Dutch as a koine?

Demography and philology to study the creole texts of St. Thomas

Cefas van Rossem



Metalinguistic comment May 4, 1727

over een fremmig siv mets meergemeere united te Deen file Taal Uniel magitigien er en tyn teces kan Everompeeren wanneer tij Lyn & aak nich Lelfs han Boot sprecken Jeo es ret van de Hoogste aangeleegent seigh dan begde Tegsten alsier in de Seeder duytocse Taale moogen ge Eorden werden te meer om dat de drie Vierde Pars van deefe juisoonderen niet de Deense Taale maar de duytocce Perstaen, en alle Contracten, Testamen Ook inde duytfire Taalgesteenen norden en wanner Omman Translatie Ver Es



Dutch in the Danish Antilles?

- Official correspondence etc. in Dutch
- Emergence of Dutch related Creole language: VI Dutch Creole
- Linguistic traces
- Demographic traces
- Which kind of Dutch? Written Dutch differs from spoken Dutch
- Dutch Creole highly influenced by Flemish/Zeelandic vernacular
- No Flemish/Zeelandic elements in written Dutch texts from Caribbean
- How did these elements get into the Creole?



Dutch: February 26/5, 1672: message from Staecio

Gekaapte Brieven



http://www.gekaaptebrieven.nl/tekst/brief/2008

8-1-2016



Alice Stevens (1987):

"Sonda, manda, dissinda, wunsda, dondoda, satoda"

Dutch: English

Maandag Monday

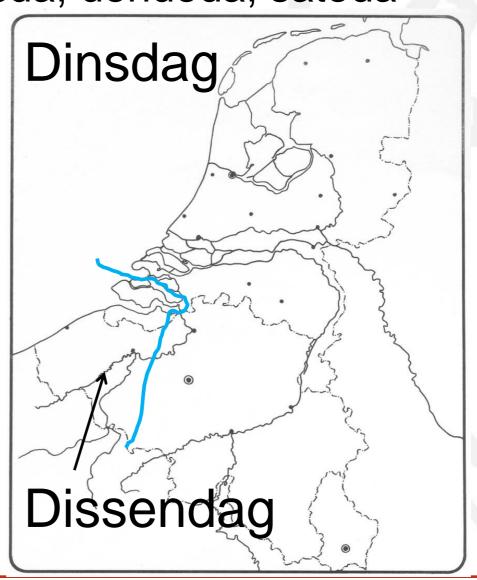
Dinsdag Tuesday

Woensdag Wednesday

Donderdag Thursday

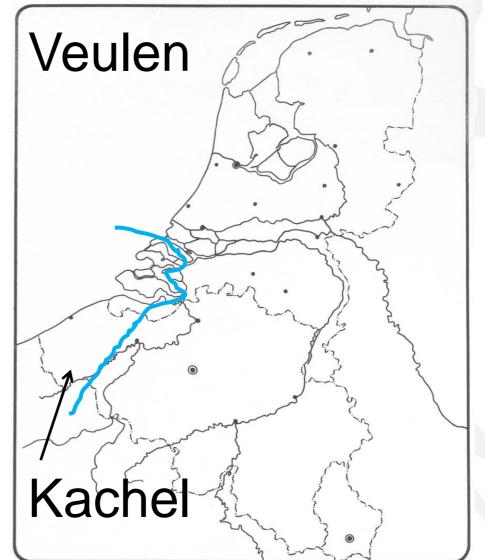
Zaterdag Saturday





• En die (twee) Jünger *sender* a loop, en a vind die **Kaakel** (met die Meeri) a staan na Tauw bi die Dhor, (before 1780)

- And the (two) disciple.3PL walked,
- And found the foal (with the mare)
- Stood on rope by the door/gate





- Metalinguistic comments:
 - 'sounds like Flemish which I hear in Ghent' (Logeman)
 - 'Zeelandic is problematic: because you hear elements also in Flanders' (Hesseling)
- Phonology:

•	Dutch	Zeelandic /ie/	VIDC /ie/	translation
	- /ij/ - Wijn, blij	wien, blie	wien, blie	'wine, happy''
	- /ui/- Buik, duif	/uu/ buuk, duuf	/ie/ biek, diffie (duvi)	'belly, pigeon/bird'
	- /sch/- Schip	/sch/, /s'/ s'ip (glottal)	/sk/ skipje	'ship'
	- /cht/- Achter, dichtbij	/st/ aster	/st/ aster, destbie	'after, nearby'

- Lexicon
 - Zeelandic/VIDC
 - fraai 'good', hoffie 'garden', kaakel/kaggel 'foal', groensel 'vegetables'
 - Western Flemish/VIDC
 - Boetje 'boy, brother', dink op 'think (about)', sleuter 'key'
- Function words:
 - Sender: pronoun 3PL, several grammatical functions
 - noesoo: adverb, 'now+suffix -so'
- Nautical?
 - Kombuus 'kitchen' 'kitchen in ship' W.-Flemish: 'fireplace' (1873)
- When dialect elements are present in Dutch Creole, Dutch lexifier must have been colored by Zeelandic/Flemish



But... who brought these elements to the Danish Antilles?

Demography of early Danish Antilles

Who created this Creole language?

Société d'habitation:

More or less same number of enslaved and colonists enslaved people focus on dominant language, instead of creating a new one. Creole language looks like lexifier language

	1673	1680	1688	1691	1715	1720	1725	1733
Colonists	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Enslaved people	1	1.1	1.3	2.1	10.1	14.8	7.4	6.2
Alternative					13.8	11.3		

Stolz & Stein (1984)



The first 'census', 1678

Knox (1852)

52 names, 'the eight other names could not be made out, the original copies of the deeds being in a mutilated condition'

Comparison with later censuses shows:

At least 24 seem to be from Dutch speaking countries



The census of 1691: introduction

- Dutch (1691) instead of Danish (1688)
- Liste over alle St. Thomas Planters en Habitanten Vrouens Kindern en Ecslaven Als der*l*ben van D'Roijalle=Octroijeerde Deense Westindisse en guineese Compagnie aen D\WelEdle Hr. Commercien=Rae*t* Jörgen Thormollen Ao 1691 in Februarj maent, zijnt overgelevert worden, Eer*s*t T Koonings Qvartier()
- 'List of all St. Thomas planters and residents women, children and slaves as of the Royal authorized Danish Westindian and Guinean company. For the honorary trade counselor Jörgen Thormollen, anno 1691 in the month February, has been handed over. First the Kings Quarter.' ()
- Uncertain readings are placed between asterisks.



