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Eighteenth-Century Negerhollands Reflexives Revisited

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1. Introduction

This paper is about the distribution of reflexives in 18th-century Negerhollands (NH), the now extinct Dutch-based creole of the US Virgin Islands, which emerged around 1700. In an earlier article (Muysken & Van der Voort 1991), we concluded that there was a consistent use of a third-person reflexive form *sie* in 18th-century NH. We claimed that the emergence of this form in the creole had been a rapid and autonomous development. In sum, our conclusions were roughly as follows:

(a) Early NH had not been undergoing a process of gradual, but rather one of quite rapid expansion and, consequently, the emergence of reflexive marking in NH was not a gradual development (in contrast to what Carden & Stewart 1988 claim for Haitian).

(b) As part of a tendency to avoid ambiguity, characteristic of creole languages, NH tended to distinguish reflexive and non-reflexive pronominal uses much more consistently than a non-creole like Dutch. The pattern of distribution we observed was as follows:

Function

Object reflexive

1/2/3pl

3sg

Inherent object

Prepositional phrase

Prepositional phrase in Small Clause

Form

pronoun + *selv*

sie + *selv*

pronoun

pronoun/*sie* + *selv*

sie

(c) Reflexive marking by a pronoun/*sie* + *selv* in NH did not emerge under the influence of Dutch; *sie* originated as a third-person possessive pronoun, namely *sin*.

(d) Unlike Dutch, NH also had *sie* as an inherently reflexive pronoun, resembling Danish *sig*. The latter, however, cannot be verifiably taken as its direct origin.

From a historical-linguistic point of view, several reservations can be made with respect to the rigor of these conclusions. First, a Dutch (Du) reflexive form like *sie*, namely *zich*, did exist at the time and might have been known among Dutch speakers on the Virgin Islands. Moreover, there are sound correspondences such as Du *leg* > NH *le* 'lay' and Du *zeg* > NH *se* 'say' that make a derivation from Du *zich* phonologically quite plausible. This means that it cannot be excluded that Dutch could have functioned as a model in this respect. This conclusion is not completely obvious, as can be gathered from a range of partially contradictory facts.

Traditional handbooks (e.g. Van Loey 1964) describe the use of the *zich* reflexive as an influence from German, coming into Dutch from the east, and as not yet being common in ordinary people's Hollandic dialects in the late 17th century. Especially in Hollandic and Zealandic dialects and in Flemish, the ordinary object pronouns *hem* 'him' and *haar* 'her' are used reflexively to this very day, not *zich*.

Furthermore, other varieties of overseas Dutch, such as Afrikaans and Berbice Dutch, which emerged roughly in the same period, do not have *zich* reflexives. On the other hand, the *zich* reflexive is found in Dutch 18th-century written sources of various kinds. In a reaction to our earlier paper, Grijzenhout (1991) mentions a source of informal language, a printed satirical work from 1788, in which a *zich* reflexive, with or without the reflexive marker *zelf*, is used. No doubt more examples could be given if 18th-century Dutch would have been investigated more thoroughly than it has been up to now. The *Rigsarkiv* (State Archives) in Copenhagen holds some Dutch letters from the Virgin Islands that have frequent *sigh*, such as the one written by captain Panet *et al.* (1728) from St. Thomas to governor and commander Hendrick Suhm of the Virgin Islands. Since such documents were usually written or translated by persons relating to the government, this letter may very well show some Danish influence in certain respects, however. This is suggested by the spelling *leeveeren* for Du *leveren* 'deliver,' which points to the characteristically Danish pronunciation of the *e* in the second syllable of this word as an open front vowel. The influential St. Thomas-born Danish planter J. L. Carstens (1705–

1747), who besides Danish mastered also Dutch, apparently even preferred to correspond in Dutch with the Danish West India Company and his case is not the only one.

