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INVESTIGATION OF A LANGUAGE IN DECLINE AND ITS
RELATIONSHIP TO SOCIAL CHANGE.

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**THE DUTCH LANGUAGE IN COLONIAL NEW YORK:
AN INVESTIGATION OF A LANGUAGE IN DECLINE
AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO SOCIAL CHANGE**

by

Charles Gehring

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the Graduate School in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Germanic Languages, Indiana University.

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William Z Shetter

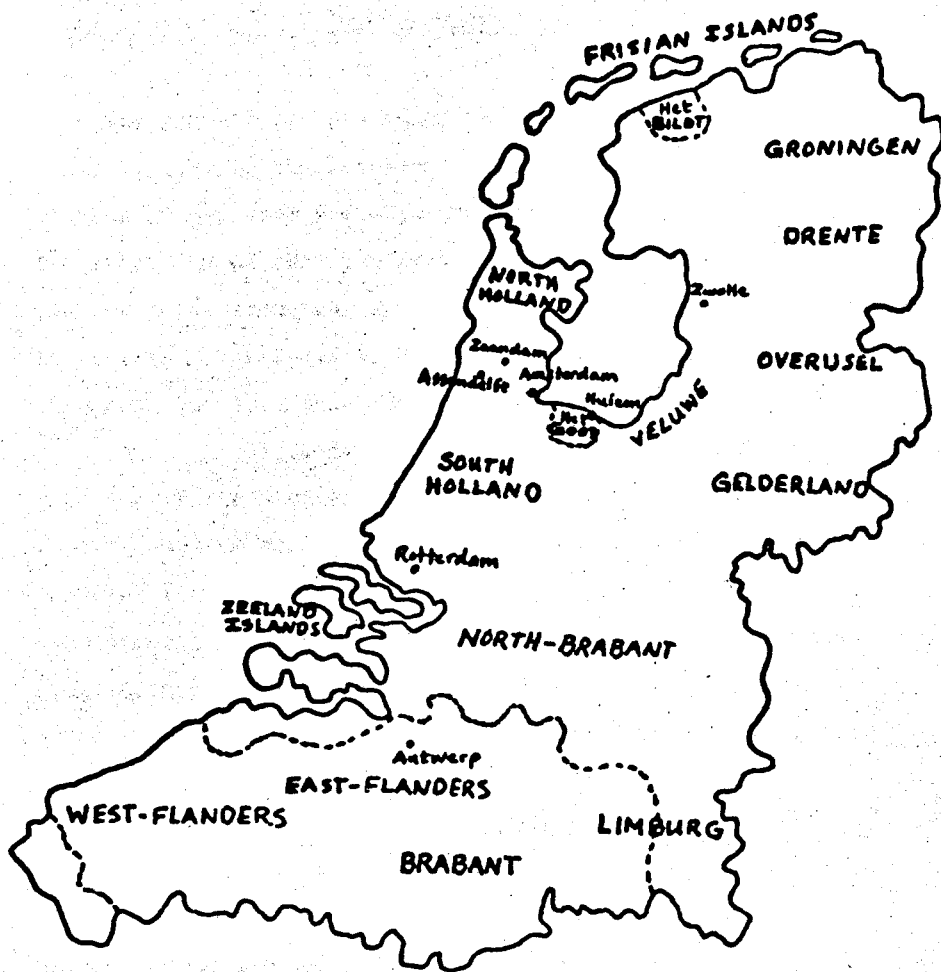
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Dialect map of the Netherlands and Flemish speaking Belgium showing areas mentioned in text.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to investigate the Dutch language used by the settlers of the Mohawk and Upper Hudson regions of New York State in the 17th and 18th centuries. The intention of this investigation is not a description of the New York Dutch language, but rather a correlation between linguistic divergences in the language and the process of change in New York Dutch society.

The eventual assimilation of Dutch society and the extinction of its language in New York State is well known. However, the nature of this assimilation and the parallels which exist between social change and linguistic change have not been explored. As Stanley Lieberman states in Language and Ethnic Relations in Canada: "although linguists pay considerable attention to language contact as a major factor in altering languages through interference and borrowing, the sociological setting in which language contact and bilingual behavior occurs has not received sufficient study."¹ In the past many languages have been extinguished and replaced by a

1. Stanley Lieberman, Language and Ethnic Relations in Canada, (New York, 1970) p. 6.

more dominant contact language. Little light has been shed, however, on the interrelationship between the assimilation of a distinct society and of its most basic social institution, language.

The importance of language as an integral social institution in the maintenance of social identity is expressed by Stanley Lieberman when he states: "that some joint interaction will exist between the maintenance of an ethnic group and its distinctive language, with each reinforcing the other."² When a society, such as the Dutch along the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers, is exposed to the powerful pressures to conform to a more dominant society, the strength of mutual reinforcement necessary to maintain social identity decreases; this gradual process of social assimilations is reflected in the alterations and divergences occurring in the structure of its language. This correlation between language and society will be further explored in Chapter 1.

Previous research on the language of the Dutch settlers in New York and New Jersey has been confined to descriptions of the language of the descendants of the original settlers as spoken in the 19th and 20th centuries. These descriptions were based on information transmitted by informants who still

2. Stanley Lieberman, op. cit., p. 7.

maintained a degree of fluency in the moribund language, e.g. L. G. Van Loon's description of Mohawk-Hudson Dutch³ and J. Dyneley Prince's work on the Jersey Dutch Dialect.⁴ Van Cleef Bachman is now working on a dictionary of Laeg Duits⁵ which will also draw on sources from the 19th and 20th centuries. There is, however, a total lack of research on those generations of Dutch speakers of the 17th and 18th centuries. In order to understand and evaluate the shape of the language in the last two centuries, it is necessary to investigate the language of the original settlers and their descendants in those centuries. This study will, thus, tie into research already done or in progress in order to improve our understanding of the development of the Dutch language in New York.

The research in this study is based on those Dutch documents which have survived from the 17th and 18th centuries. The documents are, unfortunately, not easily accessible. They are scattered in various institutions in New York State

3. L. G. Van Loon, The Dutch Dialect of New York (The Hague, 1938).

4. J. Dyneley Prince, "Jersey Dutch Dialect," Dialect Notes, Vol. III, 1938.

5. According to Bachman the later generations of Dutch speakers always referred to their language as Laeg Duits.

4.

and outside of the state. A great deal of footwork was necessary in order to find the majority of the documents, since there is no compilation of the documents and their locations. Many of the documents were found by chance and many may be still lying about somewhere waiting to be uncovered. Many attempts were made to locate documents still in private hands, i.e. Dutch papers still preserved by descendants of the Dutch settlers, but to no avail; only those documents now held by various State and private institutions were attainable. A list of locations where Dutch documents are preserved appears in the Appendix to this study.

At the present time the amount of surviving documents seems inexhaustible. During this research over 200 pages of Dutch documents were collected with more being added every week.⁶ The majority of the documents are in very good condition and present few problems to the researcher. Most of them are so well preserved that they can be read easily from xerox or photo-copies. The early documents are, for the most part, written in a handwriting style typical of the 17th century Dutch. Documents from the 18th century are, however, written in a style which indicates that English handwriting had been

6. Newly found documents only confirm the conclusions drawn from the corpus used in this research.

adopted.⁷ A wide variety of documents were collected: letters (both formal and informal), business transactions, legal agreements, wills, deeds and miscellaneous notations. The intention was to collect as many documents as possible which would reflect a more casual style of writing. Personal letters especially tend to be written in a more colloquial style and more closely approach the spoken language than the elevated style used in wills and deeds. This was found to be true of the documents of the 17th century, i.e. mainly the documents of the first generation of settlers. By the 18th century even legal documents appear in a form practically devoid of stylistic conventions.

The classification of the documents at first presented a problem. Basic facts had to be known about each document for reference and cross-reference. It was necessary to classify the type of document, i.e. letter, will, etc., to establish the date when it was written and to assign a classification number so that it could be easily found. The system devised for classification is a combination of letter and number code which reveals all of the desired information.

7. The adoption of English handwriting by Dutch speakers in the 18th century is a good example of social accommodation.

The letter code indicates the type of document or its location; the numbers indicate the document's date in the first four digits and its classification number in the last two digits, e.g. (L-173506) indicates that the document in question is a letter written in 1735 and that it is the sixth document in the collection of letters; (LR-174801) indicates that the document is in the Livingston-Redmond collection at the Franklin Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park. It was felt to be more important to classify the documents from the Livingston-Redmond according to its location rather than to its type since they are mainly letters and numerous. A key to the letter code is as follows:

(A-	)	accounts, i.e. business notations
(D-	)	deeds, i.e. land transactions
(L-	)	letters
(M-	)	miscellaneous, i.e. receipts, notices, etc.
(W-	)	wills
(AG-	)	agreements, i.e. business transactions
(LR-	)	<u>Livingston-Redmond</u> collection
(MA-	)	miscellaneous accounts
(VS-	)	<u>Van Schaick Papers</u> (all letters)
(MHS-	)	<u>Massachusetts Historical Society</u> (all letters)

When examples are cited from the documents the classification designation will be given in parentheses. The cited form will be underlined with the exception of the chapters on syntax and vocabulary borrowing where only the forms or words in question will be underlined.

I.

The Correlation of Dutch Language
and Society in New York

The colonization of New York by the Dutch began with the establishment of New Netherland by the Dutch West India Company in the early 17th century. The Hudson River served as a conduit encouraging the dispersion of settlement into the interior. This 150 mile long artery gave a centrifugal impetus to the colony's political and social institutions.¹ Initially the West India Company was concerned mainly with the exploitation of the fur trade and little effort was expended in the establishment of a permanent colony. It was soon realized that in order to hold the claim against competing English interests it would be necessary to import permanent settlers. The Company offered as inducement free land to any colonist who would pay his own transportation.²

The first wave of settlers was mainly Dutch.³ After the English conquest of the colony in 1664 the Dutch settlers in the lower Hudson Valley became infiltrated with English settlers.

1. Patricia U. Bonomi, A Factious People: Politics and Society in Colonial New York, (New York, 1971) p. 17.

2. Bonomi, op. cit., p. 19.

3. Ship records indicate a few Norwegian and German colonists.

Upriver, however, the Dutch remained the predominant ethnic group with Albany as the center of influence. A stronghold of Dutch settlement along the Hudson was the Patroonship established by Kiliaen Van Rensselaer south of Albany.⁴ The Van Rensselaer Patroonship was the only one to survive after the English conquest. The settlement of the lower Mohawk Valley by the Dutch began in 1662 with the granting of land at Schenectady to Arent Van Curler.⁵ Long after the loss of New Netherland to the English in 1664 Dutch society continued to flourish along the upper Hudson and lower Mohawk Rivers.⁶ As late as the middle of the 18th century the Dutch language was so predominant in this area that the sheriff found it difficult to empanel a jury.⁷

4. In 1629 grants of land were offered to investors who would settle the land within four years with 50 adult colonists.

5. Francis W. Halsey, ed., A Tour of Four Great Rivers, The Hudson, Mohawk, Susquehanna and Delaware in 1769, Being the Journal of Richard Smith (New York, 1906) p. xlii.

6. Recently a debate has arisen concerning the survival of Dutch society in New York. Thomas J. Condon in New York Beginnings: The Commercial Origins of New Netherland (New York, 1968) maintains that the institutions of Dutch society did not survive the English conquest of 1664, because they did not have sufficient time to develop firm roots. Condon's claim is strongly contested by Van Cleef Bachman in "The Dreary View of New Netherland's History: A Comment," Colloque International, (Nov. 1969) in which he states that a distinct Dutch society did survive the English conquest as witnessed by the "vigorous continuance of the Reformed Church" and the maintenance of the Dutch language two centuries after the English take-over.

7. Bonomi, op. cit., p. 26.

The center of Dutch society and culture at Albany survived well after 1686 when the governor of the colony of New York, Thomas Dongan, introduced an English system of government by granting a city charter. As Alice Kenney states in an article on the Albany Dutch: "... for the next three generations the Albanians continued to speak the Dutch language, observe Dutch customs, and exercise their English civic liberties in a Dutch manner."⁸ Although some accommodations were made to the English the basic character of the Dutch settlement remained the same. Kenney observes that although the Dutch were almost entirely severed from contact with the homeland "the society they developed in 18th century Albany resembled that of towns in the mediaeval Netherlands far more than it resembled that of any English settlements in North America."⁹

The transition from Dutch to English social institutions was a gradual process. After the conquest the English at first recognized the political organization, the religious principles, the property rights, and the judicial procedure of the Dutch. This was, however, only a temporary settlement.¹⁰

8. Alice P. Kenney, "Dutch Patricians in Colonial Albany," New York History, Vol. XLIX, No. 3, July 1968, p. 249.

9. Kenney, op. cit., p. 250.

10. A. E. McKinley, "The Transition from Dutch to English Rule in New York," American Historical Review, Vol. 6 (1900-01) p. 695.

The constant influx of English traders and settlers accelerated the process of Anglicization of Dutch social institutions. Gradually various features of English political practice were introduced while features of Dutch custom were maintained.¹¹ By 1686 the outward political appearance of municipal government in New Netherland had been formally Anglicized. But as McKinley states: "there still remained the Dutch blood, the Dutch customs, traditions and speech."¹² The continuance and consolidation of English authority brought about visible changes in the public social institutions of the Dutch; their private social traditions, however, remained intact.¹³

These social traditions were articulated by the Dutch colonists in the Dutch language, which was an integral part of their social identity. The close association between social tradition and language is exemplified by the reaction of Dutch parishioners when English was introduced into some of their churches in the mid 18th century. Many were so angered by the change that they left the Reformed Church and

11. McKinley, op. cit., p. 697.

12. McKinley, op. cit., p. 703.

13. Alice P. Kenney in "Private Worlds in the Middle Colonies: An Introduction to Human Tradition in American History," New York History, Vol. LI, No. 1 (Jan., 1970) explores these differences in social attitudes which existed between the Dutch and English with respect to family, craftsmanship and religion.

joined the Church of England. If they were to be forced to hear sermons in English, they would at least not have their ears disturbed by the old service in a foreign tongue.¹⁴

Their unique social identity was maintained by the location of the Dutch in a territory which was constantly threatened by the French in Quebec and their Indian allies. The dangers of their location in the colony caused them to band closely together for mutual safety. The Dutch tended, as a result, to display great hostility toward those 'outsiders' in the colony who did not understand their special problems.¹⁵ This produced a "clannish suspicion of 'strangers' and their ways."¹⁶ The Dutch had, in many ways, turned inward, depending upon their own resources for survival, and had adopted a xenophobic attitude toward all intruders. The Dutch language remained the vehicle through which their unique situation was articulated.

In 1775 the Dutch society around Albany was put to its first serious test. Plans for a British expedition to Quebec brought thousands of English speaking troops into the area. As Kenney states: "There may have been 3000 people in the city; at one time 1,400 soldiers were quartered in their homes.

14. Thomas J. Wertenbaker, The Founding of American Civilization: The Middle Colonies (New York, 1949) p. 111.

15. Bonomi, op. cit., p. 49.

16. Ibid., p. 51.

Several thousand more were encamped nearby ... many Albanians, especially young people, welcomed the soldiers and learned the English language and manners from them, but older citizens and the city fathers feared that these innovations might be dangerous.¹⁷ The troops kept pouring in for three years and remained in the area until 1759 when Quebec fell to General Wolfe. In 1760 the British soldiers left Albany to garrison Quebec.¹⁸ This extended contact with a large body of English speakers endangered the closed society of the Dutch. The exposure of the younger generation to foreign manners and ways accelerated the process of assimilation which had been slowly proceeding since the conquest. In New York City, where English influence was felt the strongest, the adoption of the English language by the younger generation was almost complete by the mid-18th century as was observed by the Swedish botanist Peter Kalm:

Dutch was generally the language which was spoken in Albany (he reports). In this region and also in the places between Albany and New York the predominating language was Dutch. In New York were also many homes in which Dutch was commonly spoken, especially by elderly people. The majority, however who were of Dutch descent, were succumbing to the English language. The younger generation scarcely ever spoke anything but English, and there were many who became offended

17. Kenney, Dutch Patricians, p. 270.

18. Ibid., p. 270.

if they were taken for Dutch because they preferred to pass for English. Therefore, it also happened that the majority of the young people attended the English church, although their parents remained loyal to the Dutch. For this reason many deserted the Reformed and Presbyterian churches in favor of the English.¹⁹

Contact with the English had naturally been continuing since the conquest in 1664. The effects of this contact on the Dutch society were gradual and not alarming. Accommodations were made to English social institutions because the Dutch were in no position to resist. However, as a society undergoes change through gradual accommodation to a more dominant society, a reaction occurs which opposes total assimilation and counterbalances the outward pressure of the accommodating force. As the Dutch were able to accept the English conquest by adopting their form of government and legal system they counterbalanced these accommodations by withdrawing into themselves in order to preserve their social traditions which were being threatened. These two opposing forces operating within Dutch society were also at work in their language. As Joseph Bram states in Language and Society: "... in our discussion of linguistic change ... we find two forces pulling in opposite directions. We can term those forces that favor change and novelty centrifugal, and those support-

19. Adolph B. Benson (ed.), The America of 1750, Peter Kalm's Travels in North America (New York, 1937), II, 626-627.

ing established standards centripetal."²⁰ If the balance between these opposing forces can be maintained both society and language will probably survive, although in an altered form. If the force of accommodation begins to exceed the opposing centripetal force then the tendency is toward assimilation of the society and extinction of its language.

An example of a society which has undergone fundamental changes but has maintained the necessary balance is that of the Dutch in South Africa. According to Louis Hartz in The Founding of New Societies:

... by the end of the 18th century the South African fragment of the European society had crystallized into a new community, with a distinctive culture ... Ruled by a commercial company which exploited them economically and neglected them in other respects, they turned their backs upon the sea and rejected Europe. Lacking incentives to accumulate capital or expand production for market, but with land and alien labor readily available, they formed the upper class in a loose-knit multiracial society of subsistence and near-subsistence farmers--a social order for which they found divine sanction in their religion. They had become Afrikaners--white Africans--speaking a new, simple language and conditioned to stark sunlight, unreliable rainfall and vast distances. They were tough, unimaginative, and isolated--not only from Europe, but also from their government; and in most cases so isolated from one another that they lacked a corporate spirit."²¹

20. (New York, 1955) p. 29.