The census of 1691: example

De Planters met haere arrowens, Emderen Jaere Nadie, Vergeings en Regros James Vadie, Thomas Jansen Blem "Nommegen Vairame "Algerman onbegvaem † 1 Nelgerin Duchsiff	Relige Partie Large De Stantagen koelangen Pelige for Normige Large breide en kaeren toe skal tijs Beske Langhte, en hoedserig tojs opgel De formeert Dito Preed, Foogvoet Leel wel, plant ange, Tuisler en latton,
Pack Lendi Else Dockter, Margariet en Dockter, Margariet 1 "Engelland Else Dockter, Margariet 1 del Mardanie.	Reformeent, Low town 400 west. De Sandheil Dito, rijn plantest breed, Ear De Sandheil 3000 lang (pel plant Bloom of 10 of 3000 lang) en offet,
Heister Greeks Daford Bron: "33, francois	2 eformers Ored En Led goel plant 4 gen 3000 langh, Bosen en Cest, Tour
Maria Jack (Colta) of Chamas (1685), 6 Dito. (Pristian) 17 Maros Dichero, 2 Negarin Dito 3, 200	Dito Blantage Breed, En 3000, Laune blant 4 fact Del

The census of 1691: names colonists

De Planters met haere vrouens, Emderen Sacre Nache, Thomas Januar Phem "Nommegen Charia " 10 pa floristeffel James A floristeffel Margariet J. A kinders " 12 floriste Thomas " 12 floriste Thomas " 12 floriste Thomas " 12 lite	Relige spin Novinge bære breede en hæren toestend tijt de solu Langhte, anhoedaenig toj opgel giberet blig novingen, gebruit blig novingen, spieser de toestand, breed, Bosovoet beel wel, blast 7 -9 ange, tij beinger en fattom, 7 -9
Jack Lendi Pack L	Reformeent, Low war too voet De Sandheil Dits Som breed, Can De Sandheil 3000 Lang (pel blant Brown of 10 # 3000 Lang) an Offet, 100 Voet De Low fand
The Parole of "blantage. Meister senecis Daford Bron. 33, francois Climon Light Color Bron. 33, francois Marion Marken of Cinders. 11685), 8 9:40. Marken of Cinders. 11685), 8 9:40. Marken of Marion Dickerio, 2 Negarin Dick. 13 Rinderse, 2 Negarin Dick.	2 eformeert breed En Leal Grel Blent And 3000 langh, Bosener Get, Vacr 2000 langh, Bosener Get, Vacr 2000 langh Breed, En 3000, Larmer blank 4 har 2000 langh, Ethoch on Get 2000 de 2

The census of 1691: enslaved people

De Planters met haere arovens, linderen Taere Nagie, Physiogen Dinsen Blem, Nimmegen Phomos James, 10, 2 Phristoffel James, 1 Rinders, 12 Phomes Thomas, 2 Nelgetmand onbegvoem 1 Nelgetmand onbegvoem 1 Nelgetm Duchtig	Relige Parmeers Langhte, en hoedsenig top obgel Langhte, en hoedsenig top obgel Commers Schneiger, 400, week De toestand breed, Bosovoet teel wel, blast and, Therefore an alter, The significant and th
Peel Lendi Else Dockter, Margariet	Reformeent, Lewton 400 roed land De Andheil Dits John Blant 3000 Lang (pel plant stown of 10 for 3000 lang) on the form of 10 for 3000 lang)
Heister Grecht Daford Bron. "33, francois	2 eformert De for Sol Wel blent 4 - a. 3000 langl, Bosen en Cet, Vaer
Martian of Condons	Dito blantage Breed, En 3000, Laemer blant 4 her Del

The census of 1691: age

De Planters met haere arouens, binderen State, Versprings en Rogers Thomas Jansen Plem, Nimmegen Vincennie, Andrew Aleria, Andrew Maria, Andrew Maria, Andrew Margaret, Andrew	Relige plantage Detantagen koelangen Plelige plantagen breide en haeren toe stand tijt de selie Langhte, en hoedeerig toj ropgel Gito Peneijer, 400, woet De toestand breed, 3000voet teel wel, blast ange, zijngker en atton,
Pael Landi. Else Dockter, Margariet. 1. "Eppelland Else Dockter, Margariet. 1. Mardanie.	Reformeert, Lewtoen 400 voes De Andheil Dite July 1000 Lang (pel plant Bloom of 10 & 3000 lang (en 64)
Far Parche sijn blantage. "" Daeros Dapoid Bron: "33, francois	Leforment Sel met De for fand 3000 langl, Bosener Off, Tacr
Maria Dichery Dichery, 2 Negerin Dito 3, 210	Dito blantage breed, En 3000, Laemer blank 4 fact Det

The census of 1691: place of birth

De Planters met haere arovens, Emderen Nagie, Vergeings en Regord Taen Namegen Visional James Plan	Relige Koeringe haere breidi en haeren toe stand tijt de selie Langhte, en hoedeerig toj ropge Le formeert Ohito Ohineijer, 400, woet De toestand breed, 3000voet heel wel, blast ange, Juijker en atton
Parl Lendi. Else Dockter, Margariet. 1 "Eppelland Ein Dockter, Margariet. 1 det, Mardanik.	Reformeent, Lewtown 400 goes De Andheil Dite John Henter 3000 Lang (pel plant Bloom of 10 of 3000 lang (en of the John Steel)
Far Parche rije blantage. "" Daeros Dapoid Bron: "33, francois	Leforment Selvet De for fand Greed En Leel Wel plant 4 Jacan 3000 langl, Brown of Get, Tacan
Martian Dichery 2 Magarin Dito 3, 216	Dito blantage Greed, En 3000, Laemer blank 4 fact Det