Although the findings in our earlier article were largely based on Magens (1818), a translation of the New Testament by a native speaker of NH and belonging to the Danish mission materials which are regarded as a very reliable source of NH, the consistency in the use of reflexive forms may be attributable to the one-sidedness of our choice of material. Also, Magens' variety of NH may be more characteristic of the local elite's than of the slaves' speech. We now have access to several different versions of texts derived from the New Testament, the Old Testament, and other sources written by the Moravian Brethren.¹ It appears that there is considerable variation both within and among these texts. However, some of our earlier observations are supported in our new material as tendencies, such as the use of a combination of a pronoun and the reflexive marker *self* in adverbial PPs, as will be seen below.

Apart from the historical and philological reasons for taking up the issue once more, in our earlier paper we did not enter into the theoretical problems involved in reflexives in any detail, raised by works such as Reinhart and Reuland (1991). In this work a more fine-grained classification of reflexives is presented, to which we will return towards the end of our paper.

The remainder of this paper consists of four parts. In sections 2 and 3 we describe our sources and present our analysis. Our findings are presented in section 4, while section 5 contains a few concluding remarks.

2. Sources

The majority of our sources are manuscripts that emanated from the Moravian mission, most of them written by Johann Böhner in the latter part of the 18th century. They are listed below in Table 1. Two printed works are mentioned in this list: M, written by Magens, and E, whose author is unknown. The latter has not been consulted, but is merely added because its exact year of publication is known. Apart from the printed works, the material analyzed forms a corpus of NH texts containing close to 200,000 words. The approximate relationships between the sources with regard to (probable) authorship, the missionary organization they derive from, and their contents are displayed in Figure 1. This figure does not necessarily reflect the way these texts might have been modeled

on each other, but rather their relative similarity. The chronological order in which the texts were produced is indicated by their position on the time axis.

Table 1: *Sources used for this study*

Code	Code Stein (1986)	Contents	Author	Year of writing
M	3.1.9	New Testament	Magens	1781
A	3.2.1	Gospel Harmony	Böhner	1780–1785
B	3.2.2	Gospel Harmony	Böhner	1780–1785 (> A)
C	3.2.3 (=3.3.1.2)	Gospel Harmony	Böhner	> A, B
OT	3.2.5	Old Testament	Böhner	1780–1785 (> A, B)
F	3.3.1.7	<i>Memorabilia</i>		1767
G	3.3.1.3	Genesis		
D	3.2.3 (=3.3.1.2)	Gospel Harmony		< 1833
[E	3.1.10	Gospel Harmony		1833]

> = written after

< = written before

Note: Source 3.2.3 consists of two parts which are labeled C and D in this study. A Gospel Harmony is a compilation of the four Gospels. *Memorabilia* are Moravians' missionary reports.

