

Numbers to change word order

Philological aspects of Negerhollands texts to study audience design

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A brief sketch of Negerhollands/Virgin Islands Dutch Creole

- Dutch related Creole
- Danish Antilles, from 1917 on: US Virgin Islands
- First mention 1736 – last speaker 1987
- Early texts: printed from 1742
- Early grammar: printed in 1770
- Replaced by English (Creole): first half 19th century
- Spoken language studied in 1920s, 1936 and 1970-80s
- New sources found in Herrnhut (Germany): 1980s

- Dutch lexicon: Flemish/Zealandic
- Atlantic Creole characteristics
- Elements from several European languages
- Several aspects: clearly West-African/Ghana related

Early stages – written sources – artificial?

- What did Negerhollands look like in early stages?
 - Manuscripts: close to period of emergence
- Texts from early stages look artificial compared to 20th century spoken Dutch Creole
 - Blurred by European orthography
 - Texts seem too Dutch or German
 - Language of missionaries is German, Dutch is used for missionary activities
- Dutch seems to be of high influence
 - Dutch as koinè
 - Société d'habitation → Dutch as target language
 - Dutch was used by government etc. until second half 18th century
- Huge amount of texts
 - Enormous drive to translate texts
 - Metalinguistic comments

Philological aspects of Negerhollands manuscripts

- Corrections of mistakes in writing process
 - Writing errors, nonsense words, contamination etc.
- Emendations of content
 - Clarifying annotations/additions
- Emendation of language
 - Overwriting
 - Deletion
 - Presentation of synonyms/alternatives
 - Annotations/additions
 - Change of word order



A remarkable way to change word order!

Maar Sender no a verstaan, wat die a
wees, wat Em a see na Sender. Dan a
See Jesus weeraan na Sender: Voor
Waar; waar; mi le see jender. Mi ben
die Dhut tot die Skapen; allmal, sooveel
asika kom voor mi; die ben Diefen en Maar

Dan	a	see	Jesus	weeraan	na	sender
Then	PST	say	Jesus	again	to	them

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Why change word order?

- Only 46 Dutch Creole occurrences in corpus of about 3500 A4-pages!
- (Two German)
 - 26 **position of verb, verb related elements (tma/negation)**
 - 8 adverb
 - 5 position of object
 - 4 source-related
 - 2 plural markers
 - 2 orthography
 - 1 reflexive pronoun
- + Helpful for reader? Language of the reader/audience?
- + Connect to source text? Language of the source tekst?
- Most occurrences made by ONE translator...