The census of 1691: religion

De Planters met haere arrowens, Emderen Vadie, Verwings en Rogros James Vadie, Thomas James Blem, «Nimmegen Visiami Maria James, «Nimmegen « la plantertellel James, « Tistation Margiers f. Kinders	Relige Det Eksen I Hantage De Hantagen Koelangen Nin Navinge baere breidi en haeren trestand tijt Besolu Langhte, en hoedaenig Lijn opgel Nij Bewerkt Hija noomen Ditto Oktneijer, 400, woet De toestand breed, Booovoel beel wel, blast ange, Langh, Lijker en atton,
Pack Kendi Else Dockter, Margariet	Reformeent, Low town 400 roed lan De San heil Disto, sin planted breed lan grel blant Bloom of 10 \$ 3000 lang and for the first, and for the state of the state o
Heirter brecht Daford Bron: "33, francois	Leformert Je toe stand freed En Beel Wel blest 4 Jacan 3000 land, Bouner Cost, There
Maria Jacob Sinders 1685), & Dito. (Parition) 17 Removal 1685), & Dito. (Parition) 17 Maron Dichtig, 2 Magarin Dito. 13 Kinders	Dito blantage Breed, en 3000, Larmer blank 4 fact Det

The census of 1691: profession

•	
De Planters met haere arrowens, Emderen James Nedie, Versprings en Regeron Thomas Jonnen Blem , Nimmegen Vairen Vairen Vairen James , A Peristoffel James , A Romes Margiet f. A Rinders , & A Thomas Thomas , 2 Nelgermans onbegvoern , 1 Nelgerin Ducktiff	Relige de Mantage D' Mantagen Kaelangen Min Novinge kaere breide en haeren toe skand tijl Betalie for de skand tij bewerttelljanskoompen. De formeers De sooneet De toestand freed, Boooveet keel wel, blast 7 de augh, Buijker en akon, Fringler en akon,
Seel Lendi Else Dockter, Margariet	Reformeent, Low to ven 400 voes De Sand heil gift, of planting breed, Ear Je Sand heil gold blant attorn of 10 \$ 3000 Lang (grel blant attorn of 10 \$ 7000 Lang) on Ofth,
Heister Greek Daford Bron. "33, francois	Leformert Je toe stand freed, En Beel Wel blent 4 Jan 3000 langl, Bosen en Get, Ther
Martin Jacob Dichtie, 2 Negerin Dies 3, 216	Dito blantigt breed, En 3000, Laimer blant 4 fact Det

The census of 1691: size of lot

De Planterso met haere vrouens, Emderen Cetsprings en Rogros Thomas Januar Blem "Nom megen Chiramic Maria James i Rinders. Mengrist f. + Rinders. 7 : Helgermans onbegvaem 1 1 Hegerin Ducktig	Relige fin Navinge Laere breedien laeren toesten tijt beselingen Langhte, in hoedaerig tojs opgel, in hoedaerig tojs opge
Pack Lendi Else Dockter, Margariet	Reformeert, Low toen 400 voes De Andheil Dits Solo lang (pel blant toen of 10 \$ 3000 lang (en 6/14)
Far Parche rije blantage. "" Daeros Daros Bron: "33, francois Meirter Greeks Daford Bron: "33, francois	2 eformers Ore 3000 lange, Bounes Cost, Warner of Vacant
Martin Dicher Dichery, 2 Negerin Dito 3, 216	Dito blantage Greed, En 3000, Lasmes, blans 4 fact Del

The census of 1691: agricultural product

De Planters met haere arrowens, Emderen Jaere Nache, Vergeings en Rogros James	Relige Normer bære breide kaeren toe hand til de solu en hoedaerig to roppel of bereiger, Avo, voet De toertand breed, Boowat heel wel, blast and ange,
Pack Lendi Else Dockter, Margariet	Reformeent, Lewtown 400 voet De Sandheil Jite John Blant 3000 Lang (pel plant Bloom of 10 of 3000 lang (an offet)
Heister Greeks Daford Bron. "33, francois	2 eformers De for fand Greed En Leel Wel blent 4-9- 3000 Engl, Essener Cost, Vacan
Matriar of Condon (1685), 8 Dito. (Printian) 12 Magnet Dichtig, 2 Magnin Dito. 13 Kinderse, 2 Magnin Dito.	Dito blantage Breed, En 3000, Laemer blant 4 her Del

The census of 1691: years of possession

De Planters met haere arovens, linderen James Nagie, Thomas Jansen Blem, «Nommegen Vinismi	Relige Normee haere breedien haeren toe den tijt de solu Eanghte, en hoedaerig Tojr opgel 1 geben 1 ge
Parl Landi Else Dockter, Margariet 1. 18 Mardaniko	Reformeent, Lewtown 400 voet De Sandheil Dite, sin planting breed, Ear De Sandheil 3000 lang Vel plant Boon 810 # 3000 lang on first,
Far Parole vije blantage. "" Meister Great Daford Bron: "33, francois	2 eformert De for fand best 4 gent 3000 langh, Bosen en Cost, Tour
Matrial 3 Cinders [1685], & Dito. (Printian) 12 Magoria Dichtig, 2 Magaria Dito. 13 Kinderse, 2 Magaria Dito.	Dito blantage Greed, En 3000, Laimer blant 4 her Del