21. (New York, 1964) p. 191.

The Dutch in New York were not able to maintain the balance between accommodation and preservation. The deciding factor which tipped the scales toward assimilation was the American Revolution. Alice Kenney in an article about the Albany Dutch during the Revolution indicates that ethnic divisions were not the deciding factor in the forming of allegiances during the Revolution. The Dutch split their allegiance because of the importance of other issues, e.g. "in Schenectady, an exposed situation and opposition to the Johnsons produced many Dutch Patriots. In Kinderhook isolation from constitutional and mercantile provocation and conflict with Yankee settlers influenced a large number of Dutchmen to become Tories. On the manors, ethnic considerations were overridden by antagonism toward Patriot landlords. In the city of Albany, a particular group of British newcomers who became Loyalists turned most of the old inhabitants against them by their efforts to get their own way in local politics."²² This split in loyalties during the Revolution shattered the unity of the Dutch.²³

The American Revolution did more, however, than destroy the unity necessary for the survival of a minority group.

22. Alice P. Kenney, "The Albany Dutch: Loyalists and Patriots," New York History, 42 (October, 1961) p. 344.

23. Ibid., p. 347.

It also removed the pressure of British dominance against which the Dutch had been reacting in order to maintain their identity and toward which they were forced to make accommodations. The Dutch in South Africa were in a similar situation but with a different outcome. As Louis Hartz states: "the Afrikaner people have become a nation, in reaction to the challenge presented by Great Britain and the British settlers."²⁴ The aspirations of the new American nation took precedence over minority considerations. The Dutch were no longer an ethnic minority continually guarding against 'outside' encroachment but had become a part of a new national identity. The need to preserve their social tradition and the language in which it was expressed had become secondary to the challenge of building a new society. The preservation of their social tradition had become a hindrance to unity and their language had become an anachronism.

Dutch social tradition and the Dutch language did not, however, die out overnight. Well into the 19th century church services were still being held in Dutch and pockets of Dutch speakers survived in areas of New Jersey and around Albany into the 20th century. The following chapters will be concerned with the effects of the forces of accommodation

24. Hartz, op. cit., p. 197.

and preservation of the Mohawk-Hudson Dutch language in the late 17th and 18th centuries. As the social structure of the Dutch accommodated itself to increasing English influence, it will be seen that the structure of their language also made accommodations. These accommodations will be analyzed through an examination of divergent forms from the documents. The divergent forms will be compared with 17th century Dutch dialectal forms in order to determine the extent of Dutch dialectal usage and English influence. This work is, therefore, not intended to be a complete description of Mohawk-Hudson Dutch, but rather an investigation of those forms which diverge from 17th century Dutch. It is basically an attempt to draw linguistic parallels with the opposing forces operating within a society which is undergoing change.

II.

PHONOLOGY

The major concern of the following presentation of New York Dutch (NYD) phonological divergences is to examine the general state of its phonological system and to determine the extent to which English as primary contact language influenced its shape. Any phonological accommodations made to English would have been initiated by bilingual speakers of Dutch and English in New York. Weinreich addresses himself to the role of the bilingual in altering the phonological system of a secondary language by stating: "That a bilingual should render phonemes of two languages in the same way if he identifies them is only natural from the point of view of economy: The practice of the same phonetic habits in both languages is an efficient way of easing one's burden of linguistic devices. As a matter of fact, it requires a relatively high degree of cultural sophistication in both languages for a speaker to afford the structural luxury of maintaining separate subphonemic habits in each."¹ The relative similarity of the English and Dutch phonological systems obviated an extensive reshaping of the minority system for the sake of

1. Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact, (The Hague, 1968) p. 24.

economy. The pressure for change would, of course, be focused on those areas of dissimilarity between the two phonological systems. The accommodations made to the dominant language would, however, not necessarily result in a total reshaping of the minority system in order that it coincide exactly with its system. Concerning this point Weinreich states: "...that a sound system which is known to have been influenced by a foreign one need not be expected to represent an exact replica of the influencing system."² The major area of phonological dissimilarities between Dutch and English is in the vowel system. For this reason the divergences of NYD vowels will first be examined.

Attempting to recover the phonological system of a language no longer spoken can at best yield only an approximation. The written form of a language tends to be very conservative in nature, reflecting phonological changes only years after the fact. This is especially true of official documents such as wills and deeds, where the style is very formal and legal formulas are used without change. More casual documents, however, such as letters, accounts and business transactions tend to reflect a closer approximation of the sound system at a given time. This is especially true where the education of the writer is minimal and his written language approaches a

2. Ibid., p. 24.

quasi phonetic rendering of his spoken language. Therefore it was mainly documents of this type that were relied upon to furnish information on the sound system and its divergences in 17th and 18th century NYD. From the second half of the 18th century wills and deeds also begin to indicate sound variations through graphemic divergences. The following examination of phonological divergences in NYD includes only those sounds which indicate differences from 17th century Dutch. Those sounds which were similar to those produced in the homeland are not considered.

Vowels: The first set of sounds to be considered are the diphthongs [ɛɪ] and [ɔɪ] written ij/y/ey and ui/uy respectively in the documents. Both diphthongs originally developed from long Germanic monophthongs, i.e., [ɛɪ] < Gmc. [i:]³ and [ɔɪ] < Gmc. [u:].⁴ Hellinga's extensive study of the diphthongization reaches the conclusion that it was a sound development originating "in het hart van Holland."⁵ This sound process began during the 16th century; however, the two sounds did

3. Not to be confused with Dutch [ɛɪ] < Gmc. [aɪ] written ei.

4. The fronting of Gmc. [u:] to [y:] preceded the development of the diphthong [ɔɪ].

5. Wytze Hellinga, De Opbouw van de Algemeen Beschaafde Uitspraak van het Nederlands, (Amsterdam, 1938) p. 205.

not develop equally. According to Hellinga (drawing on Spieghel)⁶: "op het eind der XVIIe eeuw was in Amsterdam meer of minder geprononceerde diphthong ui gewoon; gediphthongeerde ij werd wel gehoord, maar was niet aanbevelenswaardig niet 'goed' zelfs."⁷ He argues that [i:] > [ɛɪ] was not as readily accepted as [y:] > [œʏ] because the diphthong [ɛɪ] (< [i:]) was intruding upon territory occupied by ai [ɛɪ]. On the other hand [y:] > [œʏ] met with little resistance since it caused no "homonieemvrees".⁸ Until the beginning of the 18th century both variants [i:] and [ɛɪ] existed side by side.⁹ This presents a problem with respect to the NYD diphthongs, since the Dutch settlers left their homeland when the diphthongization was still in a state of flux. [i:] > [ɛɪ] especially had not yet gained wide acceptance outside of Holland. For example, in Rotterdam, according to Helderer (1683) and Sewel (1708), [i:] and [y:] were maintained with no

6. Hendrik Spieghel (1549-1612) was a humanist writer who promoted the purification and standardization of the Dutch language.

7. Ibid., p. 132.

8. Ibid., p. 134-5.

9. Ibid., p. 168.

diphthongal variants.¹⁰ Since the grapheme *y* could represent both [i:] as double *i* and the new diphthong [ɛi] it is difficult to ascertain whether a given document represents maintenance of the monophthong or use of the diphthong.

According to Van Loon, in his description of NYD in the 19th century, *y* and *gi* were both pronounced "exactly as the pronoun 'I'," e.g. 'fyf', 'kyke' and 'al tyt'.¹¹ This is confirmed by my Laeg Duits informant (see Chapter six) who consistently uses [aj] for Dutch [ɛi], e.g. [tajt] 'tijd' and [majn] 'mijn'. In Jersey Dutch the sound is described as the diphthong [ɛi] as in [vɛɛrv] 'vijf', but once as [aj] in [strask] 'strijken'.¹² The latest written evidence of NYD [aj] for Dutch [ɛi] occurs in a document written down around 1885. The text consists of the remarks of Barent Myndertsse concerning the use of Dutch in the Reformed Church. Walter Hill, a Mohawk Valley school teacher, wrote down the conversation using an original mixture of English and Dutch spelling principles to represent 'Low Dutch'. In the document the following words occur indicating a diphthong [aj] in place of Dutch [ɛi]:

10. Ibid., p. 179.

11. L. G. Van Loon, op. cit., p. 8.

12. William Z. Shetter, "A Final Word on Jersey Dutch," American Speech, December 1958, Vol. 33, No. 4, p. 246.

tijt 'tijd', verbai 'voorbij', baibel 'baibel', hai 'hij' and main 'mijn'. It seems, therefore, conclusive from the 19th century sources that a lowering of the first component of the diphthong [ɛɪ] to [aɪ] had spread widely throughout the NYD speaking communities. The question is whether this development appears in the earlier sources from the 17th and 18th centuries.

Nowhere in the earlier NYD documents is there a clear graphemic indication, such as the digraph ai, to substantiate this divergence. There are, however, several clues that the NYD speakers were attempting to reflect this change by means other than ij/y/ey. In a receipt (MA-173332) the number 'five' (Dutch 'vijf') is written vive indicating possible influence of English orthography to represent the diphthong [aɪ] in monosyllabic words, e.g. by means of CiCe, as in English 'mine'. The transference of English orthographic practices to Dutch would reflect the influence English instruction in the schools at this time. In the same receipt, however, 'mijn' is twice written myj. As stated above, y could have represented either the diphthong [ɛɪ] or its source [i:]. It is possible that it orthographically represents the lowered diphthong [aɪ] patterned after English 'my'. It may also be the case that the writer was unconsciously transferring English 'five' into Dutch. This orthographic divergence or innovation is, however, also followed in a letter (LR-172303) in which the infinitive 'zijn' is

written twice ring and once zing. The writer was once again not consistent, in that once zin appears and twice 'mijn' is written min. It is possible that rules of English spelling were learned imperfectly by the Dutch; and in their use of CiCe to represent the diphthong, they made no distinction with CiC since the name of the vowel was a diphthong.

Use of the grapheme i does not appear in the NYD documents until the 18th century. Earlier documents show either y or ij. Many of the later documents use i and y interchangeably and in many instances ey appears in final position.¹³ It is possible that the grapheme i in the preceding examples represents the monophthong [i:] brought to New Netherland by settlers who had not diphthongized this vowel in their dialect. If this was the case it still does not explain the fact that less than a century later [ar] appears for [ɛr] everywhere with no evidence for the survival of [i:].

Further evidence for the use of i to represent [ar] occurs in (L-174305). The examples inden and indon 'einde' show i used to indicate [ar] instead of [ɛr].¹⁴ The grapheme i could not indicate [i:] here since the source for ei is Gmc. [ar] and not [i:]. One of the dialects in the Netherlands which

13. The digraph ey generally represents the unlauded diphthong [ɛr] from Gmc. [ar].

14. The retention of the unlauded diphthong from Gmc. [ar] was common in the 17th century Dutch dialects. (Hellinga, p. 193).

retains the unumlauted [aɪ] is that of the Gooi. A considerable number of the settlers at Rensselaerswyk came from Kiliaen van Rensselaer's estates in the Gooi.¹⁵ Examples from a mid-18th century letter written in the Gooi show the diphthong ai [aɪ] instead of ei [ɛi], e.g. klain 'klein', geaid 'gezeid', allebay 'allebei' rais 'reis' and elayd 'geleid'. Reflexes of Gmc. [i:] are written with y as in: my 'mij', wyf 'wif', and blyven 'blijven'. One time the writer uses ay in kraygen 'krijgen'. This could possibly be a misspelling or an indication that [i:] and [aɪ] had fallen together. According to Heeroma the present day Gooi dialect maintains a distinction between the reflexes of Gmc. [i:] and [aɪ]. Heeroma cites the examples [blaiven] 'blijven' and [brai] 'brij' from Gmc. [i:] and [kla:in] 'klein' and [a:ɪzɛn] 'eigen' from Gmc. [aɪ].¹⁶ Heeroma's notation [a:i] indicates greater duration in the onset of the diphthong than [aɪ]. The distinction is, therefore, one of quantity and not quality. This distinction also occurs in the Zaan dialect north of Amsterdam.¹⁷ Ten Kate, writing in the 17th century, observed that everywhere in the Netherlands

15. Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts, translated and edited by A. J. F. van Laer (Albany, 1908) pp. 53 and 58.

16. K. Heeroma, "Goois uit het midden der 18e eeuw," De Nieuwe Taalgids, Vol. 31 (1937) pp. 164-168.

17. Hellings, op. cit., p. 191.

a distinction was made between ei and ij. "uitgezonderd bij ons Amstellanders en die van Rijnland, (als welken de y eveneens uitspreken als den Diphthongus ey), gelijk mede in 't Plat-Brabands (alwaer beide ey en y, als ai klinken): De Zaenlander spreekt wel de ey uit als ay en de y als ey. dog 't onderscheyd blijft 'er nogtans in gelijke waerde."¹⁸ In (VS-174904) the grapheme i is used in hev sit min 'zeide'. It should be noted here that min 'mijn' is also written i as well as sin 'zijn' (4X).

The above examples would then be an early indication that ei from Gmc. [az] and ij from Gmc. [i:] had fallen together especially among those settlers who spoke the dialects mentioned above by Ten Kate. This development was probably reinforced by the close contact between the Dutch and the Palatine German settlers in the Schoharie and Mohawk Valleys. This close contact may have accelerated the leveling out of phonological differences such as Dutch [ɛɪ] and German [aɪ].

Dutch [ɛɪ] written ui appears in most of the documents as the digraph ui or uy. Only in a few isolated instances is there another digraph of grapheme used for this diphthong. Two documents separated by almost 100 years show an au for

18. Ibid., p. 199.

the usual uy:

(D-168610) waer de... hause op staet 'waar het...
huis op staet'

(W-177507) aut genade 'uit genade'

It is possible that the digraph uy continued to be used for a diphthong that had backed to [au] or that these two examples above are merely dialectal variants.¹⁹

An indication that [œY] may have developed into [au] can be found in Jersey Dutch. Prince in his transcription of the Jersey Dutch version of 'The Prodigal Son' writes au for Dutch [œY], e.g. h_aus 'huis' and aut 'uit'. He describes the sound value of his notation au as "the nasalized American ou in 'house'."²⁰

In the Myndertsse document of 1885 ui is used consistently for the diphthong [œY], e.g. Laeg Duits, gebruikt and uit. If the diphthong had become backed to [au] there was no graphemic indication of the change by Mr. Hill at this time.²¹

19. A case could also be made for German influence in hause and aut. As indicated above, contact between German and Dutch settlers was close in some areas.

20. J. Dyneley Prince, "A Text in Jersey Dutch," Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde, Vol. 32 (1913) pp. 306-12.

21. It should be noted that in the text of my Laeg duits informant (Chapter 6) [œY] consistently occurs for Dutch ui [œY].

Van Loon mentions that only once did he hear a variation for Dutch ui. This was by an aged man from Coxsackie, N.Y. who pronounced 'huis' as though it were spelled 'hoys'. Van Loon tested him on other words such as 'buite', 'tuis' and 'druive' which he consistently pronounced as though written 'boyte', 'toys' and 'droyve'.²² Nowhere in the documents is there a graphemic indication of this variation for Dutch [œY].²³

One other variation for [œY] in two different documents can probably be attributed to dialectal usage:

(L-174305) ut de handen 'uit de handen'

(M-177401) husvrouw 'huisvrouw'

The grapheme u in the above examples could represent either [y] or [u:]. Both pronunciations are dialectal variants in spoken Dutch today. [y] is spoken in West- and Zeeuws-Flanders, the Zeeland Islands, the Frisian Islands, the area around the Zuiderzee, the Bildt, the Veluwe and the adjoining area to the south. [u:] is concentrated mainly in the northern and eastern areas, i.e. portions of Friesland, Groningen, Drenthe, Overijssel, Gelderland (to the IJssel) and in Limburg.²⁴

22. Van Loon, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

23. In 17th century Dutch ui [œY] was heard everywhere in Holland and in Amsterdam. In Assendelft, however, oi [ɔY] was common. (Hellings, p. 176.)

24. Schönfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

The most logical assumption would be for the diphthong to back to [au] because of the influence of English or possibly German [au] in high frequency words such as 'out' and 'house'. However, clear indications of such a development are not evident in the documents.

Of the monophthongs the most common divergence involves the lax high-front vowel in closed syllables. In many of the documents it appears written e instead of i. According to Schönfeld this variation goes back to Old West Germanic. [s] for [x] appears in the Flemish dialects, whereas [ɪ] for [i] appears in the dialect of Brabant, Limburg and in the north, e.g. gewes:gewis, vesch:visch, met:mit, hem:him.²⁵ [ɛ] for [i] is also a characteristic of Afrikaans, cf. 'ek' (ɪk:'I') and 'ken' (kɪn:'chin'). The earliest evidence for this variation is in a document from 1690:

(LR-1690108) en de stat 'in de stad'

A quarter of a century later the use of e [ɛ] for i [i] becomes more common. The following examples in chronological order show the increased use of this phonological variation:

²⁵.. Schönfeld, op. cit., p. 93..

