

Standard language dynamics in postcolonial Suriname Measuring language attitudes and ideologies in Paramaribo



Anne-Sophie Ghyselen^a, Stefan Grondelaers^b, Sita Doerga Misier-Patadien^c,
Usha Balesar^d

^a *Research Foundation Flanders and Ghent University, Belgium*

^b *Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherlands*

^c *Anton De Kom University of Suriname, Suriname*

^d *IOL, Surinamese Institute for the Schooling of Teachers, Suriname*

Received 18 November 2021; revised 5 April 2022; accepted in revised form 5 April 2022; available online xxxx

Abstract

This paper reports a large-scale survey into the language attitudes of 485 participants from the Surinamese capital Paramaribo. Suriname is an interesting arena for standard language research, as the country is steeped in multilingualism but regards the Dutch of its former colonizer as its only official language. We elicited evaluations of 10 languages spoken in Suriname in response to label- and audio-based stimuli. Responses were enriched with valence information (pertaining to their positive/negative character), and subjected to qualitative scrutiny and regression analysis. Theoretically, our findings indicate that Suriname is embracing the endonormative development of a Surinamese variety of Dutch, which is becoming an obvious and uncontested practical norm variety. American English is also deemed prestigious, but its superiority perceptions pertain for the most part to a (desired) ideological status rather than to any suitability as a practical lingua franca. Sranan, finally, is valued as a solidarity standard, but it lacks the prestige correlates which are a prerequisite for standard status. Methodologically, this paper demonstrates that harvesting language attitudes in multi-ethnic, multilingual societies necessitates an exploratory attitude, a 'wide net', and a concomitantly large toolbox of experimental techniques.

© 2022 Elsevier B.V. All rights reserved.

Keywords: Suriname; Language attitudes; Language ideology; Language standards; Standard language; Free response technique

1. INTRODUCTION

Within the World Englishes paradigm, a considerable amount of sociolinguistic attention has been devoted to changing standard languages and language standards in postcolonial settings. The focus is generally on the question to what

E-mail addresses: annesophie.ghyselen@ugent.be (A.-S. Ghyselen), stef.grondelaers@ru.nl (S. Grondelaers), sita.patadien@uvs.edu (S.D. Misier-Patadien), usha.balesar@edu-iol.sr (U. Balesar)

degree language users in these settings are oriented on an exonormative standard – generally the language introduced by the former colonizer, as it is spoken in the country of origin – or whether local endonormative standardizations are taking place, whereby new endogenous varieties resulting from language contact and local innovations become accepted as local prestige norms (see e.g. Higgins, 2011; Lai, 2012; Meer and Deuber, 2020; Meer et al., 2019; Westphal, 2015). In addition, the question to what extent general, society-independent mechanisms can be identified in these standard dynamics, has been considered carefully. Schneider (2007: 21), for instance, distinguishes five stages in the development of postcolonial Englishes across the world:

- 1) *Foundation*: initial phase of language contact, with (possibly though not necessarily) processes of koinéization, toponymic borrowing and incipient pidginization;
- 2) *Exonormative stabilization*: phase in which English is established as the language of administration, law and education, advancing the spread of bilingualism in all social groups. The English spoken is marked by lexical borrowing from other native languages, pidginization and possibly also creolization, but ideologically, the British English norm is dominant;
- 3) *Nativization*: as the territory gains more political independence and linguistic contacts between inhabitants of different social and ethnic groups become more regular, a new variety of English emerges, with locally characteristic linguistic patterns. This is a phase of normative heterogeneity;
- 4) *Endonormative stabilization*: the new local form stabilizes and becomes more widely accepted, which materializes in e.g. codification attempts and literary creativity in the new language variety;
- 5) *Differentiation*: In a final stage, group-specific versions (ethnic, regional, social) of the newly emerged English variety take shape.

Schneider's model has in the last decade been widely adopted for the description and comparison of postcolonial standardizations. Yet, it has also been criticized for being too teleological. Meer and Deuber (2020), for instance, observe that postcolonial Englishes rarely achieve full endonormativity. Persistent outside influences – for instance due to media, tourism, migration or outward mobility of (parts of) the population – would rather engender *heterogeneous* norm orientations, with different norms applying in different contexts or domains. Neither is differentiation a stage, according to Meer and Deuber (2020), which follows endonormative stabilization, but rather a process which coexists with the earlier processes in the development of 'new' Englishes.

Interestingly, postcolonial standardizations have received less attention in postcolonial settings involving other languages than English (see however e.g. Bokelmann, 2021 on Spanish; Cunha, 1968 on Portuguese; Walsh, 2021 on French for exceptions). Developmental models of postcolonial language norms, such as Schneider's Dynamic Model, are rarely tested on their applicability beyond contacts with English as the colonizers' language (cf. Schneider, 2007: 68). As such, it is unclear to what extent languages with a 'less global' character than English are currently also undergoing processes of nativization and endonormative in postcolonial contexts. In order to shed more light on this matter, this paper zooms in on a postcolonial setting where not English, but Dutch was introduced as the official language by the colonizer: the South-American country Suriname.

As a multi-ethnic country steeped in multilingualism, Suriname represents an interesting case for postcolonial standard language research. While in other former colonies of the Netherlands in the Caribbean (such as Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao) Dutch is nowadays the home language of only a small minority (Mijts, 2007), it is the language reported most often as primary home language in Surinamese censuses (Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek Suriname, 2014). As the country's only official language, it moreover holds a strong public position, which seems to have been consolidated by Suriname's accession to the *Nederlandse Taalunie* ('The Dutch Language Union') in 2003. However, the position of Dutch is not undisputed; there is some debate on the language policy Suriname should pursue. While some favour the appropriation of Dutch via endoglossic standardization (see for instance Essed-Fruin and Gobardhan-

Rambocus, 1992), others regard the functional elaboration of Sranan, the local English-based creole widely spoken or at least understood by diverse ethnic groups, as an important vehicle for emancipation (cf. de Bies, 2017). On this point, we see an obvious parallel with other Caribbean speech communities: in for instance Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, tension has been reported between (i) the language of the former colonizer, (ii) 'locally flavoured' versions of this language, and (iii) locally developed Creoles (cf. Deuber and Leung, 2013; Schneider, 2007; Westphal, 2015). In addition to the Dutch- and Sranan-supporters in Suriname, there are also proponents of a more prominent position for English in Surinamese education and government, as this would allow closer alliances with neighbouring South-American countries, the Caribbean and the USA (cf. Brandon et al., 2007; de Bies, 2010; Romero, 2008).

To gain more insight into the standard language policy Suriname should ideally pursue, a thorough reconnaissance of Surinamese language attitudes and ideologies is important.¹ Standard languages, after all, are just as much ideological constructs as production realities. Language ideologies are shared bodies of "cultural presuppositions and metalinguistic notions that name, frame and evaluate linguistic practices, linking them to the political, moral and aesthetic positions of the speakers, (...)" (Gal, 2006: 163). Somewhat more concretely (and inevitably oversimplified): language ideologies are value systems which position linguistic varieties along specific evaluative dimensions, and they determine both linguistic conceptualizations and actual linguistic choices. Evaluative dimensions which have recurrently been identified as relevant for the perceptual side of standard language dynamics are (i) *prestige or superiority* – involving characteristics such as intelligence, correctness, civilization and neatness, (ii) *dynamism*, a type of modern prestige associated with media slickness, a yuppie lifestyle, and streetwise cool and (iii) *solidarity*, a dimension which triggers associations of kindness, reliability, trustworthiness, familiarity, warmth and intimacy (cf. Garrett, 2010: 55-56; Grondelaers and Kristiansen, 2013). Typically, standard languages are associated with prestige and less with dynamism and solidarity. Auer (2011: 486) for instance defines standard languages as varieties that enjoy overt prestige in a specific speech community. However, socio-cultural processes such as migration, globalization, digitalization and Late Modernity seem to have fostered the development of 'modern standards' in several speech communities – also labelled 'neo-standards' (Auer, 2017) or 'emergent standards' (Grondelaers et al., 2016) – which are upgraded in terms of dynamism. The best known case in point is arguably the rise to notoriety of the Danish working class variety *Københavnsk*, a diffusion allegedly boosted by evaluations as 'self-assured', 'fascinating', 'cool', and 'nice' according to Kristiansen (2009).

In the Surinamese context, the tangle of perceptions and attitudes pertaining to Dutch, Sranan and English (and the more encompassing ideologies that frame them), have incited surprisingly little empirical work (see however Berends, 2016; Carlin et al., 2014; Kroon and Yağmur, 2012 for exceptions). As such, it is at present unclear which value systems frame Surinamese linguistic practices and to what degree there is competition between e.g. traditional and more dynamic standards.

Building on survey data elicited from 485 participants, this study investigates the attitudinal and ideological correlates of standard language dynamics in Paramaribo, Suriname's capital. More specifically, we focus on the way different varieties of Dutch, Sranan and English are evaluated in order to chart endonormative and exonormative developments in Suriname. In the next section, we first explore Suriname's linguistic and ethnic diversity, after which we spell out three research questions in Section 3. In Section 4, we describe and justify our experimental tools. Section 5 reviews the experimental results, while Section 6 interprets them in light of our research questions.

2. CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY IN SURINAME

From its pre-colonial onset, the area that is now Suriname – a country of half a million inhabitants situated on the north coast of South America – must have counted multiple Amerindian civilizations who communicated in languages like Arawak, Trio, or Carib. Attempts at settlement by different European groups in the sixteenth and seventeenth century introduced English and Dutch, but also French and Portuguese into the area. Simultaneously, the import of slave

¹ We are aware that the terms 'ideology' and 'attitude' are (increasingly) employed interchangeably in a lot of (socio)linguistic work. In this paper, we use the notions 'ideology' and 'ideological' to refer to collective linguistic belief and value systems, while we reserve the term 'attitude' for private language evaluations. Although the latter is a more or less accepted distinction across anthropology, sociology and social psychology (see Dyers and Abongdia, 2010 for an overview), we do not follow a number of influential anthropologists (see for instance Kroskrity, 2016) in equating attitudes with speaker reactions that can be 'measured', and ideologies with belief systems which are exclusively amenable to qualitative (discursive, ethnographic) analysis: we follow Kristiansen and Grondelaers (2013) and especially Grondelaers et al. (2020) in the claim that language ideologies are eminently quantifiable and mappable. We use the terms 'attitudes' and 'ideologies' separately in this paper because our data document private attitudes and evaluations, but also reveal the more aggregate knowledge and value systems that can be gleaned from the higher frequency items in Study 1 and the aggregate valencies in Study 2.

Table 1

Languages spoken 'most often' or as 'second language' in households (Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek Suriname, 2014).

	Language spoken most often		Second language		Most often or second
	<i>n household</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	Total %
Dutch	69,715	49.7	33,883	24.1	73.8
Sranan	11,802	8.4	50,143	35.7	44.1
Sarnámi	19,830	14.1	10,758	7.7	21.8
Javanese	6,531	3.9	7,436	5.3	9.2
Maroon languages*	21,699	15.5	3,508	2.5	18
Other languages	8,597	6.1	5,693	4.1	10.2
No second language	-	-	25,163	17.9	17.9
Unknown	3,193	2.3	3,783	2.7	5
Total	140,367	100	140,367	100	200

* Saramaccan, Aucan and Paramaccan are subsumed under this category; the languages of smaller Maroon groups were subsumed under 'other languages'.

labour from Africa provided the basis for the development of several creole languages, such as the predecessor of what is now known as Sranan, Sranantongo or – though this term is nowadays generally avoided by linguists – Surinaams. The establishment of hidden communities by runaway slaves led to the emergence of Maroon creoles such as Saramaccan, Matawai, Aucan and Paramaccan.

The abolishment in 1863 of enslaved labour necessitated new forms of labour, which was contracted from China, India and Java. The Chinese labourers introduced Hakka and Cantonese, while the Surinamese Hindustani developed Sarnámi (informally also called *Hindostaans* in Dutch) on the basis of the different British-Indian home languages. The Javanese in their turn developed a Surinamese version of Javanese. In the period following Suriname's independence (1975), economic and political developments led to new migratory movements, mainly from China and Brazil, which increased the visibility of Portuguese in Suriname and introduced new (non-Hakka) Sinitic languages into Surinamese society.²

Today, the four biggest ethnic groups in Suriname are – according to census data from 2012 (cf. Menke and Sno, 2016) – (i) the Hindustani (27% of the population), (ii) the Maroons (22%), (iii) the Creoles (16%), and (iv) the Javanese (14%), though an increasingly large number of Surinamese identifies as 'mixed' (13% in 2012). In 2012, less than 5% of the population identified as Indigenous (4%), Chinese (1.5%) or Caucasian-White (0.3%). The numeric representation of the different ethnic groups, however, strongly varies from region to region. In the district of Paramaribo, which this study focuses on, the Creole group is the largest (27.5% of the district's population, according to census data from 2004, cf. Menke and Sno, 2016), followed by the Hindustani (22%), the 'mixed' group (16.6%) and the Javanese (12.1%). These numbers however reveal little about Suriname's (or Paramaribo's) present-day *linguistic* diversity: even if we neglect the problematic nature of ethnic categorization (cf. Carlin et al., 2015; Menke and Sno, 2016), there is no hard and fast correlation between language and ethnicity in Suriname. This is not only because of widespread multilingualism³, but also because of recent language shift patterns. In the next paragraphs, we zoom in on these shift patterns for, consecutively, Dutch, Sranantongo, Sarnámi, Javanese, the Maroon languages, and English.

While initially, the use of Dutch in Suriname was fairly limited, it gained popularity in the course of the eighteenth century, as a new, middle-class community of locally-born, mostly racially-mixed (Creole-Caucasian) Surinamese emerged in Paramaribo. This group of so-called *Stadscreolen* ('city creoles') "intentionally availed itself of Dutch as a way of distinguishing themselves from other non-whites, who were primarily Sranan-speaking" (de Kleine, 2013: 843). The 19th century subsequently saw a vast increase in the use of Dutch on account of the introduction of compulsory education in Dutch in 1876 (see de Kleine, 2013; Gobardhan-Rambocus, 2001; and Yakpo et al., 2015: 170-175 for a historical overview). Dutch subsequently became the first or second language of increasingly more Surinamese, in all ethnic groups. Today, more than 40 years after Suriname's independence, Dutch functions as the main language for government, legislation and education, despite ongoing debate on the language policy Suriname should pursue (cf. Diepeveen and Hüning, 2016). It is also prominent as a home language: in census data from 2012, 73.8% of Surinamese households reported speaking Dutch as either main or second language at home (cf. Table 1). In a more recent

² For an in-depth overview of historical events and migratory processes which lie at the basis of Suriname's current demographic and linguistic makeup, we refer to Borges (2017).