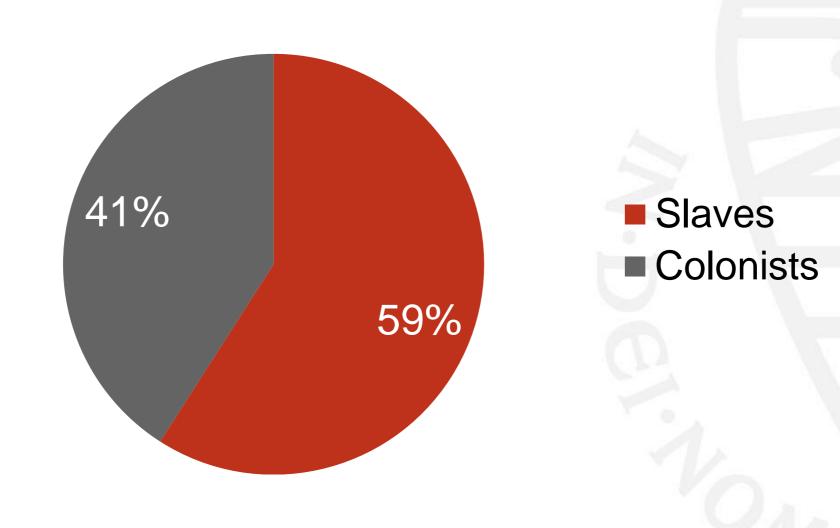
The census of 1688: example

The census of 1691: Enslaved people, société d'habitation: focus on dominant language

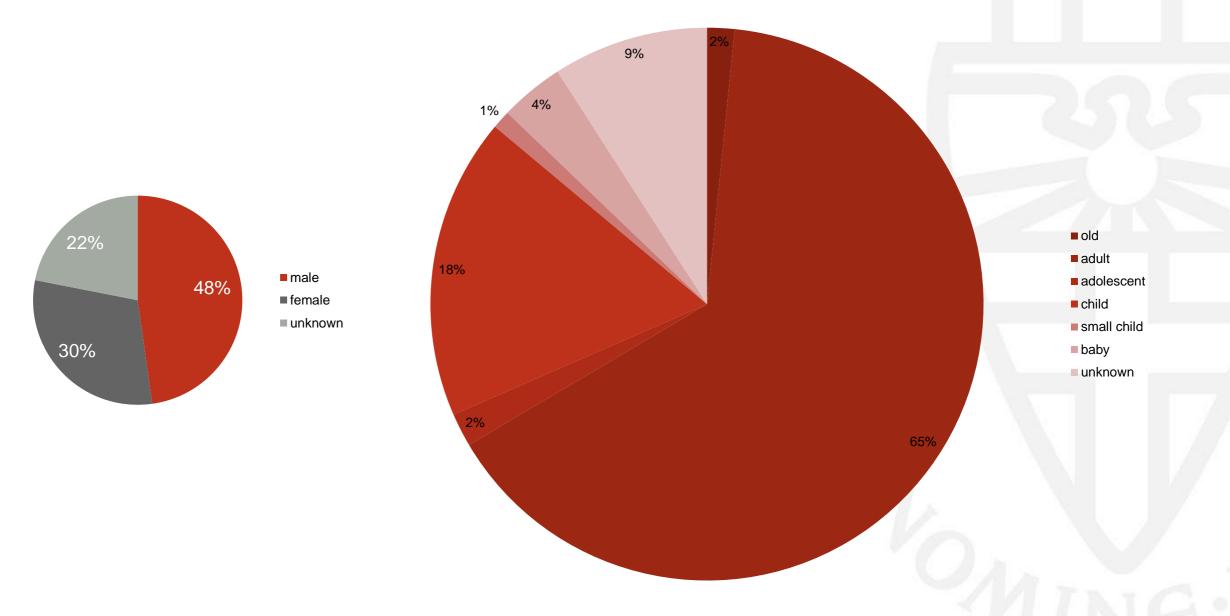
- 939 people
- 545 enslaved people from Africa
- 5 enslaved native American people
- 389 free people, only two from Africa
- 127 lots/addresses



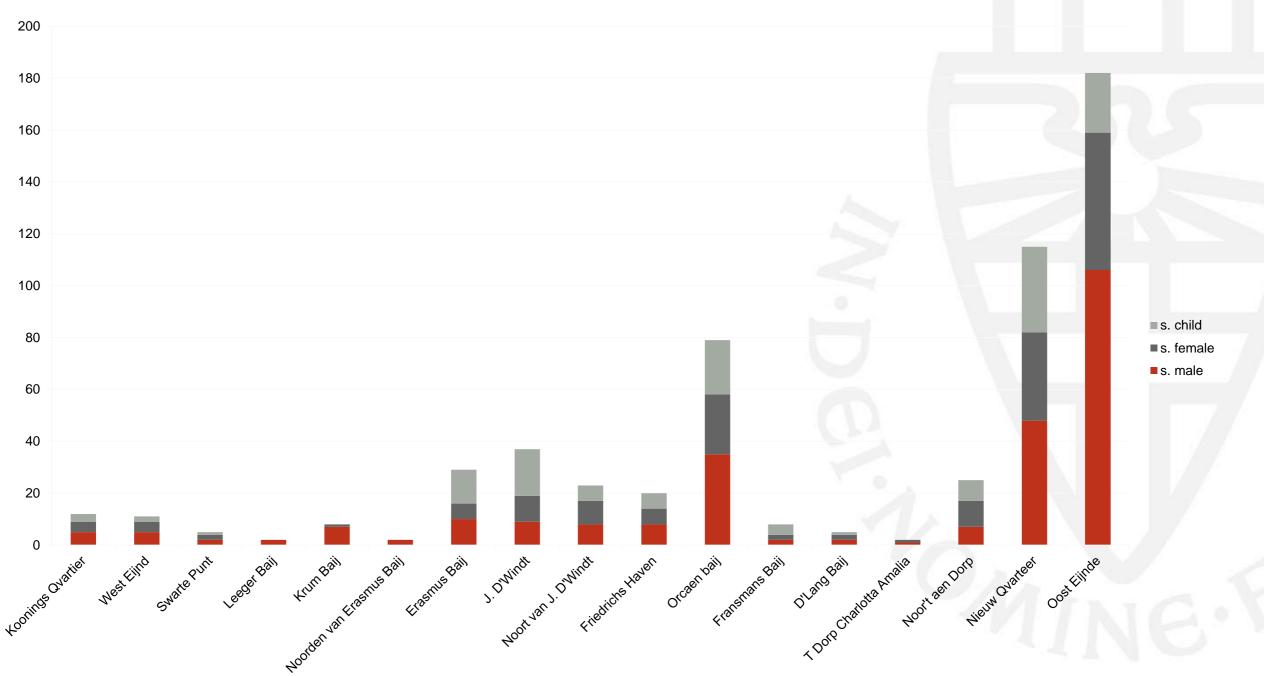
The census of 1691: Enslaved people, société d'habitation: focus on dominant language