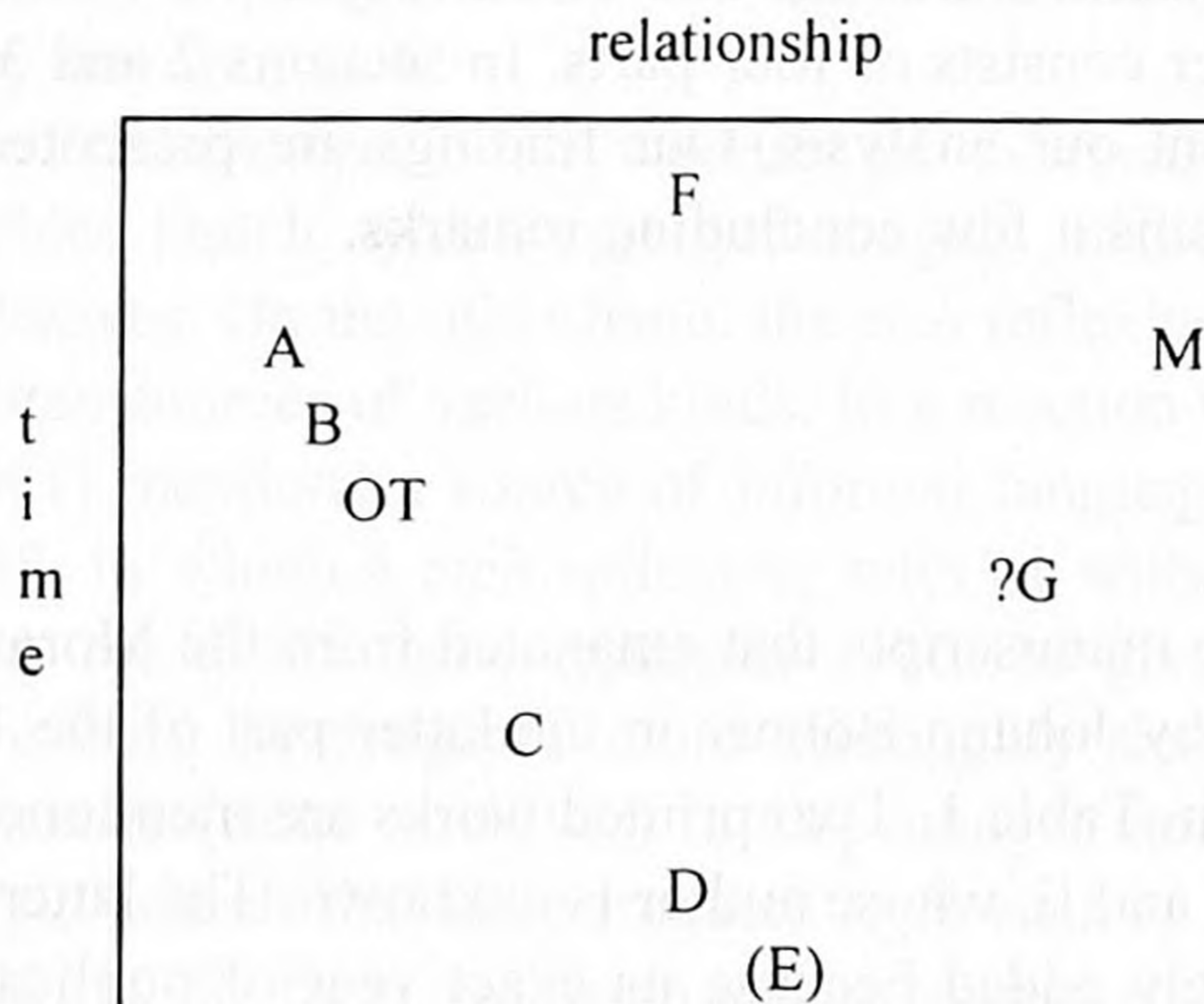


Figure 1: *Relationships between the sources used for this study*

The likeness of e.g. manuscripts A, B and OT can be inferred from their forming a cluster in the figure: they were all produced by Böhner (this appears from the handwriting), they resemble each other with respect to orthography,

choice of words, style of adding footnotes etc., and they were all written in the same time interval.

3. Analysis

The anaphorically used forms that were investigated are listed under (1), with their spelling variants and their abbreviations:

(1)	<i>Code</i>	<i>Forms</i>	<i>Code</i>	<i>Forms</i>
	S	<i>si/sie</i>	Ø	null forms
	SS	<i>si/sie selv/self</i>	1/2(S)	<i>mi/mie, joe, ons, jender (selv/self)</i>
	E	<i>em/hem</i>	3P(S)	<i>sender/sen (selv/self)</i>
	ES	<i>em/hem selv/self</i>		

A quantitative analysis was carried out of the appearance of these forms in the following syntactic contexts: object, indirect object, adverbial PP, small clause PP, and individual verbs. These contexts, which turned out to be relevant in our earlier study, will also yield significant differences in the distribution of the data analyzed here, as will be seen in section 4.3 below. The use of reflexives in these contexts in NH is illustrated by examples (2) to (18).