- (LR-171101) det 'dit'
cent 'kind'
vende 'vinden'
- (MBS-172603) det 'dit'
- (LR-172303) venden 'vinden'
- (MA-173537) en vol 'in vol' (i.e. 'ten volle')
- (L-173911) bemen 'bemin'
kenders (2X) 'kinderen'
- (L-174008) het schreft 'schrift'
en 'in'
- (VS-174901) en (3X) 'in'
 but cf. in Quebec
- (M-176802) kenders 'kinderen'
kenderen (2X) 'kinderen'
Welhelmus (4X) 'Wilhelmus'
Wellen (2X) 'Willem'
- (MA-177012) det 'dit'
- (W-178304) det 'dit'
te gaen waer sy wel 'wil'
Wellen 'Willem'
levensmeddel 'levensmiddelen'

The Myndertsse document from 1885 shows this divergence in the following examples: ek 'ik', ez 'is', zents 'sinds' and leezenge 'lezingen'. This also seemed to be a common

divergence in Jersey Dutch. Examples of Jersey Dutch [ɛ] for Dutch [i] are: [ɛk] 'ik', [twɛntrɪ] 'twintig' and [kɛnt] 'kind'.²⁶

In only one case does Van Loon indicate this divergence. In his glossary for Mohawk-Hudson Dutch he lists: gents 'sinds'.²⁷ Van Loon does, however, mention this variation in reference to a Jersey Dutch document: "In many words in which 'i' appeared originally, the sound had been changed to the short 'e' as in American 'let'. Such a word as 'ging' pronounced as 'geng' will illustrate this."²⁸

This alternation of [ɛ] and [i] also appears in the form of [i] for [ɛ]. In some documents, as noted below, both [ɛ] for [i] and [i] for [ɛ] occur. It is evident from the amount of examples that both dialectal divergences were wide-spread in NYD and that in some cases the alternation was not consistent. As Schönfeld mentions this may be due to the stress pattern in the sentence.²⁹ Examples for the variation of [i] for [ɛ] are:

26. William Z. Shetter, op. cit., p. 245.

27. Van Loon, op. cit., p. 32.

28. Ibid., p. 47.

29. Schönfeld, op. cit., p. 93.

- (LB-171101) becint 'bekend'
bin (2X) 'ben'
 but cf. bemende 'beminde'
det 'dit'
yende 'vinden'
- (LB-172303) bekint 'bekend'
in (2X) 'en'
will 'wel'
sinden (2X) 'zenden'
sif 'zelf'
 but cf. venden 'vinden'
- (W-174702) gemilt 'gemeld'
 but cf. (1X) gemeld
- (A-174916) in (7X) 'en'
- (L-176020) in (5X) 'en'
- (MA-178230) di erfgename 'de'
mitt 'met'
in 'en'
- (W-178306) mit (5X) 'met'
 but cf. met (3X)
- (L-179006) in (3X) 'en'
- (W-179105) in 'en'

Dutch [u], written oe, occurs in several graphemic variations in the documents. The most predominant variation

is the use of the grapheme o for oe. The source for Dutch [u] is Germanic [o:] and according to Schönfeld the long close o was preserved the longest in the coastal dialects of West Flanders, Zeeland and Holland. He cites forms such as voet, vroog and broer as having survived as late as the 19th century.³⁰ The 18th century Gooi dialect also shows [o:] for Dutch [u], e.g. toe 'toen', hoewel 'hoewel', mooten 'moeten', voet 'voet', goed 'goed', doon 'doen' and berooft 'beroemd'.³¹ In Huizen this dialect characteristic is still maintained in such examples as: [to:] 'toen', [vro:] 'vroeg' and [ro:] 'roepen'.³²

The earliest example of this dialectal variant is in (LR-169008) where moste appears for 'moesten'. In all other words, however, oe is written, e.g. broer and toen. This poses a perplexing graphemic problem since e was often written after a vowel to indicate length in Middle Dutch and in many of the documents, e.g. in (L-174312) beloefde for 'beloofde' and in (L-175822) hoep for 'hoop'. Without aids such as rhymes it is, therefore, not possible to determine whether oe = [o:]

30. Schönfeld, op. cit., p. 83.

31. Heeroma, op. cit., p. 165.

32. Ibid., p. 166. This characteristic also occurs in large parts of Drente, Overijssel and Gelderland.

or [u]. This problem is exemplified in (L-175822) where not only is o used for the digraph oe but also oe is written oo, e.g. goderen 'goederen', moet 'moet', and hoep 'hoop'. Examples of the use of the grapheme o instead of the digraph oe are:

(MBS-172603)	<u>geropen</u>	'geroepen'
(L-174312)	<u>gegrod</u>	'gegroot'
	<u>grod</u>	'groot'
(L-174516)	<u>bedroft</u>	'bedroeft'
	<u>behofde</u>	'behoefte'
(W-174608)	<u>rorende</u>	'roerende'
(A-174916)	<u>broder</u>	'broeder'
(M-177401)	<u>modler</u>	'moeder'
(L-177503)	<u>schonen</u>	'schoenen'
(W-178306)	<u>voernome</u>	'voernoemde'
(W-179105)	<u>brock</u>	'broek'

Later evidence, especially the Myndertsse document, has oe with no graphemic variation, e.g. toen 'toen', toe 'toe', froeg 'vroeg', doene 'doen', and goet 'goet'. Jersey Dutch evidence indicates [u:] for [u] in stoel [stu:] and toe [tu:].³³

In two wills from 1783 the digraph ou is used in place of oe. Schönfeld states that medieval West Flemish made use

33. Shetter, op. cit., p. 245.

of the ou spelling and that it is not simply a French spelling for [u] ; but presumably a spelling of the type in koud [kɔut].³⁴ In (W-178304) the possibility for use of oe in a word occurs only twice. In the first instance behouf 'behoefte' shows ou for oe; in the second example plog 'ploeg' occurs. The o for oe confirms the retention of Middle Dutch [o:] . ou could be an allograph of o or could represent [u] as is the case in modern West Flemish.³⁵ In (W-178306) the case for o and ou as allographs representing [o:] becomes clearer. The digraph ou occurs four times in gouderen 'goederen' and in broude 'broeder'.³⁶ The same digraph is used to represent [o:] in hough 'hoog' and is also used in moughte 'mogte'. Moghte, however, also appears three times. The digraph oe is used in the name Hendrik ten Broeck and also five times in voernoemde 'voornoemde' indicating that the writer was at least acquainted with the digraph oe. It should also be noted that the digraph oe is used to represent [o:] in voernoemde 'voornoemde'. However, twice the spelling for 'voornoemde' varies: voernome and voernomde, indicating either spelling inconsistencies or indecision in reconciling the known spelling and the current pronunciation.

34. Schönfeld, op. cit., p. 83.

35. Op. cit., p. 83.

36. This is contrary to the usual occurrence of ou for oe only before labials and velars in 17th century Dutch. For an exhaustive study of the oe/ou question see W.J.H. Caron, Klank en Tekst (Groningen, 1972) pp. 78-101.

From the evidence in the documents it appears that Middle Dutch [ɔ:] remained unshifted among many speakers and that the spread of this dialectal pronunciation was probably reinforced by speakers of the Gooi dialect.

Dutch [a:], written in closed syllables aa, appears in later documents with several graphemic variations. In (W-178306) stawn 'staan' is written indicating possibly [ɔ:] instead of [a:];³⁷ once staan appears. Also in the same will pauden 'paden' and plaus 'plaats' occur. In (W-179105) au is written for aa in sprauke 'sprake'. This sparse evidence from the last half of the 18th century indicates a dialectal divergence which is most characteristic of Jersey Dutch and NYD in later years.³⁸ Later evidence from Jersey Dutch shows this divergence, e.g. [twɔ:tv] 'twaalf', [hɔ:ɔr] 'hamer' and [hɔ:ɔr] 'haver'.³⁹ In Myndertsse's document oa is consistently written for aa, e.g. loare 'jaren', oan 'aan', voader 'vader' and sproak 'spraak'. The digraph oa represents [ɔ:].⁴⁰ Prince

37. If aw does represent [ɔ:] it indicates further use of an English digraph. In (LR-172405) more 'maar' (2X) and dore 'daar' appear indicating use of English orthography CoCe for [ɔ:].

38. Schönfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 95, indicates [ɔ:] for [a:] as a characteristic of the eastern dialects.

39. Shetter, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

40. Van Cleaf Bachman, *Provisional Low Dutch Orthography*, (unpublished).

in his Jersey Dutch text notates this sound with a which he describes as "a deep close aw as in 'awful', but more constricted."⁴¹ Examples from his text which indicate this sound are: raknie 'raakte', xane 'gaan', yader 'vader' and makte 'maakte'.

It is difficult to speculate whether this divergence was a spontaneous development among the speakers of JD and NYD or whether it was an extension of a dialectal divergence brought to the New World. In any case, it later developed into a wide-spread divergence, which documents began to reflect relatively late.⁴²

Dutch [a] also appears in the documents with a variation written o, possibly for [ɔ]:

- | | |
|------------|-------------------------------------|
| (A-171908) | <u>of gereekent</u> 'afgerekend' |
| (W-174409) | <u>of staen</u> 'afstaan' |
| (L-174516) | <u>broght</u> 'bracht' |
| (L-176219) | <u>sy doghte</u> 'zij dachten' (2X) |
| (L-176020) | <u>of</u> 'af' (2X) |
| | <u>dogt</u> 'dacht' |
| (L-176408) | <u>dogt</u> 'dacht' |
| (W-178306) | <u>geebroght</u> 'gebracht' |

⁴¹. Prince, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

⁴². In Chapter 6 my Laeg Duits informant consistently uses [ɔ:] for Dutch [a].

(W-179105) sok 'zak'

(L-179702) von 'van'

The examples brought, geebrought, doghte and dogt exhibit a rounding of [a] before [X] to [o] which occurred in Middle Dutch, e.g. brochte and dochte. This rounding is still a characteristic of the western dialects in the Netherlands.⁴³

Jersey Dutch does not show this variation of [a] to [ɔ]. The reflexes of [a] are either [a] or [aʔ].⁴⁴ Myndertsse's document, however, shows oa consistently for [a], e.g. oa 'al', alledoags 'allegaags' and kwoa 'kwam'. This, compared with [aʔ] above and its reflexes, would indicate that oa represents [ɔ] for [a] in MYD. This would be an indication of dialectal distinction between JD and NYD.

In (L-174305) the digraph oa appears three times, e.g. soam 'som' and voal 'vol' (2X). This is the first use found of the digraph oa, which later will be used to indicate both long and short.⁴⁵

One of the most characteristic phonological changes noted in JD is the lengthening of the Dutch short vowels [a, i, u].⁴⁶

43. Schönfeld, op. cit., p. 29.

44. Shetter, op. cit., p. 245.

45. My Laeg-duits informant uses [ɔ] for [a] frequently, e.g. [ɔf] 'af' and [bɔhɔlsf] 'behalfe'.

46. Op. cit., p. 247.

In the documents of the 18th century there are many indications that, at least, a graphemic distinction of length was no longer adhered to. These divergences may in some cases be due to orthographic inconsistencies, but may also indicate the beginning of the loss of distinction between long tense and short lax vowels.

Dutch [a:], which was discussed above as having developed into [ɔ:], appears in many documents written ae, e.g. in (LR-171101) waes 'was' where the e serves as a lengthener for the a. In (L-174305) 'wat' is written four times wait, where the i serves as a graphemic lengthener instead of e. Another example of the use of i as graphemic lengthener is oik 'ook'. Further graphemic indications of long vowels instead of short are:

(A-172204) waes 'was'
 (W-174409) het paet 'pad'
 but cf. (1X) padt
staadt 'stad'
 (AG-174401) het paat 'pad' (2X)
 (L-175816) daet (dat' (5X)
yaen 'van'

There are also some examples of [a] instead of [a:] which further indicates a lack of graphemic distinction of length:

(L-172303) hast 'haast'
 (D-173301) in het sonamd yaer 'zo(ge)naamd'
 but cf. genaemt

(L-174305) wards 'waarde'
mant 'maand'

An indication of the lengthening of [ɪ] to [i:] occurs in a few documents. This was probably a dialectal divergence brought to the New World. Weijnen states that [i:], written ie instead of [ɪ], occurs especially before the nasal cluster /nd/. Weijnen cites forms taken from Adriaan Poirters, a 17th century Jesuit writer from Antwerp, e.g. viendt 'vindt'.⁴⁷ Even though Schönfeld says nothing about [i:] for [ɪ] as a dialectal characteristic, the evidence from Weijnen would place this dialectal divergence in the area of Antwerp.

Examples for [i:] instead of [ɪ] are:

(LR-172303) ziit 'zit'
 (MHS-172603) kienders 'kinderen'
sielver smet 'silversmid'
 (MHS-173606) op te siete 'op te zitten'
 (MA-171126) wiel 'will', i.e. 'testament'

The remainder of the variations involving the high front vowel, however, show a shortening of [i:] to [ɪ]. Many of the variations, it should be noted, involve the shortening of

⁴⁷. A. Weijnen, Zeventiende-eeuwsw Taal, Zutphen, 1965, p. 29.

[ɪ] in 'vriend' to [r], a pronunciation which is common today in Dutch. Examples of [ɪ:] indicated by i are:

- (LB-1690108) vrinschap 'vriendschap'
 (LB-1690108a) vrindt 'vriend'
 but cf. dienaer in the same sentence.
- (LB-172303) nit 'niet'
 (AG-172602) sinlyk 'zienlijk'
 (D-173301) vrindinne 'vriendinnen' (2X)
 but cf. Marragrieta and liefde.
- (L-174305) vrint 'vriend' (2X)
gelif 'gelieft'
brif 'brief'
 but cf. hier and dien.
- (VS-174906) vrind 'vriend'
 (VS-174905) vrind 'vriend' (2X)
 (VS-174903) vrind 'vriend'
 (L-175204) briffe 'brieven'
briffies 'briefjes' (2X)
vrinden 'vrienden'
dinstwillige dinnaer 'dienstwillige dienaar'
- (L-175816) gelift 'gelieft'
u vrient en dinnaer 'dienaar'
- (L-176020) vrint 'vriend'
 (A-178615) belif 'belieft'

The above quantitative variations are difficult to form a solid conclusion about since they may have been either orthographic inconsistencies or dialectal variations. However, the evidence from JD where short vowels increase in length and some long vowels are shortened would lead one to consider a similar development occurring in NYD. As Shetter states: "they (the quantitative differences) seem rather clearly to exhibit the impact of American English."⁴⁸ Even though many of these variations may have been originally dialectal, the extent of their adoption among JD and NYD speakers was probably accelerated by contact with English.

Both Dutch [as] and [a] show additional divergences other than those indicated above. They are noted here only because Prince also transcribed these variations and they may be considered either anomalies or dialectal variations.

In (MHS-174009) [as] is written with an g which would indicate an [ɛ], i.e. afverdigen 'afvaardigen' and in (W-174702) leeg landt is written twice for 'laag land'. Prince in his transcription of the speech of a Jersey Dutch speaker writes

48. Shetter, op. cit., p. 247. It should be noted that such a definite statement can not be made about 18th century NYD. Evidence from the documents is inconclusive in that the graphemes do not indicate beyond a shadow of a doubt whether the variations are quantitative or qualitative.

lêx d'uits 'laag Duits', and kaas was pronounced "kââs" according to Prince.⁴⁹ Dutch [a] written with an e appears in the following examples:

(VS-174902) voor de pess 'voor de pas', i.e.
'for the time'

(VS-174901) het 'had'

(W-178306) het 'had'

According to Weijnen the variation of e and a before r occurred frequently, cf. hart/hart and scherr/scharr.⁵⁰ He also cites e occurring for aa using an example from Vondel, i.e. twelf 'twaalf'.⁵¹

The evidence is too meager to establish any dialectal influence on the basis of the above examples, but they do indicate the variety of dialectal variation once extant in NYD.

A vowel variation in NYD which can be attributed to dialectal variation in Dutch is, as described by Schönfeld, e/a + r. He maintains that the lowering of [ɛ] > [a] occurred in the 13th century in West Flanders.⁵² In the documents there are many examples of this variation which gives one

49. Prince, op. cit., p. 462. Prince describes ââ as a prolongation of â which is a sound between a in hat and e in met.

50. Weijnen, op. cit., p. 25.

51. Op. cit., p. 26.

52. Schönfeld, op. cit., p. 68.

additional insight into the dialectal diversity of the Dutch settlers. The examples are:

- (D-168902) soo var 'zo ver' (2X)
 (IR-170072) in het varste 'in het verste'
 (MA-170824) dar' gh 'dertig'
 (AG-172105) dart. gh 'dertig' (3X)
 (A-172204) dartigh 'dertig'
 (MS-172705) var 'ver'
 (W-174702) dartig 'dertig' (3X)
 (A-174916) dartig 'dertig'
 (VS-176408) parceel 'perceel'
 (MA-177014) varkoft 'verkocht'
 (MA-177120) dartien 'dertien'
 (M-177401) carkhoff 'kerkhof' (2X)
 but cf. kerkhof (2X) and cirkhoof (1X)
 (A-178615) dartigh 'dertig'
 (A-179514) dartien 'dertien'

Jersey Dutch also indicates this variation before /r/, e.g. [va:ɪr] 'ver' and [da:ɪrti:n] 'dertien'.⁵³

Variants with an epenthetic vowel occur especially after /r/ and /l/ and before C in the following examples:

53. Shetter, op. cit., p. 245.

- (IR-171377) wereken 'werken' (2X)
wereck 'werk'
 (IR-172181) sellever 'zelver'
 (IR-172307) behalleve 'behalve'
hellepe 'helpen'
 (MHS-173606) welicke 'welke'
kerick 'kerk'
 (L-174305) volligens 'volgens'
 (L-174516) orralogh 'oorlog' (2X)
 (W-174409) langest 'langst'

In the Myndertsse document kerck 'kerk' appears three times. Schönfeld mentions epenthesis in the 17th century language as appearing with an i, e.g. kerrick 'kerk'.⁵⁴

In later documents there are some examples of loss of the unaccented vowel in final position. Apocope occurs mostly with infinitives where the ending -en [-ə] is lost. This divergence is also a characteristic of Afrikaans which shows only the stem of the infinitive, e.g. kom and maak (Dutch 'komen' and 'maken'). This was probably a dialectal divergence brought by the settlers to both Africa and America. The extension of the infinitive with loss of [-ə] was, however, probably reinforced by the shape of the English infinitive.

⁵⁴. Schönfeld, op. cit., p. 116.

Examples of apocope are:

- (D-173301) hofsteed 'hofstede' (2X)
 (A-176412) ik denk...by us te kom 'komen'
 (MA-174104) begon te werk 'werken'
 (L-174305) als us in Kingston com kaan 'komen'
 (MA-174905) moeder...moete...nem 'nemen'
 (M-179703) te wees 'wezen'

The Myndertsse document does not, however, show any indication of apocope of infinitive markers, e.g. leeze 'lezen' and sreudere 'herinneren', but instead shows an extension of the [-s] marker to verbs such as 'doen', e.g. doene. This was apparently also the case in Jersey Dutch. According to Prince: "So constant is the -e of the infin. that even in xân, zîn, dûn, where the -n is the real infin., we often find such forms as te xâne, te zîne, te dûne, with a purely factitious -e, as the -n was felt to be part of the stem."⁵⁵ This would indicate that the tendency in the infinitive was not toward apocope but rather an extension of the [-s] marker. The examples above are most probably dialectal divergences and not indications of the later shape of the infinitive.