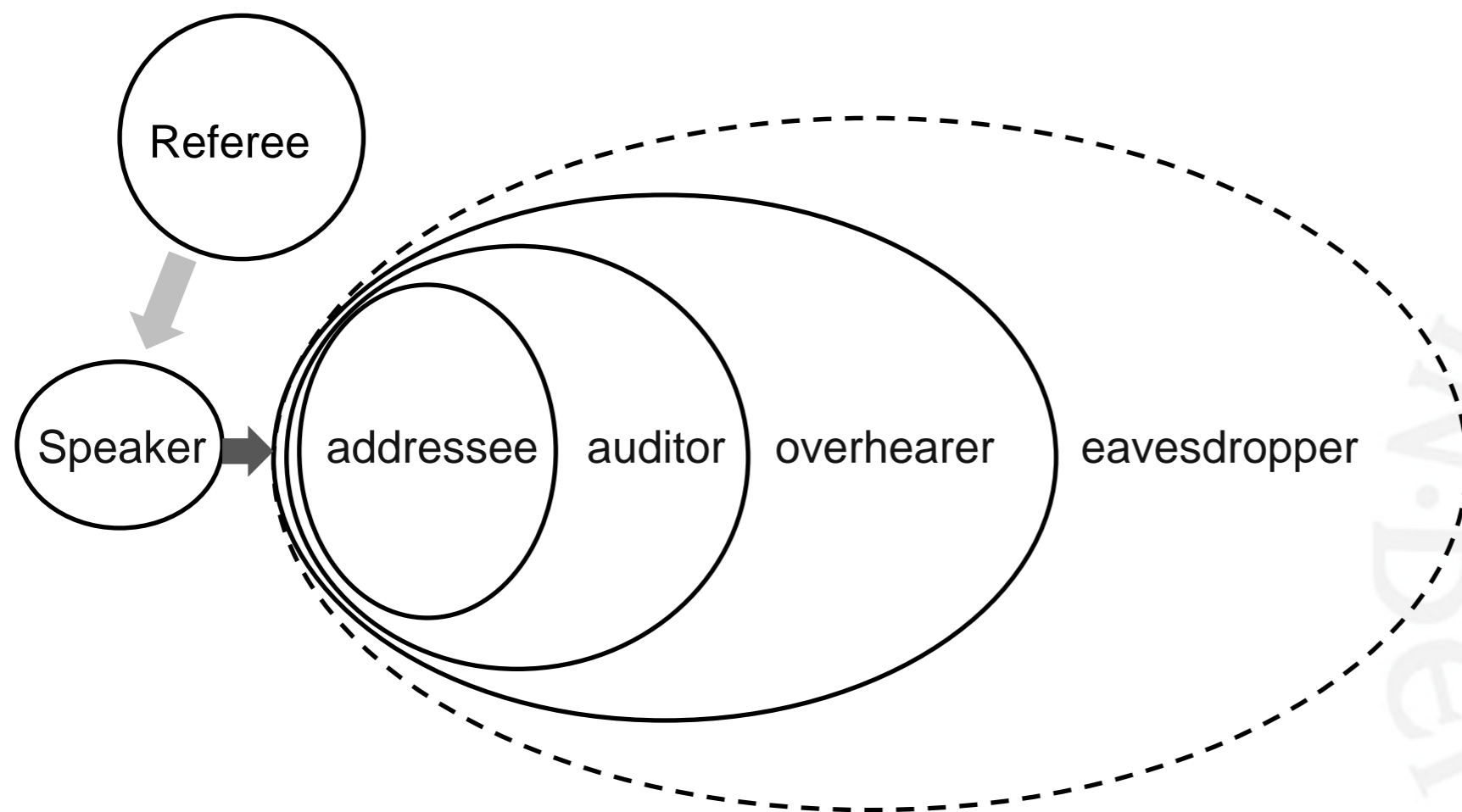
Corpus: Clarin-NEHOL database

- 321: Gospel Harmony before 1780
- 322: Gospel Harmony 1780
- 325: Old Testament not dated (between 1780 and 1785)
 - All by Johann Böhner
- 3315 Liturgical text 1796
 - Author unknown, NOT Johann Böhner
- **Manual inspection**
- 324: Acts of the Apostles not dated (between 1780-1785)
- 326: Idea Fidei Fratrum 1780
 - Both texts by Johann Böhner

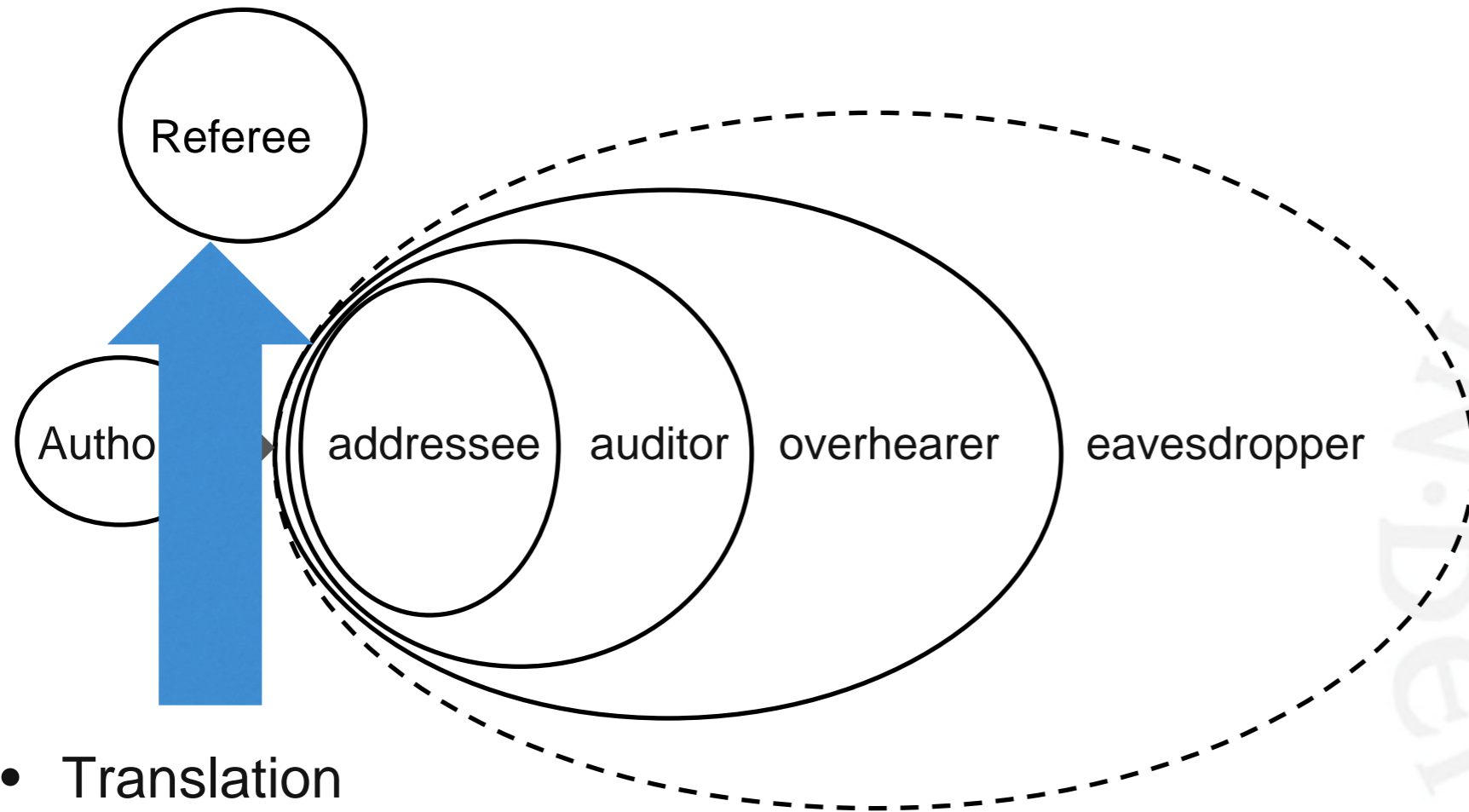
Sources and audience in one model: Audience Design

- Author focuses on his audience
 - Audience design
 - Which language does the audience use?
- Textual changes as markers for critical attitude towards language of audience.
 - Philological elements: deletions, overwritings, alternatives, change of word order
 - Separate corrections of obvious mistakes from textual emendations
- The author tries to create a text which is accessible to its audience, but which is approved by the referee.
 - Source text and tradition may play a role

Audience Design (Bell 1984, 1997)