³ In a survey by Légise and Migge (2015) among 3000 upper primary children, only 1% of the children reported speaking only one language; 65% indicated speaking at least three languages, and 15% even four or more.

survey carried out by the Nederlandse Taalunie among 1187 Surinamese, no less than 88% of the participants reported to speak Dutch, either or not in combination with another language) with family, friends and acquaintances (Rys et al., 2021: 20). It goes without saying that these figures have to be treated cautiously – reported language use often reflects language attitudes rather than actual language practices (cf. Léglise and Migge, 2015) – but they do point to a prominent position of Dutch in Suriname.

Several factors contribute to the maintenance of Dutch in Suriname. To begin with, the long-standing socio-political prominence of the bilingually Dutch-Sranan *Stadscreolen* (De Bruijne and Schalkwijk, 2005) has fostered the appeal of the Dutch language among other social and ethnic groups. Secondly, patterns of circular migration between the Netherlands and Suriname have given rise to “a transnational social space, in which goods, people, ideas and language practices are continuously exchanged” (Yakpo et al., 2015: 172). As many Surinamese have family members living in the Netherlands, complete their education there, or spend a part of their professional lives in the Netherlands, proficiency in Dutch is viewed by most as essential for success in life (Westmaas, 1983: 171).

Although research on the formal and ideological characteristics of Surinamese Dutch is scant, there are signs that Surinamese Dutch is currently hovering in between nativization and endonormative stabilization in Schneider's (2007) model. First, the codification of typically Surinamese Dutch vocabulary in Van Donselaar's (1989) *Woordenboek van het Surinaams-Nederlands* and the more recent *Prisma Woordenboek Surinaams-Nederlands* (de Bies, 2009) is a clear sign of endonormative stabilization. Second, the fact that in the titles of these works the label *Surinaams-Nederlands* ('Surinamese Dutch') is used, and not *Nederlands in Suriname* 'Dutch in Suriname' is also revealing. After all, the label with the attributive adjunct upgrades the new variety to “the status of a distinct type, set apart from and essentially on equal terms with all others” (Schneider, 2007: 50). Third, the repeated observation that an excessive Netherlandic Dutch accent by Surinamese migrants returning from the Netherlands is ridiculed and even stigmatized (Charry, 1983: 139; Stell, 2018: 53) can be seen as indicative of nativization and even endonormative stabilization. To conclude, the accession of Suriname to the *Nederlandse Taalunie* in 2003 is also considered an important step in the recognition – ‘from outside’ – of Surinamese Dutch as a separate national variety of Dutch (Diepeveen and Hüning, 2016), on a par with Netherlandic Dutch (the language of the former colonizer) and Belgian Dutch.

However, delineating Surinamese Dutch in production remains highly problematic (cf. Berends, 2016). While endonormative stabilization assumes increasing homogeneity or ‘focusing’ (Schneider, 2007: 51), Surinamese Dutch is generally described as a ‘diffuse language variety’ (Muysken, 2013: 745), characterized by a large degree of inter- and intraspeaker variation and frequent code-mixing (de Bies, 2017; Léglise and Migge, 2015: 36; Stell, 2018). Apart from the lexicon, which has been codified in dictionaries (cf. supra), ‘typical’ Surinamese phonetic, morphological and syntactic features have been identified, but it is unclear who uses them and to what extent. In addition, it remains uncertain whether and to what degree Surinamese Dutch is recognized as an independent variety by the wider Surinamese population. Almost no reliable data are available on how lay Surinamese conceptualize the nature and the status of Dutch in their repertoire: if different types of Dutch – Surinamese vs. ‘European’ Dutch or Surinamese vs. Netherlandic vs. Belgian Dutch – are distinguished at all, is one ranked higher than the other, and if yes, on the basis of which evaluation dimensions does the ranking take place?

Building on census data of 2012, Sranantongo is the second-most frequently spoken Surinamese language: 44% of Surinamese households reported speaking Sranantongo as either first or second language at home (cf. Table 1). These numbers are probably an underestimation of the actual usage of Sranan (see e.g. Yakpo et al., 2015: 176–178 on under-reporting of Sranan in Suriname), but they do indicate that Sranan is the most important second language in Suriname. While historically, Sranan is the first language of the Creole population in Suriname, it has evolved into an important lingua franca for interethnic communication. It is mainly used as an oral language, though there also is a literary tradition in Sranan, and its use in social media – generally mixed with Dutch – seems to be on the increase (Yakpo et al., 2015: 182). As Léglise and Migge point out (2015: 48), Sranan functions as an important language of solidarity in Suriname, used for “joking and for doing ‘truthful’ or honest talk (e.g. criticism)”. Attitudes towards Sranan however seem ambiguous: while a joke is considered funnier in Sranan than in Dutch, Sranan is often perceived to be rude or vulgar, overly linked to the Creole population, as a marker of masculinity, or – since it is often used by politicians – as an index of nationalist politics (cf. de Bies, 2017; Diepeveen and Hüning, 2016: 13; Stell, 2018).

Comparing census data from 2004 (Algemene Bureau voor de Statistiek Censuskantoor, 2006) to data from 2012 (cf. Table 1), small changes can be observed in the reported usage of Sarnámi, Javanese and the Maroon languages in Suriname. While the importance of Javanese and Sarnámi as home languages seems to be decreasing, use of the Maroon languages has remained more or less stable (see also Léglise and Migge, 2015). The latter observation can be attributed to the growth of the Maroon population in Suriname (cf. Menke and Sno, 2016). Concerning the decline of Sarnámi, Léglise and Migge (2015: 41) suggest that “young Indo-Surinamese in the majority prefer to align with urban life-styles and a Sranan or national identity which is linked to Sranantongo and Dutch rather than a specific ethnic identity associated with Sarnámi”. Léglise and Migge (2015) also observe that the children in their study manifested more

interest in learning international languages such as English, than in acquiring the languages of other ethnic groups (which is probably related to the fact that international languages are included in school curricula, while the ethnic languages are not). These findings align with [Stell's \(2018\)](#) observation that ethnic boundaries are increasingly eroding in urban areas in Suriname, engendering language shift toward a diglossic system with Dutch as 'high variety' and Sranan as 'low variety'.

English, finally, is widely represented in Surinamese media and is part of the linguistic socialization of Surinamese children in the form of American television cartoons. In internationally oriented companies in Suriname (such as the gold, oil and gas industry), proficiency in English is increasingly a professional prerequisite. English is regarded by many Surinamese as a language of opportunities, as it allows closer alliances with neighbouring South-American countries, the Caribbean and the USA ([de Bies, 2010](#)). Some even argue that it should replace Dutch as official language (cf. [Romero, 2008](#)). In a parliamentary debate pertaining to the accession of Suriname to the Dutch language Union in 2005, for instance, several politicians – of different ideological backgrounds – manifested a preference for English as the future official language of Suriname. Survey data by [Brandon et al., 2007](#), however, suggest that this view is not shared very widely in Surinamese society. While the participants in that study generally agreed on the idea that a thorough knowledge of English is important for the Surinamese, they did not seem to prefer English to Dutch as the official language. All in all, it remains unclear (i) how the Surinamese feel about English and about the position it should assume in Suriname and (ii) which variety of English the Surinamese would favour if a further anglicization of society would be pursued.

3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In view of all the previous, this paper focuses on the perceptual and ideological correlates of standard language dynamics in present-day Suriname. More specifically, we put forward three questions for testing:

RQ1 Do Surinamese language evaluations reveal an endonormative development of a Surinamese Dutch standard – Schneider's nativization and endonormative stabilization (cf. [Section 1](#)) – or do the Surinamese rather orient towards European Dutch as their norm variety?

In [Section 2](#), we have argued that all the available evidence points towards a nativization and an emergent endonormative stabilization of Dutch in Suriname. We therefore expect more positive attitudes towards Surinamese Dutch than to Netherlandic Dutch. In a scenario of endonormative stabilization, we moreover expect these attitudes to be widely shared, independent of the social background of the participant. Conversely, we have to bear in mind that emerging postcolonial varieties rarely achieve full endonormativity, and that norm orientations are generally heterogeneous and fragmented in the current age of digitalization and globalization (cf. [Section 1](#)).

RQ2 Do Surinamese evaluations suggest any ideological ground for the extension of Sranantongo as a national standard?

Inspired by [Brandon et al. \(2007\)](#), [Stell \(2018\)](#), and studies on Creoles in the Anglophone Caribbean (see [Meer et al., 2019: 87](#) for an overview), we hypothesize that while there are signs that Sranan is increasingly being valued as a fully-fledged Surinamese language of solidarity (cf. its codification in [Blanker, 2005](#)), it does not have the same 'traditional' prestige associations as Dutch.

RQ3 Do we find any ground in Surinamese language evaluations to support a functional elaboration of English in Suriname? If so, what kind of English do the Surinamese favour?

Given the proximity of several English-speaking countries, and the intense contact with American English through the media, we can expect English to be acclaimed as a language of importance. However, on the basis of survey data collected by [Brandon et al. \(2007\)](#) – which reveals no great eagerness on the part of most of the Surinamese to replace Dutch with English as the official language in Suriname – we do not expect attitudes to be more positive towards English than to Dutch. Predictions pertaining to the question *which* variety of English is valued most in Suriname, are difficult to make. The Surinamese are well-acquainted with Guyanese English and Jamaican English, through respectively migration and music, but it is not inconceivable that they are most partial to the global prestige of American English.

Table 2
Overview of abbreviations used.

Abbreviation	Explanation
Audio_Mcq	Survey with audio samples as stimuli and multiple choice questions
Label_FR	Survey with labels as stimuli and free response questions
Label_Mcq	Survey with labels as stimuli and multiple choice questions
AE	American English
BD	Belgian Dutch
GuE	Guyanese English
JE	Jamaican English
ND	Netherlandic Dutch
SD	Surinamese Dutch
SR	Sranan(tongo)
–30.m	Male participants younger than 30 years old
–30.f	Female participants younger than 30 years old
30 +.f	Female participants aged 30 or older

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1. Survey structure

Data were collected with paper-and-pen questionnaires which consisted of two parts. Part 1 was set up in a between-subjects design with three different versions; part 2 was the same for all participants.⁴

- (1) In the first part, participants were asked to evaluate ten stimuli, either language labels or audio samples, of specific languages varieties. A first group of participants (A) evaluated language labels by means of multiple choice questions (henceforth ‘Label_Mcq’, cf. Table 2). These participants voiced their opinion on the presented languages by choosing, from a list of 20 adjectives, the three words they deemed most appropriate to describe their opinion. Group B received the same multiple choice questions. They did however not evaluate language labels, but speech samples (‘Audio_Mcq’). Group C evaluated the same language labels as group A, but on free response questions (‘Label_FR’): they were asked to return – as quickly as possible – the words that came to mind in reaction to a number of language labels.
- (2) In part 2, socio-demographic information about the participants was collected. Specifically, the participants were asked to give information on their age, gender, mother tongue(s)⁵, other languages in their linguistic repertoire, the ethnic group they identified with, their current schooling or the highest level of education they had obtained, their occupation (if applicable), the place they grew up in, and whether or not they had lived more than a year abroad.

4.2. Rationale

The experimental tool of choice in a lot of European work on standard language dynamics is (a variant of) Lambert et al.’s (1960) matched-guise technique, in which evaluations are extracted in response to audio-triggered stimuli. A crucial objection to this technique is that it relies on a limited number of researcher-defined measures selected in function of recurrent evaluation dimensions like superiority and solidarity. In view of the fact that at present almost nothing is known about (the architecture of) Surinamese language evaluations, more exploratory bottom-up techniques are in order before we turn to top-down speaker evaluation with researcher-defined measures (see Grondelaers et al., 2020 for extensive discussion).

⁴ Participants were also given five forced-choice questions (e.g. “Which language do you deem the most beautiful?”). Since these data will not be discussed in this paper, we do not mention them further.

⁵ Concretely, participants were asked to select from a list the language(s) “that held the most important position in the family when they were young” (own translation, ASG, SG, SDMP and UB). The question explicitly mentioned that more than one option could be selected.

We elicited evaluations of both audio- and label-based stimuli. The use of variety labels such as ‘American English’ or ‘Surinamese Dutch’ has been dubbed the “conceptual method” (Garrett et al., 2003: 79) on account of the fact that it elicits reactions in response to simplified conceptualizations of abstract languages, untarnished by the local and contextual factors of real speech (Bishop et al., 2005: 131). In view of this starkness, variety labels invite “a ‘purity’ of ideological response that is not possible when people engage with real speakers or with particular instances of talk-in-action” (Coupland and Bishop, 2007: 75). This decontextualization spawns common sense or “tropic” ideologies based on tenacious stereotypes (Coupland and Bishop, 2007: 84).

While audio clips have been found to engender assessments which are comparable to evaluations extracted on conceptual stimuli (Giles, 1970 found high correlations – 79 to 88% – between both), authentic speech is a richer stimulus type than naked labels, containing a larger number of impression triggers. In spontaneous speech, syntactic and semantic choices (cf. Giles and Coupland, 1991), vocal stereotypes (Doeleman, 1998; Van Bezooijen, 1988), and paralinguistic cues (Ray and Zahn, 1999) effect impression formation. But even read-aloud standard speech based on an identical text contains a number of evaluation cues, including regional or social accents (Grondelaers et al., 2010), as well as the strength of these accents, which has been found to be a pivotal evaluation determinant, especially for lower prestige accents (see Grondelaers et al., 2019). In view of the multitude of cues activated by the spontaneous speech produced by a real-life person, it is easier to hide the attitudinal object (language variation) than with a language label. In consequence, speech-extracted ratings might provide better access to evaluations of the everyday language(s) the Surinamese are actually confronted with. In any case, the tension between label- and speech-induced ratings can be considered highly revealing for standard language dynamics, because a language whose acclaim is restricted to label-induced evaluation is a virtual, idealized variety rather than a practical lingua franca; conversely, a language which is valued more in its audio- than in its label-based format is valued more as an everyday variety than its ideological disapproval or rejection suggests.

