S heart
['ich denke bey mir.']
'I am thinking by myself.'

c. *mi membre datti na mi belle* (Sch 1783: 14)
1S think that LOC 1S belly
['ich habe so bey mir gedacht.']
'I thought about that by myself.'

Body part nouns frequently feature in complex predicates and other complex idiomatic expressions. A selection of examples from various sources are given in (8) to (12).

(8) *Da tem da mastra kiesi na hede fo slibi lange joe pieki bakka* (...)
the time the master catch LOC head to sleep with 2S speak back
['Als de Meester dat in zyn hoofd krygt om by jou te Slaapen zegd dan (...)'] (VD c1765: 65)

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'When the master gets (it) in his head to sleep with you, reply (...).'

(9) a. *mi pulu belle gi ju* (Sch 1783: 14)
I pull belly for you
['ich schütte dir mein ganzes Herz aus']
'I pour my heart out to you.'

b. *na mi kompe mi pulu mi hele belle gi hem* (Sch 1783: 86)
LOC 1S buddy 1S pull 1S whole belly for 3S
'To my buddy I pour my entire heart out to him.']

(10) a. *ju habi mi na belle* (Sch 1783: 14)
2S have 1S LOC belly

a'. *ju habi mi na hatti* (Sch 1783: 14)
2S have 1S LOC heart
['du hast eine Feindschaft gegen mich.']['id.']
'You hate me.'

b. *abie em na belée* (Wey 1798: 5)

(11) a. *a holi mina belli* (N 1770: 276)
3S.SUB haul 1S- LOC belly
['hij of zij houd mijn in 't lijf, in 't gemoed']
'He (or she) carries a grudge towards me.'

b. *ju holi mi na belle* (Sch 1783: 14)
2S haul 1S LOC belly
['du trägst mir einen Hass u. Groll nach.']
'You carry a grudge against me.'

(12) *da uman trueh belle* (Sch 1783: 14)
the woman throw.away belly
['sie hat die Leibesfrucht abgetrieben; it. sie hat eine unzeitige Niederkunft gehabt.'] 'The woman had an abortion; the woman miscarried.'

In none of these examples, however, a reflexive interpretation is prevalent. While the body part construction in (7) above can be replaced with the reflexive marker *sreefi* preceded by a pronoun, for example, a similar replacement would fundamentally alter the meaning of the constructions in (8) to (12), see (13).

(13) *Datie joe kan memree na joe srevie* (Wey 1798: 139)
that 2S can think LOC 2S self
['Dat kunt gy wel begrypen.']
'You can think of that by yourself.'

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2.3. Pronoun + *srefi*

While multiple uses and meanings of *srefi* will be discussed in detail in the next section, here I will briefly focus on the pronoun + *srefi* combination that can be assigned a reflexive interpretion. The earliest attestion of this type of reflexive construction is not Van Dyk's (c1765) manual as is claimed by Muysken and Smith (1994, 1995), but the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty of 1762. It is further encountered in every source, except for the Court Records, and with several verbs. A selection of pronoun + *srefi* occurrences is given in (14).

(14) a. *dem sa moessoe hollie dem serefie allekie dem frieman diesie wie*
3P FUT must hold 3P self like DET.PL freeman REL 1P
mekie na wie miendrie (SPT 1762: art. 11)
make LOC 1P middle
['Sij sullen gehouden weesen de blanken alle respect te bewijsen, evenals andre vrij gemaakte alhier']
'They will have to behave themselves like the freemen in our midst whom we set free.'

b. *wi no lobbi va tori wi srefi* (Sch 1783: 202)
1P NEG like to converse 1P self
['wir klagen uns nicht gern selbst an']
'We don't like to reproach ourselves.'

c. *Loekoe joe srefie wan trom na spieglie* (Wey 1798: 111)
look 2S self one turn LOC mirror
['Bekyk u eens in de spiegel.']
'View yourself in the mirror.'

2.4. Null forms

In addition to the constructions discussed above, the notion of reflexivity need not be expressed, as is shown in (15). This is in particular the case with verbs denoting self-directed actions such as grooming or change of posture or position.