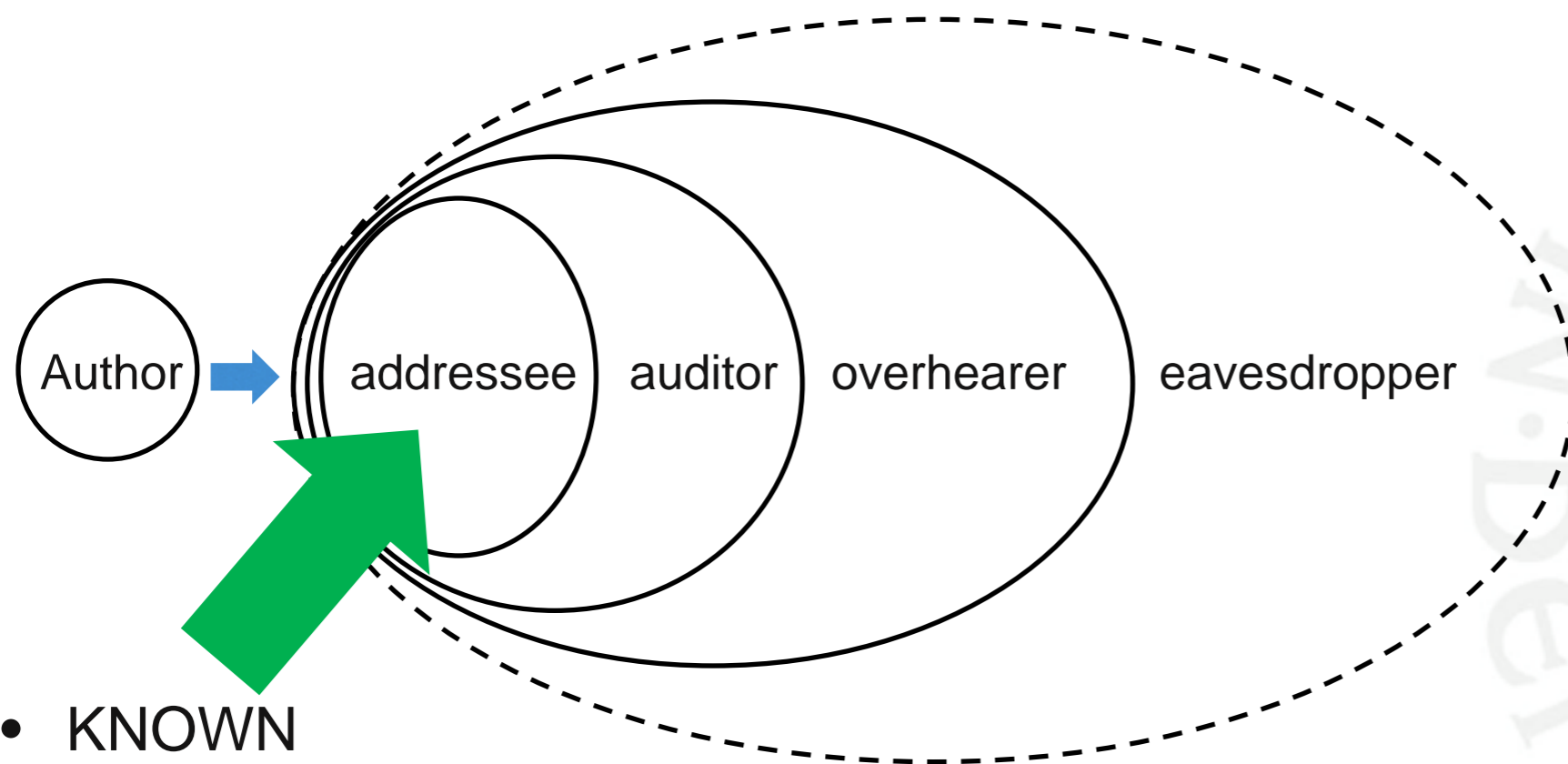


Audience design Danish Antilles (18th century)



- Translation
- Tradition/selection of texts
- Church Jargon, metalinguistic comments
- German/Danish

Audience design Danish Antilles (18th century)



- KNOWN
- RATIFIED
- ADRESSED
- AWARE

Christianized slaves, helpers
Creole/Dutch/African language speaking?