The nature of the attitudes and ideologies we extract does not only hinge on the stimulus type, but also on the methodology used to extract them. The free response elicitation of evaluations in the form of the first three keywords which spring to mind in reaction to a speech or label stimulus, is highly suited to unveil valorization dimensions which have hitherto gone unnoticed. Our multiple choice methodology, by contrast, limits evaluations to a specific portion of an indexical field, because it forces participants to select three adjectives from a predefined set of 20, chosen in function of a wide variety of evaluation dimensions which have proven indispensable for the stratification of language evaluations in other contexts, including conservative prestige, modern dynamism, solidarity, aesthetics, and familiarity (see below).

Table 3

Evaluated languages (+ abbreviations used in the text). The asterisk marks language varieties evaluated by participant group B – on the basis of audio samples – in Section 1) of the survey.

Language (variety)	Label used in survey
Aucan	<i>Aukaans</i>
American English* (AE)	<i>Engels zoals dat in de Verenigde Staten (Amerika) gesproken wordt</i> 'English as it is spoken in the Unites States (America)'
Guyanese English (GuE)	<i>Engels zoals dat in Guyana gesproken wordt</i> 'English as it is spoken in Guyana'
Jamaican English (JE)	<i>Engels zoals dat op de Caraïben (bvb. Jamaica) gesproken wordt</i> 'English as it is spoken in the Caribbean (e.g. Jamaica)'
Belgian Dutch* (BD)	<i>Nederlands zoals dat in België gesproken wordt</i> 'Dutch as it is spoken in Belgium'
Netherlandic Dutch* (ND)	<i>Nederlands zoals dat in Nederland gesproken wordt</i> 'Dutch as it is spoken in the Netherlands'
Surinamese Dutch* (SD)	<i>Nederlands zoals dat in Suriname gesproken wordt</i> 'Dutch as it is spoken in Suriname'
Saramaccan	<i>Saramaccaans</i>
Sarnámi	<i>Samami</i>
Sranan* (SR)	<i>Sranan(tongo)</i>

4.3. Languages and labels

Table 3 lists the 10 language varieties included in the survey. As it was unfeasible to include all languages spoken in Suriname, we gave precedence to languages that function as a lingua franca in Suriname – Dutch, Sranan and English – and to three of the ‘larger’ ethnic languages of Suriname – Aukan, Saramaccan and Sarnámi. For both English and Dutch, we included three national varieties: Surinamese, Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch, and American, Guyanese and Jamaican English. While Surinamese and Netherlandic Dutch were obvious varieties to include given our research questions, Belgian Dutch was considered because it allows investigating evaluations of a variety of exogenous European Dutch which has no colonial associations in the Surinamese context. Guyanese English was included as this is the variety of English the Surinamese arguably have most exposure to in ‘real-life’ contexts on account of extensive migration from and to Guyana. Jamaican English is a variety associated with dancehall and reggae, two music genres which are immensely popular in Suriname. American English, finally, was included as this is the language variety (young) Surinamese are often exposed to via television and social media.

Column 2 in Table 3 lists the labels used in the survey to describe these varieties. It should be noticed that labelling languages or language varieties is a controversial issue in the Surinamese context. Sranan or Sranantongo is for instance informally also dubbed *Surinaams* (Dutch for ‘Surinamese’), Aukan is also called *Ndyuka* and Sarnámi also *Sarnami Hindustani* or – in popular speech – *Hindostaans*. In the survey, we opted for the ethnonyms *Sranan(tongo)* and *Sarnami*, as these seem to be well established in Suriname. *Aukan* was referred to with the Dutch term *Aukaans* however, as the ethnonym *Ndyuka* might not mean the same to everyone and does not seem to be widely established in Suriname (cf. Légise and Migge, 2015: 22-23). We also avoided using labels as *Surinamese Dutch* or *Guyanese English* to describe the different regional/national flavouring of Dutch and English, as these labels suggest the existence of clearly delineable varieties which need not correspond with our participants’ perceptions. Therefore, descriptions, rather than short labels were used.

In Section 1 of the survey, participant groups A and C evaluated all labels in Table 3. Participant group B evaluated speech samples of the language varieties marked with an asterisk. In the results section, we will focus exclusively on the findings for Sranan, Belgian, Netherlandic and Surinamese Dutch and English, as these are central for our research questions.

4.4. Speech samples

For this survey, speech samples were recorded by mother tongue speakers of Sranan, Surinamese Dutch, Netherlandic Dutch, Belgian Dutch, British English, American English and Jamaican English, who were asked to explain – as spontaneously as possible – the board game *Ludo* (in Dutch: *Mens erger je niet*). The experimental speakers were all male (for reasons of comparability with similar studies on European varieties of Dutch, see e.g. Grondelaers et al., 2010) and aged between 20 and 40. In order to guarantee the best possible stimuli, we initially recorded four to five speakers per language variety. From these recordings, we extracted 17 speech clips of 15 to 25 seconds, which were the most suitable in our view in terms of intelligibility, spontaneity and fluency. Via post-editing, the number of disfluencies in the different samples was controlled for.

Our first selection included samples of Surinamese Dutch as spoken by Creole speakers who indicated having both Dutch and Sranan as mother tongues, and samples of Surinamese Dutch by Hindustani speakers who indicated having Sarnámi as mother tongue. The same distinction between Creole and Hindustani speakers was made for the Sranan fragments. This was done as intonation patterns in Surinamese Dutch and Sranan are said to vary depending on the linguistic and ethnic background of a speaker, and such differences have been found to impact language attitudes (cf. Stell, 2018). Hindustani speakers, for instance, are reputed to speak Dutch with a “singing tone”, while the Javanese accent of Dutch is notorious for its characteristic intonation patterns with emphatic stress contours (Stell, 2018: 53). Ethnicity is reported to have an impact on Sranan more indirectly, viz. through levels of competence. Creoles, for instance, are often considered to be “more competent” speakers of Sranan, using mainly “deep words” – not loaned from Dutch – and *odo*’s (proverbs) (Stell, 2018: 54).

In order to check whether the languages and accents represented in our stimuli were identifiable as such, and in order to assess the degree to which the stimuli were perceived as spontaneous and natural, a pre-experiment was carried out in which 32 Surinamese participants evaluated the 17 speech clips. Participants were symmetrically stratified according to ethnicity (6 Creoles, 6 Hindustani, 6 Maroons and 6 who self-identified as ‘mixed’), age (in each ethnic group four participants were between 18-30 and four were between 50-54 years old) and gender (half male, half female). They were asked to listen to the stimuli carefully, and to identify the languages spoken, the country they thought the speakers originated from, and the accents they recognized (e.g. British, but also Hindustani or Creole). In each case they had to indicate how certain they were about their reply on a 7-point scale (ranging from “very uncertain” to “very

certain”). Participants were subsequently asked to evaluate the pleasantness of the speaker’s voice, the strength of his accent (ranging from “very mild” to “very broad”), and the fluency of his speech, all on 7-point scales. They also estimated the age of the speaker, and they were given the option to specify, in an open comment space, whether there were any other issues that struck them in the samples, or reasons why the speaker might sound (un)pleasant.

Analysis of this pre-experiment indicated that participants found it difficult to distinguish between the Creole and Hindustani accents of Sranan and Dutch. This is plausibly due to the fact that all experimental speakers were urban, educated mother tongue speakers of respectively Sranan and/or Dutch. Previous research after all suggests that “ethnic accents” in Surinamese Dutch are most noticeable in speakers who acquired Dutch as a second language (Stell, 2018: 53). In Sranan, all our speakers were fluent, making it difficult for the participants to use competence level as an ethnic cue.

Whereas the Belgian Dutch accents were poorly identified, the Netherlandic Dutch excerpts, by contrast, were correctly classified as such by the absolute majority of the participants, which goes to show that the Surinamese are clearly more familiar with Netherlandic Dutch than with Belgian Dutch. The same goes for American English as compared to British English: American accents were labelled as such by a majority of participants, but British accents were poorly recognized. The only Jamaican speaker in the pre-test, finally, was correctly classified as Jamaican by only a minority of the participants. Concerning voice quality, fluency, age and accent strength, the speakers were generally evaluated along the same lines.

On the basis of these results, we selected ten fragments for the actual survey, two per language variety. Preference was given to limiting the number of language varieties in favour of a larger empirical basis per language for the experiment: in order to guarantee that the investigated languages or accents were evaluated, rather than idiosyncratic characteristics (such as voice timbre, speech rate or lexical features) of individual speakers, we included two samples per variety. A similar evaluation of the two samples included for each language will entail that the variety they represent has been evaluated, rather than idiosyncratic speaker features.

We ultimately decided to include Sranan, Surinamese Dutch, Netherlandic Dutch, Belgian Dutch and American English in the audio-based experiment (cf. Table 4). British and Jamaican English were excluded because they were poorly recognized. As our participants did not clearly distinguish between speakers with Hindustani and Creole accents of Surinamese Dutch and Sranan, the decision was made to focus on only one type of accent. On the basis of the judgments of the voice quality and fluency of the different speakers in the preselection, we ultimately retained four fragments from three Creole speakers; one Creole speaker (A) recorded both a Sranan and a Dutch fragment. The Belgian Dutch fragments, finally, were retained because – as already mentioned in Section 4.3. – we wanted to investigate evaluations of a variety of exogenous European Dutch which has no colonial associations in the Surinamese context.

4.5. Multiple choice descriptors

As was explained in Section 4.1., participants from group A and B evaluated languages by selecting three keywords from a list of 20 adjectival descriptors, which were selected in accordance with two rationales. To begin with, extreme care was taken to include adjectives that are well established in Surinamese Dutch: only adjectives that occurred sufficiently frequently on Surinamese webpages, and that were unproblematically approved by three Surinamese linguist-judges (including the third and fourth author of this paper), were chosen. In addition, we selected positive and negative adjectives in function of evaluation dimensions that have been demonstrated to be relevant in earlier research on standard language dynamics (cf. Section 1). Conservative prestige was represented by *dom* (‘stupid’), *fout* (‘wrong’, ‘incor-

Table 4
Overview of speech samples evaluated by participant group B.

Language variety	Speech sample	Speaker (ethnicity)
Sranan	1	A (Creole)
	2	B (Creole)
Surinamese Dutch	3	A (Creole)
	4	C (Creole)
	5	D (Caucasian-white)
Netherlandic Dutch	6	E (Caucasian-white)
	7	F (Caucasian-white)
Belgian Dutch	8	G (Caucasian-white)
	9	H (Caucasian-white)
American English	10	I (Caucasian-white)

rect'), *juist* ('correct'), *nerdy/stukaboy/stukameid* ('nerdy'), *netjes* ('neat', 'decent') and *slim* ('smart'). Modern dynamism was elicited on the adjectives *cool*, *flexi* (Surinamese Dutch for 'easy-going'), *modern* and *stoer* ('tough'). Speaker attractiveness was extracted with *betrouwbaar* ('reliable'), *gezellig* ('cosy'), and *lief* ('sweet'), while speech attractiveness was elicited on *hard* ('hard/harsh/loud'), *lelijk* ('ugly') and *mooi* ('beautiful'). We also included a group of adjectives to gauge the familiarity status of different varieties, viz. *onbekend* ('unfamiliar'), *ouderwets* ('old-fashioned'), *gewoon* ('normal') and *moeilijk* ('difficult'). The twenty adjectives were printed in three columns on the response form, and participants were given the opportunity to provide additional keywords in a space specifically provided for that purpose.

4.6. Procedure

The surveys were carried out in June 2019 in Paramaribo. Participants were mainly recruited in five schools of secondary and higher education, viz. a school offering pre-university education (*vwo*), a school of senior general secondary education (*havo*), two schools offering intermediate vocational education (*mbo*) and a school for higher professional education (*hbo*). The participants recruited via these schools participated during class hours. The experiment was also conducted during a workshop for teachers organized by the *Surinaamse Vereniging van Neerlandici* ('Surinamese Association of Dutch specialists'). Including the latter group allowed us to implement an age variable, but it also introduced a possible bias in view of the fact that the teachers are language professionals.

The surveys were conducted in Dutch, as this is the official language in Suriname, and the general medium of instruction. To make sure that all participants understood the task well, the researchers first held a test trial with either the label 'French' or a Jamaican English sample as stimulus, depending on the participant group (cf. Section 5.1.). These stimuli were discussed interactively in group, and participants were given the opportunity to ask questions for clarification. Following this introductory test trial, participants carried out the survey independently. They were invited to ask the experimenters to replay specific audio samples. To avoid order effects, stimuli were presented in different orders across different participant groups.

4.7. Participants

A total of 791 respondents participated in the survey. In the analyses below, however, we only include data of 485 participants. Participants who did not grow up in the Paramaribo district, lived more than one year abroad, and/or did not identify as Surinamese (e.g. describing themselves as Netherlandic, Brazilian or Guyanese) were excluded from the dataset. Of the 485 remaining participants, 27% participated in survey A, 45% in survey B and 28% in survey C. The ethnic stratification of the final sample matches census statistics of the Paramaribo district quite well (cf. Table 5), though the group that self-identifies as 'mixed' is proportionally larger in our sample than in the census data. This need not worry us in view of the fact that the census data are seven years older than our data, and that participants in our sample are younger ($M = 21$) than in the census data.

The stratification of the participants according to age and gender varies per participant group (cf. Table 6). In general, the population sample is fairly young (more than 90% is younger than 30 years old) and more women than men completed the survey (61% female). To assess the impact of age on language attitudes, we will focus on the only group

Table 5

Number of participants per survey type (A, B or C) and ethnic group. The last column includes census statistics for the Paramaribo district from 2012 ([Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek Suriname, 2014](#)).