(15) a. *disi mi de na gron mino kan kiepere Ø mi poeli da*
when 1S COP LOC ground 1S-NEG can hide 1S remove the
klossi na mi schien
suit LOC 1S body
'ik kon nergens schuilen, zoo dat ik myn heb moeten Verschoonen']
'When I was at the grounds, I could not hide (from the rain), so I had to change my (wet) clothes.' (VD c1765: 71)

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b. *a Ziddom fo drinki koffi fo memere Ø hoe ogeri a zel doe*
3S.SUB sit.down to drink coffee to think Q evil 3S.SUB FUT doe
na zomma tide. (VD c1765: 49)
LOC person today
['Hy zit Koffi te Drinken en bedenkt wat kwaad hy ons zal doen van Daag.']
'He's sitting down to drink coffee and to think by himself what evil he can do to someone today.'

c. *mi go wassi Ø haffo* (Sch 1798: 198)
1S go wash half
['ich will mich ein wenig baden.']
'I am going to wash myself a little.'

d. *tee mie n'jam kaba, mie de poeloe mie klosie Ø en mie dé*
when 1S eat already 1S ASP remove 1S clothes and 1S ASP
werie mie japon
wear 1S dress
nanga maskieta broekoe foe tapoe mie foe maskieta (Wey 1798: 142)
with mosquito pants to cover 1S from mosquito
['dan verkleede ik my in myne nachtjapon en maschiete broek om voor het ongedierte daar in te schuilen']
'After I finish eating, I change my clothes and I wear my nightgown with mosquito pants to protect me from the mosquitos.'

Summarizing, an overview of the forms that can be assigned a reflexive interpretation in the sources of Early Sranan is presented in table 2.

Table 2

Forms that can be assigned a reflexive interpretation in Modern Sranan, Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

	MOD. SR	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
		1707-67 CR	1718 HL	1762 SPT	c1765 VD	1770 N	1783 SCH	1798 WEY	
no marker	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
bare pers. pron.	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
pers. pron. + *srefi*	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
body (part) noun	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+

In table 3 an overview is given of several verbs occurring with forms that can be assigned a reflexive interpretation in Early Sranan.

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Table 3

Verbs occurring with forms that can be assigned a reflexive interpretation in Early Sranan

	EARLY SRANAN						
	1707-67 CR	1718 HL	1762 SPT	c1765 VD	1770 N	1783 SCH	1798 WEY
kam 'comb oneself'	-	-	-	b4	-	b2, b4	b4
lobbi 'rub oneself'	-	-	-	-	-	b1	-
pulu klossi 'undress oneself'	-	-	-	b1,d	-	d	d
wassie 'wash oneself; bathe oneself'	-	-	-	a	-	a, b1,d	a, d
weri (klossi) 'dress oneself; wear'	-	-	d	d	-	d	d
bendi 'bend over'	-	-	-	-	-	b1'	-
bukudumm 'bend down'	-	-	-	-	-	d	-
didon 'lie down'	-	-	-	d	-	-	d
lidom 'lie down'			-	d	-	d	-
fadom 'fall down'	-	-	d	d	-	d	d
sidom 'sit down'			-	d	-	d	d
bron 'burn oneself'	-	-	-	-	a	-	-
helpi 'help oneself'	-	-	-	-	-	c	-
hessi 'hurry'	-	-	-	a	-	-	-
hollie 'keep'			c	a, d	b3'	b3', b4'	c
kibri 'hide oneself'	-	-	-	a, d	-	c, d	d
killi 'kill oneself'	-	-	-	c	-	-	-
kori 'deceive oneself'	-	-	-	-	-	c	-
koti 'cut oneself'	-	-	-	a, b2	-	b5	-
luku 'look at oneself'		-	-	-	-	-	c
sheki 'move oneself'	-	-	-	-	-	b1	-
tori 'reproach'	-	-	-	-	-	c	-
trobie 'bother oneself'	-	-	-	-	-	-	c

a = pers.pron., b1 = pron. + skin, b1' = skin, b2 = pron. + hede, b3 = pron + belle, b3' = belle, b4 = pron. + hatti, b4' = hatti, b5 = pron. + wiriwiri, b6 = pron. + nekki, c = pers.pron + srefi, d = null

Table 3 shows, among other things, that several verbs can occur with several forms that can be assigned a reflexive interpretion, including the null form, except for the change of posture or change of location type of verbs listed in the middle. Typical self-directed verbs such as those denoting grooming activities need not occur with items that can be assigned a reflexive interpretation, although they can. Typical other-directed verbs such as the ones below the second dotted line have arguments that do not corefer; when they do, this is unexpected and therefore marked.

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3. MULTIPLE MEANINGS AND USES OF EARLY SRANAN *SREFI*

In addition to expressing the notion of reflexivity, the item *srefi* can be used in a number of ways, as will discussed in this section. For example, *srefi* can be used as a **scalar focus particle.** The scalar focus particle *srefi* can occur in sentence-initial position, as well as in sentence-final position, but it has different meanings in different positions, compare (16) with (17).

(16) a. *srefi ju no musse lukku* (Sch 1783: 166)
even 2S NEG must look
['ja auch du must nicht zusehen']
'Even you mustn't look.'

b. (...) *en serrefie killie hem effoe da ogrie bigie*
(SPT 1762: art.11)
and even kill 3S if the evil big
['selfs tot doodstraffen toe, en dezelve desnoods aan de blanken overleeveren']
'(...) and even kill him if the evil is big, or hand him over to the whites.'