Object reflexive. We regard as object reflexives those cases in which the verb can be either transitive or reflexive with equal ease. Cases include:

- (2) *en maak em selv Godt glik* (A:38,4)
and make him self God equal
- (3) *en mi Geest verblie em* (A:8,7)
and my spirit rejoices it(self)
- (4) *die geheele Troepp a stort Ø af van die Hoogte* (C:§31;3,22)
the whole herd TNS cast (itself) down from the height

Indirect object reflexive. Indirect object reflexives are not so frequent in the material, but neither are non-reflexive indirect objects.

- (5) *Maar Martha a maak em selv veel werk vor dien Em* (A:145,20)
but Martha TNS make her self much work for serve Him

Adverbial prepositional phrase reflexive. A large number of reflexives occur in adverbially used prepositional phrases.

- (6) *Die Soon no kan doe een Goed van em selv* (A:38,6)
the son NEG can do one thing of him self

- (7) *Partie van die Skrifgeleerden ha seg bie sender selv* (M:Mat 9,3)
 Part of the Pharisees TNS say by themselves
- (8) *Een elke Königriek, as die kom oneens met si selv* (A:85,15)
 an each kingdom, if that come divided with it self
- (9) *lat em selv praat voor em* (A:125,21)
 let him self talk for him(self)

Small Clause prepositional phrase reflexive. A superficially similar category is that of prepositional phrases in small clauses. The type of reflexive in these contexts turns out to be rather different, however.

- (10) *en [mi] hab soldaten na onder mi* (A:59,5)
 and [I] have soldiers PREP under my(self)
- (11) *hab si eigen Saad bi si selv* (OT:2,9)
 have his own seed with his self
- (12) *en Jesus ha ruep sie twaelf Disciplen na sie* (M:Mat 10,1)
 and Jesus TNS call his twelve disciples to his
- (13) *en neem seven ander Geesten mit sie* (M:Mat 12,45)
 and take seven other spirits with his

Inherent reflexive. A crucial, but difficult to analyze category is that of inherent reflexives; we turn to their definition below. Examples include:

- (14) *dat die Volk sall bekeer sender* (A:76,16)
 that the people will convert them(selves)
- (15) *Maar Jesus a draai si om* (B:40,15)
 but Jesus TNS turn his (self) around
- (16) *maar as jender no bekeer Ø* (A:154,22)
 but if you.PL NEG convert (yourselves)
- (17) *maer die Volk ha verwonder sender* (M:Mat 8,27)
 but the people TNS marvel them(selves)
- (18) *soo Em a verwonder si selv over die Man, en a keer Em om*
 so he TNS wonder his self about the man, and TNS turn him(self) around
 (D:§27;2,6)

The choice of these examples also serves to illustrate the variability in reflexive forms used, something we were not sufficiently aware of in our earlier research. Note for example the use of a *sie* form + *selv* in (18). In its coordinated sentence, that is also headed by an inherently reflexive verb, a bare 'object' pronoun *Em* is used, demonstrably referring back to the same subject, as is clear from the spelling with initial capital that is used with pronouns denoting holy persons (here Christ).

The form *selv* can also function non-reflexively, for example emphatically, as in (19), or adjectivally, as in (20). The Dutch equivalents of *selv*, namely *zelf* and *zelfde*, have the same possible uses.

- (19) *Salomon selv in al sie Heerligkeit no ha ka kleedt glik als een van sender*
 Salomon self in all his glory not TNS ASP dress like as one of them
 (M:Mat 6,29)
- (20) *en sie Knecht ha kom gesond na die selve yer* (M:Mat 8,13)
 and his servant TNS become healthy in that same hour

We also encountered an instance of *selv* in combination with a reciprocal pronoun:

- (21) *Elkeen Koningrik, die ben na Onvrede onder malkander selv* (C:§42;2,11)
 every kingdom, that is in discord under each other self

In our analysis we also ran into some problems. First, we came across a few rare instances of the form *sich* as a third-person singular reflexive form. On the one hand, it could be an *ad hoc* borrowing from German by Böhner—something which the spelling seems to suggest. On the other hand, it could also have further implications for the origin of the normal *sie* reflexive in NH. In German, Danish and present-day standard Dutch, forms related to *sich* are the normal third-person singular reflexive.