- Use of Creole, Dutch

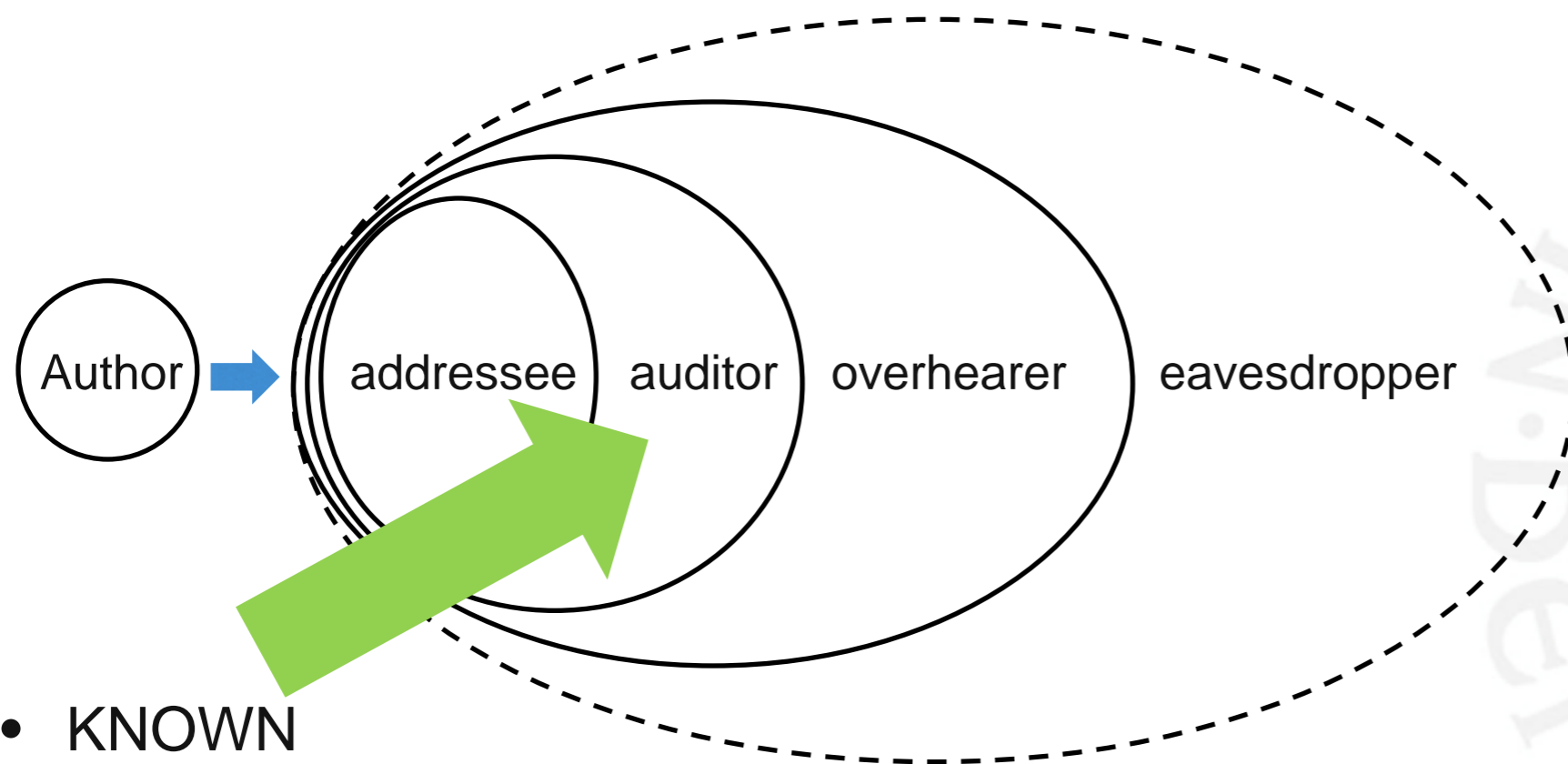
Addressees? Helpers?

- Example:
 - Famous helper: Cornelius
- Several letters
- in Dutch and in Creole



- Metalinguistic comment via letter
- “Cornelius gefällt es auch gar nicht, und er wünscht dass von uns zum wenigsten das Neue Testament in ihrer Sprache möchte gedruckt werden, weil ihnen meine übersetzung deutlich u. ihrer Mund Art zu reden an gemessen ist,” (Böhner, August 2, 1781)

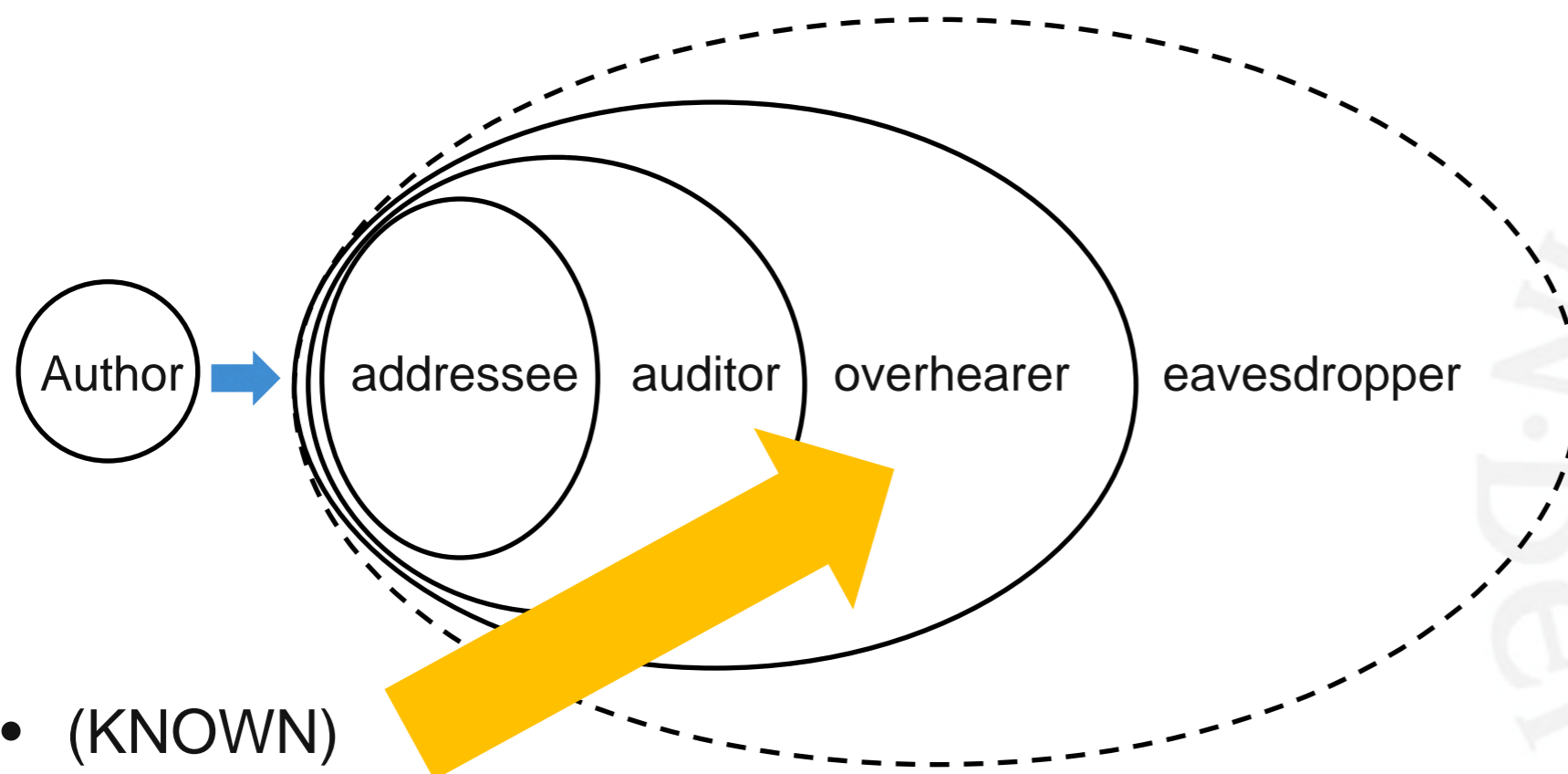
Audience design Danish Antilles (18th century)