	Group A LABEL_MCQ	Group B AUDIO_MCQ	Group C LABEL_FR	TOTAL	CENSUS 2012
Mixed	48 (36.64%)	68 (31.19%)	52 (38.24%)	168 (36.64%)	18.0%
Hindustani	38 (29.01%)	44 (20.18%)	33 (24.26%)	115 (23.71%)	22.9%
Creole	22 (16.79%)	61 (27.98%)	22 (16.18%)	105 (21.65%)	16.8%
Maroon	10 (7.63%)	25 (11.47%)	20 (14.71%)	55 (11.34%)	16.6%
Javanese	5 (3.82%)	6 (2.75%)	2 (1.47%)	13 (2.68%)	10.0%
Indigenous	2 (1.53%)	1 (0.46%)	1 (0.74%)	4 (0.82%)	1.7%
Chinese	1 (0.76%)	0 (0%)	2 (1.47%)	3 (0.62%)	2.1%
Caucasian-white	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.74%)	1 (0.21%)	0.4%
Other	3 (2.29%)	7 (3.21%)	2 (1.47%)	12 (2.47%)	1.3%
I'd rather not say	2 (1.53%)	6 (2.75%)	1 (0.74%)	9 (1.86%)	0.2%
TOTAL	131	218	136	485	

Table 6
Number of participants per survey type (A, B or C), age group* and gender.

		Group A Label_Mcq	Group B Audio_Mcq	Group C Label_FR	TOTAL
–30 years old (born after 1989)	Female	85	103	68	256
	Male	45	74	63	182
30 and older (born before 1990)	Female	0	2	39	41
	Male	1	2	1	4
TOTAL		131	181	171	483**

* Our binary age classification was motivated by occupational and statistical considerations. We chose the age of 30 as a cutoff point to separate our large group of students (with ages below 30) from the smaller group of older respondents who were exclusively teachers (all 30 years or older). We explicitly wanted to include the teachers, because their evaluations are arguably revealing from a language policy perspective (in Flanders and The Netherlands, teachers of Dutch are regarded as the “guardians of the standard language”, see amongst others [Delarue, 2013](#)). In view of the fact that the younger group consisted predominantly of secondary school students (median birth year: 2000, Q1 = 2004, Q3 = 1997), we decided against further age divisions to avoid statistically impractical skews.

** Two respondents did not provide information pertaining to their gender and are not included in this table.

which has a significant number of 30+-participants (group C). Since participants in this group were almost exclusively female (there was one male participant), age effects can only be studied for the women in our dataset.

4.8. Analysis

Preceding all analyses, the keywords returned by Group C on the free response question were standardized in terms of orthography (by correcting spelling mistakes) and morphology: morphologically related returns with identical meaning were given the most frequent form. For instance: the return *begrijpbaar* ‘intelligible’ was transformed into the semantically identical but more frequent *begrijpelijk* ‘intelligible’. Also, whenever possible without a change of meaning, we transformed the sequence *niet* ‘not’ + adjective in the equivalent form with the prefixed negator *on* –; in this respect *niet duidelijk* ‘not clear’ was changed into *onduidelijk* ‘unclear’. These operations resulted in a final set of 13.917 tokens for 510 types. Of these 510 types, 281 were hapaxes, i.e. keywords which only occurred once in the dataset.

In order to determine whether, and to what extent, the responses elicited in this experiment represent positive or negative qualifications, we build on experimentally validated affective word norms in [Moors et al. \(2013\)](#) and [Warriner et al. \(2013\)](#), who asked native speakers to judge the extent to which respectively 4.300 Dutch words and 13.915 English words ‘referred to something that is positive/pleasant (“positief/aangenaam”) or negative/unpleasant (“negatief/onaangenaam”)’ ([Moors et al., 2013: 72](#)); evaluations of the Dutch words were elicited on a 7-point scale, evaluations of the English words on a 9-point scale. A crucial characteristic of these studies (and comparable studies into Spanish, Portuguese and Finnish) is that the extracted valences were observed to generalize very well across languages, as testified by the high correlation (0.847) between the Dutch and the English ratings ([Warriner et al., 2013: 1198](#)).

Out of the 510 standardized keyword types, 183 matched with lemmas for which valences were available in [Moors et al. \(2013\)](#). For 17 responses, [Moors et al. \(2013\)](#) contained a valence for the morphologically related antonym. A case in point was the response *abnormaal* ‘abnormal’, which does not occur in [Moors et al. \(2013\)](#), although the opposite *normaal* ‘normal’ does. The valence for *abnormal* was subsequently obtained by ‘mirroring’ the value for *normaal*, viz. $7 - 4.48 = 2.52$. In order to include valences for as many responses as possible, and in view of the high correlation between the Dutch and the English ratings, we included the valences for 163 English words in [Warriner et al. \(2013\)](#) which were straightforward translations of our experimental responses (such as ‘acceptable’ for the Dutch adjective *acceptabel*). All in all, we obtained valences for 12.840 of the 13.917 responses (92%). All valences were transformed into z-scores by dividing them through the standard deviation of the valences in the dataset. This standardization procedure was performed separately for the valences based on [Moors et al. \(2013\)](#) and those based on [Warriner et al. \(2013\)](#).

5. RESULTS

5.1. Study 1: Making qualitative sense of the evaluations

Since space limitations preclude a comprehensive treatment of all the keywords returned or selected in response to a specific variety (label), we restrict analysis in this reconnaissance phase to the ten most frequent terms per variety.

Table 7

Frequency (*n*), unicity (*u*) and valence (*v*) of the ten most frequent terms per language variety for the surveys with labels as stimuli. The three terms with the highest unicity per cell are printed in boldface and small caps. Words printed in gray have a positive valence value, black ones a negative one (black words in italics: no valence value available).

	LABEL_FR			LABEL_MCQ						
			<i>n</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>v</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>v</i>	
AE	mooi	'beautiful'	42	0,14	1,50	cool	'cool'	53	0,14	1,82
	gemakkelijk	'easy'	34	0,20	2,47	MODERN	'modern'	50	0,36	0,87
	Leuk	'nice'	33	0,15	1,37	mooi	'beautiful'	40	0,14	1,50
	VERSTAANBAAR	'intelligible'	23	0,21	1,50	netjes	'neat'	35	0,21	0,23
	Goed	'good'	16	0,20	1,30	gewoon	'normal'	33	0,13	0,10
	interessant	'interesting'	12	0,12	1,22	gezellig	'cosy'	30	0,10	1,47
	BEGRIJPBAAR	'intelligible'	10	0,40	1,50	betrouwbaar	'trustworthy'	29	0,22	1,57
	moeilijk	'difficult'	9	0,03	-0,85	JUIST	'correct'	27	0,27	1,12
	geweldig	'fantastic'	7	0,15	3,36	<i>flexi</i>	'easy-going'	25	0,08	NA
	NORMAAL	'normal'	6	0,30	0,34	SLIM	'smart'	12	0,23	1,31
ND	ONVERSTAANBAAR	'unintelligible'	45	0,20	-1,40	FOUT	'wrong'	40	0,20	-1,01
	gemakkelijk	'easy'	19	0,11	2,47	DOM	'stupid'	38	0,25	-1,26
	moeilijk	'difficult'	18	0,07	-0,85	netjes	'neat'	33	0,20	0,23
	leuk	'nice'	14	0,06	1,37	gewoon	'normal'	30	0,12	0,10
	grappig	'funny'	13	0,10	1,46	moeilijk	'difficult'	28	0,09	-0,85
	goed	'good'	12	0,15	1,30	LELIJK	'ugly'	27	0,16	-1,27
	verstaanbaar	'intelligible'	12	0,11	1,50	mooi	'beautiful'	26	0,09	1,50
	VREEMD	'weird'	12	0,22	-0,61	MODERN	'modern'	22	0,16	0,87
	SNEL	'fast'	11	0,24	0,63	betrouwbaar	'trustworthy'	20	0,15	1,57
	mooi	'beautiful'	11	0,04	1,50	cool	'cool'	16	0,04	1,82
SD	MOEILIJK	'difficult'	54	0,20	-0,85	NETJES	'neat'	50	0,30	0,23
	mooi	'beautiful'	30	0,10	1,50	gewoon	'normal'	49	0,19	0,10
	leuk	'nice'	22	0,10	1,37	BETROUWBAAR	'trustworthy'	35	0,27	1,57
	gemakkelijk	'easy'	21	0,12	2,47	JUIST	'correct'	34	0,34	1,12
	verstaanbaar	'intelligible'	20	0,18	1,50	mooi	'beautiful'	33	0,11	1,50
	goed	'good'	14	0,17	1,30	moeilijk	'difficult'	32	0,10	-0,85
	uniek	'unique'	11	0,13	1,33	<i>flexi</i>	'easy-going'	28	0,09	NA
	<i>ingewikkeld</i>	'complicated'	8	0,16	NA	gezellig	'cosy'	22	0,07	1,47
	SAAI	'boring'	7	0,44	-1,11	cool	'cool'	21	0,06	1,82
	SLECHT	'bad'	7	0,29	-1,38	modern	'modern'	17	0,12	0,87
BD	ONVERSTAANBAAR	'unintelligible'	52	0,23	-1,40	moeilijk	'difficult'	46	0,14	-0,85
	moeilijk	'difficult'	27	0,10	-0,85	ONBEKEND	'unfamiliar'	35	0,15	-0,15
	mooi	'beautiful'	17	0,06	1,50	FOUT	'wrong'	33	0,17	-1,01
	grappig	'funny'	16	0,12	1,46	HARD	'hard'	31	0,16	-0,25
	anders	'different'	12	0,27	0,91	gewoon	'normal'	31	0,12	0,10
	RAAR	'weird'	11	0,28	-0,54	lelijk	'ugly'	30	0,17	-1,27
	leuk	'nice'	11	0,05	1,37	netjes	'neat'	25	0,15	0,23
	VREEMD	'strange'	9	0,17	-0,61	DOM	'stupid'	24	0,16	-1,26
	goed	'good'	8	0,10	1,30	mooi	'beautiful'	20	0,07	1,50
	<i>ingewikkeld</i>	'complicated'	8	0,16	NA	cool	'cool'	16	0,04	1,82
SR	mooi	'beautiful'	41	0,13	1,50	<i>FLEXI</i>	'easy-going'	79	0,26	NA
	GEMAKKELIJK	'easy'	41	0,24	2,47	cool	'cool'	65	0,18	1,82
	leuk	'nice'	29	0,13	1,37	STOER	'tough'	64	0,28	0,24
	verstaanbaar	'intelligible'	15	0,14	1,50	GEZELLIG	'cosy'	60	0,20	1,47
	moeilijk	'hard'	15	0,06	-0,85	mooi	'beautiful'	21	0,07	1,50
	CULTUREEL	'cultural'	13	0,19	1,28	hard	'hard'	16	0,08	-0,25
	grappig	'funny'	12	0,09	1,46	gewoon	'normal'	11	0,04	0,10
	interessant	'interesting'	12	0,12	1,22	lelijk	'ugly'	11	0,06	-1,27
	GEZELLIG	'cosy'	12	0,29	1,47	moeilijk	'difficult'	11	0,03	-0,85
	uniek	'unique'	12	0,15	1,33	modern	'modern'	9	0,07	0,87

GuE	grappig	'funny'	41	0,31	1,46	FOUT	'wrong'	52	0,26	-1,01
	leuk	'nice'	28	0,13	1,37	<i>flexi</i>	'flexi'	43	0,14	NA
	mooi	'beautiful'	21	0,07	1,50	DOM	'stupid'	42	0,28	-1,26
	onverstaanbaar	'unintelligible'	19	0,09	-1,40	stoer	'sturdy'	40	0,17	0,24
	moelijk	'difficult'	12	0,04	-0,85	LELIJK	'ugly'	40	0,23	-1,27
	interessant	'interesting'	12	0,12	1,22	gezellig	'cosy'	31	0,10	1,47
	GETTO	'ghetto'	11	0,48	-1,04	cool	'cool'	29	0,08	1,82
	LELIJK	'ugly'	11	0,34	-1,27	gewoon	'normal'	19	0,07	0,10
	GANGSTER	'gangster'	8	0,38	-1,19	moelijk	'difficult'	16	0,05	-0,85
	slecht	'bad'	7	0,29	-1,38	hard	'hard'	13	0,07	-0,25
JE	mooi	'beautiful'	30	0,10	1,50	COOL	'cool'	70	0,19	1,82
	GRAPPIG	'funny'	24	0,18	1,46	<i>FLEXI</i>	'easy-going'	58	0,19	NA
	leuk	'nice'	20	0,09	1,37	STOER	'sturdy'	56	0,24	0,24
	onverstaanbaar	'unintelligible'	15	0,07	-1,40	GEZELLIG	'cosy'	55	0,18	1,47
	moelijk	'difficult'	14	0,05	-0,85	mooi	'beautiful'	40	0,14	1,50
	interessant	'interesting'	14	0,13	1,22	fout	'wrong'	16	0,08	-1,01
	gemakkelijk	'easy'	12	0,07	2,47	moelijk	'difficult'	15	0,05	-0,85
	GEWELDIG	'fantastic'	11	0,23	3,36	modern	'modern'	10	0,07	0,87
	MUZIEK	'music'	11	0,48	1,23	hard	'hard'	10	0,05	-0,25
	verstaanbaar	'intelligible'	8	0,07	1,50	onbekend	'unfamiliar'	9	0,04	-0,15

Tables 7 and 8 list for each of the investigated varieties, and for the three extraction methods – Label_FR (free responses to label stimuli), Label_Mcq (multiple choice responses to label stimuli) and Audio_Mcq (multiple choice responses to audio stimuli) – the following statistics:

- the absolute frequency n of the ten most frequent responses
- their unicity-score u , computed as the ratio between the frequency of the term for a specific label/sample and its global frequency for all labels/samples (this global frequency includes the data for the varieties not discussed in this paper, viz. Sarnámi, Aucan and Saramaccan)
- the valence of the keywords (v), with negative scores reflecting negative evaluations and vice versa (we have shaded positive evaluations in gray and negative evaluations in black).

We propose that while high frequency reveals the importance of a keyword for the mental representation of the designated variety, the unicity of a term – viz. the degree to which it is exclusive for a given variety – is just as important, if not more crucial. As a consequence, we have printed the three terms with the highest unicity (per variety and per method) in boldface and small caps. In order to gauge generational change, the audio-elicited evaluations under Audio_Mcq have been stratified in younger and older responses.