⁵⁵ Prince, op. cit., p. 466. It should also be noted here that Van Loon, op. cit., p. 12 indicates ghaane 'gaan' in NYD.

Consonants: The consonants show fewer divergences in the documents than the vowels. Many of the possible variations are concealed by the orthography. It is, for example, not possible from orthographic evidence to determine whether the voiceless stops were aspirated or unaspirated, although later examples from Jersey Dutch indicate that they had probably become aspirated.⁵⁶ It is also not possible to determine whether g/gh was still a voiced velar spirant or had become a glottal spirant or a stop. In only one document does a variation for g [ɣ] exist. In (AG-172602), of which there are two copies, one copy has onhelucken for 'ongelukken' whereas the other copy has ongelucken. It is possible that it is merely a writing error or it could indicate that g was pronounced as a glottal spirant. The only support for the latter possibility is in (MBS-172603) where g is written instead of h in: de gele dagh 'de hele dag'.⁵⁷ The writer may have used g instead of h because of the similarity in pronunciation. Jersey Dutch also shows this divergence in the example hat 'gat'.⁵⁸ It is also possible that in certain

56. Shetter, op. cit., p. 249.

57. It is possible that gele represents 'gehele' with a collapsed initial syllable, i.e. gehele g'hele gele.

58. Prince, op. cit., p. 469.

areas of heavy Palatine German settlement g [ɣ] had become a voiced stop.

The clearest indication of consonantal divergence is the loss of dentals in medial and final position. The syncope and apocope of dentals was, however, not a development begun in the New World. Syncope of /de/ occurred in Flanders and South Holland, e.g. schade:scha and laden:laan, whereas in Brabant and Limburg and to the east of South Holland /d/ was syncopated, e.g. weder:weer, beneden:beneen, and bodem:boom or replaced by /j/, e.g. schaai, roei and bojem.⁵⁹ Schönfeld maintains that syncope was much more common than is revealed in the writing. An important factor to consider was differences between urban and countryside speech and between higher and lower classes. This is elucidated by the Dutch saying: "wat up den dorp heet broor, heet in de stadt heer broder."⁶⁰

Examples of intervocalic syncope of /d/ are:

(LR-1690108) schouwer 'schouder'

(MHS-172603) sbhouers 'schouders'

goeie 'goede' (/d/ replaced by /j/)

overseij 'overzijde'

⁵⁹-Schönfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁶⁰. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-8.

- (L-174516) sy 'zijde' (2X)
- (AG-172104) ...achtenveertigh tree breedt ... en
hondert vyft en sestigh tree langh.
'trede', i.e. paces.
- (LR-1752101) ...500 a 600 tree langhs de kill.
'trede'
- (VS-174902) houwen 'houden'
- (L-176219) voere 'voederen'
- (M-176802) suylyke 'zuidelijke'
but also cf. suyde.

It should be noted that the above examples are still common to colloquial Dutch pronunciation.

Examples of syncopation of /d/ before or after a consonant are:

- (MHS-172603) genosackt 'genoodzaakt' (cited in
Sewel's 18th century English-Dutch
Dictionary).
- (W-178306) voernome 'voernoemde'
but also cf. voernomde and voernoemde (5X)

Following are examples of loss of /t/ in medial and final position. In most cases /t/ is lost in the cluster /ts/. The simplification of the cluster /ts/ > /s/ was a common occurrence in 17th century Dutch.⁶¹ This tendency toward assimilation

61. Weijnen, op. cit., p. 33.

was, thus, present in the dialects of original settlers and possibly later reinforced by English forms such as "last", cf. the many examples of laast- 'laatst-'.⁶²

(D-166404)	<u>scawan</u> 'seewant' (Indian wampus)
	<u>laesten</u> 'laatsten'
(D-167207)	<u>laeste</u> 'laatsten'
(D-167508)	<u>laesten</u> 'laatsten'
(D-168610)	<u>lest</u> 'laatst'
(LR-1690108)	<u>vrinschap</u> 'vriendschap'
	<u>gequest</u> 'gekwetst'
(LR-1690106)	<u>laest</u> 'laatst'
(W-171903)	<u>laaste</u> 'laatste' (5X)
(LR-172181)	<u>achenveertig</u> 'achtenveertig'
(MHS-172603)	<u>onvangen</u> 'ontvangen'
(MHS-173310)	<u>ousten</u> 'oudsten'
	<u>ben</u> 'bent'
	<u>laest</u> 'laatst'
(D-173301)	<u>schilpad</u> 'schildpad'
(MHS-173606)	<u>nie</u> 'niet'
	<u>coersen</u> 'koorts'

62. The loss of t in "laatst" is also very common in the Dutch vernacular, e.g. "ten langen leste". It should be noted here that the assimilation of t was probably common to the Dutch dialects of the 17th and 18th centuries as it is of Dutch dialects today, especially in the dialect of Zwolle.

	<u>gesonhit</u> 'gezondheid'
(W-174401)	<u>laasten</u> 'laatsten' (2X)
(AG-174401)	<u>loop</u> 'loopt'
(L-174516)	<u>wache</u> 'wachten' (2X)
	<u>schilwaghte</u> 'schildwachten'
	<u>somteys</u> 'sontyds' (SD)
(W-174608)	<u>laaste</u> 'laatste' (6X)
	<u>hoofsomma</u> 'hoofdsomma'
(W-174702)	<u>laaste</u> 'laatste' (5X)
(L-175807)	<u>laaste</u> 'laatste'
(L-175816)	<u>anwort</u> 'antwoord'
(L-176219)	<u>cun</u> 'kunt'
(VS-176408)	<u>plaas</u> 'plaats'
(M-176802)	<u>laeste</u> 'laatste'
(A-177211)	<u>onfan</u> 'ontvangen'
(W-178304)	<u>behouf</u> 'behoefte'
(W-178306)	<u>plaus</u> 'plaats'
	<u>laast</u> 'laatst'
	<u>vermack</u> 'vermaakt'
	but of. (1X) <u>vermackt</u>
	<u>laasten</u> 'laatsten'
	<u>plaas</u> 'plaats'
(A-178615)	<u>belif</u> 'belieft'
(W-179105)	<u>onfangene</u> 'ontvangene'

leister 'laatster'

laaste 'laatste'

laster 'laatster'

laastelyke 'laatstelijk'

Two examples indicate a complete loss of syllable with a dental in syllable initial position:

(VS-174902) onschrift 'onderschrift'

(VS-174906) ontekent 'ondertekend'

There are also examples of the loss of the unaccented verbal prefix in the verb 'ontmoeten':

(L-174516) moetten 'ontmoeten'

(VS-174904) moeten 'ontmoeten'

This initial loss or procope was possibly influenced by the English verb 'meet' without a prefix. Initial loss due to possible English influence also occurs several times with 'gedurende':

(W-174409) durende 'gedurende'

(W-174608) deurende 'gedurende'

Initial unaccented prefixes were probably under great pressure to be dropped especially when there was an English word of similar meaning and phonetic shape without the prefix.

Most of the preceding phonological divergences in NYD can be traced back to dialectal variations brought to the New

World by the original settlers. A most important factor with respect to NYD seems to be the homogeneous nature of the settlers of Rensselaerswijk. Mostly speakers of the Gooi dialect, some of their dialectal variations spread throughout NYD at the expense of other dialects, e.g. [ax] for [ix] and [o:] for [u]. During the 18th century increased contact with English settlers and the growing necessity of bilingualism must have exerted a strong pressure on the Dutch phonological system. New phonological developments and extensions of dialectal variations must not have spread uniformly among the Dutch speakers because of the isolated nature of their scattered communities. Many phonological variations probably existed between Jersey Dutch and NYD. As Van Loon states, the people of Bergen County (New Jersey) and those of northern New York never came into contact with one another and were completely foreign to one another.⁶³

The broader view of NYD phonology is that dialectal variations were allowed to spread. This was accelerated by the lack of reinforcement from standardizing developments occurring in the Netherlands. The absence of a socially prestigious standard to emulate, especially among the younger generation, caused the dialectal variations to flourish and

63. L. G. Van Loon, 'Ave atque Vale,--Jersey Lag Duits Verdwijnt,' Onze Taaltuin, VIII, (1939-40), p. 92.

seek their own level of communal acceptability. It should be kept in mind that the majority of the settlers came from the farming and tradesman class in the Netherlands. Their social level of speech became predominant in New York as the educated class found it increasingly necessary to communicate in English in order to participate in the colonial politics of New York. This left the burden of language preservation on a socially stratified class of speakers more accustomed to speaking their local dialects than the common cultured speech of the more educated class. It was thus the spread of dialectal variations coupled with the pressure of bilinguals to level out phonological differences which slowly altered the shape of the NYD phonological system.

III.

MORPHOLOGY

In contrast to the phonological variations extant in NYD the morphological variations are few. As stated in a study of moribund Gaelic dialects in Scotland this is probably typical for a language in decline. In such a language a remarkable amount of phonological divergence is tolerated whereas morphological divergence is somewhat less lightly regarded.¹ The tendency toward dialectal divergence and accommodation toward a dominant language in the phonological system seems to be balanced by a conservative adherence to the morphological structure. This tendency is at least apparent in the written language. The spoken language may have made use of a broad variety of morphological divergences. Some of the divergent forms are traceable to English influence and reinforcement, a fact not surprising since NYD speakers by the mid-18th century were sharing territory with English speakers in increasing degrees of density.

1. Nancy Currier Dorian, A Phonological Description of Brora, Golspie, and Embo Gaelic: An East Sutherland Dialect, Dissertation: University of Michigan, 1965, p. 23.

The most frequent morphological divergence is the plural morpheme. In some documents {-s} and {-en} are used to form plurals of the same word only a few lines apart. According to Schönfeld there was an increase in the use of {-s} after the Middle Ages. In the 16th century {-s} plurals were formed where now {-en} prevails, e.g. arms, booms, and mans. Such plural forms in {-s} occur commonly today in West Flemish.² However, the examples from the documents indicate not only a tendency to form plurals in {-s}, as it probably existed in the settler's dialects, but vacillation from one plural morpheme to the other. Forming the plural of 'zoon', for example, with {-s} instead of {-en} can be attributed to dialectal variation, but use of both {-s} and {-en} within the same document indicates a choice on the part of the writer. Either both plural forms were then current and used interchangeably, or the English plural in {-s} was exerting an influence on plural formations. This would have been a case of transference by bilingual speakers of a morphemic marker from one language to the other. The frequent variation of soons with sonen would indicate this. Examples of plural divergences are:

2. Schönfeld, op. cit., p. 124.

- (IR-1690108) gevangens 'gevangenens'
 but also cf. gevangene (3X)
gevang
gevangen
- (IR-170072) gevangens 'gevangenens'
 but also cf. gevangene
- (MBS-173606) cinders (2X) 'kinderen'
- (MBS-173808) kinders (2X) 'kinderen'
 but also cf. kinderen
- (L-174516) monsterrols 'monsterrollen'
en ander noots 'noten'
- (W-174608) kinders (7X) 'kinderen'
- (W-174702) slees 'sleeën'
- (VS-174903) gevangens 'gevangenens'
 but also cf. gevangen (2X)
- (VS-174904) gevangens (3X) 'gevangenens'
 but also cf. gevangene
- (L-175807) kinders 'kinderen'
 but also cf. kinderen
- (M-176802) kenders 'kinderen'
 but also cf. kenderen
soons (4X) 'zonen' ('zoons' common
 today while 'zonen' is formal)
 but also cf. sonen, soone (2X)

- (W-178306) kinders 'kinderen'
but also cf. kinderen (5X)
- (W-178304) soons
but also cf. soonen
- (A-178615) noots 'noten', i.e. Eng. 'nuts'
- (W-179105) soons (2X)
soones
but also cf. soonen (2X)

Morphological markers for personal endings on verbs show some common dialectal divergences, especially in the 1st person singular. Throughout the documents there is a continual variation between {-ŝ} and {-e} in the 1st person singular. The following are but a few of the many examples of this variation:

- (LR-170104) ick...hoppe
jck hop...
- (LR-171101) jck hope... (2X)
jck hoep...
- (MHS-171401) hoope ick
- (LR-172303) ik hope (2X)
but also cf. besluit ik ...
- (MHS-173310) ik...hebbe
ik vertrouwe
- (MHS-173604) ick bedanke
but also cf. ick heb

Schönfeld states that Middle Dutch {-e} is still preserved in Flemish but was lost already in the Holland dialect in the late Middle Ages.³ The frequent preservation of {-e} in the documents may indicate a strong dialectal influence among the NYD speakers.

In later documents, i.e. from 1750 on, there are some examples of divergences in the 1st person plural personal endings. Possible dialectal influence here is manifold since southern Drente, Overijssel and eastern Gelderland have {-t} or {-et} throughout the plural and the rest of the dialects have {-e, -n, (-m), -en} or {-ø}⁴. Examples of 1st person plural endings in {-ø} or {-t} are:

(W-174702) geef, vermaak en dispoeneere wy...

geef en vermaaken wy... (3X)

geef wy en vermaake wy...

geef wy ende vermaak wy...

wy heb vermaakt

geef wy (2X)

maak wy

(VS-174901) wy sall... 'wij zullen'

3. Schönfeld, op. cit., p. 169.

4. A. Weijnen, Nederlandse Dialectkunde, Assen 1966, p. 288.

- (L-175204) sendt wy... 'zenden wij'
 (L-177503) desen (regelen) sal... 'zullen'
 (L-179702) wy sal... (2X) 'wij zullen'
wy hebt... (2X) 'wij hebben'

The {-s} marker for English verbs in the 1st person plural could have tended to reinforce dialectal endings in {-s} and accelerated their spread. It should be noted that before 1750 no such forms as above appear in the documents. It is possible that among the first and second generation Dutch settlers the "schrijftaal" was still retained and that it gradually gave way to spoken forms. Such dialectal variations in verb morphology appear infrequently in the earlier documents, i.e. before 1750. A few examples of plural variations which had originated by analogy in the 'volkstaal'⁵ are:

- (LR-172303)dat wy...gesont bene.
 (LR-172508) ick wet net wat wy daer in salle doen.
 ...wat wy daer in salle berammen.
 (MHS-172603), die (de kienders) benne har tijt
 uit over 18 mande.
 (L-174312) als dan kanne wy vertrouwen op syn bescherminge.
 (LR-171377) en de luf kanne op droge sappaen niet wercken.

5. G. S. Overdiep and G. A. van Es, Beknopte Stilistische Grammatica van het Nederlands, I/II, Zwolle 1963, p. 53.

Morphemic markers for personal endings in the preterite are quite regular with the exception of the 3rd person singular. In two documents there appears the ending {-en}:

(MHS-173808) *sy...kenden 'zij kende'

sy...knickten

sy...antwoorden

nyv soon...vraghen

(W-174409) ...so sy (the wife) mogten comen te
houwelijcke

(MHS-173707) (hy) maakten my heel onvernoegt

*(sy refers to the writer's wife in all examples.)

In the preterite singular these forms in {-en} occur only in the 3rd person. First person forms for the weak verbs are in {-e}, e.g. in (MHS-173808): ik vraghde... This indicates that the 3rd person endings were not pronounced [-ɚ] but rather [-ən]. My Laag-duits source has informed me that in NYD such 3rd person markers in {-en} were not uncommon, e.g. /haz ke:ktən/ 'hij keek' and /haz məktən/ 'hij mocht'. Such preterite singular forms in {-en}, however, are also not uncommon in 17th century Dutch. {-en} frequently appears where {-e} is expected, e.g. ick laefden and ruylden ick.⁶ Kloeke observes that the falling together of singular and plural

6. Weijnen, Zeventiende-eeuwse Taal, p. 42.

distinctions in the weak verbs is obscured by frequent 17th century use of {-en} in the singular, e.g. hij leefden and 't welck ons misluckten.⁷ According to Weijnen many southern dialects still maintain singular forms in {-n}, e.g. ik bakt.⁸ However, nowhere in the Dutch dialects did there seem to be a distinction made between 1st and 3rd persons preterite as in the above examples.

It should be noted that this divergence was widespread among Dutch speakers in the New World. In Prince's Jersey Dutch text of "De V'lorene Zōn" several 3rd person singular preterite forms in {-ni} and {-en} appear, e.g. rakni 'raakte' and muten 'ontmoeten' and also the 2nd person singular preterite form den 'deed'.⁹ Prince explains that rakni is "really the 3 p. pl. pres. + the factitious -e(i) of the past in this instance." D. C. Hesseling, commenting on Prince's notes, has a different interpretation: "De n in rakni en muten'm houd ik voor de n die in Holl. uitdrukkingen als raakte-n-ie, ontmoete-n-'m het hiaat wegneemt."¹⁰ Thus the original dialectal source for the {-en} marker is probably a development from

7. G. G. Kloeke, Herkomst en Groei van het Afrikaans, Leiden 1950, p. 315.

8. Weijnen, Nederlandse Dialectkunde, p. 284.

9. J. Dineley Prince, "A Text in Jersey Dutch," Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal en Letterkunde, Vol. 32, 1913, pp. 306-12.

10. Ibid., p. 311, note 6.

inverted forms such as Hesseling suggests.

The pronouns in NYD are quite regular in their occurrences in the documents. Many spelling variations exist, especially with the first person pronoun 'ik' where ick, lick, ik, etc. occur; showing, however, no morphological deviation. Most remarkable is the fact that nowhere does the 3rd person plural pronoun 'hullie' occur in the documents. Van Loon states that 'hullie' was the regular form in the 19th century with 'ze' rarely used.¹¹ It is, of course, possible that 'hullie' was the predominant spoken form already in 18th century NYD with 'ze' still retained as the written form.