- KNOWN
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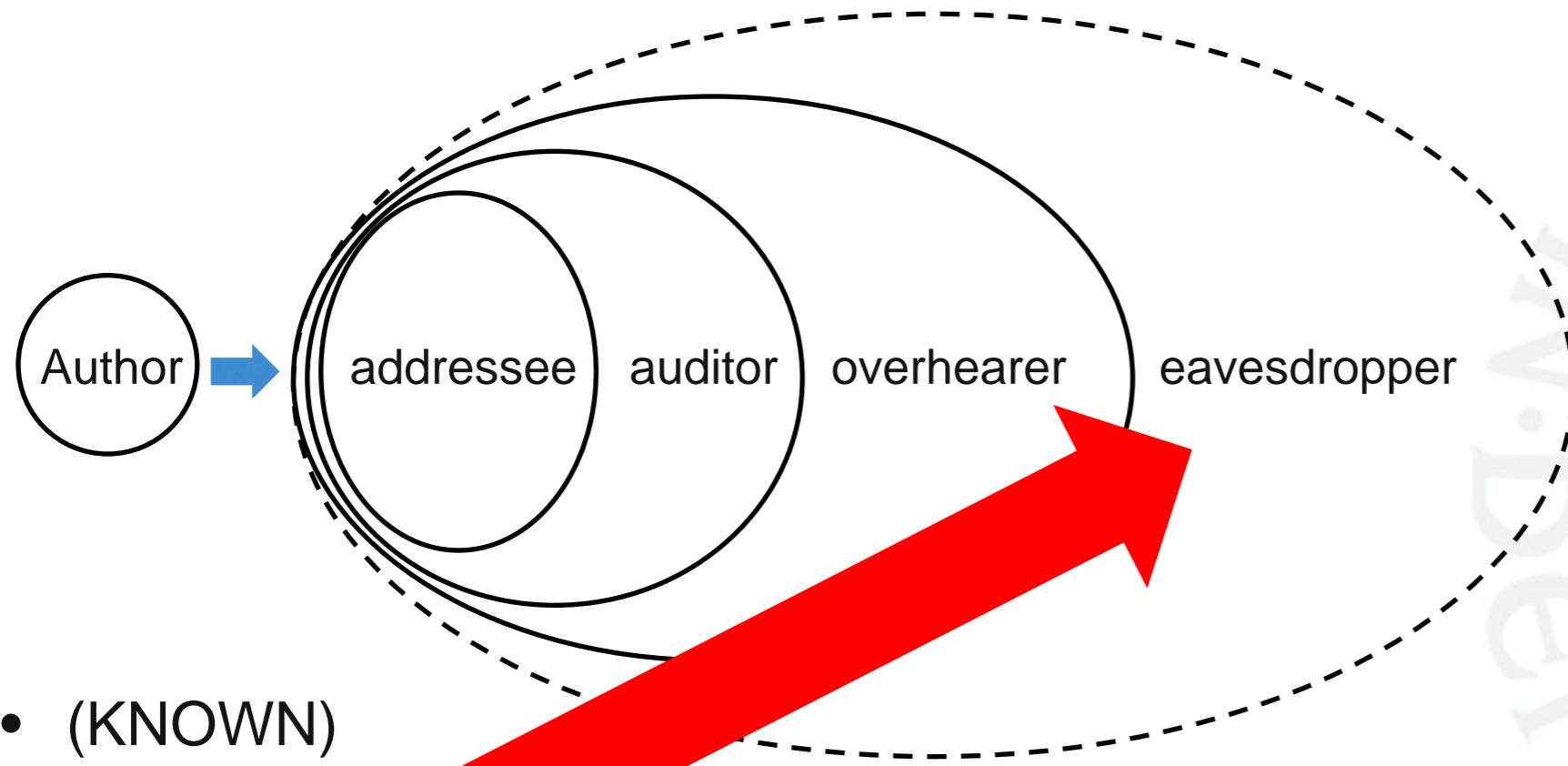
Community of slaves and missionaries?
Church jargon, widely understood Creole (Van Sluijs 2014: 155-156)

Audience design Danish Antilles (18th century)



- (KNOWN)
 - RATIFIED
 - ADRESSED
 - AWARE
 - Use of explanatory items/jargon/politeness-marked pronouns/bilingual language shift
- Planters? Non-christianized slaves?
Creole/Dutch/Danish, other languages?