(17) a. *ju no musse lukku srefi* (Sch 1783: 166)
2S NEG must look at.all
['du must nicht einmal zusehen.']
'You musn't look at all.'

b. *tideh mi no winni wan dritibri srefi* (Sch 1783: 202)
today 1S NEG winn a penny at.all
['heute habe ich nich einmal ein Drittgen verdient.']
'Today I didn't even earn a penny.'

In Weygandt's (1798) language guide *srefi* can be combined with non-singular personal pronouns to express **reciprocality**, as in (18). In the other sources, the reciprocal marker *makandra* 'eachother' (< Dutch *malkander* 'eachother') is used to express this notion.

(18) *liebie boen, tee wie sie wie srefie baka* (Wey 1798: 144)
live good until 1P see 1P self again
['leef wel tot wederziens.']
'Stay well, until we see each other again.'

The item *srefi* can further be used as an **identifier with a discourse anaphoric or discourse-deictic function**, used attributively as in (19a,b) or not, as in (19c).

(19) a. *ju si dem tu somma? da no dem srefiwan, dissi wi si*
2S see the.PL two person COP NEG the.PL same-one REL 1P see
tarradeh?
other-day (Sch 1783: 166)

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['siehst du die 2 Leute? sind das nicht eben dieselben, die wie neulich sahen?']
'Do you see those two persons? Aren't they the same ones we saw the other day?'

b. *Datie mie briebie, dan den da tranga wrokoman; mara so heesie*
that 1S believe then 3P COP hard work-er but so quickly
Drictoro
manager
no drai em baka, ofoe den dee hietie Hamra nanga Deslee na
NEG turn 3S back or 3P ASP hit hammer and adze LOC
wan sey,
one side
dan den dee da srefie leesieman baka.
then 3P COP the same lazy-person again (Wey 1798: 136)
['Dat geloof ik, dan zyn het de vlytigste Werk lieden, maar aanstonds legt hamer en dissel aan een kant zo ras de Directeur van honk is.']
'That I believe, then they are hard workers, but as soon as the manager turns his back, they throw away the hammer and adze, and they are lazybones again.

c. *Mi wensi joe sleffi toe* (VD c1765: 104)
1S wish 2S same too
['Ik wensch uw het zelfde.']
'I wish you the same.'

In adnominal position, it also acts as an **identifier** and at the same time as an **intensifier**, as it not only identifies but it also intensifies the preceding noun or pronoun, bringing its referent in focus. The two uses are sometimes difficult to distinguish as is illustrated with the dialogue in (20):

(20) [A] *Anno lati. Anno wan ure jetti.* (VD c1765: 26)
3S.SUB-NEG late 3S.SUB-NEG one hour yet
['Het is nog niet laat. Het is nog geen 1 uur']
'It's not late. It's not one o'clock yet.'

[B] *Da no troe afom kaba. Mi sleffi jerri. Da wan haffe ure.*
COP NEG true 3S.SUB-hit already 1S INTS hear COP one half hour
[Dat is niet waar, het is geslaagen. Ik heb het hooren slaan. Dat is half een.']
'That's not true, it struck already. I heard it myself. It's half past one.

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In Schumann's (1783) dictionary, intensifying *srefi* may be combined with pronouns and nouns, denoting animate as well as inanimate referents, see (21). In the other sources it is found exclusively with animate referents.

(21) (...) *kaba hosso srefi musse tann na pasi sei* (Sch 1783: 152)
but house INTS must stay LOC passage side
['(...) aber das Haus selber muss neben der Strasse stehn.']
'(...) but the house itself must be on the street side.'

Intensifying *srefi* is not confined to the adnominal position, where it functions as an adjunct; it can also occur as part of a verb phrase, functioning as an actor-oriented adverbial intensifier, as in (21) above. It can follow the verb as in (22a) and (22b), but it is also found in clause-final position (22c) and in between the auxiliary and the main verb, as in (22d). Note that the adverbial intensifier is used exclusively, i.e. it is used in the sense of English *alone*, rather than inclusively, in the sense of English *too*.

(22) a. *Mi za doe sleffi*. (VD c1765: 37)
1S will do INTS
['Ik zal 't zelfs doen.']
'I will do it myself.'

b. *Da basie sa kom srefie d'josno nanga da klosie* (Wey 1798: 109)
the boss FUT come INTS soon with the cloth
['De meester zelfs zal met het goed aanstonds hier weezen']
'The boss himself will come immediately with the clothes.'

c. *dem sa mossoe loekoe dem jamjam serefie sondro bacara sa*
3P FUT must look 3P food INTS without white FUT
hoefoe foe gie dem (SPT 1762: art.9)
have.to to give 3P
['sonder dat men gehouden sal sijn hun kost off onderhoud te geven']
'They will have to take care of their food themselves without the whites having to give them any.'

d. *Offe joe wandi sleffi tikki da pranasie abere* (VD c1765: 97)
if 2S want INTS take the plantation over
['Ik wou dat U E. de Plantagie zelf overnam']
'If you want to take over the plantation yourself.'