Second, the difference between small clause prepositional phrases and adverbial prepositional phrases is not always very clear. A borderline case from manuscript A is:

- (22) *em no estimeer mi [tegen em]_{ADV}* (A:28,36)
em no estimeer [mi tegen em]_{SC}
 he not consider me against him
 ‘he doesn’t consider me (well) in his (eyes),’ i.e. ‘he considers me objectionable’
 (adverbial PP)
 ‘he doesn’t consider I (go) against him,’ i.e. ‘he considers me (being) in favor of
 him’ (small clause PP)

This example contains an ambiguity that is due to the fact that different interpretations of the constituent structure are possible. The same expression is also found in (23) and a similar one in (24):

- (23) *em a estimeer Sarai weenig tegen si selv* (A:28,32)
 (s)he TNS consider Sarai little against her self
- (24) *sen a veracht die Rad van God, tegen sender selv* (C:§38;4)
 they TNS despise the advice of God, against their self

Another unclear sentence, whose structure is difficult to determine although the ambiguity does not really lead to different readings, is (25):

(25) *die Deüfel a draag Em met em nabin die heilig Stadt* (A:22,15)
 the devil TNS carry him with him(self) into the holy city

Third, it was difficult to decide in a few cases if a certain verb should be considered as inherently reflexive or as a normal transitive verb taking a direct object reflexive. It is difficult to find an indisputable definition of 'inherent reflexive,' even when a notion like 'semantic content difference' is taken into account in order to explain the difference with normal transitive verbs. It would be conceivable to say that, when the semantic content of a verb is different from that of its homophonous inherently reflexive counterpart, we should speak of two different verbs, one of them being inherently reflexive. But then we still face the problem of having to decide whether the semantic content of for example the verb 'humiliate' in 'humiliate oneself' and in 'humiliate someone' is different or not. The inherently reflexive verbs, some of which (marked with an asterisk) may occur with zero reflexives as well, are listed under (26).

(26) Inherently reflexive verbs

<i>bedink</i>	think, (re)consider (lit.: think by oneself)
<i>bekeer</i> *	convert oneself
<i>beweeg</i>	stir, move (lit.: stir oneself)
<i>boek</i> *	stoop, lean down (lit.: to lean oneself down)
<i>draej/dreij</i> *	turn oneself
<i>erger</i>	get annoyed at (lit.: to irritate oneself)
<i>keer</i> *	turn oneself
<i>kik om si</i>	look around oneself
<i>lee</i> *	lay oneself
<i>neeg</i>	incline, bend (lit.: to bend oneself)
<i>openbaar</i>	reveal oneself
<i>ris</i>	rise up against (lit.: rise oneself up)
<i>set</i> *	seat oneself
<i>skaam</i>	be ashamed (lit.: to shame oneself)
<i>stort</i>	cast oneself
<i>verberg</i>	conceal oneself
<i>verhooghen</i>	exalt oneself
<i>verloochen</i>	deny oneself
<i>verwonder</i> *	be surprised (lit.: to wonder oneself)
<i>wies</i>	show oneself
<i>wonder</i> *	be surprised (lit.: to wonder oneself)

Fourth, it is sometimes hard to decide whether a certain verb has a zero-reflexive or whether it is simply intransitive. One way to circumvent this problem is to compare the NH passage in the *Evangelienharmonie* with the German original, and see if the latter has an overt reflexive. In that case we are just lucky to have an original, and even then it is far from self-evident that the corresponding construction has the same valency, let alone that we can be certain about the use of a particular zero-reflexive in former daily spoken language.