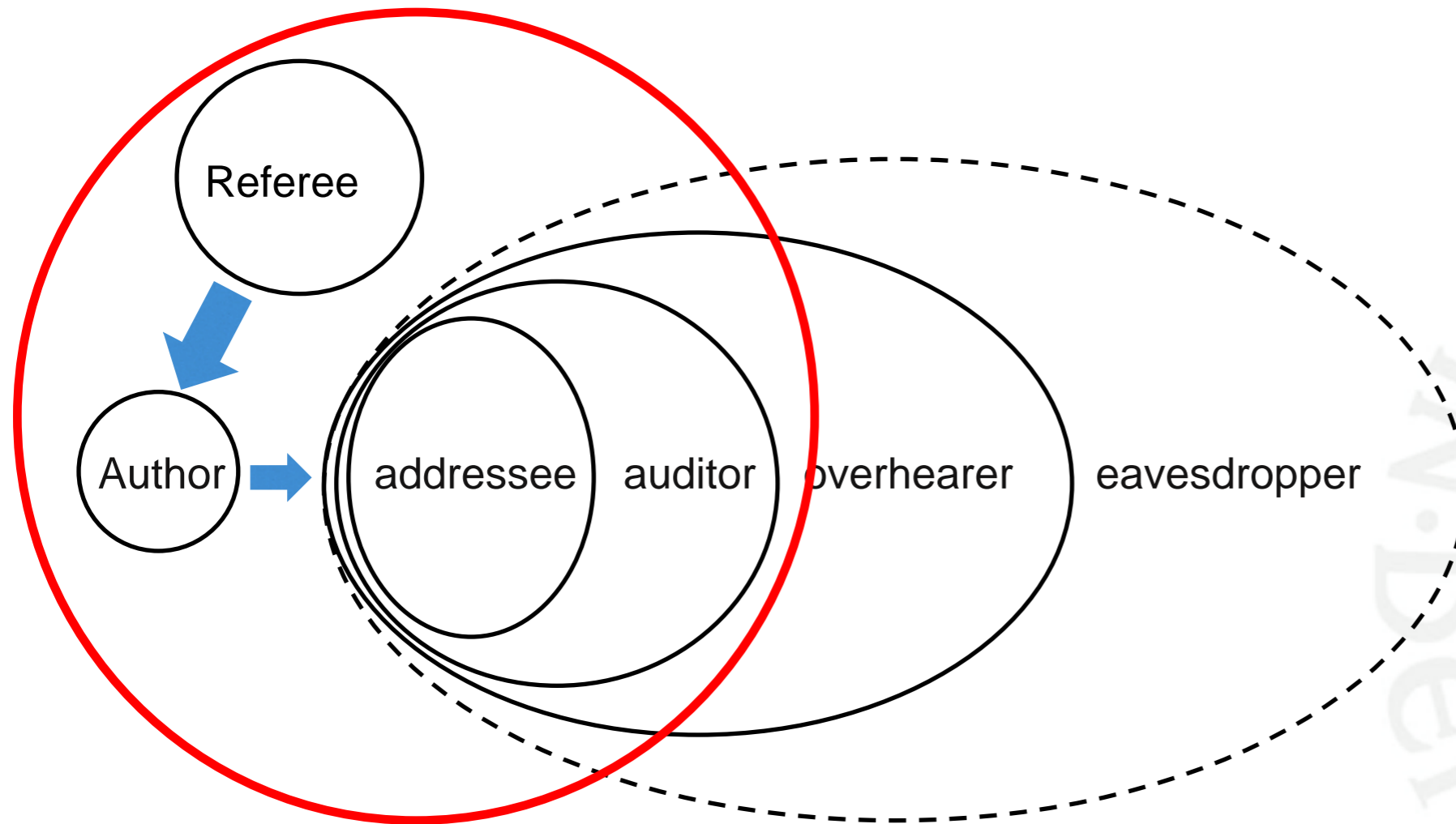
Audience design Danish Antilles (18th century)



- (KNOWN)
- RATIFIED
- ADRESSED
- AWARE

- Use of proper language/content

Focus



- Philological aspects
 - Changes towards correct language use
 - Annotations
 - Presentation of synonyms/alternatives

Hypothesis

- The author accommodates to the language of the addressee/auditor
 - Grammatical items, vocabulary
 - Changes towards (widely understood) Dutch Creole
 - Word order like in twentieth century spoken Dutch Creole?
- The author is bound to the language of the referees
 - Jargon
 - Tradition
 - Changes towards original source texts
 - Metalinguistic comment: no Creole word available? Use the Dutch equivalent
 - Word order like in source texts (German, Dutch, English)?

Word order in early Negerhollands texts: Hesseling 1905

Anthology of Dutch Creole
including

- History
- Grammar
- Texts
- Vocabulary



Hesseling (1905) about Word Order

- Hesseling's (1905) interpretation of Herrnhutter Grammar
- Subject before Verb
- Other objects only topicalized before Subject
- Never inversion, not even in questions
- Questions can be started with DA or with DAN behind verb
- TMA-particles just before the verb
- Negation just before the TMA-particles
- Non-verbal parts of compound verbs just behind the verb, even when this is not as in Dutch
- Preference for coordination instead of subordinate clauses
- Adverbs can only be put before the verb when interpreted as part of verb

Herrnhutter Grammar?