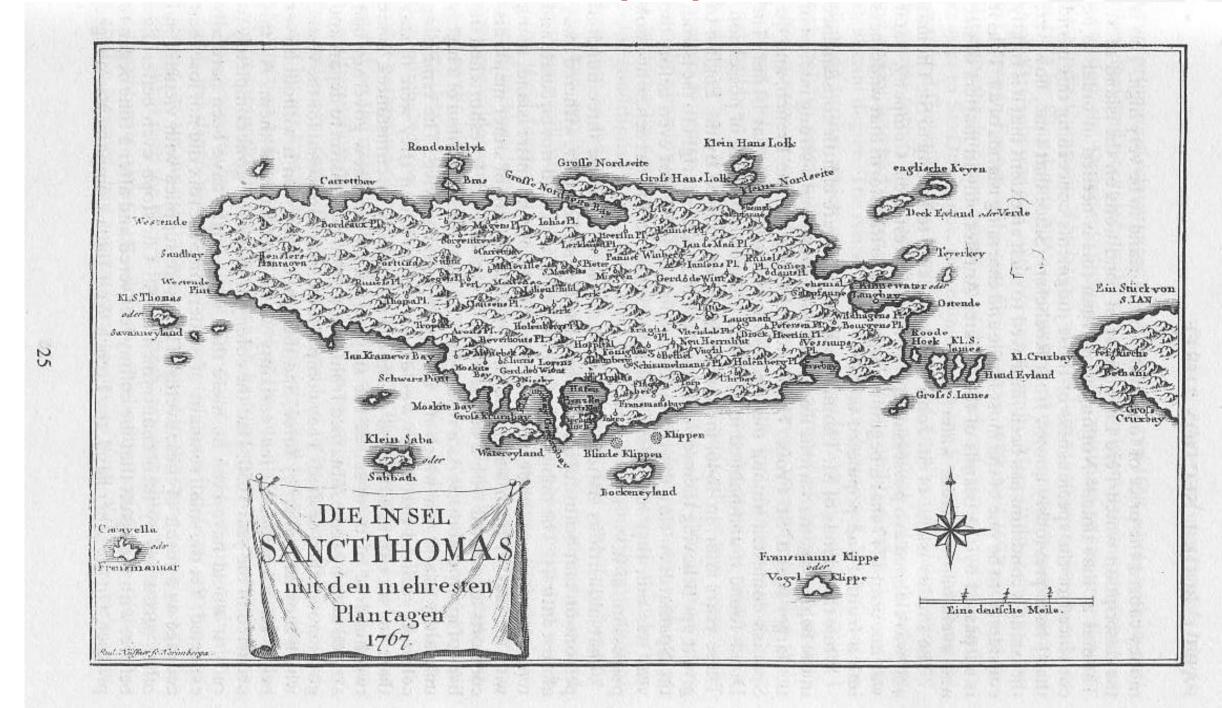
The census of 1691: Enslaved people: number of children influences emergence of creole language



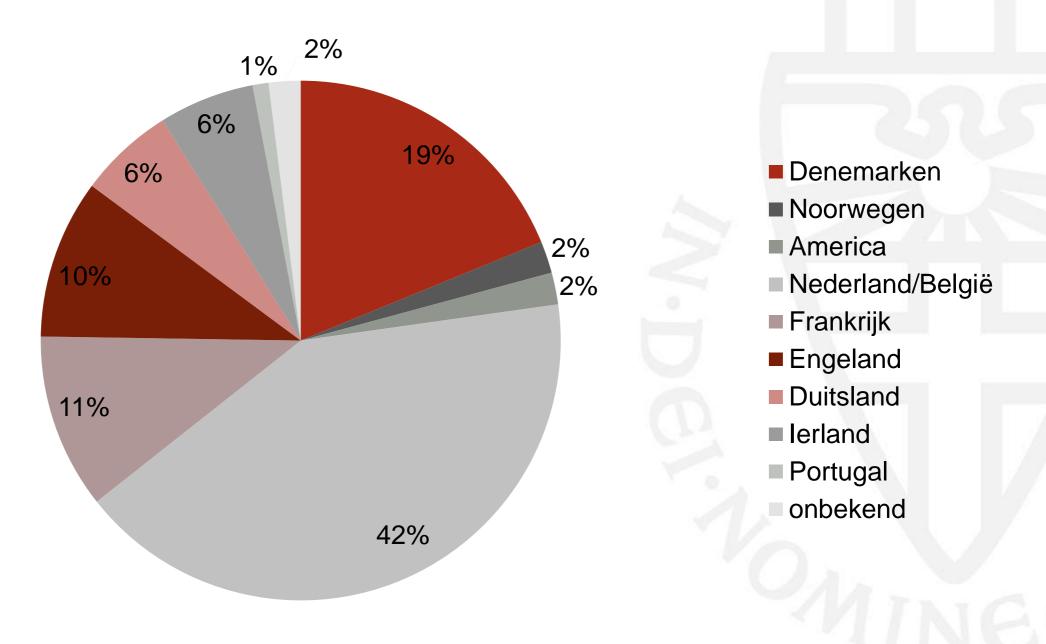
The census of 1691: Enslaved people: emergence on eastern side of St. Thomas