The most interesting pronominal development in NYD involves the 2nd person form. In 17th century Dutch the formal form of address Uwe Edelheit, abbreviated Uwe Edt., Uw(e) Ed., UEd., and also UE, came into widespread use. This form is the basis for the present polite pronoun 'U' in modern Dutch. Toward the end of the 16th century 'ghi' became the commonly used pronoun in place of the familiar 'du' form.¹² The relationship between 'gij' ('ghi') and the present Dutch familiar 'jij' pronoun is very complex and not relevant here except to say that the pronoun 'ghij/gij' could represent the palatalized variant 'jij' at this time. According to

11. Van Loon, op. cit., p. 18.

12. Schönfeld, op. cit., p. 137.

Schönfeld both the g-[y] and j-forms were spoken next to one another in Zeeland and possibly South Holland.¹³ He also states that the spelling variations ghy and gy may be significant: "Bij Bredero schijnt verschil tussen ghy en gy te bestaan; voor ghy wordt gewoonlijk de werkwoordsvorm met t geschreven, zodat hier werkelijk het g-pronomen bedoeld schijnt; gy werd dan met j uitgesproken."¹⁴ In the NYD documents both Ue and ghy/gy occur with equal frequency. However, in the later documents (after 1750) 'gij', usually spelled ghy/gy, becomes the predominant form, e.g. (L-175822) gy (5X); (L-175721) geij (4X); (L-176020) gy (2X); (L-176218) gy (5X) with Ue occurring once; (L-176219) gy (13X) with Ue used (5X); (VS-177207) ghey (3X); (VS-176408) gy (5X) with Ue used (10X); (L-178601) gy (2X); and (L-179006) gy (1X). All of the pronouns cited above are nominative case forms; the oblique case pronoun is Ue for both Ue and ghy/gy. The g-forms could represent the j-forms as indicated above. However, in only one document is there a clear indication of the 'jij' pronoun. This occurs in (LR-1690108) where a person is quoted directly by the writer as having said: "ick will hebben dat jett voort doet." In (LR-171101) ie occurs once, with the spelling variant ef used twice for the 2nd person subject pronoun. The form ie in

14. Ibid., p. 139.

this document probably indicates the pronoun ie [jə]. Weijnen speculates on this form of the pronoun by stating: "...ook komt proclitisch ie en iy voor (bedoeld als jij?)."¹⁵ In 19th century NYD the only surviving 2nd person form is ie. Van Loon cites ie¹⁶ and Storms lists YAI as the equivalent of English 'you'.¹⁷

There are indications in the documents that no distinction was made between the polite UE form and the familiar EY form. This ambivalence toward the use of a polite/familiar pronoun system is displayed in NYD by the interchangeability of their use in the same document, e.g. in (MHS-173606) UE (2X), ghij (1X); (MHS-172705) UEd (2X), ghy (1X); (L-176218) Ue (1X), EY (5X); (L-176219) ue (5X), EY (13X); (VS-176408) UE (10X), EY (5X). In (L-176219) both pronouns occur in the same sentence: "...als EY comt sal UE noch meer hore. This would indicate that accommodations were being made to the English pronominal system which has but one 2nd person for both polite and familiar address.

The preceding examples of morphological variations and NYD accommodations to dominant language pressure are minimal.

15. Weijnen, Zeventiende-eeuwse Taal, p. 47.

16. Van Loon, op. cit., p. 18.

17. The JD vocabulary list compiled by James Storms is available on microfilm from the Rutgers University Library.

The lack of wide-ranging interference from English in the NYD morphological system would confirm Dorian's contention that morphological divergence in a minority language is not tolerated as freely as phonological divergence. This observation of morphological stability in a language undergoing change because of dominant language pressure gives credence to Dauzat's assertion that "morphology, ... the fortress of a language, surrenders last." This statement is quoted by Weinreich who feels that such opinions "are rather superficial and premature."¹⁸

18. Weinreich, op. cit., p. 67.

IV.

SYNTAX

The analysis of NYD syntax presents several problems. In many instances it is difficult to determine whether certain variations are dialectal divergences or accommodations made to English syntax. As Anttila states: "In syntax...exact determination of borrowing is much more difficult, because the chances of parallel developments are great."¹ The majority of the syntactic divergences, however, appears in the later documents, giving one the impression that these changes are the result of increasing contact with English. The fact that they do not appear in the earlier documents does not mean that they did not occur earlier in the spoken language. Weijnen mentions this possibility in the conclusion to his historical sketch of Dutch syntax: "Eveneens moet men rekening houden met de mogelijkheden dat eeuwen lang zekere eigenaardigheden allang tot de ondercultuur behoorden, maar pas op een gegeven ogenblik doorbraken, wanneer nl. een bepaalde volksgroep sterker naar voren trad."² It is thus difficult to measure the effect of English syntactic constructions on

1. Raimo Anttila, An Introduction to Historical and Comparative Linguistics, (New York, 1972) p. 169.

2. A. Weijnen, Schets van de Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Syntaxis, (Assen, 1971) p. 143.

similar contemporary Dutch dialectal divergences. In the majority of the cases the Dutch divergent construction is paralleled by a similar construction in English. In a bilingual situation, such as existed in the mid-18th century in New York, the pressure of English syntax would have facilitated the spread of similar divergent forms in NYD syntax.

The appearance of many of the variations in syntax in the written language coincides with the increase of bilingualism among the NYD speakers. With the exception of extremely isolated communities, most speakers of NYD found it necessary to be able to communicate in the dominant language of New York; not only to communicate socially with new English speaking settlers coming from New England, but also to be able to market their products, conduct business and engage in legal affairs without a disadvantage.

The growing need for the acquisition of English is evident in the publication of The English and Low-Dutch School-Master in 1730 by William Bradford of New York.³ The author, Francis Harrison, was a school master in Somerset County, New Jersey. In his title he states that the book contains "certain rules and directions whereby the Low-Dutch inhabitants of North America may (in a short time) learn to spell, read, understand and speak proper English. And by

3. The School-Master is now the property of the New York Historical Society.

the help whereof the English may also learn to spell, read, understand and write Low-Dutch." It seems to be significant that he omitted "speak" when referring to English speakers using the book to learn Dutch. It appears that the main intent of the book was for Dutch speakers to learn English. Over 26 pages are devoted to English syntax, while Dutch syntax is afforded no space.

A. Richard Diebold refers to this imbalance in the acquisition of a contact language when he states that: "numerous examples of languages in contact suggest that bilingualism is seldom if ever mutually balanced between the two groups of speakers. It appears, rather, that more speakers from one of the speech-groups become bilinguals than from the other. This sociological situation is matched by a concomitant one-sidedness in the actual convergent linguistic change which results from the contact."⁴ The growing need for the descendants of the Dutch to acquire English had the effect of causing alterations in the syntax of NYD, with no general effect on English. According to Haugen there is a bilateral influence between the languages of a bilingual. The innovations made in the dominant language, however, do not spread to the native speakers whereas the innovations

⁴. A. Richard Diebold, "Incipient Bilingualism," Language (vol. 37, 1961) p. 99.

made in the less dominant language do spread.⁵

This spread of innovations in a less dominant language is evident in the extent of syntactic divergences in NYD.

These divergences will be divided into the following categories:

1. Divergent constructions which existed dialectally in 17th century Dutch and spread due to convergence with and reinforcement from similar English constructions.
2. Constructions which diverge from 17th century Dutch constructions and show English influence.

Only those syntactic divergences which are widespread in the documents of NYD will be considered below. Other examples of divergences were found but discarded in the belief that the infrequency of their occurrence (usually only one example) did not indicate a wide range of usage in NYD.

The first example of a 17th century Dutch construction converging with a similar English construction involves the use of the inflected genitive for the expression of possession in NYD. In the majority of the 18th century NYD documents the inflected genitive appears instead of the periphrastic van-construction. This use of the inflected genitive in NYD is in direct contrast to the predominant use of the periphrastic

5. Haugen, The Norwegian Language in America (Philadelphia, 1953) p.371.

construction in contemporary letters written in the Netherlands. An examination of such letters indicates that the van-construction was used for both animate and inanimate objects:⁶

(MHS-174012) de schelmagtige behandelingen van de
schipper

de quade directien van Mr Bullard

't gelt van de baaijlieden

(MHS-174013) de goederen van de borgtocht van Capt.
Dumaresq

de lading van mijn sloep

(de) rekening van mijn soonen

The widespread use of the inflected genitive in NYD appears to have been influenced by convergence with similar English constructions.⁷ In (VS-176408) the English inflected genitive is followed even to the apostrophe before the s, e.g. ...dat ik de oude Doctor Roseboom vader's quaal geseyt heb, and Ik besluyte met myn & huisvrow's groetenisse aen UE...⁸ In this

6. These letters, which were written in the Netherlands and sent to New York, were included in the letters obtained from the Massachusetts History Society and are thus labelled MHS.

7. According to Charles C. Fries' study of the inflected genitive in English: "the subjective genitive, the objective genitive, the genitive of origin, the genitive of description, continue to live in Present-Day English in proportions not strikingly different from those that existed earlier..." ("Some Notes on the Inflected Genitive in Present-Day English," Language 14 (1938) p. 126.)

8. The indication of the genitive with an apostrophe s parallels the development in Dutch of the use of the possessive

document the inflected genitive is restricted to animate objects. Inanimate objects appear in the periphrastic van-construction, e.g. een swackheyd van syn maag... Other documents, however, show an overgeneralization of the -g construction with inanimate objects, e.g. in (W-174702) aant dorps eynde (cf. English "at the edge of the village") and in (LR-1690106) d stats porten (cf. English "the gates of the city").

Other examples of the use of the inflected genitive in MYD are:

- (LR-170104) ick heb ue een vaders yn gesonthyedt ontfang
(i.e. "father's letter" where the object
has been omitted.)
ijck stur moeder...vaders wijntter rock.
(but cf. een paer schune van vader.)
ijck soou vaderss goet eer op geesturt hebbe.
- (LR-172181) ...wat Glouda van Meester Lifvinstons
lant heeft ingehijninight.
- (LR-172405) ...more no vorwaght ik het nit by vaders
brive...

adjective to indicate a genitive relationship, e.g. "Piet z'n boek". Karl Brunner in Die Englische Sprache Vol. 2 (Tübingen, 1962) p. 31 gives the following information concerning the time and extent of its use in English: "Im 15. Jh. und erst recht im 16. und 17. Jh. sind die possessiven Dative (z.B. Seth his lyue 'Seths Leben') sehr zahlreich, im Tagebuch von Pepys sind sie die Regel. Die Grammatiker des 17. Jhs. halten dann das nachgestellte Possessivpronomen überhaupt für den Ursprung der Genitivendung und beginnen daher vor dem Genitiv -s einen Apostroph zu schreiben."

- (MBS-172603) ...die gemacht was jn mij mans tijt.
- (MA-172939) dan ontfangen van Marija Decker de som van £ 20:10 in vol voor haar moeders rekinen.
- (MBS-173310) ik vertrouwe dat UE gunstelik in myn families welweesen deel sult willen neemen. UE familie end onse zyn door Gods goetheyt te samen welvarende.
- (MBS-173606) ...waer oever UE seer verblijt was van moeders beterscop.
- (MBS-174009) ...door een private express van een van min vrou coesins.
- (W-174409) ick geven en macken na mijn huysvrows overleyden... (2X)
- ...vier ijaare na myn huysvrows overleyden...
- (W-174702) ...exept een morgen dat aan de konings hooge wegh leydt. (3X)

Several times in this will the inflected genitive is used with a proper name, e.g. twee tuynen gelegen by Cornelis Veeders wey; ...na onze zoon Cornelis Veeders afsterven; zal, dit alles vervallen of geerft worden by Cornelius Veeders zoon; Catrina Veeders dogter van Cornelis Veeders eerste vrouw overleden; ...vyf jaar na onze zoon Cornelis Veeders doot. Otherwise the van-construction appears with proper names, e.g. de weyde van Jan Barentse Wemple.

- (MA-176910) Anderis Jonsons reckening is pont L 20:9:0.
 (VS-177207) Brinkerhof heft betalt vor broeder Abeels part en David Mathews vor seyn vaders part.
 (W-178304) ...na myn en vrou doodt...
 ...de oude negeren na myn en myn wyfs leven te gaen waer sy wel.

In (W-178501) both the inflected genitive and the periphrastic genitive construction appear in similar statements: ten 8d geeve ick aan Jacob van Hoesen de soon van myn soon...; ten 1ld geeve ick aan myn voornd soons soon Jacob...

- (L-178601) keep het eyser en stal voor my op een yaers trost.

In his study of 19th century NYD Van Loon states that "the genitive case seems to be possible for almost any proper noun by adding the ending 's', as, 'dat is John's huis'. This, however was not the rule with common nouns. The genitive was formed in these cases by the use of the ending 'se' with the singular of the noun. This was simply the original pronoun 'syn' as in the modern Dutch phrase 'vader z'n schoenen', which would be rendered in Mohawk Dutch by 'fader se skoene'. For nouns which are feminine, the construction is the same except that another pronoun is used in place of the 'syn'. In these cases the possessive 'haar' is used, abbreviated to 'er' or 'der' as, 'moeder der foet doet seer'."⁹ Van Loon's statement

9. Van Loon, Crumbs from an Old Dutch Closet, p. 16.

concerning the genitive construction is, however, contrary to its use in NYD of the 18th century. According to the examples above from the documents even feminine nouns appear with the inflected genitive -s, e.g. na myn vrouws doodt and moeders rekenin. The use of the inflected genitive in 18th century NYD must have been an overgeneralization of 17th century inflected forms in Dutch which were reinforced by similar constructions in English.

In Middle Dutch the formation of the genitive frequently shows an inflected form, e.g. die twee Zebedeus kinder; int boecs beghin; na die lants sede; die broeders doot; die meesters wille.¹⁰ Remarking upon the use of the inflected genitive in Middle Dutch, Weijnen states that "in de zeventiende eeuw zijn hiervoor maar schaarse aanwijzingen."¹¹ Examples of the use of the inflected form in 17th century Dutch appear in the works of Vondel, e.g. zijn ouden vaders hals; een dooden mans gebeente; de drijvers stock. This construction also appears with feminine nouns, such as: het moeders hart.¹² These inflected forms were, however, the exception rather than the

10. F. A. Stoett, Middel-nederlandsche Spraakkunst, Syntaxis, ('s-Gravenhage, 1923) p. 104.

11. A. Weijnen, Syntaxis, p. 104.

12. W. L. van Helten, Vondel's Taal, Vol. 2 (Rotterdam, 1881) p. 139. (This example, however, may be construed to be a compound.)

rule in 17th century Dutch. Letters from the Netherlands in the 18th century show only the use of the periphrastic van- construction (cf. examples on p.72).

Those inflected genitive forms which were brought to New Netherland in the dialects of the 17th century Dutch settlers converged with the similar English constructions. This convergence occurred mainly through increased bilingual contact of Dutch and English in the 18th century. This bilingual contact caused the minimally productive Dutch inflected genitive to spread throughout NYD. The spread of this genitive construction in NYD is, thus, an example of the extension of a minimally productive form to widespread use by dominant language reinforcement.

The next example of a NYD syntactic form showing convergence with a similar English form involves the use of the imperfect tense. According to Weijnen the replacement of the perfect tense with the imperfect was less frequent in 17th century Dutch than it was in Middle Dutch.¹³ In Vondel both tenses frequently appear in the same sentence.¹⁴

Terstond daer na heeft d'oudste der Neronen
eenen--slagh--geslagen en verdreef...

Sij hebben een' alleen tot opperhoofd verheven,
En walgden straex van hem en kosen...

13. A. Weijnen, Syntaxis, p. 90.

14. W. L. Van Helten, op. cit., p. 26.

The examples used by both Weijnen and Van Helten come, however, from literary texts written in verse where the requirements of the meter most likely influenced the use of the 'economical' imperfect in place of the periphrastic perfect construction. The use of the two tenses in the spoken language is much clearer in non-literary prose texts. In (LR-1690108), a description of events leading to the arrest of certain citizens in New York City, the entire narrative is related in the imperfect tense, e.g. ...en Lijsnaer raackte onder hett volck d'eenn sloegh hem mett een rottingh en daer was een Cuijper ontrent soo sij segge die sloegh hem met sijn dissel tege sijn schouwer aen soo datt hett al confues was. Only once in the entire narration is there a switch to the perfect tense: ...maar in hett overleeveren van hett panplier kreegen sij woorden soo datt Do. (Dominie) Varick niet gepredickt heeft

In the Dutch letters mentioned on p.72 the imperfect tense appears twice but only as subjunctive forms, e.g. in (MHS-174013) jck wensch dat jck in staat was om UR enige dienst te doen. Otherwise the perfect tense is used to relate all past actions: inde maent jullij heb ick de eer gehad...; nu heb ick verstaen als dat Capt. Dumaresq den 30 Maij van Madera naer Boston was gezeijlt een heeft mijn sloep meede genoeme...; D heeren Staaten van Hollant hebbe een brief van voorschrijve gesonden...; ...dan moet hy d'ordres volgen die hy in Canarij gekreegen heeft van myn soon. In (MHS-173811), a letter written

to Jacob Wendell from Haarlem, the perfect tense is used exclusively: ...hoe in consideratie van UE verzoek...ik UE vriend Richd. Clarke sonder de minste verhinderinge hebbe laten retourneren sonder dat mij UE d L betaalt heeft...; nu ruijm vijf jaaren geleden is ik hem de goederen gezonden hebbe; daar hij een obligatie van gepasseert heeft om in een jaar met den intrest van 5 P_L te betalen. In (MHS-174012), a letter to Wendell from a business partner in Amsterdam, the perfect occurs in all references to past actions: ...door de schelmagtige behandelingen van den schipper hebbe (ik) veel schade geleeden...; Nu hebbe (ik) weder gedeelte van 't cargazoen in Capt. Davis voor onse ()eek moeten nemen; ...'t welk mij ook verhindert heeft 't cargazoen p(per) Capt. Davis te vergrooten. The above examples indicate that in Dutch documents contemporary to NYD the perfect tense was used to express past actions.