A crucial methodological observation is that the unconstrained 'free response' returns to the labels ('Label_FR') appear to reveal an aversion to pass negative judgment on Surinamese language varieties. A tell-tale indication of this suspicion is the fact that the mean valence for the top 10 keywords for the label-induced open responses is much higher than the one for the label-induced MCQ-questions (Label_FR: 0.78 versus Labels_Mcq: 0.38). In an identically designed free response study of Flemish preferences (Grondelaers et al., 2020), the keyword top-tens varied from very positive

Table 8

Frequency (*n*), unicity (*u*) and valence (*v*) of the ten most frequent terms per language variety for the surveys with audio samples as stimuli. The left column represents the statistics for the younger participant group; the right column the statistics for the older one. The three terms with the highest unicity per cell are printed in boldface and small caps. Words printed in gray have a positive valence value, black ones a negative one (black words in italics: no valence value available).

	AUDIO_MCQ YOUNGER PARTICIPANTS				AUDIO_MCQ OLDER PARTICIPANTS					
			n	u	v		n	u	v	
AE	gewoon	'normal'	120	0,18	0,10	moeilijk	'difficult'	28	0,43	-0,85
	netjes	'neat'	119	0,20	0,23	LELIJK	'ugly'	26	0,44	-1,27
	COOL	'cool'	105	0,28	1,82	gewoon	'normal'	19	0,17	0,10
	MODERN	'modern'	81	0,38	0,87	netjes	'neat'	17	0,14	0,23
	SLIM	'smart'	65	0,34	1,31	ONBEKEND	'unfamiliar'	16	0,57	-0,15
	betrouwbaar	'trustworthy'	62	0,16	1,57	FOUT	'wrong'	15	0,54	-1,01
	juist	'correct'	59	0,16	1,12	cool	'cool'	15	0,17	1,82
	<i>flexi</i>	'easy-going'	58	0,16	NA	dom	'stupid'	12	0,33	-1,26
	mooi	'beautiful'	58	0,27	1,50	modern	'modern'	11	0,28	0,87
	moeilijk	'difficult'	47	0,24	-0,85	nerdy/stukaboel/ stukameid	'nerdy'	11	0,42	-0,32
ND	NETJES	'neat'	173	0,29	0,23	JUIST	'correct'	36	0,36	1,12
	gewoon	'normal'	135	0,21	0,10	netjes	'neat'	33	0,27	0,23
	juist	'correct'	97	0,26	1,12	betrouwbaar	'trustworthy'	28	0,26	1,57
	betrouwbaar	'trustworthy'	85	0,22	1,57	gewoon	'normal'	28	0,25	0,10
	SLIM	'smart'	60	0,32	1,31	mooi	'beautiful'	20	0,25	1,50
	cool	'cool'	56	0,15	1,82	cool	'cool'	15	0,17	1,82
	modern	'modern'	55	0,26	0,87	<i>flexi</i>	'easy-going'	13	0,18	NA
	NERDY/STUKABOEL/ STUKAMEID	'nerdy'	54	0,36	-0,32	MODERN	'modern'	12	0,31	0,87
	<i>flexi</i>	'easy-going'	48	0,13	NA	LIEF	'sweet'	9	0,29	1,59
	lelijk	'ugly'	42	0,20	-1,27	slim	'smart'	8	0,28	1,31
SD	GEWOON	'normal'	194	0,30	0,10	BETROUWBAAR	'trustworthy'	39	0,36	1,57
	NETJES	'neat'	182	0,31	0,23	NETJES	'neat'	37	0,31	0,23
	BETROUWBAAR	'trustworthy'	128	0,33	1,57	JUIST	'correct'	35	0,35	1,12
	JUIST	'correct'	116	0,31	1,12	gewoon	'normal'	32	0,29	0,10
	cool	'cool'	65	0,17	1,82	mooi	'beautiful'	23	0,29	1,50
	<i>flexi</i>	'easy-going'	58	0,16	NA	cool	'cool'	22	0,25	1,82
	mooi	'beautiful'	47	0,22	1,50	<i>flexi</i>	'easy-going'	12	0,16	NA
	slim	'smart'	32	0,17	1,31	slim	'smart'	8	0,28	1,31
	modern	'modern'	27	0,13	0,87	lief	'sweet'	8	0,26	1,59
	lelijk	'ugly'	22	0,10	-1,27	modern	'modern'	7	0,18	0,87
BD	gewoon	'normal'	141	0,21	0,10	LELIJK	'ugly'	27	0,46	-1,27
	netjes	'neat'	98	0,16	0,23	moeilijk	'difficult'	25	0,38	-0,85
	LELIJK	'ugly'	85	0,40	-1,27	netjes	'neat'	22	0,18	0,23
	MOEILJK	'difficult'	82	0,42	-0,85	gewoon	'normal'	21	0,19	0,10
	juist	'correct'	71	0,19	1,12	betrouwbaar	'trustworthy'	20	0,18	1,57
	betrouwbaar	'trustworthy'	68	0,18	1,57	DOM	'stupid'	14	0,39	-1,26
	FOUT	'wrong'	56	0,47	-1,01	juist	'correct'	13	0,13	1,12
	cool	'cool'	51	0,14	1,82	FOUT	'wrong'	11	0,39	-1,01
	dom	'stupid'	45	0,37	-1,26	cool	'cool'	10	0,11	1,82
	ouderwets	'old-fashioned'	39	0,27	-0,75	lief	'sweet'	8	0,26	1,59
SR	<i>FLEXI</i>	'easy-going'	183	0,49	NA	STOER	'sturdy'	37	0,66	0,24
	GEZELLIG	'cosy'	164	0,64	1,47	<i>flexi</i>	'flexi'	35	0,47	NA
	STOER	'sturdy'	124	0,74	0,24	GEZELLIG	'cosy'	30	0,64	1,47
	cool	'cool'	98	0,26	1,82	cool	'cool'	26	0,30	1,82
	gewoon	'normal'	66	0,10	0,10	mooi	'beautiful'	18	0,23	1,50
	hard	'hard'	57	0,40	-0,25	HARD	'hard'	18	0,55	-0,25
	mooi	'beautiful'	49	0,23	1,50	netjes	'neat'	12	0,10	0,23
	ouderwets	'old-fashioned'	46	0,32	-0,75	betrouwbaar	'trustworthy'	12	0,11	1,57
	betrouwbaar	'trustworthy'	44	0,11	1,57	gewoon	'normal'	10	0,09	0,10
	moeilijk	'difficult'	34	0,17	-0,85	juist	'correct'	9	0,09	1,12

(VRT-Dutch, mean valence = 0.38) to extremely negative (Moroccan-accented Dutch, mean valence = -0.32). Top-tens for the downgraded Moroccan, Antwerp and West-Flemish accents in that study respectively featured 9, 8 and 7 negative valence terms. Surinamese mean scores across the free response top-tens, by contrast, are noticeably milder: the only variety with a mean valence below zero is Guyanese English (mean = -0.16); the other evaluations oscillate between 0.35 and 1.37. Closer inspection of the top-ten keywords reveals a second interesting pattern. The adjective *mooi* 'beautiful' is returned for all the investigated varieties and it features in the top three for each of them, except for Netherlandic Dutch (rank 10). The adjective *leuk* 'nice', likewise, is returned for all the investigated varieties, and it appears in the top four for each of them, except for Belgian Dutch (rank 7). And the adjective *interessant* 'interesting' is in the top ten for four varieties. It will be noticed that all of these are positive, but low commitment adjectives.

The more critical evaluations crucially pivot on (un)intelligibility and (in)accessibility: the antonymous pairs *gemakkelijk* 'easy' vs. *moelijk* 'difficult', and *verstaanbaar* 'intelligible' vs. *onverstaanbaar* 'unintelligible' make the top-ten of all investigated varieties. *Onverstaanbaar* 'unintelligible' and/or *moelijk* 'difficult' are invariably the most frequent negative keywords for all varieties (they are, in fact, the only ones which are at all frequent). Other negative qualifications – *raar* 'weird', *vreemd* 'strange, foreign' for Belgian Dutch, *onbegrijpbaar* 'unintelligible', *onbekend* 'unfamiliar' – are obvious variations on the same theme.

Let us next move on to a comparison of keywords across the survey types. Keywords returned for American English on Label_FR suggest that 'availability' and 'intelligibility' are key features of the open conceptualization of this variety, alongside 'excellence' – as indexed by *geweldig* 'fantastic' (rank 9, $u = 0.15$). On the Label_Mcq evaluations, this non-committal positivity is funnelled into a mixture of modern dynamism (*modern* (rank 2, $u = 0.36$), *cool* (rank 1, $u = 0.14$)) and traditional prestige (*juist* 'appropriate' (rank 8, $u = 0.27$), *slim* 'smart' (rank 10, but $u = 0.23$) and *netjes* 'neat' (rank 4, $u = 0.21$)). Younger and older evaluations on the Audio_Mcq data are markedly divergent: while dominant keywords for the younger participants (*modern* ($u = 0.38$), *slim* 'smart' ($u = 0.34$), *cool* ($u = 0.28$)) suggest an evident indexicality of dynamic prestige for American English, older participants' outspoken rejection of American English is evidenced by a preponderance of negative adjectives (6/10 vs. only 1/10 for the younger participants) and the dominance of *onbekend* 'unfamiliar' ($u = 0.57$), *fout* 'incorrect' ($u = 0.54$) and *lelijk* 'ugly' ($u = 0.44$).

The picture which emerges from the different types of evaluations of Netherlandic Dutch is one of label-based rejection which is partly compensated by more positive speech-based evaluations. Dominant keywords *snel* 'fast', *vreemd* 'strange' and *onverstaanbaar* 'incomprehensible' on Label_FR index for the most part negative pigeon-holing, which is somewhat nuanced on the Label_Mcq-extracted keywords *netjes* 'neat' (rank 3, $u = 0.20$) and *modern* (rank 8, $u = 0.16$). Audio-based evaluations are arguably more positive, yielding traditional standard perceptions (compare *juist* 'correct/appropriate', *slim* 'smart', and *netjes* 'neat'), with modern overtones (compare *modern* and *cool*). The comparative undesirability of Netherlandic Dutch as a Surinamese lingua franca, however, is indexed on the fact that the most dominant keyword in the younger Audio_Mcq responses is *nerdy* (rank 8 but $u = 0.36$). This suggests that Netherlandic Dutch is a prestige variety with shades of 'overdoing it'. In contrast to older participants – mostly teachers of Dutch – younger participants also deem Netherlandic Dutch *lelijk* 'ugly'.

The conceptualization of Surinamese Dutch is astoundingly similar across the different types of multiple choice questionnaires (Label_Mcq and Audio_Mcq): four terms represent both the most frequent and the most dominant returns, albeit in various orders. Being deemed *juist* 'proper', *netjes* 'neat', *betrouwbaar* 'reliable' and *gewoon* 'normal', Surinamese Dutch evidently is a practical household standard, and the nearly perfect consensus on the different MCQ-datasets is strongly indicative of a stable, unchanging assessment. The free response assessment (Label_FR), by contrast, reveals a conceptualization which is both more negative but also more heterogeneous. The most dominant terms unicity-wise – *saai* 'boring' (rank 9, $u = 0.44$) and *slecht* 'bad' (rank 10, $u = 0.29$) – are comparatively infrequent ($n = 7$). And it will be recalled that the most frequent keyword *moelijk* 'difficult' is not very typical for Surinamese Dutch (rank 1 but $u = 0.20$). Neither are the frequently returned positive terms *mooi* 'beautiful', *leuk* 'nice' and *gemakkelijk* 'easy'. It is interesting to note that for the older participants – the teachers of Dutch – the conceptualization of Netherlandic and Surinamese Dutch on Audio_Mcq is virtually identical. The divergence observed between Netherlandic and Surinamese Dutch is exclusively limited to evaluations by the younger Surinamese. It is difficult to judge whether this is an effect of profession or rather of age, but the data indicate in any case that for younger lay people, Surinamese Dutch is the likelier candidate for Surinamese standard status.

Of the three varieties of Dutch included in this experiment, the foreignness of Belgian Dutch is reflected in a negative conceptualization – centring on alienness, stupidity and dysphony – which is largely stable across the different survey types: compare the dominant adjectives *raar* 'weird' (rank 6, $u = 0.28$), *onverstaanbaar* 'incomprehensible' (rank 1, $u = 0.23$), *vreemd* 'strange' (rank 7, $u = 0.17$) on Label_FR, *fout* 'wrong' (rank 3, $u = 0.17$), *hard* 'hard/harsh/loud' (rank 4, $u = 0.16$), *dom* 'stupid' (rank 7, $u = 0.16$) on Label_Mcq, and *lelijk* 'ugly' and *fout* 'wrong' in both the younger and older audio-based conceptualizations.

For Sranantongo, the picture painted by the free response elicitation is partly indistinct, and it overlaps with the Label_FR evaluation of Surinamese Dutch on no less than six keywords. Noticeable differences, however, are both the lower rank and unicity of *moeilijk* 'difficult' (rank 3, $u = 0.06$) and the concomitantly larger importance of *gemakkelijk* 'easy' (rank 1, $u = 0.24$) for Sranantongo, as well as the key feature *gezellig* 'cosy' (rank 5, $u = 0.29$) and the somewhat opaque designation *cultureel* (rank 4, $u = 0.19$), which literally means 'cultural' but which is probably more appropriately glossed as 'ethnic heritage'. Although space and time constraints preclude a full discussion of ethnic conditioning effects, it must be noticed that the keyword *cultureel* is restricted to evaluations by participants who identify as either 'mixed' or Hindustani. On the MCQ evaluations, this ethnic association is dropped in favour of the status of Sranantongo as both a solidarity (*gezellig* 'cosy') and a dynamic macho standard (*flexi* 'easy-going', *stoer* 'sturdy', *cool*). Since these keywords represent the four most frequent adjectives in all types of MCQ-evaluations of Sranan, and for the most part also the more dominant ones, the conceptualization of Sranantongo as the Surinamese solidarity and macho standard appears to be stable and well-entrenched.

While the conceptualization of Guyanese English and Jamaican English builds on a similar blend of solidarity and toughness as that of Sranantongo, the mixture is less stable in the case of the varieties of English, and both veer towards other extremes. If we ignore the all-round qualifications in the free response data (Label_FR), we notice *gangster* and *ghetto* overtones in the profile of Guyanese English, but (reggae) *music*-related accents for Jamaican English. On the Label_Mcq items, the Jamaican English profile is concentrated into a conceptualization which is remarkably similar to that of Sranantongo, while Guyanese English is rejected as *dom* 'stupid', *fout* 'wrong' and *lelijk* 'ugly'.