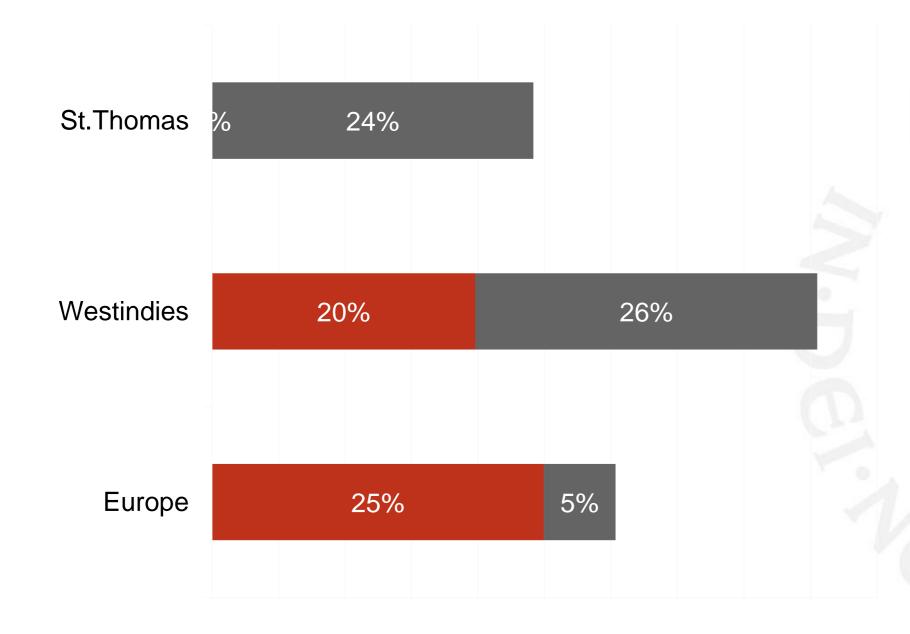
The census of 1691: Enslaved people

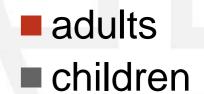


The census of 1691: Provenance of colonists, dominance of Dutch

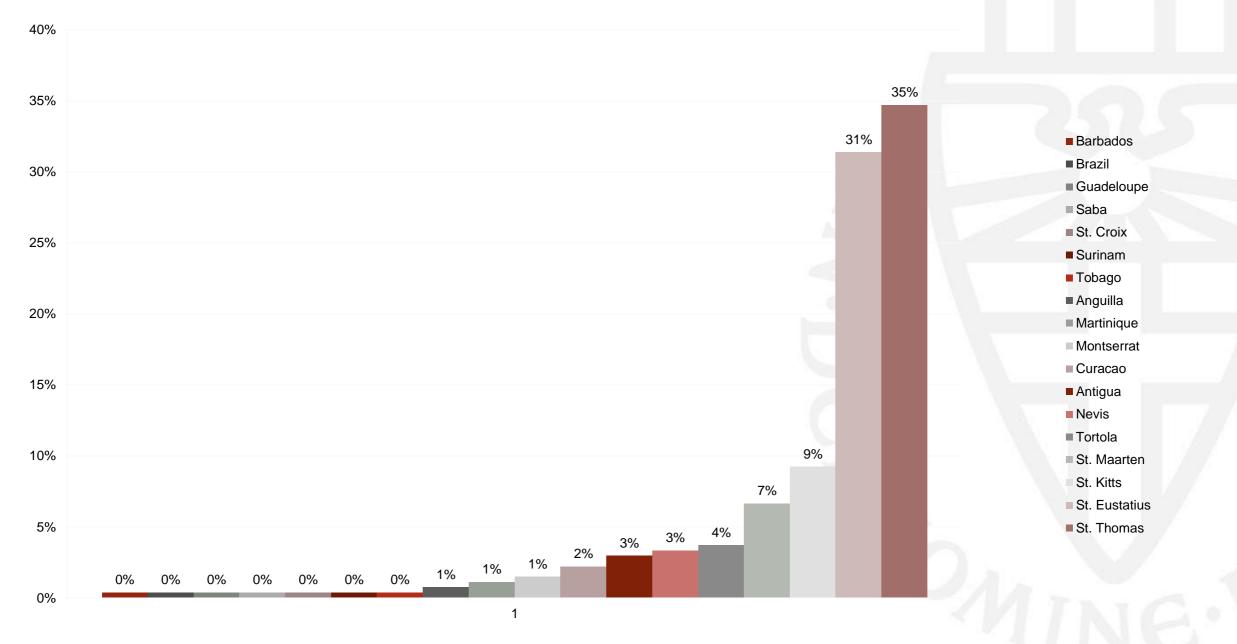


The census of 1691: Provenance of colonists. Roots in West Indies





The census of 1691: Provenance of WI colonists: not only from 'Dutch Antilles'



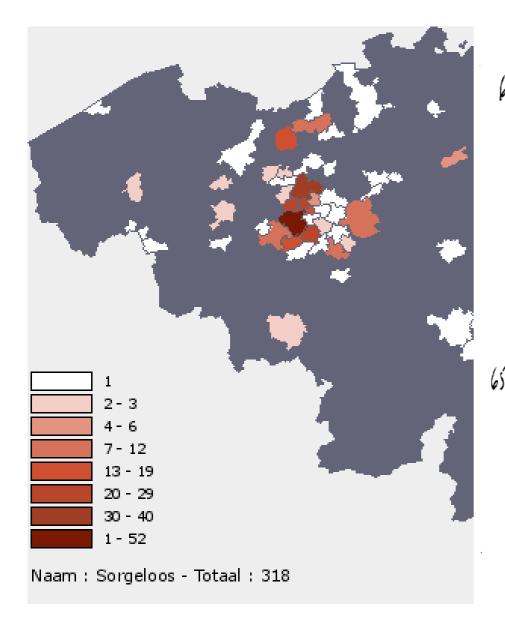
The census of 1691: Provenance according to census