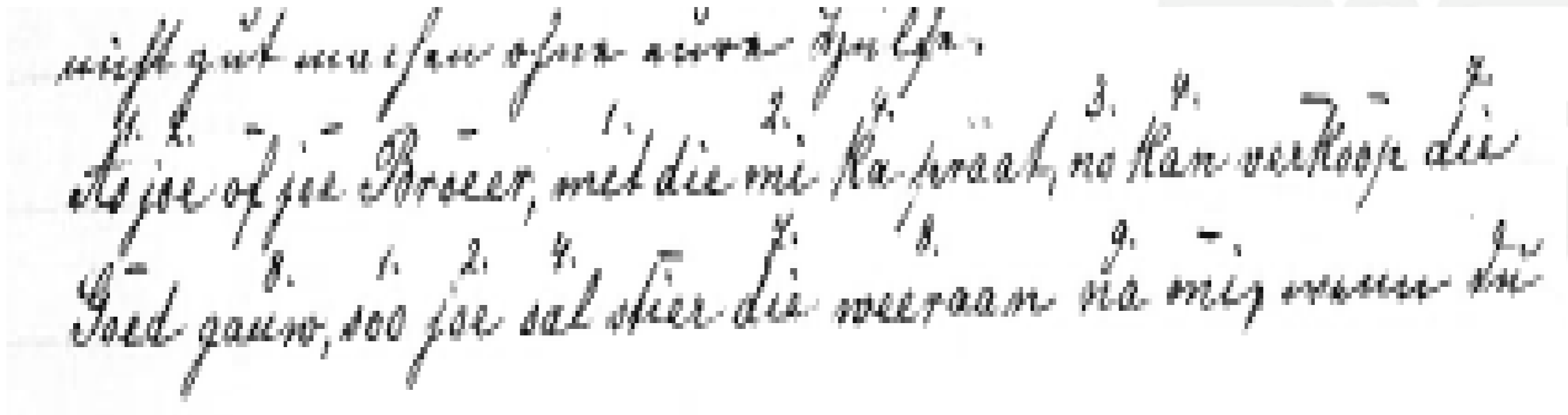
- Manuscript *Grammatik der Creol-Sprache in West-Indien* (after 1802)
 - Original manuscript (after 1802) in Herrnhut (Germany)
 - Written copy (ordered by Hesseling, 1903), Leyden (Netherlands)
- About Creole word order:
 1. Conjunction, interrogative pronoun, relative pronoun
 2. Nominative (including relative and adjectival clauses)/Subject
 3. Negation NO
 4. Verb (including TMA-particles)
 5. Adverb DAN or negation NIET
 6. Dative, often with multipurpose preposition NA
 7. Accusative
 8. Adverb or preposition, related to Verb
 9. Preposition (with NA) (prepositional phrase)
 10. Infinitive, related to Verb

Some remarks about Herrnhuter Grammar

- Examples in word order section: mainly from 1802 New Testament
 - All manuscriptal word order changes are from before this translation
 - Printed New Testament sometimes 'less Creole'
 - Translator did not know this manuscript.
-
- Herrnhuter Grammar was descriptive, based on available texts
 - Böhner started translating when he thought to be ready for the job
 - (after 40 years among slaves)

Numbered speech parts to indicate order

- Manuscript *Grammatik der Creol-Sprache in West-Indien*



- *As joe of joe Broeer, met die mi ka praat, no kan verkoop die gauw, soo joe sal stier die weeraan na mi.*
- *As you or your brother, with whom I have spoken, can not sell that soon, so you will send that again to me*

Word order change: auditor related: SVO instead of differing European word order

- Dan<-1> a<-3> see<-4> Jesus<-2> weeraan<-5> na sender
- Maar met Meddernacht a<-3> kom<-4> een<-1> geroep<-2>:
- en *....* vremd a<-2> ka<-3> kom<-4> mi<-1> mi bekende sender.
- Hoppo<-2> joe<-1> morg Vroe,
- als*...*n sall<-2> Water<-1> loop<-3> ut van die
- as dat <-jender *[-soo]*> toevorn<-2> krieg<-1> [-*.*] een rechte Indruk
- Maar as [-joe] <-jender> met<-2> een<-3> dink<-1> [-op]:
- vordaarom see<2> Paulus<1>

- wie<1> die<3> Nam<4> Christi<5> roep<2>
- dat die Godt<2> ben<1> een groote ernst
- kom<5> die<1> Toorn<2> van<3> Godt<4>

- Questions
- kan<-2> ons<-1>, <alreeds> (...)?

Word order change: auditor related auxiliary and past participle as close as possible

- van die joe<-1> **genoomen<-3>** **ben<-2>**
- wat<1> **ge<5>** **maakt<6>** **a<2>** **ka<3>** **word<4>**
- die **ben<1>** na<3> Si<4> dood<5> **gedoopt<2>**?

- TMA-marker (perfective) *ben*?
- In 20th century no past participles, just one verbal form

Word order change: auditor related position of the compound verb

- Preposition as close as possible behind related verb
- **stek** volk ook een<-2> Kers<-3> **op**<-1>
- **Neem** die Seeg<-en> van<-2> mi<-3> **aan**<-1>
- joe sal *....* af niemand mee<-r> **na**<-2>**toe**<-3> **laat**<-1>[-en].
‘to light up’
‘to accept’
‘to let into’
- **hab**<1> jender<3> Wijf<4> **liev**<2>
‘to love’
- But:
- Want as [-Volk] <-ons> sal **hab lief**<-2> iemand<-1>
- (Probably Church Jargon: *hab lief* does not exist in 20th century!)

Word order change: auditor related position of adjectives and adverbs

- Sender no ben van die Werld, **so glik** mi<-2> **ook**<-1> no ben van die Werld.
- **Och as**<-1> joe<-3> **ook**<-2>, nochal na deese joe Tid <□a> sal will bekenn
- As **maar**<-2> **altemts**<-1> veertig<-3> sal wees gevonden nabinne
 - *Maar* is adverb 'only', related to *veertig* 'forty', instead of conjunction 'but' (Dutch)
 - *Altemts* (*altemits*) 'sometimes', not directly related to *veertig*
- Em a segen elkeen met een Segen<2> apart<1>.
 - *apart* 'separate' from adverb into adjective.
- Em a kik twee<2> ander<1> Broeders<3>
 - In oldest texts *ander twee Broeders* 'other set of two brothers (another group of two brothers is already mentioned)'
 - In source and in other Creole texts *twee ander Broeders* 'two other brothers'

Word order change: auditor related position pronouns/ complex pronoun clusters

- Reflexive close to pronoun
- Want **jender**<1> weet<3> **selv**<2>
- SENDER as plural marker
- vereer na **sender**<-2> **allemaal**<-1> die Genade,
- But:
- De<-1>ese **se**<-2>**nder** a<-4> we<-5>es **alle**<-3>**maal** gedü[u+]<r>ig bi malkander
- (Perhaps *allemaal* as kind of PL-marker?)