Finally, we carried out a consistency analysis for several larger texts (A, B and OT) by splitting them into halves (A1, A2, etc.) and then computing the figures for each half. The results of this analysis for those categories large enough to yield any conclusions are given in Table 2. They suggest that on the whole the manuscripts and our way of scoring are fairly consistent as to reflexive usage. Encouraged by this result, we can now look at our findings in more detail.

Table 2: *Consistency analysis for A, B, and OT*

		Source					
		A1	A2	B1	B2	OT1	OT2
<i>Dir Obj</i>	S	-	-	1	1	1	-
	SS	-	3	4	5	-	-
	E	5	-	3	4	1	-
	ES	3	6	-	-	-	1
	Ø	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Adv PP</i>	S	-	-	-	-	-	-
	SS	6	4	1	7	1	-
	E	2	1	-	3	2	1
	ES	4	2	-	1	-	-
	Ø	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>SC PP</i>	S	-	-	-	-	-	-
	SS	-	-	3	3	1	-
	E	7	8	9	7	5	7
	ES	-	-	2	-	-	-
	Ø	-	-	-	-	-	-

Note: For abbreviations see Table 1 and (1).

4. Findings

In sections 2 and 3 we described the sources and the analytic categories that we used. We will now report on the quantitative findings of our study.

4.1 *The distribution of sie as a third-person reflexive*

A central issue, of course, is what we can gather from the wider range of sources studied here about the distribution of *sie*. Consider first the overview

Table 3: *Distribution of 3sg reflexive forms*

		Source									
		M	A	B	OT	F	G	C	D	TOTAL	
<i>Dir Obj</i>	S	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	(2)
	SS	6	2	9	-	-	-	-	2	19	(13)
	E	-	5	7	1	-	-	3	2	18	(18)
	ES	-	9	-	1	2	-	3	2	17	(17)
	Ø	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	(1)
<i>Ind Obj</i>	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(0)
	SS	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	(1)
	E	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	4	(4)
	ES	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	(1)
	Ø	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(0)
<i>Adv PP</i>	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(0)
	SS	3	10	8	1	-	-	2?	2	26	(23)
	E	-	3	3	3	-	-	-	1	10	(10)
	ES	-	6	1	-	2	-	5	2	16	(16)
	Ø	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(0)
<i>SC PP</i>	S	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	(0)
	SS	-	-	6	1	-	-	-	-	7	(7)
	E	-	15	16	12	-	-	9	6	58	(58)
	ES	-	-	2	-	-	-	4	2	8	(8)
	Ø	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(0)
<i>Verbs</i>	S	2	-	12	1	-	-	-	-	15	(13)
	SS	6	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	10	(4)
	E	-	19	10	53	-	-	7	4	93	(93)
	ES	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	4	(4)
	Ø	1	21	14	10	-	-	9	8	63	(62)

of the third-person singular reflexive forms in the material, presented in Table 3. In the totals in parentheses in the rightmost column the (Danish mission) Magens text is not included. Note first of all that the picture is far more complex than the one sketched in our earlier study. Several contexts which we had claimed to be characteristic for *sie* on the basis of the Danish mission material, turn out to show plenty of *em* forms as well.

Furthermore, *sie* appears to be disappearing over time, as we can see when we compare the first five sources to the later ones (see Fig. 1), ignoring the presence or absence of *selv* for the moment. Table 4, based on Table 3, presents the schematic results.

Table 4: *Decrease of sie forms over time (3sg forms only)*

		Source	
		M, A, B, OT, F	G, C, D
<i>Dir Obj</i>	S + SS	19	2
	E + ES	23	10
<i>Ind Obj</i>	S + SS	1	-
	E + ES	5	-
<i>Adv PP</i>	S + SS	22	4
	E + ES	18	8
<i>SC PP</i>	S + SS	12	-
	E + ES	45	21
<i>Verbs</i>	S + SS	24	1
	E + ES	85	12

Overall, the proportion of *sie* forms falls from 31% (78 out of 254) to 12% (7 out of 58), between the earlier and the later sources. This is not surprising when we take into account the fact that the *sie* forms do not occur at all in De Josselin de Jong's (1926) collection of 20th-century texts. If we restrict ourselves to the bare *sie* forms, these occur not even once in the later texts in our corpus.