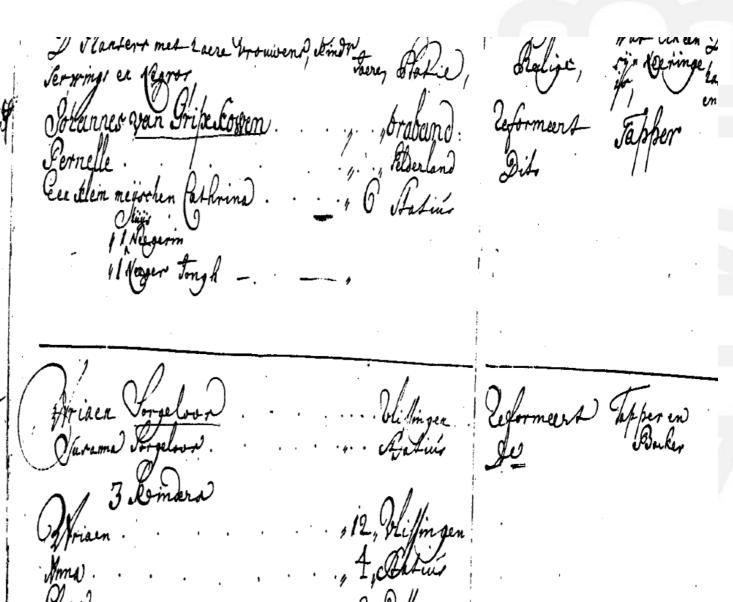
- Information from censuses can be linked
- 1678: Jan Cramuijs
- 1688: Jahn Cramue, Flanders, Marie Tatt, and Wilm, Johan and
 - 'unknown' (children)
- 1691: Jan Cramuij(s), Flanders, Maria Cramuij, St. Kitts, and Willem,
 - Jan and Maria (children, St. Thomas)
- 1678: Mads Hansen
- 1688: Mads Hansen, Denmark
- 1691: Madts Hansen, Roskilde, Ellen Hansen, Smaland, Pieter
 - Hansen, Landskrona (guest)



The census of 1691: Provenance of surnames.