Word order change: auditor related Negation before TMA and Verb

- Maar die a<-2> no<-1> wees lang,



Word order change: referee related

Change into order in source tekst, no change of meaning

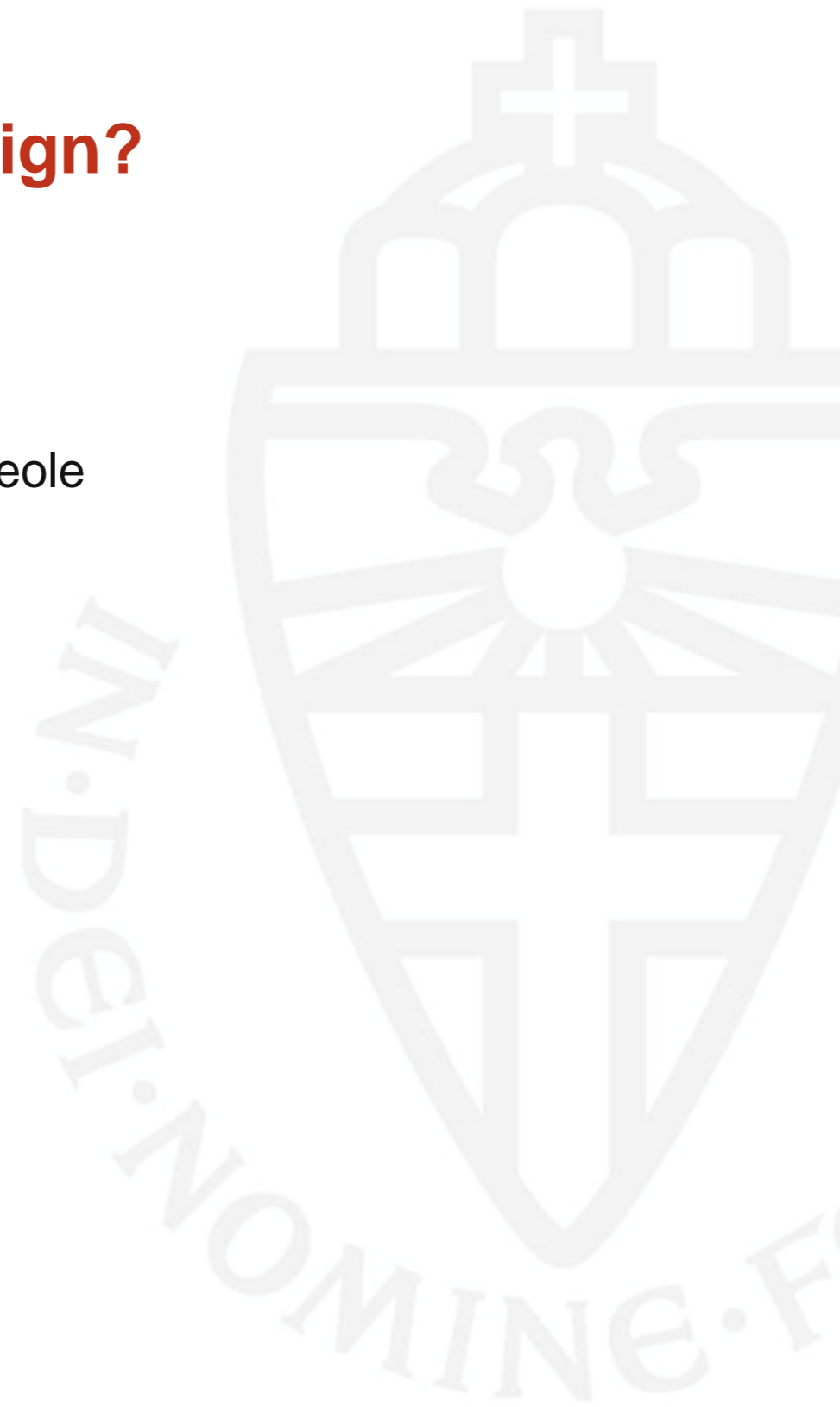
- Na voor Jesu<2> Christo<1>
- Groot<3> of<2> Kleen<1> goed<4>
- na<-1> mi<-4> Vader<-5>, joe<-2> Knecht<-3>
- Em a kik twee<2> ander<1> Broeders<3>
- en<-1> Vogels<-5> van<-2> all<-3> Sort<-4> met Pliem, elkeen na si manir
- ‘and every winged fowl after his kind’
- Allerei gefiedertes gevogel, ein jegliches nach seinen Art

Chronological comparison

- EH: four variants max
- Example:
 - d[at+]<ie><-3> doe<-2> jender<-1> na<-4> sender: (321, before 1780)
 - die, jender doe na sender: (322, 1780)
 - even dieselvde jender ook sal doe na sender. (3231, 1790)
 - die jender doe na sender ookal: (3232, 1795)
 - Das thut ihr ihnen (Lieberkühn (1768), 1820)
 - do ye even so to them (Lieberkühn, English tr. 1771)

Discussion: indications for audience design?

- Most changes towards addressee – auditor
 - Herrnhut Grammar reflects eighteenth century written Creole
- Towards referee?
 - Some changes towards German source text
 - No change of meaning
 - Source texts as part of referee design



Concluding remarks

- Just one piece in the puzzle to study Audience Design in Early Danish Antilles
- Word order change by numbers as one of case studies/entrance for follow up
 - Complex first position in sentences:
 - Complex second position
 - Reflexive as part of subject
 - Prep close, but not necessarily directly next to verb/expression
 - Position of Dative and Accusative in 20th century differs from Herrnhutter Grammar
- English influence at end eighteenth century?

Contact

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- Clarin-NEHOL digital database:
- http://corpus1.mpi.nl/ds/imdi_browser/
- Thank you!
 - Robbert van Sluijs and
 - Pieter Muysken