5.2. Study 2: Regressing on the valence of keywords

In Study 1, our analysis built on a small set of high-frequency adjectives, ignoring a vast amount of lower frequency returns. In addition, it is difficult to control systematically for demographic conditioning on the basis of qualitative analysis. In this section, we therefore report the outcome of three mixed-effects linear regression analyses carried out to model the valence (perceived positivity/negativity) of the keywords returned in response to the investigated varieties. The first of these (Study 2.1) focuses on the label-based data to model the valence of the varieties of Dutch, English and Sranan included in the experiment. The second (Study 2.2) zooms in on the valence of keywords returned to the audio-based assessment of a smaller sample of five varieties, which enables us to fit an independent effect of participant age. The third (Study 2.3) compares the impact of the three elicitation methodologies. In all three studies, we included random effects for participant and – in Studies 2.2 and 2.3 – for audio sample. Fixed effects were included on the basis of a manual stepwise selection procedure which relied on the model's AIC; the best model was selected through anova()-based comparison of null models and fitted models. The regression tables can be found in Appendices A-C, in which we only include (near-) significant effects for predictors which turned out to be significant in a prior analysis of variance with Satterthwaite's method.

5.2.1. Regressing on the valence of label-extracted keywords

Fixed effects considered in the first regression analysis (see [Appendix A](#)) were:

- Language (Surinamese Dutch, Netherlandic Dutch, Belgian Dutch, American English, Guyanese English, Jamaican English, and Sranantongo)
- Participant Ethnicity (Creole, Hindustani, Maroon, Mixed, Other)
- Participant Gender (male vs. female)
- Survey Type (Label_FR vs. Label_Mcq)
- All two-way interactions between Language and the other predictors.

The regression results reveal that Surinamese Dutch, American English, Jamaican English, and Sranan – which are not evaluated significantly differently from one another – are the most cherished varieties across the board. Both exogenous types of Dutch (Netherlandic and Belgian) as well as Guyanese English are evaluated less positively (cf. [Fig. 1](#)).

A number of significant interactions between the investigated languages and ethnic groups stratify the evaluations somewhat. Participants who self-report Mixed ethnic status, to begin with, are less negative about Netherlandic Dutch and Belgian Dutch than their Creole compatriots, and they rate American English and Jamaican English even higher. They do however downgrade Guyanese English more. Participants of Hindustani descent also rate Netherlandic Dutch, Belgian Dutch and Jamaican English more positively than the Creoles, but they downgrade Sranan. Maroons, finally, rate Netherlandic Dutch higher. Interestingly, no gender effects were found; omission of the gender variable during model selection did not impact the model's predictive value.

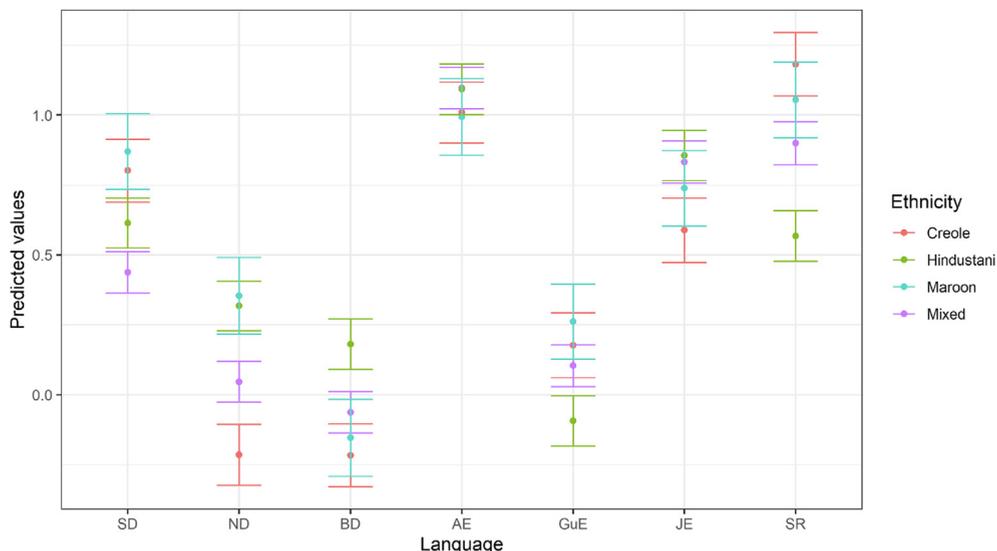


Fig. 1. Plot of linear mixed effects of Language and Ethnicity on the evaluations (valence of returned keywords) of seven language labels.

5.2.2. Regressing on the valence of audio-extracted keywords

The second regression analysis is similar in design to the first, albeit that the number of languages is smaller. The predictor Language now distinguishes between Surinamese Dutch, Netherlandic Dutch, Belgian Dutch, American English, and Sranantongo. In light of the near absence of males in our older sample, we conflated Age and Gender on a new variable 'AgeGender' which has three levels, viz. young females, young males, and older females. We included Language, Participant Ethnicity, and Participant AgeGender as fixed effects, all possible two-way interactions between these effects, and Participant and Audio sample as random effects.

Since Language does not reach significance as a main effect (cf. Appendix B), linguistic preferences exclusively surface in interactions. Participants of Mixed ethnicity, again, are more appreciative of Netherlandic Dutch, Belgian Dutch and American English, but also of Sranan this time (although the latter interaction fails to reach full significance, $p = 0.06$). The Hindustani participants mirror these preferences, with the one difference that they *downgrade* Sranan. And the Maroons go against the trend by *downgrading* American English.

As far as age and gender effects are concerned, young males are significantly more appreciative of American English than young females, while older females are significantly more negative towards it.

5.2.3. Comparing the impact of elicitation method on keyword valence

A final regression analysis was carried out to reveal the impact of the chosen elicitation technique on the evaluations. For this analysis, the dataset was restricted to the ratings by the younger participants of the five varieties for which evaluations are available that were extracted with the three elicitation methods. We included Language, Ethnicity, Gender, and Elicitation Method (with three levels in the present analysis, cf. Appendix C).

Main effects and the interactions with Ethnicity faithfully replicate the earlier findings, but the differential impact of Elicitation Method merits attention. Let us first look at the impact of the question format, by comparing the results for Labels_Mcq to those for Labels_FR. We already observed in Study 1 that unconstrained keyword elicitation on Label_FR seems to engender generally higher appreciations than when MCQ-questions are used. The regression confirms this observation to a certain degree: free response evaluations of the language labels 'English as spoken in America' and 'Sranan' are significantly more positive than the MCQ-evaluations of the same labels (cf. Fig. 2 and Appendix C). For the other labels, no significant differences were found between the open and closed question formats.

When we compare the impact of stimulus type (Audio_Mcq vs. Labels_Mcq), the regression indicates that labels induce more 'extreme' evaluations than audio stimuli: Fig. 2 shows that labels yield the highest appreciation for Sranan and American English, but – compared to the audio-based elicitation method – lower ones for Netherlandic Dutch and Belgian Dutch. These visually available differences are reflected in significant interactions between American English

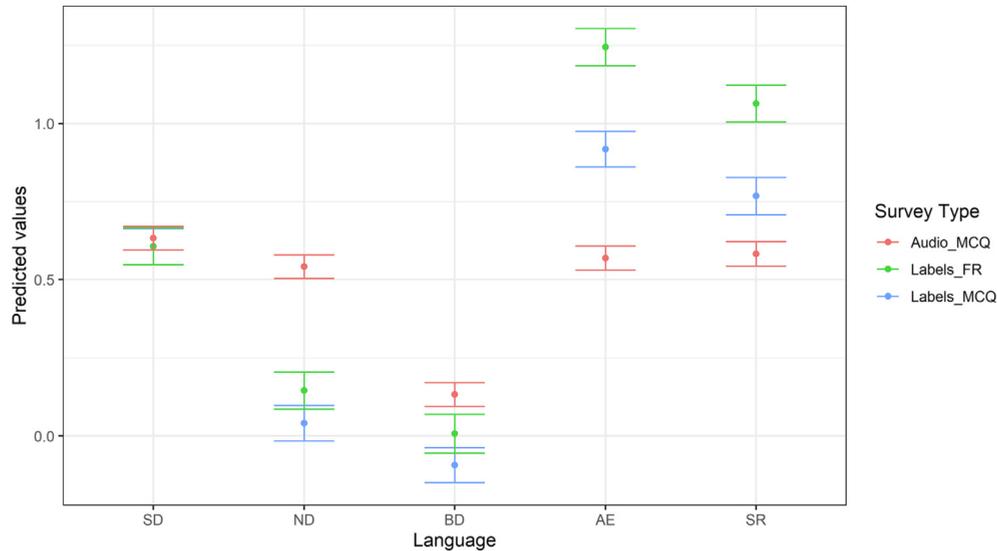


Fig. 2. Plot of linear mixed effect regression fitted to younger evaluations of the five varieties rated with the three elicitation methods.

and Audio_McQ and Sranan and Audio_McQ, indexing the lower appreciation for these varieties in response to samples than in response to labels, and between Netherlandic Dutch and Audio_McQ and Belgian Dutch and Audio_McQ, reflecting the more positive evaluation for the exogenous varieties of Dutch in response to the audio stimuli. Interestingly, nor question type nor stimulus type impacts the evaluation of Surinamese Dutch.

6. DISCUSSION

Let us first discuss our findings in response to the research questions in [Section 3](#).

As far as the standard status of Netherlandic and Surinamese Dutch is concerned, the data respectively point to an increasing exonormative rejection of Netherlandic Dutch and a clear endonormative orientation towards Surinamese Dutch. In Study 1, to begin with, the denunciation of Netherlandic Dutch surfaces in the dominance of the keywords *nerdy* and *ugly* as returned by the younger participants, whereas the positive appreciation of Netherlandic Dutch seems to be restricted to the older females (who, let us not forget, are all teachers of Dutch). Surinamese Dutch, by contrast, was confirmed in Study 1 as a correct, neat, and reliable household standard. Study 2 indicated that the positive evaluation of Surinamese Dutch was stable across *all* survey types and participant groups, which is a clear indication of endonormative stabilization. While the evaluation of Sranan, Netherlandic Dutch, Belgian Dutch and the different varieties of English was influenced significantly by the ethnicity of the participant, the standard status of Surinamese Dutch was not constrained by any ethnic or gender-based downgrading. Its norm status hence seems undisputed and shared, which can also be deduced from the fact that the evaluation of Surinamese Dutch remained constant over elicitation method in the third regression analysis in Study 2: there was no statistical difference between the idealistic, ideological status of Surinamese Dutch – as revealed by the label-based evaluations – and its audio-elicited ‘talk-in-action’ associations (cf. [Section 4.2](#)).

The significantly lower appreciation of Netherlandic Dutch on the label-based than on the audio-triggered stimuli, by contrast, is a sure sign of a disputed ideological status. While in ‘real-life’ evaluations, Netherlandic Dutch is on a par with Surinamese Dutch, it is downgraded in more abstract Surinamese conceptualizations of what constitutes an appropriate standard. Interestingly, this downgrading is significantly stronger among Creole participants than among participants of Mixed, Maroon or Hindustani descent (cf. study 2.1). This might be interpreted as a sign that the Creoles – who have the longest acquaintance with Dutch in Suriname, and who have long been socio-politically dominant (cf. [Section 2](#)) – are spearheading the endoglossic standardization of Dutch in Suriname.⁶ The question is whether this tension between ideological downgrading of exoglossic influences and their practical acceptance – which has also been

⁶ Interestingly, this effect is not mirrored in a higher Creole appreciation of Surinamese Dutch. This might be interpreted as a sign that the endoglossic standardization of Surinamese Dutch has already advanced to a stage of wide acceptance.

observed elsewhere in the Caribbean (see e.g. Westphal, 2015 on Jamaican versus British and American English in Jamaica) – is a transitional phase in the development towards ‘full endonormativity’ or whether it is rather an inherent feature of a complex contact setting. Considering that ‘full endonormativity’ is rarely achieved (especially in the current age of intensive language contact, cf. Section 1), we hypothesize that the hybrid evaluation of Netherlandic Dutch in Suriname need not evolve into an uncontested downgrading of that variety, at least not if the socio-demographic and economic dynamics in the transnational Surinamese-Netherlandic social space (cf. Section 2) remain stable.

The qualitative data in Study 1 confirm that Sranan is deemed an accessible lingua franca with strong solidarity and macho dynamic overtones. This positive appreciation, however, is not nationally shared (especially participants of Hindustani descent disagree), and it is partly an ideological artefact – as revealed by the significantly higher valence of the label-based than of the audio-based evaluations. Crucially, in spite of the macho overtones revealed for Sranan, no gender effects were found in the evaluation of that variety: Sranan was not upgraded by male participants. All in all, the data are in line with our hypothesis that the Surinamese embrace Sranan as a solidarity standard, but that it generally lacks prestige associations. This lack of prestige might be related to the fact that Sranan is mainly an oral language (cf. Section 2). Sranan seems to be a language the Surinamese are *expected* to adore, rather than that they actually adore it. It is unlikely, therefore, that Sranan is a plausible candidate for standard status.

English does not seem to be a ‘real’ competitor either for the prestige status of Dutch in Suriname. Admittedly, American English is associated with modernity, and the age effect we found in Studies 1 and 2 – with strong rejection by the older, but enthusiastic endorsement by the younger Surinamese (especially the males) – plausibly reveals an ideological change towards a more positive conceptualization. Still, the observation that the highest evaluations of American English are label-based (and not audio-based) again suggests that the upgrading of American English is not a practical reality (yet). It seems to us that the Surinamese construction of American English as modern and cool is in line with the universal esteem for American English as a language of progress and globalization (cf. e.g. Martin, 2002), rather than that it is a sign that English is replacing Dutch in Suriname. Hence, we do not anticipate massive language shift from Dutch to English.