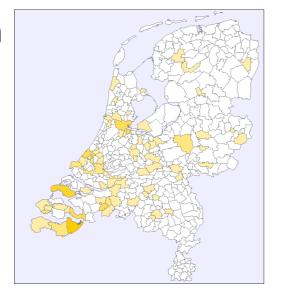
Possible dialect



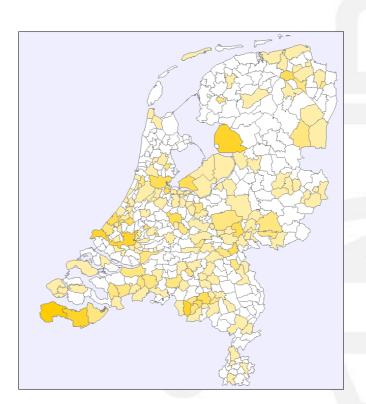


The census of 1691: Provenance of surnames

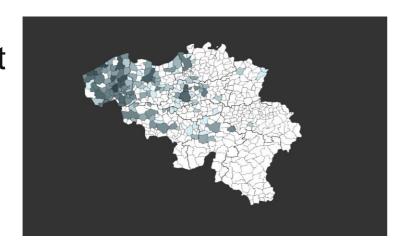
Saman



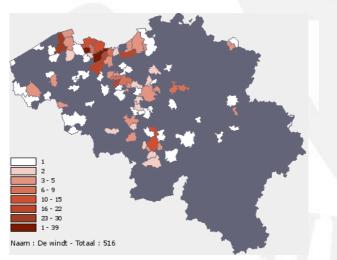
Cornelis



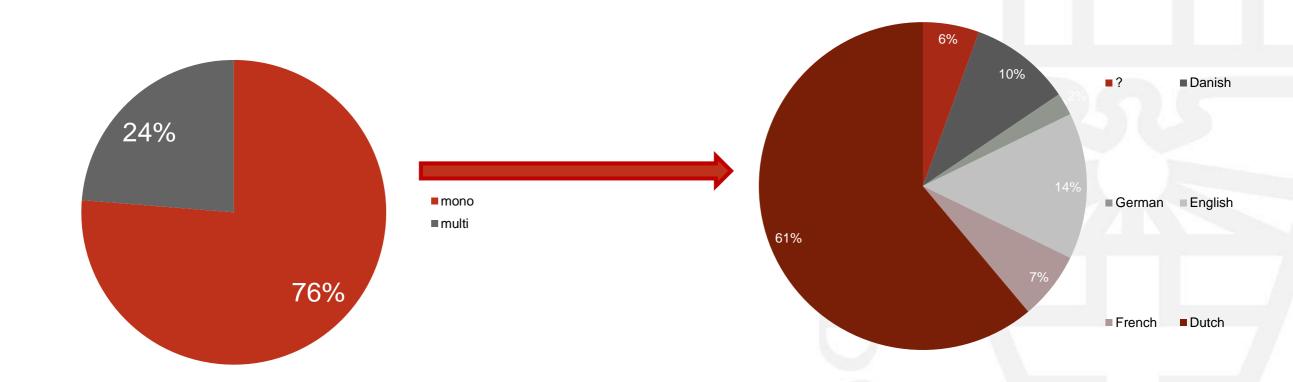
Cloet



De Windt



The census of 1691: Multicultural families



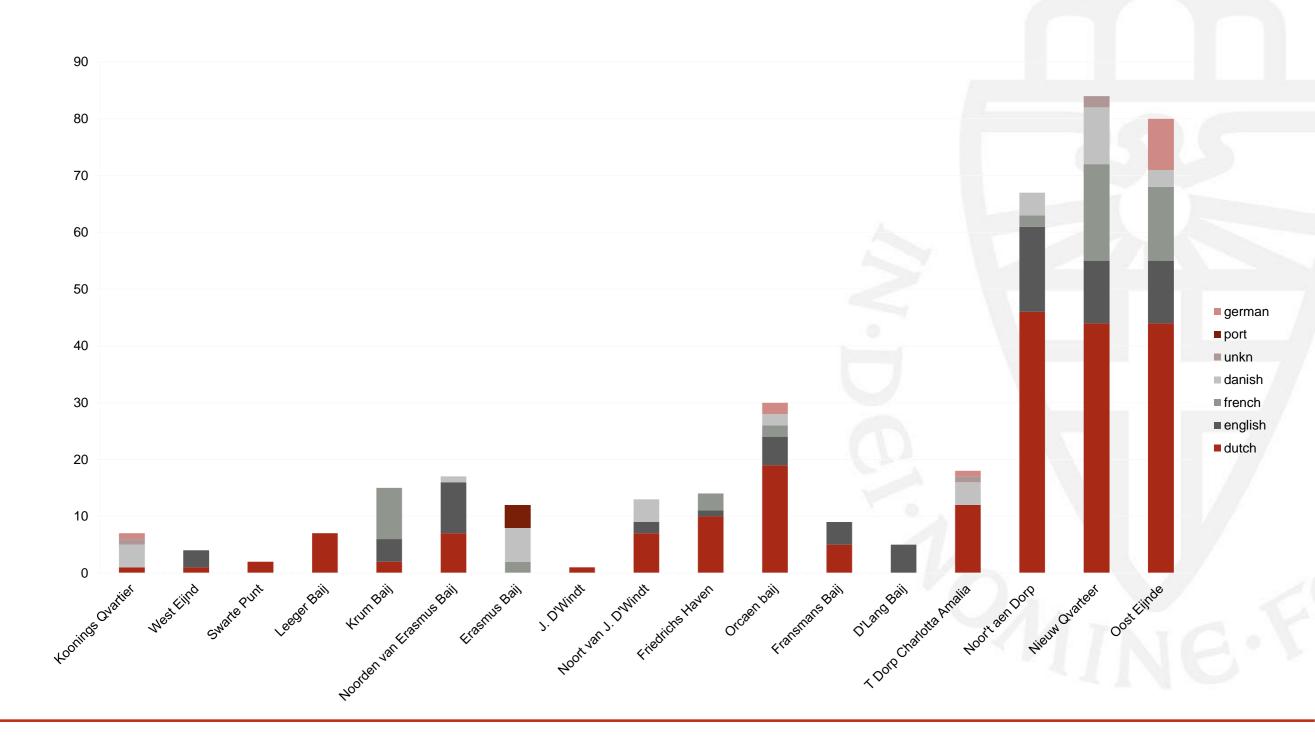
20% of Dutch adults had partner from other nationality

The census of 1691: influence of Dutch and West Indies

- in 32% of all 120 inhabited lots at least one of the adults is European Dutch;
- in 50% of all 120 inhabited lots at least one of the adults is WI Dutch;
- in 25% of all 120 inhabited lots both adults/parents are European Dutch and/or WI Dutch;
- In 22,5% of all 120 inhabited lots have a one-parent family with a European or WI Dutch parent.



The census of 1691: Geographical spread of 'language'

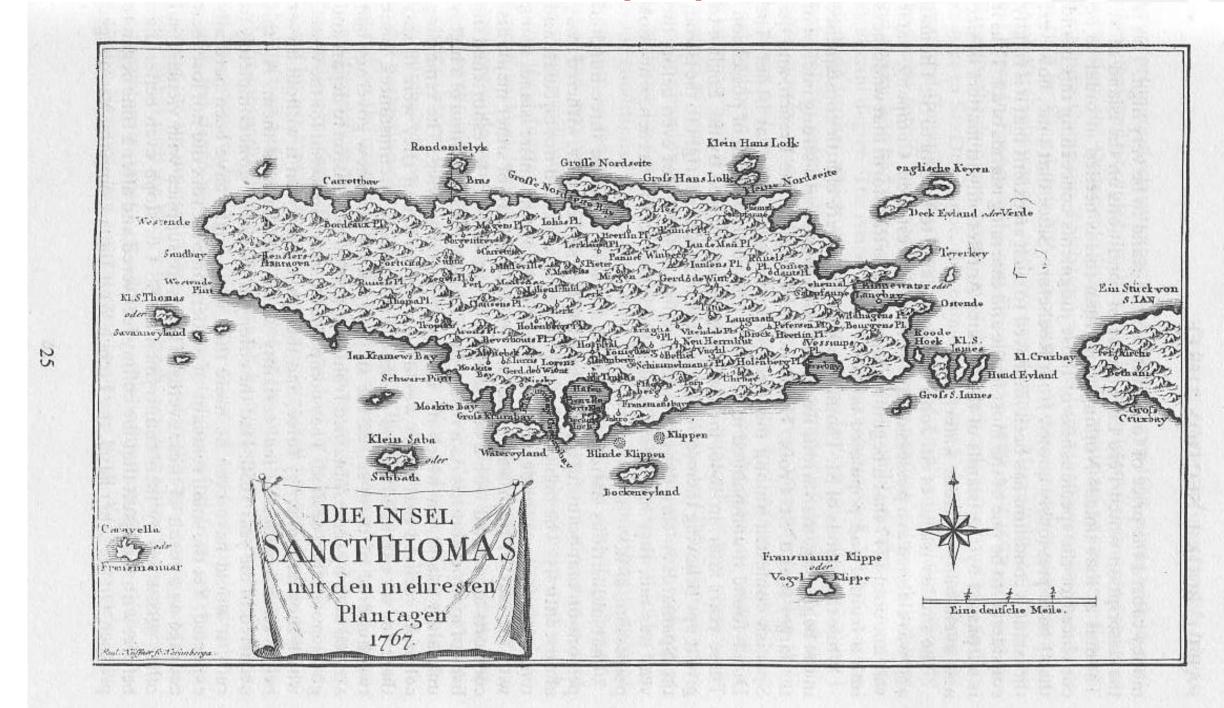


The census of 1691: Geographical spread of 'language'

• Area's of emergence:

•	Place	ratio	Enslaved people	Dutch
•	Orcaen baij T Dorp Charlotta Amalia Noort aen Dorp Nieuw Qvarteer	1:2,7 1:0,1 1:0,4 1,1,2	14% 0,1% 4,4% 20,4%	63% 67% 69% 52%
•	Oost Eijnde	1:2,3	32,2%	55%

The census of 1691: Enslaved people



Back to linguistics

Use of Dutch was likely Multicultural European society Dominance of Dutch

Provenance seems:

Southern Dutch West Indies Influence of multicultural families

Lingua franca

European Dutch is used unchanged Indeed in written texts! May 4, 1727: Example!

Koine?

Simplified? Generalizations? Windward Dutch dialect?

However: this variant was lexifier/superstrate of VI Dutch Creole



Contact

c.vanrossem@let.ru.nl

www.diecreoltaal.wordpress.com

Clarin-NEHOL digital database: http://corpus1.mpi.nl/ds/imdi_browser/

Thank you! Robbert van Sluijs, Pieter Muysken & Svend Holsoe