In the majority of the 18th century NYD documents there is a vacillation between use of the perfect and imperfect tense. The imperfect tense is not reserved solely for past narration, but replaces the perfect tense to relate isolated past actions. An example of this alternation of tenses occurs throughout (LR-172307). The letter, which relates an unfavorable court action and imprisonment, begins in the perfect tense and then switches to the imperfect: ...daer ick so lanck voor in

prissen heb geweest met verlies van myn goet en gesontheit
 met veel moeite en onkoste overgebracht heb van mijn viande
 haer koert tot de hoge koert van jus Maris also ick verschide
 rijs gesien heb...daer om is mijn versoek of UE so veel
 gelieft te doen en sprek een(s) tege jus Maris daer ick een
 petiesie aen send hoe sij mij so menigmaal so godlos gedaan
hebbe en mij in haer gevangenhuis latte sette en dan als sij
sage dat sij haer hande gebrant hadde sette de deur ope daer
 ick niet tege stand de deur ope was...en UE kunt hem rys van
 Hardenberg vertelle daer ick een bant in jussement aengaf om
 in de koert te komperere en als de koert sat ick komparerde en
 vroeg hem om mijn bant die jih belofde te levere en ging doe
 en sette die bant in exekusij juist of ick niet gekomparert
was en smet mij daer ock soon 3 mande voor in prissen...

This same alternation between perfect and imperfect tense
 usage also appears in (MHS-173808), a letter relating the death
 of a wife: ...doen ghaf sy myn haer hant en knickten met
 haer hoofd so dat sy myn kenden maer heeft geen een woort
gesproken noch vinger noch oogh verroert naer ik te huys quam.

In (L-174516), a long account of Indian relations around
 Albany, both tenses are used interchangeably throughout the
 19 pages of the text: ...daer naar quam onse Gouverneur hier
 waar op sy als commissenaars hem gingen groetten en syden tegens
 hem...ik antworde hem...doen naamen wy ons afscheyt en gingen...

waar ik aan de bort versoght om de Goeverneur schriftelijk te versoeken...ik heb hem dit geschrift met eijge hant gegeven... hier naar heeft onse Goeverneur ons grotteleijks geaffronteert... soo dat het grotatte getal hem schreven dat wy hem niet wilde dienen. In this document there are 68 references to past actions of which 41 are expressed in the imperfect tense, i.e. the imperfect is used 60% of the time. In (MHS-173808) the imperfect appears 77% and in (LR-172307) 66% of the time to express past actions.¹⁵

The use of the imperfect tense instead of the perfect in 18th century NYD becomes more common in the 19th century. Although neither Prince nor Van Loon mention tense usage, examples from 19th century texts indicate that the replacement of the perfect tense with the imperfect had become a characteristic of Laag-duits. In the Myndertsse document, for example, the imperfect tense is used exclusively to express past action, e.g. ek kan niet meer erendere hoe lang het ez zents hullie nen Laeg Duits saervis hadde in de kerek; ...end bove dit nender wist dat niemelt meer kon die aud Hollant Baibels leze; Achter veel joare ek ben errie zeker dat die dominie leezd van de Baibel end sproak van de preekstoel oaltegoader anders dan hem spreke was toen die kwoam bai uns nen fizzit moake;

¹⁵. These percentages are based on 39 occurrences of past actions in (MHS-173808) and 44 in (LR-172307).

...toen ek kleen was leernd ek errie froeg... Examples from a Jersey Dutch text show the same preference for the imperfect tense: Ek gloof dat mij mam end deddy de laotste manse ban dat goed lag duits medaore sprake umdat mij mam kwam ook van en duitse fem'lie...mijn vrouw kwam van en lag duitse fem'lie--moar zij wist niet voor lag duits te spreke met mijn.¹⁶

It is thus possible to infer from the 19th century use of the imperfect tense that the alternation of the perfect and imperfect tenses in 18th century NYD was a transitional stage in the development of the language. During this period NYD was under heavy English influence, which led gradually to accommodations in the tense usage of NYD. The influence of English use of the imperfect to relate past actions caused the NYD imperfect to become generalized at the expense of the perfect construction. Thus as the Dutch mother tongue was restructuring its use of the imperfect and perfect tense,¹⁷

16. Van Loon, "Ave Atque vale...", p. 117.

17. According to M. J. van der Meer in his Grammatik der Neuniederländischen Gemeinsprache, (Heidelberg, 1923) p. 69 the uses of the perfect and imperfect tenses are as follows: "Für die einfache verstandesmäßige Konstatierung einer Handlung in der Vergangenheit wird im Ndl. gewöhnlich das Perfekt gebraucht...Nur wenn der Sprechende sich die Tatsachen sehr lebhaft vergegenwärtigt, sie gleichsam dramatisch darstellt, was besonders bei einer längeren Reihe aufeinander folgender Handlung der Fall ist, wird das Imperfect bevorzugt."

MYD was developing according to English tense distinctions.¹⁸

The last syntactic divergence in the first category which shows convergence with English concerns the use of the voor...te construction instead of om...te. + infinitive. This construction appears infrequently in the early documents, but in the later documents its use increases. Examples of voor...te in place of om...te are:

- (AG-172105) ...dat...Jurian sall 15 shepel gesay hebben
voor dartigh schepel goede schoon winter
tarw te leveren aen d mannorhuys.
- (IR-172409) Hy is daer goederen voor te neemen volgens
myn accort met hem...
- (A-176809) ...en van dese plank van dit ijaer moet
gij Barint neme voor de rekenin te ballelire.
- (L-177503) ick send U hier mede leer...voor te maken
daer pomps van.
- (W-178306) ...verder vermaak ik myn tarwe moolen
met wat daer aan belangh en het huys

18. Karl Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 300 gives the following explanation of English uses of the perfect and imperfect tenses: "Dis schärfere Abgrenzung im Gebrauch des Präteritums und Perfektums hat sich erst im Laufe der ne. Zeit herausgebildet. Jetzt gebraucht man das Präteritum, wenn man keine Verbindung mit der vergangenen Handlung mehr fühlt, sie also als wirklich vergangen dargestellt werden soll (daher engl. past tense). Es wird daher in der Erzählung vergangener Handlungen verwendet, dann für solche, die mit der Gegenwart in keiner Beziehung mehr stehen oder in der Vergangenheit öfters vorkamen. Ist sich aber der Sprecher bewusst oder will er hervorheben, dass eine zwar im Moment des Sprechens vergangene Handlung mit der Gegenwart in Beziehung steht, verwendet er das Perfektum (daher engl. present perfect tense.)"

waer nou John Mendiviel in woont met een acre gront ront de tarwe moolen en saagh moolen...en de dam, de kill en de gront voor te dammen, en de gront voor onder te dammen, met een anderen val, benede de tarw moolen met ses accers gront en gront om onder te dammen...

(Cf. the one example of om...te, whereas voor...te occurs five times.)

(L-178601)

Gelieft soo veel te doen en breng yst New York voor my vyf hondert wigt eyser... voor byllen van te maken een dicken staf maer kort voor de wagen van de schaers te maken twee vierkante staven de rest smallen staven voor wagen wilen te beslaen...

This same voor...te construction also appears in Jersey Dutch. Prince notes that "intention = 'in order to' is expressed by för, never by N. om with the infinitive, as ik van för te dün it 'I am going to do it'."¹⁹ In a letter written to me by my Laeg-duits informant the construction also occurs: "...dat eak earrie blait baen de leegehait te hae for ean L.D. te sgraive." He also informed me that the voor...te construction was always used in NYD. Van Loon commenting on this construction in: "...moar zij wist niet voor lag duits te spreke met mijn," maintains that it is a form borrowed from American English.²⁰ This construction for to + infinitive instead of (in order) to + infinitive

19. Prince, Jersey Dutch Dialect, p. 466.

20. Van Loon, "Ave atque Vale," p. 119.

apparently was quite common in American English, cf. Stephen Foster's song Oh! Susanna: "I'm goin' to Lou'siana, my true love for to see."²¹ This construction is still heard today in the New York dialects along the Hudson and Mohawk.

Overdiep writes extensively about the various possibilities for the om...te construction. Frequent variations in 17th century Dutch were: van...te, sonder...te, met...te, in...te, and naer (na)...te. He states that voor...te was also a possible variation, but infrequently used.²² According to Overdiep, it appears mainly in the writings of Maria van Reigersberch.²³ It is possible, however, that voor...te was commonly used in the 'volkstaal' but infrequently in the written language.

The two possible explanations for the extensive use of voor...te in NYD are: 1.) The construction was already

21. K. Brunner, op. cit., p. 342 gives the following information concerning the for to construction: "Me. steht neben to auch oft for to vor dem Infinitiv; for to ist zuerst deutlich final, wie deutsch 'um zu', z.B. se kyng hit dide for to hauene sibbe...and for helpe to hauene...Bald aber verblasst diese finale Bedeutung und schon fröh-me. wird for to genau so zur Einführung einer Infinitivergänzung verwendet wie to allein, z.B. Horn gan for to ride; agan ich for to slepe. Im 14. Jh. wird for to wieder weniger üblich, erhielt sich aber gleichbedeutend mit to bis ans Ende der me. Zeit und kommt noch heute mundartlich, besonders im Norden, vor."

22. G. S. Overdiep, Zeventiende-Eeuwsche Syntaxis, (Groningen, 1935) Vol. III, p. 417f.

23. Ibid., p. 421.

widely used in the spoken language of the Dutch settlers but had not yet appeared in the written language. 2.) It was an infrequent variation of the om...te construction among the Dutch settlers which through bilingual reinforcement from English for to became the common construction in NYD. The second explanation is probably the more defensible since the first explanation can be based only on supposition.

Whereas the previous divergent forms showed convergence of Dutch forms with English, the following examples will indicate a more direct influence of English upon NYD syntax. This direct influence involves the ordering of verbal elements in NYD.

The reordering of syntactic elements according to a foreign model is closely related to loan translation.²⁴ According to Weinreich: "such interference in the domain of grammatical relations is extremely common in the speech of bilinguals."²⁵ Weinreich uses the example he comes tomorrow home, which shows interference from German er kommt morgen nach Hause, to illustrate this type of syntactic interference. One would expect a gradual leveling out of differences in

24. Anttila, op. cit., p. 169.

25. Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact, (The Hague, 1968) p. 37.

word order among bilingual speakers of languages which are quite similar to one another. Dutch and English have certain dissimilarities in word order, and it is just those cases in which the two languages diverge where interference appears in NYD.

The first example of the effect of English word order upon NYD concerns the position of the finite verb (Vf) in main clauses. In Dutch, as in German, if an element other than the subject appears in initial position then the verb and subject must invert so that the Vf maintains the second position, e.g. Morgen zal ik je betalen, but cf. English: tomorrow I shall pay you, where there is no inversion. According to Overdiep avoidance of inversion in 17th century Dutch syntax occurred most frequently when another clause was embedded within the main clause. e.g. Des morghens Annetje, als ick uyt mijn droom ontsprong, ick taste na mijn lief.²⁶ Otherwise lack of inversion was not common in 17th century Dutch. In the 18th century Dutch letters noted above there are no cases of lack of inversion, e.g. in (MES-174013):

inde maent jullij heb ick de eer gehad...

nu heb ick verstaen...

hier nevens send ick UE procuratie...

26. Overdiep, Syntaxis, Vol. I, p. 13.

hier nevens send ick UE copie...

dan moet hy d'ordres volgen...

Examples of lack of inversion in NYD are not numerous, but seem to indicate the incipient influence of English word order. The following are examples of lack of inversion in NYD when an element other than the subject occurs in initial positions:

(LR-172307) ...en als de koert sat ick komparerde.

(MHS-174516) Nu ick weet niet.

(L-174516) sonder antwort si, vroegen ons.

(M-176802) ...en geen verde kunding ick heb.

(L-179702) UE brief wy hebt ontfangen.

in der selve tydt wyn syn dankbaar.

It should be noted that the above examples come from later NYD documents when English influence through bilingualism was the strongest. This syntactic divergence also occurs in Myndertsse's remarks from 1890; e.g., Zo, netierlik de dominie moet dat oaltegoader by hem zellef doene; Achter veel joare ek ben eerie zeker dat...

The next syntactic divergence in NYD showing English influence concerns the order of verbal elements in main clauses. In NYD there are many examples where the infinitive or past participle is not relegated to the end of the clause. Overdiep, commenting on the 17th century order of verbs, states that in

the majority of the cases involving a finite verb (Vf) + infinitive/past participle (V), the V stands at the end of the clause or in closed construction. If an element does follow the V, then another element usually precedes it: (S-Vf-O-V-O); but the order (S-Vf-V-O) occurs seldom.²⁷ Such cases Overdiep calls 'open constructions'. This order of elements where Vf and V are placed together is, however, the normal order of verbal elements in English. The frequent use of the open construction in NYD shows direct syntactic interference from English. Examples of this divergence in word order are:

- (LR-172181) M Liffensten ick heb gedaen volgens Ue versoeck...
- (MHS-173606) Wij heabe ontfange 6 bottels wijn en 1 packe vis en 2 poties confijt.
- (L-174008) ick Jan Reijerse Schermerhooren heb gevraecht vor het schreft aen Evert Wendel.
- (M-176802) Welhelms...heeft nagelaten volgens mijn begrip 3 soons...
- Welhelms...was getroudt met Martha... van dit houwlick syn gekomen drie soons en drie dochters.
- Sy is getroudt met Arnhoudt Schermehoorn.
- Sy syn vertroocken na de suylyke part van Nort America.
- Maria...is overlede oud ses weken en een dagh.

. 27. Overdiep, Syntaxis, Vol. I, p. 31.

Maria Wynkoop...was getroudt met Danel Whiteaker.

...van dit howlyck syn gekoomen ses soons.

Thomas...is overleden oudt 9 maende 10 dage.

Elisabet...was getrowt met Jones Hooghtylende.

(VS-177207) Brinkerhof heft betalt vor broeder Abeels part.

(M-179703) De begraffenis is te weeg de 5 deesen maent.

Contemporary (18th century) Dutch letters show no divergence from the normal closed construction of 17th century Dutch. Examples from letters written in Amsterdam and Haarlem to Abraham Wendell in Albany are:

(MHS-173811) (ik) hebbe met veel genoeg van Capt. Robbij verstaan...

...sal sulx met veel hertelikhijd betragen.

(MHS-174012) ...en heeft de baaij quitantie & het hout tot nu toe opgehouden...

(MHS-174013) Inde maent jullij heb ick de eer gehad...

...en heeft mijn sloep weede genoemt.

De heeren Staaten van Hollant hebbe een brief van voorschrijve gesonde...

The increasing use of the open construction in NYD in place of the closed is one of the clearest examples of English syntactic interference.

The final example of English influence upon NYD word order involves the positioning of elements in subordinate clauses.

Overdiep in his investigation of 17th century Dutch syntax states that the common ordering of elements in subordinate clauses was: connective-subject-other elements-finite verb.²⁸

Overdiep observes that when another element did follow the Vf in a subordinate clause it was usually a prepositional phrase.²⁹

An example of this from (MHS-174013), a contemporary Dutch letter, is: ick wensch dat Jek Capt MacKay hier mag sien met syn sloep. There are many examples of this in the NYD documents, but they appear to be a common variation of word order in 17th and 18th century Dutch. In NYD the most common divergence is the lack of subordination of the finite verb when preceded by a relative pronoun or subordinating conjunction. Examples of this from the documents are:

- (LR-170104) dar ijs een varttugh ijn geekom() dat het
niet en pondt meegebragh. (het='heeft')
- (D-170809) die welcken coepen weij voor goet...
- (W-171903) dat dochter...sal hebben twee goude
vingerringen.
- (AG-172602) dat...d schipper daer op wesen sall
dese aenkomende jaer.
- (L-174008) dat ick heb het niet noch.
- (W-174409) ...en dat sy sall hebben een derde van...
.... toddat het in neemt twee en een
helfe morgen.

28. Overdiep, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 44.

29. Overdiep, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 51.

.... dat mijn jongsten dochter zal hebben
een behoorlijk uijtset...

(W-174702)

.... dat myn zoon...zal een wagen weg
hebben.

.... dat aan haar...zal betalen vier jaar
na onze doot.

(L-175807)

.... dat sy besit die eeuwige salighyt.

(W-178304)

.... die ik up Husuk heb van landt.

In most cases the ordering of elements coincides with English words where there is no subordination of the verbal elements. Contemporary letters from the Netherlands indicate no divergence from the normal ordering of elements in 17th century Dutch. Examples of verbal elements in final position in subordinate clauses are:

(MHS-173811)

Neeme bij desen Vryhyd UE te melden,
hoe in consideratie van UE verzoek aan
Mijn broeder gedaan ik UE vriend Richd.
Clarke sonder minste verhinderinge
hebbe laten retourneeren sonder dat mij
UE d' s betaalt heeft.

...also het nu ruijm vijf jaaren geleden
is, (dat) ik hem de goederen gezonden
hebbe.

...daar hij een obligatie van gepasseert
heeft.

(MHS-174012)

...zodat deze affairen in alle deesen
seer ongelukkig voor mij is.

...en dewijl UEd nu buijten twijfel
overtuijgt zult zijn...

...waartoe van mijn kant alles zal
aanwenden.

...'t welk mij ook verhindert heeft...

(MHS-174013) ...als dat Capt. Dumaresq den 30: maij
van Madera naer Boston was gezeijlt,...

jok wensch dat jck in staat was...

Comparison of the above 18th century Dutch examples with those from the NYD documents clearly indicates the extent of English interference. This syntactic difference between NYD and English was gradually leveled out in favor of the English ordering of elements in subordinate clauses where the verbal elements do not stand at the end of the clause.

The last example in this category concerns the use of want 'for' as both a subordinating and coordinating conjunction. Neither Weijnen nor Overdiep mention the possibility of its use as a subordinating conjunction in 17th century Dutch. In Middle Dutch want appears as both a subordinating and coordinating conjunction, e.g.

..., want si van hongher so leede creten,...

..., want daer en was in al sijn lant so cleen dier,...³⁰

This characteristic of want must have been transmitted from Middle Dutch to NYD through dialectal usage which did not appear in the texts analysed by Weijnen and Overdiep. Subordination after want occurs less frequently in the NYD documents than coordination. Examples of the retention of subordination in NYD after want are:

³⁰. Stoett, op. cit., p. 214.