The Caribbean varieties of English, finally, do not enjoy any (traditional) prestige in Suriname, as a result of which they are unlikely contenders for standard status in Suriname. The popularity of dancehall and reggae in Suriname – two originally Jamaican music genres – has imbued Jamaican English with associations of musicality, coolness and sturdiness, but not with any social meanings pertaining to prestige, such as intelligence or excellence. Guyanese English seems altogether void of positive associations: this variety of English was found to be associated with ghettos, gangsters and stupidity, which might be a consequence of current migration patterns: in the past two decades, the number of incoming migrants in Suriname has nearly doubled, with Guyana as the most common origin country (IOM, 2021). The fact that many Guyanese migrants enter Suriname clandestinely (IOM, 2021: 16) might explain why their language evokes social meanings associated with delinquency. If the standard language space in Suriname is stratifying into conservative, regional and modern standards (cf. Section 1), then American English is a much more plausible instantiation of the modern standard (in view of the generational change in its conceptualization) than any Caribbean variety.

Next, some methodological considerations are in place. The data reported here demonstrate that collecting language attitudes in a complex multilingual society like Suriname necessitates an exploratory attitude, a ‘wide net’ and a concomitantly large toolbox of experimental techniques. In this study, we abstained from the standard matched-guise technique, as this presupposes more prior knowledge than is available on Surinamese language dynamics. Moreover, the combination of different types of language stimuli – labels and audio – has enabled us to lay bare an essential parameter of Surinamese standard dynamics, viz. the relative distance between ideological and real-life indexicalities which can be used to gauge standard status. However, specific challenges are still to be tackled. One of these is a reluctance among the Surinamese to pass negative judgment on language, as observed in the unconstrained responses in the label_FR data. Recall from Study 1 that the keyword top-tens reveal that our participants shun negative evaluation by converging on a set of recurring low commitment adjectives (like *mooi* ‘beautiful’, *leuk* ‘nice’ and *interessant* ‘interesting’). In a similar vein, Study 2.3. indicated that the open question format triggers higher valence values – with significant differences for American English and Sranan – than MCQ-questions building on the same stimulus type.

We see three plausible reasons for this somewhat evasive attitude. To begin with, the fact that all evaluations were extracted collectively, in response to publicly presented stimuli to which (especially the younger) participants sometimes reacted overtly, entails that the impressions we elicited are probably more public than those harvested in the privacy of a laboratory. It is not inconceivable that participants were reluctant to voice their ‘true’ opinions in the proximity of their peers.

Second, it is also possible that the Surinamese simply do not like to evaluate language explicitly or that they do not have very outspoken language attitudes. Ramsoedh (2013) observes that in present-day Suriname, the celebration and

acceptance of cultural diversity is an important ingredient of current nation formation processes. This ‘unity in diversity’ attitude diverges from most European contexts, where nation formation has generally been dominated by the one-nation-one-(standard)-language-ideal (Bauman and Briggs, 2003). As a consequence, in these European contexts, exclusionary standard language ideologies have emerged in which languages are clearly hierarchized in terms of prestige and solidarity. Participants who are socialized in a multi-ethnic society such as Suriname might have learned to refrain from passing open judgment on the people (and the languages) they share their community with. This need not entail that they do not *have* opinions or attitudes: it might simply be the case that they are not prone on sharing them (especially with unfamiliar linguists). In this context, it is relevant to point to Ramsoedh’s observation (2013) that in everyday life – far away from touristic brochures – the celebration of cultural diversity in Suriname often boils down to a passive respect of existing diversity, rather than an “active pluriformity”. It goes without saying that this is an aspect that should be taken into account when designing language attitude experiments in Suriname. It is exactly for this reason that we recommend a combination of open evaluation questions and forced-choice items which cannot be evaded.

Third, the absence of broad ethnic accents in our stimuli may also account for the paucity of outspoken evaluations. Recall from Section 4.4 that participants in our pre-experiment were unable to distinguish between Creole- and Sarnámi-accented Sranan and Dutch. We hypothesized that this was due to the fact that all experimental speakers had Dutch and Sranan as their mother tongue, and hence did not have clearly discernible accents. In all probability, our stimuli underrepresent the wealth of ethnic cues available to the Surinamese in their daily interactions, and follow-up research is necessary to determine whether the inclusion of more ethnicity indexes in the stimuli would yield different or more outspoken evaluations.

7. CONCLUSION

This paper has reported a large-scale survey into language attitudes and ideologies elicited in Paramaribo, the capital of Suriname, a South-American country steeped in multi-ethnicity and multilingualism. A panel of 486 younger and older, male and female participants from five ethnic backgrounds returned evaluations (free response or researcher-defined multiple choice keywords) in reply to seven languages represented as audio- or label-stimuli. 92% of the responses were annotated with valence information (pertaining to their positive/negative character), and subjected to qualitative scrutiny and quantitative regression-based analysis.

On a methodological level, our findings have demonstrated that eliciting language attitudes in multi-ethnic, multilingual societies like Suriname presents investigators with challenges (such as a general reluctance to evaluate language) which necessitate an exploratory attitude and a large toolbox of experimental techniques. Theoretically, our experimental data support the endonormative standardization of a Surinamese national variety of Dutch, which is becoming an obvious and uncontested practical norm variety. Applying Schneider’s Dynamic Model of postcolonial English to the development of Dutch in Suriname, we can say that Suriname is currently in a stage of endonormative stabilization. Netherlandic Dutch is ideologically depreciated, though attitudes towards actual Netherlandic Dutch talk-in-action are less negative. For both Sranan and American English, the large distance between ideological exaltation and real-life indifference plausibly compromises the potential standard status of these varieties. The Caribbean varieties of English in this study, finally, did not seem to have much (traditional) prestige in Suriname.

Our findings inevitably suffer from a number of shortcomings. In view of the variable ethnic composition of different regions in Suriname, it is dangerous to extrapolate our findings from Paramaribo to the rest of the country. Replicating the study in other regions would be highly relevant in this respect. We also intend to implement age variation more robustly in follow-up research – our older participant sample was admittedly small – in order to gain more insight into language-ideological change. In addition, this reconnaissance study exclusively relied on mild accents in its audio-stimuli, which may have equalized and smoothed judgments somewhat.

Another concern in this paper which requires follow-up work, is the somewhat impressionistic method used to infer evaluative dimensions from the keyword returns. Although the presence in American English’s top-ten in Table 7 of the keywords *modern* and *cool* unambiguously signals dynamic prestige for that variety, there are more sophisticated ways to extract and diagram the evaluative dimensionality in a repertoire. Grondelaers et al. (2020) build on automated distributional analysis to cluster keyword returns in evaluative dimensions, and they use correspondence analysis to diagram the associations between the investigated varieties and the evaluative clusters in a more-dimensional representation of the Belgian Dutch repertoire. It goes without saying that the complex Surinamese repertoire would also benefit from this technique, and this for two reasons. A deeper insight into the dimensionality which structures our free response keywords would pave the way for responsibly designed matched-guise experiments, which are logistically

restricted to a limited number of evaluative measures (cf. [Section 4.2.](#)). But a better understanding of the underlying architecture of our ratings may also help to account for the divergence we have observed between our multiple choice and free response data. While this gap might partly be explained by an aversion to pass judgment on language (as we have suggested in [Section 6](#)), we cannot exclude completely at this point that the differences are due to missing evaluative dimensions in the MCQ-questions.

Finally, we cannot hope to achieve true access into Surinamese attitudes and ideologies if we do not flesh out the measurable contours of Surinamese (standard) language dynamics with a thorough qualitative analysis of individual Surinamese discourses, for

(...) single 'languages' attached to single collections of attributes, values and effects will never do as a framework for thinking about these issues. Ethnographically we will always see complex blending, mixing and reallocation processes, in which, (...), the differences between languages are altogether just one factor. Inequality has to do with modes of language use, including judgments passed on such use, not with languages, and if we intend to do something about it, *we need to develop an awareness that it is not necessarily the language you speak, but how you speak it, when you can speak it, and to whom that matters. It is a matter of voice, not of language.* ([Blommaert, 2010: 196](#), emphasis ours)

FUNDING

This work was supported by the Belgian University Foundation, the Radboud University CLS (small research grant to Stefan Grondelaers), the Research Foundation Flanders (travel grant K214319N to Anne-Sophie Ghyselen) and the Taalunie (funding for support by Sita Doerga Misier-Patadien, Usha Balesar and Helen Chang).

ROLE OF THE FUNDING SOURCES

The funding sources did not influence the design of the study, the data analysis or the decision to submit the results for publications.

Declaration of Competing Interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This paper was published with the support of the Belgian University Foundation. We are also very grateful to Helen Chang for her logistic help in recruiting participants and planning the experiments. To all cooperating speakers, schools, teachers and students: thank you very much for your willingness to participate. We also thank the anonymous reviewers of an earlier version of this manuscript for their many insightful comments and suggestions. Finally, we are also grateful to the Radboud University of Nijmegen, the FWO (Research Foundation Flanders) and the *Nederlandse Taalunie* for their financial support.

APPENDIX A. (NEAR-)SIGNIFICANT LINEAR MIXED MODEL VALENCE VALUES FOR THE SURVEYS WITH LABELS AS STIMULI

Valence ~ *Language* (0 = SD) + *Ethnicity* (0 = Creole) + *Sex* (0 = female) + *TypeSurvey* (0 = Label_Mcq) + *Language: Ethnicity* + *Language:Sex* + *Language:TypeSurvey* + (1 |Participant)

<i>Predictors</i>	<i>Estimates</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>df</i>
(Intercept)	0.82	6.77	<0.001	2159.75
Language [ND]	-1.06	-6.99	<0.001	4588.83
Language [BD]	-1.07	-7.00	<0.001	4594.00
Language [GuE]	-0.75	-4.77	<0.001	4595.47
Ethnicity [Mixed]	-0.36	-2.70	0.007	2179.10
Ethnicity [Other]	-0.45	-2.32	0.020	2179.12
Language [ND] * Ethnicity [Mixed]	0.62	3.68	<0.001	4591.19
Language [BD] * Ethnicity [Mixed]	0.52	3.01	0.003	4598.91
Language [AE] * Ethnicity [Mixed]	0.45	2.65	0.008	4609.19
Language [GuE] * Ethnicity [Mixed]	0.29	1.67	0.095	4595.73
Language [JE] * Ethnicity [Mixed]	0.61	3.48	0.001	4604.13
Language [ND] * Ethnicity [Hindustani]	0.72	3.96	<0.001	4591.90
Language [BD] * Ethnicity [Hindustani]	0.58	3.18	0.001	4600.40
Language [JE] * Ethnicity [Hindustani]	0.46	2.45	0.014	4604.52
Language [SR] * Ethnicity [Hindustani]	-0.43	-2.30	0.021	4602.24
Language [ND] * Ethnicity [Maroon]	0.50	2.23	0.026	4588.22
Language [AE] * TypeSurvey [Labels FR]	0.33	2.82	0.005	4603.44
Language [GuE] * TypeSurvey [Labels FR]	0.26	2.20	0.028	4604.23
Language [SR] * TypeSurvey [Labels FR]	0.33	2.74	0.006	4604.51

APPENDIX B. (NEAR-)SIGNIFICANT LINEAR MIXED MODEL VALENCE VALUES FOR THE SURVEYS WITH AUDIO SAMPLES AS STIMULI

Valence ~ *Language* (0 = SD) + *Ethnicity* (0 = Creole) + *AgeSex* (0 = 30- female) + *Language:Ethnicity* + *Language:AgeSex* + (1 | *Participant*) + (1 | *Sample*)

<i>Predictors</i>	<i>Estimates</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>df</i>
Language [ND] * Ethnicity [Mixed]	0.22	2.25	0.024	5618.78
Language [BD] * Ethnicity [Mixed]	0.20	2.13	0.034	5618.69
Language [AE] * Ethnicity [Mixed]	0.21	2.13	0.033	5618.02
Language [SR] * Ethnicity [Mixed]	0.19	1.88	0.060	5628.58
Language [ND] * Ethnicity [Hindustani]	0.32	3.01	0.003	5615.61
Language [BD] * Ethnicity [Hindustani]	0.23	2.23	0.026	5614.12
Language [AE] * Ethnicity [Hindustani]	0.20	1.87	0.061	5618.01
Language [SR] * Ethnicity [Hindustani]	-0.20	-1.80	0.072	5625.50
Language [AE] * Ethnicity [Maroon]	-0.31	-2.38	0.018	5615.77
Language [AE] * AgeSex [30 +.f]	-0.69	-6.70	<0.001	5615.86
Language [AE] * AgeSex [-30.m]	0.21	2.49	0.013	5619.34

APPENDIX C. (NEAR-)SIGNIFICANT LINEAR MIXED MODEL VALENCE VALUES FOR RATINGS BY YOUNGER PARTICIPANTS OF THE FIVE VARIETIES FOR WHICH EVALUATIONS ARE AVAILABLE EXTRACTED WITH THE THREE ELICITATION METHODS

Valence ~ *Language* (0 = SD) + *TypeSurvey* (0 = Labels_Mcq) + *Ethnicity* (0 = Creole) + *Language:TypeSurvey* + *Language:Ethnicity* + (1 | *Participant*)

<i>Predictors</i>	<i>Estimates</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>df</i>
Language [ND]	-0.83	-8.39	<0.001	7730.73
Language [BD]	-0.92	-9.26	<0.001	7737.40
Language [AE]	0.19	1.96	0.050	7744.93
Language [AE] * TypeSurvey [Labels_FR]	0.33	3.09	0.002	7769.32
Language [SR] * TypeSurvey [Labels_FR]	0.30	2.76	0.006	7769.06
Language [ND] * TypeSurvey [Audio_Mcq]	0.47	5.58	<0.001	7733.81
Language [BD] * TypeSurvey [Audio_Mcq]	0.20	2.35	0.019	7740.80
Language [AE] * TypeSurvey [Audio_Mcq]	-0.38	-4.39	<0.001	7737.34
Language [SR] * TypeSurvey [Audio_Mcq]	-0.21	-2.39	0.017	7752.91
Language [ND] * Ethnicity [Mixed]	0.35	3.86	<0.001	7728.96
Language [BD] * Ethnicity [Mixed]	0.33	3.63	<0.001	7735.11
Language [AE] * Ethnicity [Mixed]	0.24	2.61	0.009	7741.56
Language [SR] * Ethnicity [Mixed]	0.16	1.67	0.094	7750.52
Language [ND] * Ethnicity [Hindustani]	0.44	4.49	<0.001	7726.80
Language [BD] * Ethnicity [Hindustani]	0.40	4.00	<0.001	7734.03
Language [AE] * Ethnicity [Hindustani]	0.18	1.83	0.068	7745.04
Language [SR] * Ethnicity [Hindustani]	-0.30	-2.96	0.003	7747.93
Language [AE] * Ethnicity [Maroon]	-0.39	-2.94	0.003	7734.59