What we would like to propose is the following hypothesis: *sie* originated in NH as an acrolectal form, taken from standard Dutch *zich*, and slowly disappeared as the creole became more and more exclusively a slave language. The Danish mission texts by Magens, which clearly show a high incidence of *sie*, are representative of the white planters' speech, while the Herrnhut materials come closer to slave speech. We want to claim that this is the case particu-

larly for the bare *sie* forms, modeled on *zich*. The *sie* + *selv* forms are ambiguous: they can be reflexes of Dutch *zich* + *zelf* or they can be a NH possessive *sie* (ultimately derived from regional Dutch *sin*) + *selv* form. While the *sie* + *selv* forms also disappear from the language eventually, their distribution is wider and they are still used in the later manuscripts analyzed in Table 4.

In the course of time NH as a whole became more and more exclusively basilectal. This latter conclusion is supported by the fact that whenever we have variation between two forms in 18th-century NH **and** know which form was the more basilectal one, it is the latter which has survived in the 20th-century texts.

This view of the gradual reduction of variation in the language accords well with Alleyne's (1971) view of the creolization process, as well as with Le Page & Tabouret-Keller's (1985) notion of focussing. It goes against the traditional idea of the acrolect-basilect continuum as being a relatively late phenomenon.

4.2 *The distribution and grammaticalization of selv*

Another question of considerable interest is the role of *selv*. Since this formative is added to other reflexives besides those of the third person singular, we need to analyze the former as well. The distribution of these forms is presented in Table 5.

On the basis of Tables 3 and 5 we can now calculate whether *selv* occurs more often with third-person pronouns than with non-third-person pronouns. We would expect this from a functionalist perspective if we make two assumptions: (a) *selv* disambiguates pronominal reference by marking a form as reflexive; (b) since for the first and second person there is never any ambiguity with respect to their reflexive or non-reflexive status, we would expect *selv* to be less frequent there than with third persons. As Table 6, computed on the basis of Tables 3 and 5, shows, this prediction is not borne out. The results for the pronouns interact with the diachronic factor. In the earlier texts, the forms with *selv* constitute 32% of the non-third-person forms and 30% of the third-person forms. In the later texts, these percentages increase to 46% and 36%, respectively. It seems fair, however, to exclude the *sie* forms from the third-person category, since the latter are unambiguously reflexive. In that case the third-person forms marked with *selv* increase from 19% to 31%.

Table 5: *Distribution of non-3sg reflexive forms*

		M	A	B	OT	F	G	C	D	TOTAL
<i>Dir Obj</i>	1/2	-	4	4	6	-	-	-	1	15
	1/2S	2	5	7	-	-	-	5	3	22
	3P	-	8	7	2	2	-	7	7	33
	3PS	1	1	-	-	3	-	-	1	6
<i>Ind Obj</i>	1/2	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	8
	1/2S	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	3
	3P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
	3PS	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
<i>Adv PP</i>	1/2	-	1	3	4	-	-	3	3	14
	1/2S	1	11	15	3	-	-	4	4	38
	3P	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
	3PS	2	7	3	-	1	-	4	2	19
<i>SC PP</i>	1/2	-	8	14	5	-	1	6	2	36
	1/2S	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	4
	3P	-	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	5
	3PS	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	3
<i>Verbs</i>	1/2	4	5	4	28	1	-	1	5	48
	1/2S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
	3P	4	20	17	8	4	-	4	9	56
	3PS	-	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	4

Table 6: *Distribution of selv in 1st, 2nd and 3rd person reflexives*

	Source	
	M, A, B, OT, F	G, C, D
1/2	99	22
1/2S	48 = 32%	19 = 46%
3	251 (229)	59 (59)
3S	108 = 30% (56 = 19%)	34 = 36% (27 = 31%)

Note: Zero-reflexives are excluded; non-*sie* third-person forms are in parentheses.