- (LR-170072) want het geene ick ue geseijt heb.
 want d'Fransman de Waghannas
 geheeten had.
- (LR-172307) want so ick de onkoste moet betale.
- (MHS-172603) want het hier so slecht is.
- (MHS-173808) want ik het heele vooryaer qualyck
 daer had geweest...
 want sy maar wynigh voor myn uit is.
 want sy met haer lieve oogen...
gonde regeeren.

It should be noted that the above examples all come from earlier documents. The later documents indicate only coordination after want. The levelling out of these two variables in favor of coordination may be an indication of English influence upon NYD subordinate clauses. Evidence from 19th century sources indicates no further use of subordination after want, e.g. Myndertsse uses the conjunction four times, but only as a coordinating conjunction.

The preceding evidence from NYD indicates that in comparison to phonology and morphology the greatest interference from a dominant language upon a minority language occurs in the area of syntax. The explanation for this may be found in a statement by Anttila concerning the resistance of grammatical morphemes to borrowing: "The reason is, perhaps, the great frequency and abstractness of such units. They

are unconscious and 'too obvious' to draw attention."³¹
Syntactic units on the other hand are not abstract, and differences in syntax between languages used by bilinguals are mostly obvious. The leveling out of dissimilarities in syntax is accomplished through pressure from the dominant language which serves as a model for the minority language. In the case of NYD, English became the syntactic model among bilingual speakers when contact with the homeland was lost, cutting off necessary reinforcement from the mother tongue.

31. Anttila, op. cit., p. 169.

V.

VOCABULARY BORROWING

In order to understand the process of vocabulary borrowing in a given language one must first realize that word borrowing does not occur in a vacuum. Mere contact between two languages does not necessarily bring about wholesale borrowing unless, as Hermann Paul states, there is some minimum of bilingual mastery of the two languages.¹ Haugen emphasizes Paul's assertion when he maintains that "for any large-scale borrowing a considerable group of bilinguals has to be assumed."² This borrowing of vocabulary by a language which is politically and/or culturally less dominant than another is often misconstrued. The less dominant language is generally considered no longer 'pure' but rather some kind of 'hybrid'. This misconception must be avoided in order to understand the extent and necessity for borrowing in the less dominant of two contact languages. As Haugen states: "The introduction of elements from one language into the other means merely alteration of the second language, not a mixture of the two."³

1. Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte, Chapter 22 (Halle, 1968).

2. Einar Haugen, "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing," Language 26 (1950) p. 210.

3. Ibid., p. 211.

The NYD were bilingual out of necessity. The preeminence of English in political and legal institutions after the takeover caused the Dutch to make accommodations to the new systems imposed upon them by becoming bilingual. As Van Loon remarks concerning borrowings in Jersey Dutch: "...de afstemmingen der eerste Kolonisten waren noodzakelijke tweetalig; 'JD' werd thuis gebruikt, en amerikaansch om te spreken met hun toentertijd dichtbij wonende bureu die alleen amerikaansch verstanden."⁴ When a new system of doing things is adopted by a people whether by choice or by force, many elements of the language associated with the new system are also adopted. A case in point is the wholesale adoption of American loan words in European countries which are associated with the American style of big business management and operation.

The use of English terminology in a given context is exhibited in a letter written by David Schuyler to Abraham Yates. The content of the letter concerns the need of land records to prove Schuyler's ownership of property in the Mohawk Valley. The entire letter is devoid of English borrowings with the exception of certain legal terms:

(L-176219) ...en versoeke of hy myn schrifte aen UE...
te geve van myn landt hier lease & release.
...en laete die drie schrifte terstont
recorde...
...dat UE die drie schrifte laet recorde...

⁴. Van Loon, "Ave atque Vale--," p. 110.

There is rarely any attempt in the documents to use the Dutch equivalent of terms which are directly associated with English institutions.

The borrowings in NYD will be classified according to the extent of their morphemic substitution as suggested by Haugen.⁵ Loan words will show morphemic borrowing without substitution; loan blends will show a partial morphemic substitution; loan shifts will show complete morphemic substitution without borrowing. Following Haugen's suggestion "the term 'morpheme' does not include inflectional modifications; when these are applied they do not affect the grammatical function of the word, but are necessary and therefore non-distinctive accompaniments of its use in the sentence."⁶ For example, in (M-171605) waer een actie getryt wiert, the English verb "to try", i.e. a legal action, appears as a past participle with the Dutch bound morpheme ge- as a marker for the past participle. This borrowing will appear under loan words since the past participle marker is a necessary inflectional modification.

Loan Words. The first type of loan words to be considered are verbs. Many examples have been excluded because of the possibility that they may have been French loan words prior

5. E. Haugen, op. cit., p. 214.

6. E. Haugen, op. cit., p. 215.

to the settlement of New Netherland. It is also impossible to determine whether these verbs were borrowed as a result of contact with the French in Quebec and Walloon settlers along the Hudson. For example, gedeterminert and geresolvert appear frequently in the documents. Such verbs in -eren were borrowed into Dutch from Latin and French as early as the medieval period.⁷ It is possible that the above-mentioned verbs were current in the language as a result of earlier French or Latin borrowings and were used more extensively in NYD because of English reinforcement.

Verbs borrowed from English in the NYD documents are:

(LR-170072) ...waer van eenige int cort sullen come settelen d'rest vroegh in d' herfst.
(English: "settle", i.e. take up residence)

English "settle" with the meaning "to settle a matter" also occurs:

(V8-176408) ...en ook £ 5. voor Abm. Yates, die heeft u saak sodanig gesettled dat UE: £ 5. betalen moet in plaets van 8.

The noun "settlers", i.e. "colonists" appears once in (M8S-173707)

...daer waren d versche settlers geprosecuteert...

(LR-172307) ick bid vertelt de jus doch eens hoe sij van tijt tot tijt met mij gedelt hebbe.
(English: "dealt with")

7. William Z. Shetter, review of Rhetoricaal glossarium by J. J. Mak, in Language, 36 (1960) p. 161.

- (M-171605) Deese sertieflieeeren dat wy...geweest
syn int coert huijs der stat Albany
sijnde in open coert waer een actie
getryt wiert...
(English: "try" in the legal sense.)
- (D-170809) ...en soo oost het bos in 29 engelse
mijlen so als het gegrant is beij de ge-
weesen gouverneur Thomas Dongan aen
Kiliaen van Renselaer...
(English: "grant")
- (MBS-172603) jek wense dat sij al daer ware maer hoe
jart sal het sijn om te parte.
(English: "to part", i.e. "to leave and
separate yourself from someone").

The most noteworthy fact about the above borrowed verbs is how few there are. Those that do occur are mainly infrequently used verbs which belong to special situations. This is in contrast to the East Sutherland dialect of Gaelic in which the percentage of borrowed verbs exceeds both nouns and adjectives.⁸ Generally the most frequently borrowed words in a language are nouns. Such concrete words are more readily borrowed than abstract words. Since nouns have a more concrete association with things than do verbs, one would expect their number to be greater.⁹

The next group of loan words comprises nouns which refer to specific elements in English-oriented institutions such as

8. N. C. Dorian, op. cit., p. 19.

9. R. Anttila, op. cit., p. 155. (For a discussion of the occurrence of concrete words in borrowed vocabulary.)

the legal system, governmental organization, etc. These loan words were not borrowed because of an insufficiency in Dutch to express the terms but because of their association with the adepted institution.

Loan words dealing with various legal affairs are:

- (LR-1690108) ...een bant van goet beheaffen...
(English: "good behavior")
- (LR-1690106) ...& mitts gaeders een warrant getekent door d' voorsz Leysler autorisierende Jochim Staets...
(English: "warrant", i.e. authorization)
- (VS-177207) UE 1/4 part in verschote gelt vor onkoste van een law sute. (English: "law suit")
- (W-178306) ...wat ik haer vermack heb in dispute moughte vallen naer eenige andere tytel of clam dan sal... (English: "claim")
- executors (3X) (English: "executor, i.e. of an estate).

This loan word is part of the legal terminology used in almost every will, e.g. in (W-171903) executeurs and (W-178304) ersukuters.

- (LR-172307) koert (6X) (English: "court")
- (M-171605) in open coert (English: "open court")
- coerthuijs (English: "courthouse")
- dejurie (3X) (English: "jury")
- (W-171903) ...met alle right en titel.
- (MBS-173707) ...daer waren d versche settlers ge-prosecuteert met een writt van traspas...
(English: "writ of trespass")

Loan words dealing with other English-oriented institutions

are:

(LR-172307) ...want so ick de onkoste moet betale
en de schelleme vrij gaen moet ick daer
voor in prissen sterreve... (4X)

In other documents such as (L-174305) gevangehuys occurs.

(VS-174904) Monsieur De Sinicrie is nog in New York
en is nog vereerst niet te wagte dordemal
de sembelie niet en sitte. (English:
"assembly", i.e. legislative body in
colonial New York).

This institutional loan also occurs in (LR-172303) ...omdat

vader here mot wese as de semble zitt... and (LR-170104)

...dije asemlije...

(MHS-171401) het costuijm huijs (English: "customs
house")

...dat een gunst is van die van het
costuijm huijs, omdat de deutij daar
niet van can betaalen. (English: "duty",
i.e. custom's duty)

(LR-1690106) d common council

The various officials are generally referred to by their

English title with some phonological alterations:

(LR-1690108) schrieffs (English: "sheriffs")

constabel

(LR-1690106) d'justices van de peace

justice van de peace

This title also occurs in (LR-172101) as justice of de peace.

justices (English "justice of the peace"
is intended here.)

In (AG-172104) justice occurs two times with the same meaning as in the previous example.

MAYOR (3X)

recorder

aldermans (4X) (English: "aldermen", NB the -s plural.) cf. also (L-174516) ---aldermans.

(LR-172307)

...daer ick so lanck voor in prissen heb gewest met verlies van mijn goedt en gesontheit met veel moeitie en onkoste overgebracht heb van mijn viande haer koert tot de Hoge koert van jus Maris.

(This word which occurs eight times in the letter is apparently an abbreviated form of English "justice".)

en dan mocht sijn anner denke... (5X) (English: "his honor" when referring to a judge.)

The use of these loan words indicates the extent of the accommodation made by the Dutch to English institutions. This is especially evident in the legal system.

Loan words dealing with other spheres of society are as follows:

(LR-1690108) maar de andere wilde hett ewewel leesen teegens haer wil; de burgers daer weer teege aen soo dat daer al groot toemult rees...

(L-178601) Dier Sir

(L-176219) hy sal al de justice aen myn doen.

(LR-170104) ...sal ijck stur moeder...et dassse kjerijs. (English: "the dozen cherries")

(W-174409) ...dat sy sal hebben een derde van de income van mijn nagelaaten vasten staat durende haar leven.

...met desen condition als sij blijft bij mijn hujs wonne...

(W-174702) ...en zien het zelve volbragt volgens onze waare intent en meeninge.

(L-174516) Deese sal dienen om UE bekent te maake de staat daar wij hier in sijn gevallen seedert deese ongeluckeyge barbaarisste wilde oorlogh door het misserabele menjmindt van onse goevernuer...
(English: "management")

ik meen dat dit een grotte pollesie is van de Franse om onse wilden te bevredigen...
(English: "policy")

This loan also occurs in (MHS-174009) ...een franse polosie.

...en houde 9 blockhuijs van de 8 en 9 gentteries tegelèijk dat niet half genoegh is voor deese grotte stadt. (Dutch "schildwacht" is used once in the letter: ...en hebben 16 schilwaghte tegelèijk uyt gehad in de naght...)

...en geen eenigh man van haar doet dinst in dese stat om de arme burgers wat te verlighte noch de reegellieron trope...
(English: "regular troops")

Nieuw coom ik op de bedroefde re(go)rnh van de nieuwe lievies die onse couttie meer hebben gereuwoneert als de vyanden...
(JX) (English: "levies", i.e. soldiers under compulsory enlistments.)

ik heb hem dit geschrift met myn eijge hant gegeven in presensie van onse boddie...
(English: "body", i.e. group of men)

in syn begreijp daar sijn veel menschen gevluht en 3 companies voor de expadiesie gereesen...

This military term also appears in (VS-174901 ...het compenie...

...datse op de wagt voor ons soude weesen bijt lack Sinesackerema...
(English: "lake")

(MA-1771209) reecat (English: "receipt", i.e. a proof of payment)

This word occurs frequently in the business accounts with many spelling variations such as reseet in (MA-170827).

(AG-172104) ...sess witt baste eyke poste te setten.
...en d poste met het merk... (English: "post" as in "fence post")

In (LR-172181) the word used for "fence post" is een hijning balck.

References to specific measured plots of ground also show English influence:

(D-168610) ...aen d'voorsk loot landt. (English: "lot", i.e. parcel of land).

The use of English "lot" instead of Dutch "perceel" or "stuk grond" appears also in the following documents:

(MA-176317) compenie reckening in het uyt meeten van het lant en aen loten te leggen op Anquasankoock.

(W-174702) ...ons aghterste lot leeg landt.

(W-178306) ...een seeker lott gront.

In (W-179105) the preceding legal formula appears as: in een seekere tract of land.

The measurement of land is generally given in "morgens" except in (W-178306) where "acres" is used: ...accors gront. (3X)

Another English form of measurement which occurs is "bushel" instead of the generally used "schepel":

- (IR-171102) hy mankeert 2000 boessel...
- (MA-173733) 5 boessel koren (2X)
- (A-178615) belif so veel boesel bont als voor de behancksel te brengen.

Certain geological formations unfamiliar to the original settlers caused the adoption of the English term:

- (W-174409) ...die door het rifft van de rivier gaet.

The close contact with the Mohawk and Algonquin Indians brought a few of their words into the Mohawk-Hudson Dutch vocabulary:

- (D-166404) seewan (i.e. "wampum")
- (D-166711) seewant
- (D-168303) seewant (2X)
- (IR-171377) sappaen (2X) (i.e. a corn gruel)

Van Loon lists this word as spoan- "gekookt maismeel".¹⁰ Storms includes it in his word list as suppawm.

The last group of loan words are of a high frequency variety which occur in special formula expressions:

- (L-176218) ...de keur vant landt in kore genome hebbe by force.
- (AG-172603) ... die by mistake geleverd was.
- (W-179105) ...fyftig pond in cash.
- (W-178306) ...wat ik haer vermack heb in dispute is...

10. Van Loon, op. cit., p. 116.

This expression also occurs in (AG-172603) ...dat in dispuyt is...

(LR-167465) ...in cas ue myne voorgaande ordre...
niet moghte in 't werk gestelt hebben.
(English: "in case")

English "in case" also appears in (W-174702) die zullen, het
mogen koopen na onze doot ...in cas daer toe genoodzaakt waren.

(AG-174401) ...het voornoemde paat altijd in
goede order te helpen macken.
(English: "in good order", i.e. in
good shape)

English "except" instead of Dutch "behalve" appears in
the following documents:

(D-168610) ...except vier morgan bowlandt.
(AG-172602) ...except dattet bedongen is...
(W-174409) ...except vijf morgen landt.
(W-174702) ...exept een morgen. (3X)

Loan Blends. The next type of borrowed words in NYD is that
which exhibits a partial morphemic substitution.

The first example of this type of partial loan occurs
in (L-175721), a letter written by a Palatine German in Dutch.
His designation for "deputy sheriff" de unterschaiot shows
German "unter" prefixed to Dutch "schout". This is the only
example of a German-Dutch loan blend in the documents.

In (L-176219) the word "partners" is rendered with the
Dutch agent forming suffix -aar: ...& de wilde gezeyt hebbe
dat het haar landt is dat ick & de owe partenaers gecoght &
betaelt habbe.

In (L-177609) ongeladen instead of afgeladen indicates interference with the English prefix un-. The complete context of the example is: De plancke werden verschoft voor seeven tien pens ten sy dat se heel moey syn en ick heb hondert ander duymz vure plancke ongeladen.

In (L-179702) an English adverb occurs with the Dutch adverbial marker -lyk suffixed to it: Als dan UE niet immedeatlyk kan te Albanien rysen...

Loan Translations. This group of borrowings exhibits complete morphemic substitution without borrowing. Syntactic substitution increased in NYD with the growth of bilingualism. As Van Loon observes: "Deze jongens en meisjes dachten en spraken in deze dagen allen reeds amerikaansch, en daarom gebruikten zij een typisch amerikaansche zinswending met 'Jersey Dutch' woorden."¹¹ To illustrate this he gives the example of an idiomatic expression which is a complete loan translation from English. The English expression: "I just got through by the skin of my teeth" is rendered in Jersey Dutch as: "Ek ben zoo derdeur met de val vamme taonde." There is no resemblance to the Dutch equivalent: "Ik ben net met de hakken over de sloot gekomen."

11. Van Loon, op. cit., p. 110.

The most graphic example of morphemic substitution occurs in (MA-179340): ...een hondert poundt de (die) ick bin te heb vor macken van een huyst (huis). The verbal construction ...ick bin te heb... is a direct loan translation of English "I am to have".

Other examples of loan translations from the documents involving high frequency formula expressions are:

(W-171903) ...in ordere te stellen. (English: "to put in order")

This loan translation occurs in almost every will as a legal formula. Other examples are: (W-174409) ...in order te stellen; (W-174608) ...in order te stellen; (W-177507) ...in order te stellen; and in (W-178501) ...in order te stellen.

(L-174516) meest van die teyd (English: "most of the time")

eenigh dingh (3X) (English: "anything")

6 teide (English: "six times")

(VS-174902) voor de pess (pess=Du. "pas") (English: "for the time being")

(IR-1690106) strydende d vrede (English: "disturbing the peace")

(IR-172181) de andere wege (English: "the other way")

(IR-171377) en besye dat (English: "and besides that")

(W-174608) van wat nature (3X) (English: "of what nature")

(W-174702) al de weg (3X) (English: "all the way")

alle de rest (2X) (English: "all the rest")

- (L-179006) door order van (English: "by order of")
 (D-168610) all het recht (2X) (English: "all the rights")

Loan translations which appear in verbal expressions are:

- (L-1690106) ...doen maekte d'mayor een aensprake.
 (English: "to make a speech" instead of Dutch "houden")
 (AG-172105) ...so sal Jurian d 30 schepel op maken & leveren als voorsz staet. (English: "make up", i.e. to complete by providing what is lacking.)
 (L-175721) ...omb heijm maeke te betaalen.
 (English: "to make someone do something")

The same use of maken also appears in (L-176219): de wilde... hebbe die mensche...heur maeke betale, i.e. "the Indians made the people pay rent."