References

- Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek Suriname, 2014. Suriname census 2012. Volume III. Huishoudens, Woonverblijven en Gezinnen, Milieu, Criminaliteit, Suriname in Cijfers. Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek, Paramaribo.
- Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek Censuskantoor, 2006. Zevende Algemene Volks- en Woningtelling in Suriname. Landelijke resultaten volume IV. Huishoudens, Gezinnen en Woonverblijven, Suriname in Cijfers. Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek / Censuskantoor, Paramaribo.
- Auer, P., 2011. Dialect vs. standard: A typology of scenarios in Europe. In: Kortmann, B., Van der Auwera, J. (Eds.), *The languages and linguistics of Europe. A comprehensive guide*. De Gruyter, Berlin, pp. 485–500.
- Auer, P., 2017. The neo-standard of Italy and elsewhere in Europe: Theoretical and empirical studies on the restandardization of Italian. In: Cerruti, M., Crocco, C., Marzo, S. (Eds.), *Towards a New Standard. Theoretical and empirical studies on the restandardization of Italian*. De Gruyter, Berlin, pp. 365–374.
- Bauman, R., Briggs, C.L., 2003. *Voices of modernity: language ideologies and the politics of inequality*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Berends, W., 2016. *Vernieuwde visies op het Surinaams-Nederlands en taalbeleid in het secundair onderwijs*. Anton de Kom Universiteit van Suriname, Paramaribo.
- Bishop, H., Coupland, N., Garrett, P., 2005. Conceptual accent evaluation: Thirty years of accent prejudice in the UK. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 37 (1), 131–154.
- Blanker, J.C.M.D., J., 2005. *Prisma woordenboek Sranantongo*. Uitgeverij Unieboek/Het Spectrum bv, Houten/Antwerpen.
- Blommaert, J., 2010. *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Bokelmann, F., 2021. *Varianzphänomene der Standardaussprache in Argentinien. Indizien aus Sprachproduktion und -perzeption*. Gunter Narr Verlag, Tübingen.
- Borges, R., Yakpo, K., Muysken, P.C., 2017. The people and languages of Suriname. In: Yakpo, K., Muysken, P.C. (Eds.), *Boundaries and Bridges: Language Contact in Multilingual Ecologies*. De Gruyter, Berlin, Boston, pp. 21–54.
- Brandon, R., Kroon, S., Kurvers, J., 2007. Nederlands in Suriname. *Opvattingen van Surinamers over de toetreding van Suriname tot de Nederlandse Taalunie*. *OSO Tijdschrift voor Surinamistiek* 26, 257–273.
- Carlin, E.B., Léglise, I., Migge, B., Tjon Sie Fat, P.B., 2014. *In and Out of Suriname: Language, Mobility and Identity*. Brill, Leiden/Boston.
- Carlin, E.B., Léglise, I., Migge, B., Tjon Sie Fat, P.B., 2015. Looking at Language, Identity, and Mobility in Suriname. In: Carlin, E.B., Léglise, I., Migge, B., Tjon Sie Fat, P.B. (Eds.), *In and Out of Suriname. Language, Mobility and Identity*. Brill, Leiden/Boston, pp. 1–12.
- Charry, E., 1983. Een sociolinguistische verkenning van het Surinaams-Nederlands. In: Charry, E., Koefoed, G., Muysken, P. (Eds.), *De Talen van Suriname*. Coutinho, Muiderberg, pp. 138–161.
- Coupland, N., Bishop, H., 2007. Ideologised values for British accents. *J. Sociolinguist.* 11 (1), 74–93.
- Cunha, C.F.d., 1968. *Língua portuguesa e realidade brasileira*. 8a edição. Tempo Brasileiro, Rio de Janeiro.
- de Bies, R., 2009. *Prisma Woordenboek Surinaams-Nederlands*. Prisma, Houten.
- de Bies, R., 2010. Engels als tweede taal in Suriname. *Academic J. Suriname* 1, 20–27.
- de Bies, R., 2017. Onderkenning rol Sranangtongo Surinaamse Maatschappij. *Academic J. Suriname* 8, 694–704.
- Bruijine, A.d., Schalkwijk, A., 2005. The position and residential patterns of ethnic groups in Paramaribo's development in the twentieth century. *New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 79 (3-4), 239–271.
- de Kleine, C., 2013. Dutch in Suriname. In: Hinskens, F., Taeldeman, J. (Eds.), *Language and Space. An International Handbook of Linguistic Variation*. DutchWalter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston, pp. 841–857.
- Delarue, S., 2013. 'Teachers' Dutch in Flanders: the last guardians of the standard? In: Grondelaers, S., Kristiansen, T. (Eds.), *Language (De)standardisation in Late Modern Europe: Experimental Studies*. Novus Forlag, Oslo, pp. 193–226.
- Deuber, D., Leung, G.-A., 2013. Investigating attitudes towards an emerging standard of English: Evaluations of newcasters' accents in Trinidad. *Multilingua* 32, 289–319.
- Diepeveen, J., Hüning, M., 2016. The status of Dutch in post-colonial Suriname. In: Schmidt-Brücken, D., Schuster, S., Wienberg, M. (Eds.), *Aspects of (post)colonial linguistics. Current perspectives and new approaches*. De Gruyter, Berlin/Boston, pp. 131–155.
- Doeleman, R., 1998. *Native reactions to nonnative speech*. Tilburg University Press, Tilburg.
- Dyers, C., Abongdia, J.-F., 2010. An exploration of the relationship between language attitudes and ideologies in a study of Francophone students of English in Cameroon. *J. Multilingual Multicultural Develop.* 31 (2), 119–134.
- Essed-Fruin, E.D., Gobardhan-Rambocus, L., 1992. Het Nederlands in Suriname. *Neerlandica Extra Muros* 30, 10–21.
- Gal, S., 2006. Contradictions of standard language in Europe: Implications for the study of practices and publics. *Social Anthropol.* 14, 163–181.
- Garrett, P., 2010. *Attitudes to language*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Garrett, P., Coupland, N., Williams, A., 2003. *Investigating Language Attitudes: Social meaning of dialect, ethnicity and performance*. University of Wales Press, Cardiff.
- Giles, H., 1970. Evaluative reactions to accents. *Educ. Rev.* 22 (3), 211–227.
- Giles, H., Coupland, N., 1991. *Language: Contexts and Consequences*. Open University Press, Buckingham.

- Gobardhan-Rambocus, L., 2001. *Onderwijs als sleutel tot maatschappelijke vooruitgang. Een taal- en onderwijsgeschiedenis van Suriname, 1651-1975*. Walburg Press, Zutphen.
- Grondelaers, S., Kristiansen, T., 2013. On the need to access deep evaluations when searching for the motor of standard language change. In: Kristiansen, T., Grondelaers, S. (Eds.), *Language (De)standardisation in Late Modern Europe: Experimental Studies*. Novus Press, Oslo, pp. 9–52.
- Grondelaers, S., Speelman, D., Lybaert, C., van Gent, P., 2020. Getting a (big) data-based grip on ideological change. Evidence from Belgian Dutch. *J. Linguistic Geography* 8 (1), 49–65.
- Grondelaers, S., van Hout, R., Steegs, M., 2010. Evaluating regional Accent Variation in Standard Dutch. *J. Language Social Psychol.* 29 (1), 101–116.
- Grondelaers, S., Van Hout, R., Van Gent, P., 2016. Destandardization is not destandardization. Revising standardness criteria in order to revisit standard language typologies in the Low Countries. *Taal & Tongval* 68, 119–149.
- Grondelaers, S., Van Hout, R., Van Gent, P., 2019. Re-evaluating the prestige of regional accents of Netherlandic Standard Dutch. The role of accent strength and speaker gender. *J. Language Social Psychol.* 38, 215–236.
- Higgins, C., 2011. *Identity formation in globalizing contexts: language learning in the new millenium*. Mouton, Berlin.
- International Organisation for Migration 2021. *Suriname needs assessment on migration governance: International Organisation for Migration, San José, Costa Rica*.
- Kristiansen, T., 2009. The macro level social meaning of late modern Danish accents. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 40, 167–192.
- Kristiansen, T., Grondelaers, S., 2013. *Language (De)standardisation in Late Modern Europe: Experimental Studies*. Novus Press, Oslo.
- Kroon, S., Yağmur, K., 2012. *Meertaligheid in het onderwijs in Suriname. Een onderzoek naar praktijken, ervaringen en opvattingen van leerlingen en leerkrachten als basis voor de ontwikkeling van een taalbeleid voor het onderwijs in Suriname*. Nederlandse Taalunie, Den Haag.
- Kroskrity, P.V., 2016. *Language Ideologies and Language Attitudes*. Oxford Bibliographies in Linguistics.
- Lai, M.L., 2012. Tracking language attitudes in postcolonial Hong Kong: An interplay of localization, mainlandization, and internationalization. *Multilingua* 31, 83–111.
- Lambert, W., Hodgson, R.C., Gardner, R.C., Fillenbaum, S., 1960. Evaluational reactions to spoken languages. *J. Abnormal Social Psychol.* 60, 44–51.
- Léglise, I., Migge, B., 2015. Language Practices and Linguistic Ideologies in Suriname: Results from a School Survey. In: Carlin, E. B., Léglise, I., Migge, B., Tjon Sie Fat, P.B. (Eds.), *In and Out of Suriname. Language, Mobility and Identity*. Brill, Leiden/Boston, pp. 13–57.
- Martin, E., 2002. Cultural images and different varieties of English in French television commercials. *English Today* 18 (4), 8–20.
- Meer, P., Deuber, D., 2020. Standard English in Trinidad: Multinormativity, translocality, and implications for the Dynamic Model and the EIF Model. In: Buschfeld, S., Kautzsch, A. (Eds.), *Modelling World Englishes: A joint approach towards postcolonial and non-postcolonial varieties*. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, pp. 274–297.
- Meer, P., Westphal, M., Hänsel, E.C., Deuber, D., 2019. Trinidadian secondary school students' attitudes toward accents of Standard English. *J. Pidgin Creole Languages* 34 (1), 83–125.
- Menke, J., Sno, I., 2016. Ras en etniciteit in volkstellingen van Suriname. In: Menke, J. (Ed.), *Mozaïek van het Surinaamse volk. Volkstellingen in demografisch, economisch en sociaal perspectief*. Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek/Institute for Graduate Studies and Research, Paramaribo.
- Mijts, E., 2007. *Het Nederlands in de Nederlandse Antillen en Aruba*. In: Fenoulhet, J., Gelderblom, A.J., Kristel, M., Lalleman, J., Missinne, L., Pekelder, J. (Eds.), *Neerlandistiek in contrast. Handelingen Zestiende Colloquium Neerlandicum*. Rozenberg Publishers, Amsterdam.
- Moors, A., De Houwer, J., Hermans, D., Wanmaker, S., van Schie, K., Van Harmelen, A.-L., De Schryver, M., De Winne, J., Brysbaert, M., 2013. Norms of valence, arousal, dominance, and age of acquisition for 4,300 Dutch words. *Behavior Res. Methods* 45 (1), 169–177.
- Muysken, P., 2013. Ethnolects of Dutch. In: Hinskens, F., Taeldeman, J. (Eds.), *Language and Space. An International Handbook of Linguistic Variation. Dutch*. De Gruyter Mouton, Berlin/Boston, pp. 739–761.
- Ramsoedh, H., 2013. Denken over natievorming en nationale identiteit in Suriname. *OSO. Tijdschrift voor Surinaamse taalkunde, letterkunde en geschiedenis* 32, 8–30.
- Ray, G.B., Zahn, C.J., 1999. Language attitudes and speech behavior. *J. Language Social Psychol.* 18 (3), 310–319.
- Romero, S., 2008. In debate over official language. *Suriname seeks itself*, *The New York Times*.
- Rys, K., Heeringa, W., Rutten, J.S., Hinskens, F., De Caluwe, J., Balesar, U., Doerga Misier, S., 2021. *Staat van het Nederlands. Over de verschuivende taalkeuzes van Surinamers, Vlamingen en Nederlanders in het dagelijks leven. Onderzoeksrapport 2021*. De Nederlandse Taalunie, Amsterdam.
- Schneider, E.W., 2007. *Postcolonial English: Varieties around the world*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Stell, G., 2018. Sociolinguistic Indexicalities in Ethnic Diversity. Perceptions of Ethnicity and Language in Suriname. *New West Indian Guide* 92 (1-2), 35–61.
- Van Bezooijen, R., 1988. The relevelative importance of pronunciation, prosody and voice quality for the attribution of social status and personality characteristics. In: Van Hout, R., Knops, U. (Eds.), *Language attitudes in the Dutch language area*. Foris, Dordrecht, pp. 85–103.
- Van Donselaar, J., 1989. *Woordenboek van het Surinaams-Nederlands*. Coutinho, Muiderberg.

- Walsh, O., 2021. The French language: monocentric or pluricentric? Standard language ideology and attitudes towards the French language in twentieth-century language columns in Quebec. *J. Multilingual Multicultural Develop.* 42 (9), 869–881.
- Warriner, A.B., Kuperman, V., Brysbaert, M., 2013. Norms of valence, arousal, and dominance for 13,915 English lemmas. *Behavior Res. Methods* 45 (4), 1191–1207.
- Westmaas, A.Y., 1983. De taalkeuze als meter van de intimiteitsrelatie tussen veeltaligen. In: Charry, E., Koefoed, G., Muysken, P. (Eds.), *De talen van Suriname*. Coutinho, Muiderberg, pp. 169–187.
- Westphal, M., 2015. Attitudes toward Accents of Standard English in Jamaican Radio Newscasting. *J. English Linguist.* 43 (4), 311–333.
- Yakpo, K., van den Berg, M., Borges, R., 2015. On the Linguistic Consequences of Language Contact in Suriname: The Case of Convergence. In: Carlin, E.B., Léglise, I., Migge, B., Fat, P.B.T.S. (Eds.), *In and Out of Suriname*. Brill, Leiden/Boston, pp. 164–195.