Thus, contrary to our expectation, in both periods non-third-person forms are marked with *selv* more frequently than third-person forms. This appears even more clearly if we discount the *sie* forms. This means that either the assumption

about the reflexive nature of *selv* or the assumption about the functional distinction between third and non-third-person forms is incorrect, or both. It is clear that *selv* is more than just a reflexive disambiguator; it regularly occurs in the material as an emphatic marker similar to ‘X him/herself’ in English. Since *selv* is more frequent in the later texts (although the differences are slight), this may suggest that it gradually grammaticalized into a reflexive marker.

4.3 *The syntactic distribution of reflexive forms in 18th-century Negerhollands*

We gain more insight into the behavior of *selv*, and of the other forms as well, when we take the different syntactic contexts into account in which reflexives can occur. In Table 7 we summarize our findings in this respect.

Table 7: *Distribution of selv in reflexives in different contexts*

	DO	IO	ADV PP	SC PP	V
1/2	15	8	14	36	48
1/2S	22	3	38	4	-
3	51	4	11	63	159
3S	23	2	35	11	8
S	2	-	-	5	15
SS	19	1	26	7	10
Ø	1	-	-	-	63

What is the significance of the data in Table 7 from a more typological and universal linguistic perspective? A number of conclusions can be drawn from this table, which we will interpret first in the light of Reinhart & Reuland’s (1991) schematic classification of western European reflexives as being [\pm subject oriented] (i.e. necessarily bound by a subject, rather than an object noun phrase) and [\pm locally bound] (i.e. bound by the closest available subject)]. Their classification yields four categories when applied to NH:

<i>sie</i>	[+subj, -loc]	pron	[-subj, -loc]
<i>sie selv</i>	[+subj, +loc]	pron <i>selv</i>	[-subj, +loc]

The feature [+locally bound] precludes a given set of elements from occurring in small clause Pps, which contain their own ‘small clause subject’. This would predict that *selv* forms are avoided in that context, something which is borne out for the non-*sie* cases. Although the fact that *sie* occurs at all in small clause

Pps may be interpreted as supporting Reinhart & Reuland's classification, *sie* + *selv* is far from infrequent in this context.

The form *selv* is particularly dominant in adverbial prepositional phrases and direct objects. These are syntactically unrestricted and may call for the most disambiguation. There is a tendency for indirect objects and small clause Pps to contain a bare form; again this is what would be expected, since here the lexical specification creates a disambiguating context, as in the case of small clauses, which occur with specific verbs.

Bare *sie* occurs most frequently in lexically specified combinations and in small clause Pps. In the first case it may be thought of as an enclitic similar to Dutch *zich*, which is also often enclitic (Everaert 1986). Zero forms are almost exclusively limited to specific verbs; *selv* is infrequent when used with these verbs, which suggests that either the reflexive is an enclitic in this case, or the lexical specification is sufficient to make the presence of disambiguating *selv* unnecessary. Perhaps the zero forms should also be thought of as enclitic forms, a conclusion reached in Muysken (1993) for Papiamentu on independent grounds.

5. Concluding remarks

It is clear that the more detailed analysis given here makes the picture of reflexivization in 18th-century NH much more complex than we had originally thought. But although the development seems to be gradual, there is no evidence for an early stage where only bare pronouns are used as reflexives. Rather, both lexical specification of specific predicates and a discourse-based disambiguation strategy involving *selv* are already present in these early sources. The *sie* form, in contrast with *em*, may well be an acrolectal feature, which disappeared from the language in the course of time. What remains to be investigated is the development of the NH reflexive in the 19th- and 20th-century sources.

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