Note that this use of *srefi* is found only in the sources quoted in (22), i.e. Van Dyk's (c1765) manual, the Sranan version of the Saramaka Peace Treaty (1762) and Weygandt's (1798) manual; it is not encountered in Schumann's work. There,

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intensifying *srefi* directly follows the subject noun or pronoun it has in focus. This is also true for Eastern Maroon Creole: Intensifying *seefi* always follows its antecedent, be it a noun or pronoun or a verb as in (23).

(23) *Lon daai baka, lon <u>seefi</u> daai baka gwe*
run turn back run INT turn back leave
'Run back the way you came, just run back away from here!'
(Ndyuka, Huttar & Huttar 1994: 329)

Thus, we conclude that Eastern Maroon Creole *seefi* is not an actor-oriented intensifier as opposed to Early Sranan *srefi* in (22). Note that in the original Dutch translations of the examples in (22a) and (22d) the Dutch intensifier *zelfs* is not juxtaposed to its antecedent and selects animate referents. Thus, the actor-oriented intensifier *srefi* and *zelfs* bear a strong resemblance in these sources. To account for the difference between the variety represented in Schumann's (1783) dictionary and Eastern Maroon Creole on the one hand, and the varieties of Early Sranan represented in the texts by Van Dyk, Nepveu and Weygandt on the other, I propose that, with regard to this particular feature, the latter are acrolectal, whereas Schumann's (1783) dictionary represent a more basilectal variety of Early Sranan.[8] Thus, the non-juxtaposed actor-oriented intensifier is an acrolectal feature, exhibiting characteristics that are transferred from Dutch; the juxtaposed intensifier is a basilectal feature. Table 4 summarizes the findings presented in this section.

Table 4

Multiple meanings and uses of *srefi* in Early Sranan and Eastern Maroon Creole

	MOD. SR	EARLY SRANAN							EMC
		1707-67 CR	1718 HL	1762 SPT	c1765 VD	1770 N	1783 SCH	1798 WEY	
reflexive marker	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
reciprocality marke	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
scalar focus particle	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+
prenominal identifier	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
adnominal intensifier	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
adverbial intensifier	?	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-

[8] In fact, van den Berg (2007) discusses a number of features that underscore this (fuzzy) division of Early Sranan varieties.

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4. CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

In conclusion, coreference of arguments of predicates can be expressed in a number of ways in Early Sranan; the range of reflexive expressions in Early Sranan overlaps with that of contemporary Sranan. The pronoun plus *srefi* combination is by no means the only way to express coreference, though its use expands in the late 18th century under the influence of acrolectal varieties of Early Sranan, where it is used instead of pronoun plus body words or body part words. Furthermore, it is shown that the item *srefi* has multiple meanings and uses, including its use as an intensifier that brings its referent into focus. In the acrolectal varieties it appears as a non-juxtaposed actor-oriented intensifier, in the basilectal variety it is juxtaposed and not necessarily actor-oriented as it can bring any item into focus that precedes it, be it nouns and pronouns or verbs. With predicates that have corefering arguments these uses converge, resulting in an ambiguous construction, as in (24).

(24) a. *a za kiele hem zlifi* (VD c1765: 69)

3S.SUB FUT kill 3S INTS
['hy zou zig zelf van kant maaken']
'He would kill himself.'

It is proposed here, that this ambiguous construction was reinterpreted as a reflexive marker based on the models of reflexive markers in the lexifiers and the substrate languages. In the 18th century, however, these constructions are not yet fully grammaticalized as reflexive markers, as they have not lost their intensifying function when expressing reflexivity: Self directed verbs can occur with null forms as well as with reflexive markers. Whether this is a linguistic effect of the slow nativization rate of Sranan (throughout the 18th century enslaved African adults dominated the Surinamese population, see Arends 1995b) or typical of more universal processes of language change, remains for future investigation. A more extensive and systematic study of intensifiers and reflexives in native as well as non-native, early and contemporary varieties of the Surinamese Creoles is needed to address this question. In the Saramaccan section of the Suriname Creole Archive several instances of the items *-weh* and *-srepi* being used as intensifiers in late 18th century letters by Saramaccan authors. In Sranan and EMC no equivalent of *-weh* is reported. A systematic study of these forms and their equivalents in other native and non-native varieties of the Surinamese Creoles would certainly deepen our understanding of the development from intensifier to reflexive marker in the Suriname Creoles in particular and the world's languages in general.

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