- (N-171605) ...en heeft...voor die coert haer eet genomen. (English: "to take an oath" instead of Dutch "een eed doen")
 (VS-174901) wy sall vandage uytsetten. (English: "to set out", i.e. on a journey, cf. Dutch "op weg gaan".)
 (L-176219) wy hebbe de 4 schelme now uyt gevonde. (English: "to find out", cf. Dutch "ontdekken" or "(er)achter komen")
 (MBS-173707) ...soo als een schielycke dooy op comt. (English: "to come up", i.e. to occur).
 (VS-174902) ...David hat wille comen...mar hat binne 8 a 10 dagen nar het sinkir (Seneca) lant te gaan. (English: "had to go")
 (LR-170104) ...daer ijs een akt gepassert... (English: "to pass a piece of legislation")
 (LR-172181) ...en hebben het getrede de breedte en lengte wat Glouda van Meester Liffinstons lant heeft ingeijninght. (English: "to fence in")

This verb appears to have been formed from the noun "heining" and replaced the verb "(om)heinen" in all of the documents. The fact that English "fence" and "to fence" are identical in phonological shape may have influenced this reformation of the verb. Other examples of this verb are in (LR-1752101) ...daer is niet veel meer hout op als van noode sall weesen om te hyninge; and in (M-167206) ...dat wallerand du Mon... tussen de scheijding zal heijninge. It is possible that the noun was more familiar to the new settlers than the verb because of the fact that natural boundaries are more common in Europe to define limits of land. Thus when the verbal action of "fencing" had to be expressed the noun "heining" was made use of. Paul Schach makes a similar point in explaining the borrowing of English "fence" into Pennsylvania German.¹²

- (M-179703) ...de begraffenis is te wees de 5 deesen maent. (English: "is to be")
- (A-171305) komt tot 21 (English: "it comes to", cf. Dutch "het komt op")
- (LR-171377) ...dat ick na het lant wacht. (English: "to watch after", i.e. to look after something, cf. Dutch "zorgen voor" or "letten op")
- (L-174008) ick...heb gevraecht vor het schreft... (English: "to ask for", cf. Dutch "vragen om")

12. Paul Schach, "Hybrid compounds in Pennsylvania German," American Speech, 23 (1948) p. 126.

There is also some indication of English interference in prepositional usage in NYD:

- (LR-1752101) het (bowery) lyt van het Spook Brugh op Taghkaniets recht noorde aen by die beverdam aen de weste syde van de groote kill... (English: "on by", i.e. past)
- (L-179702) ...als dan ue niet immedaatlyk kan te Albanien rysen... (English: "to")
- (D-170809) ...en watt dat aen dippendeert. (English: "to depend on", cf. Dutch "dependeren van")

The last type of loan translation involves noun formations:

Kreupelbos, a special term for land which is overgrown with brush, occurs frequently in the deeds and wills. However, in several deeds another term is used for this type of land which appears to be a loan translation of English "underbrush":

- (D-168902) onderboshoudt
- (D-170809) onderbos

The English word "high way" appears in two documents as loan translations:

- (W-174409) de hoogen weg (4X)
- (W-174702) de konings hooge wegh (3X)

In the documents there are also some examples of semantic loans, i.e. where the meaning of a word has been altered to coincide with a word of a similar phonetic shape in the contact language. For example, the meaning of Dutch "band" was extended to cover English "bond" in the sense of a monetary

security or obligation:

- (LR-1690108) ...maer wilde de gevangene tijken een bant van goet beheaffen...
 ...en sij self soude een bant voor haer tijkenen.
 sij wouden de bande terstont tijkenen.
- (W-174608) ...neefens de intrest van de bande of obligaties.
- (VS-176408) ...de band van L 27...
- (A-179501) ...op reeckening van de band.
- (A-179514) ...voor betaling op een band.

Other examples of this type of loan are:

- (LR-172307) ...dat jus Maris ue de eer sal doen om ue te viesietere.

The Dutch verb "visiteren" is a loan word from French meaning to investigate or examine something. The intended meaning in the above example coincides with English "to visit." The French meaning of the verb occurs in (LR-1690108) ...en haer sack geviceteert habbend.

- (L-174516) ...daar sijn...3 companies gereezen.

The Dutch verb "rijzen" has converged with English "raise" in the expression "to raise troops".

The extensive vocabulary borrowing from English into NYD was a result of the ever increasing isolation of the Dutch speaking communities from one another and the lack of continual contact with the Netherlands. Both inter-dialectal contact

and the injection of new 'blood' and ideas from the mother country are necessary reinforcements for vocabulary growth. As the older generation of Dutch speakers gave way to the new bilingual generation, English was relied upon increasingly for vocabulary expansion. A comparable tendency is the extensive use of English borrowings in the East Sutherland dialect of Gaelic investigated by N. C. Dorian. In her study of the dialect she states that: "where formerly inter-dialectal contact offered reinforcement and expansion of vocabulary, the villagers now have only their own small pool of linguistic resources to fall back on. No dramatic change could come from an improvement in literacy, since standard Gaelic is so alien to most local speakers. As older speakers with relatively rich vocabularies die, they are succeeded by speakers whose Gaelic is increasingly invaded by English borrowings."¹³

As Dutch gradually became relegated to use in the home, contact with the outside world became increasingly associated with English, the language of the people who were shaping the future of the colony. As James Storms wrote in the introduction to his Jersey Dutch word list: "As late as the 1860's in the northern part of Bergen County, Jersey Dutch was the prevailing and natural form of speech in many houses of the older residents when there were no strangers present. English, on the other hand, was a labored and difficult form of ex-

13. N. C. Dorian, op. cit., p. 18.

pression for them, and only used when they mixed with the outer world."¹⁴ This outer world was the world of business transactions and legal affairs, both dominated by the English speaking authorities. English borrowings thus slowly crept into NYD through the necessity to maintain contacts with the outside world. The Dutch of New York and New Jersey did not withdraw into the interior as the voortrekkers of South Africa did in order to retain their individual character. Instead they made accommodations with the English and fought a losing battle to maintain their language in the home.

14. Storms, op. cit.,

VI.

LAEG-DUITS

NYD ceased to exist as a spoken language when small isolated communities in New Jersey and around Albany were finally assimilated in the early 20th century. During my search for NYD documents, however, I found a man who is making a concerted effort to perpetuate NYD or Laeg-Duits, as it was called by the most recent speakers. He has expended considerable energy learning the language from the few individuals, mainly in New York, who can still be considered fluent speakers in the sense that they still recall its use but no longer communicate regularly in it.

This man, who wishes to remain anonymous for fear of being considered odd by his neighbors, speaks only Laeg-Duits at home and has brought up his three children (ages four to ten) as fluent speakers of the language. In order to adapt LD to modern situations he relies on Dutch words for things which did not exist when LD was spoken. As he once wrote in a letter to me: "...omdat eak twie malle zal loope bevoor eak nean Eangels woord goa gebruike, zaeg eak oaltemaets nean Neederduits woord, dewat de L. Duitsurs van hondurt joare g'leede zaeldur oft nooit deen." Much of the new vocabulary he innovates by compounding such words as logtzeef

'air filter' and vermengbakkie 'carburetor'. Others have been adopted through the spontaneous inventions of the children. In another letter he wrote: "...my elder daughter, when she was about two, looked at some kind of worm and asked whether it was a voorbeest (larva) of a butterfly. We have used the word ever since."

The following is a transcription of a tape in which he relates how he began to learn LD and eventually teach it to his children:

1 tun ik nen juge was horden ik Xein ləXdaYts taYs. main
 2 muder di: fan ləXdaYts ofkomst was kən də tɔ:l nistə spreke
 3 behələf misXisn enkelt ləXdaYtsə wə:rdə de: mat engels
 4 fərmenkt warə en di: warə nist als ləXdaYts aYtkandə mɔ:r
 5 lɔ:stər misXisn tut ik omtrənt twɔlf jɔr aut was kre: ik
 6 əbestɔ: bələgɔstəlɔj vɔr pənsɪlfɔ:ns dəYts di: də tɔ:l was
 7 di: mən fərwo:ntə ɪn pənsɪlfɔ:nsjə kraYkə en ik Xələof ik hɔb
 8 mɔ:rnəX mɔ:l Xədɔ:xtə di: ik wɔ:rsXərnəlɪk var mət
 9 pənsɪlfɔ:ns dəYts Xədɔ:nsə hɔz as et nist was dat ɪk nən
 10 ɔrlɔX Xəhat hadə mət di: hɔ:XdəYtsərs en hɔ:XdəYts was
 11 tɔ:bɔ en di: tart en so as ik sɔX omtu ik omtrənt twɔlf jɔr
 12 aut was bəXən ik bələgɔstəlɔj tə hɔbə for tɔ:lɔ en ɔ:k for
 13 fəmlɪ:sXis:dəns en so as ik al Xəzart hɔb was di: fəmlɪ:
 14 fan mən muder ləXdaYts (family name) en ik hɔb ɔ:ri: fru:X
 15 aYtXəfəndə dat fe:l fan də kərək rəXɪstərs en plɔ:sə war
 16 jə ɔvər di: fəmlɪ:sXis:dəns zal lərə ɪn ləXdaYts XəsXre:və
 17 warə en fənsɔf di: tart bəXən ik nən stərkə bələgɔstəlɔj for
 18 di: tɔ:l fan mən mudərs fəmlɪ: tə hɔbə en ik vɔnt wə:ɔr
 19 XəsXre:və was ɔvər də tɔ:l fan (Daniel Prince) ənd ək Xɪŋ
 20 mələs frɔ:Xə di: klərnə stɔ:kɪ:s fan di: tɔ:l nɔX wəstə en
 21 tun nist so ɔ:ri: ləg Xələs:də mɪsXisn vaɪf ɔf zɔs jɔr Xələs:də
 22 mutən ik (Doctor Van Loon) di: en fluijənt spre:kər was ənd
 23 ək...dat was XələkrɪX omtrənt də tart dat mən kərrə Xɔbɔrə
 24 war mən ɔrstə kɪnt (name); en ik dɔ:xt wə:ɔm hɔ:i: nist
 25 twəstɔ:lɪk Xrɔst tə brɔgə , ɔ: ik fərXat tə sɔXə dat ik ɔ:k
 26 nɔX fe:l nəs:dərdəYts Xələrt hat. ik was eɪn zɔ:mər ɪn

27 holant twolf jor Xēleide en lærnde mōXtrk fe:l mō:r nist
28 eri: Xut fōretage fo:r dē wō:rhart tē seXē mō:r ja: ebētcē
29 sprekē. ik lærnd et o:k Xut tē leize en so: tus main eistē
30 kint Xēbo:re was dat was (name) kwam har tēreX fan dē
31 zikēhaYs mat min vrou en ik dō:Xt wērcm zal ik nist
32 bēXine fandēX di: tō:l an dat klarntē tē lēre en ik dest
33 et en eide di: tart heb ik niste Xēsprokē mat min kairē
34 behēf,... wal, en et bēXrn was et mar ne:derdaYts en nau
35 is et nen saYver lēXdaYts bēkēzēmdat frusXer heb ik nist so:
36 fe:l Xēlert hus dē lēXdaYts rē:Xtix Xēsprokē mat weize en
37 ik lēr esder da:X fan dē weik et wat bestē. ik prēbē en
38 dē lō:stē tart nen wō:rdēbuk optēmkē fan dē tō:l hus dat
39 Xēsprokē was wat ik wal seXē neXentix of taXentix jor
40 Xēleide en so: ik fōrcēmalē ste:dēlix mēr wō:rdē.

Although my Laeg-Duits informant would be the first to admit that his pronunciation may not be exactly similar to that which was heard 80 years ago, it is, nevertheless, as close an approximation as one can now hope to acquire. Most interesting in the above text are those features which parallel divergences in 18th century NYD.

Dutch [aɪ] appears everywhere as [ax] whether the source is Gmc. [i:] or [ax], e.g. (1) main, (7) kraɪks, (11) taxt, (21) vaxf and (30) haɪ from Gmc. [i:]; and (13) Xɛzaxt, (20) klaxn, and (32) klaxntcɔ from Gmc. [ax].¹

Dutch [ɔɪ] appears consistently as [aY] indicating the unrounding of the first component of the diphthong, e.g. (1) laxdaYts, (4) gYtkendɔ, and (31) zi:kɔhaYs.

Alternation between [ɪ] and [ɛ] occurs in such examples as: (7) ɪn and (14) ɛn²; (7) ɪn and (10) ɛn. This alternation also occurs with the long front vowels in (3) deɪ and (4) dɪɪ.

Dutch [a:] appears everywhere as [ɔ], e.g. (2) tɔɪl, (4) mɔɪr, (8) mɔɪl, (15) plɔɪsɔ and (38) lɔɪtst. Short [a] frequently occurs as [ɔ], e.g. (2) ɔfkɔmst, (12) bɔXɔn and (27) mɔXɪk.

1. The number in parenthesis before the examples refers to the line in the text in which the example occurs.

2. Note the monophthongization of the diphthong [aɪ] in the unstressed possessive adjective main.

Although not noted in the transcription, the stops /p t k/ are all aspirated indicating probable convergence with English aspirated stops.

Epenetic vowels occur in (3) bɛhɔlɔf and (15) kærək.

There are two examples of the preterite {-en} marker for the first person singular of weak verbs, cf. (1) horden ik and (22) mutən ik. In the 18th century NYD examples this form occurs in the third person singular preterite of weak verbs. The Laeg-Duits form indicates either an extension of the third person innovation to the first person or retention of a 17th century dialectal feature.

The yoof...te construction in place of om...te occurs once: (28) ...foir dɔ wɔ:rhart tɔ sɔXɔ...

APPENDIX

The researcher in early NYD is hindered by the fact that the original documents are not only scattered around the area, but that there is no listing of their locations. One must simply start digging and let one lead follow the other until almost by accident enough material is accumulated. The following is a guide to the locations of the majority of the documents used in my research. This does not pretend to be a definitive list since many more documents are still to be uncovered.

The largest amount of NYD material located in one place is in the Livingston-Redmond Collection at the Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, New York. Besides the complete correspondence between Robert Livingston and his wife Alida there is a large miscellaneous file containing numerous letters, accounts, agreements and documents relating to the Leisler revolt. The documents are in good condition and can be worked with from micro-films available upon request.

The New York Public Library has in its manuscript room several collections which contain good examples of 18th century NYD letters. The Gansevoort-Lansing Papers has five letters from John Lydius to Anthony van Schaick while the latter was a prisoner at Montreal plus several other letters. The Van Schaick Papers has the will of Wessel van Schaick

plus a few letters. An order for copies of specific documents is required.

At the Senate House Museum in Kingston, New York can be found three letters in folder 3030 plus numerous accounts, business transactions, etc., in Book V Misc. Memos. Xerox copies are available for specific documents.

The Office of the Surrogate at Hudson, New York has five wills in the Book "A" of Wills. Photocopies of the wills are available upon request.

The Albany Institute of History and Art has in its library a large collection of early deeds and letters in Group III of the Dutch folder. The majority of the documents are from the last quarter of the 17th century. Xerox copies are available for specific documents.

The Schenectady Historical Society has three long wills in their will file plus many short business transactions and accounts in their accounts folders. Xerox copies are available for specific documents.

The Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston holds the Jacob Wendell Collection which contains ten letters from the mid-18th century. The quality of the documents is excellent and xerox copies of the collection can be obtained upon request.

As I have stated previously, many documents are still in private hands. A great deal of patience and appropriate connections are, however, necessary to gain access to them.

One should be prepared to copy such documents by hand on the spot. If xerox copies are needed the researcher should suggest that the owner accompany him to wherever they can be copied.

SPECIMEN TEXTS OF NEW YORK DUTCH

Daese Sertiefieseeren dat sy op den 10 February 1715/16
 geweest syn int coert huijs der stat Albany sijnde in
 open coert waer een actie getryt wiert van Henr()
 & Tierck Harmse, tegen Louweris van Schaack, als mede
 een actie van Tierck Harmse & Han() tegen Bartolo()
 van Valkenburg, en dat Elsie Franse Clau daer was
 geroepe voor getuyge welcke comperaerde en
 heeft aldar tweemaal voor die coert haer eet genomen
 voor elck actie eens, en seyde dat de kil in Ha()
 en Tierck sijn schriften genoempt Malinhits Kill
 is een Killetie dat lijt besuijden de clijne noten hoeck
 en benoorden de vis hoeck en den 13 dito als de jurie
 dan warre de plaets voors: te gaen sien, is Elsie Franse
 Clau ontrent de clijne noten hoeck van daen wat
 vooruijt gereden met haer soon Jurien Clau
 als seij dan gekomen was beij de geseijd Kil of Killetie
 en heeft seij dar gestopt en de jurie en de ()
 vant volck dar verwacht en tegen de jurie
 geseijt en gewesen de voornoemde cil en seyde
 sie dar is de cilletie die voordesen altyt is genoempt
 Malinhits sopoes (welck is in duyts Malinhits Kill)
 en wees oock aen war Malinhil gewoont heeft
 aen de suydt seyde van de gesejde kil, al waer oock

beij die Kil een witbast jke boom staet aen de
suyt seij aen de geseijde kil die gemerckt is so als
Capt Band voortset in syn draft voort ()
van de pattent.

Tho: Willian

Mijn Herr

Doen ick lastens in die Stadt was, ende ick die ehre hatte
 beij Mstr. Stivenson te weesen, van Weegens tusshen Mijn
 eende Jacob Vroomann, So heeft Mstr. Stivenson Mijn geadres-
 sert aen UE: die tijt doen geij Sick was; ick hoope dat geij
 dor Gottes hulp weederomb Sal gezond weesen; eende doe
 beloofte geij meijn, dat als geij maar wt beeder was,
 So Sal de unterschaiot ob Schocharie Komen, omb heijma maake
 te betaalen, maar ick hebbe noch niemand gesien, alsoo
 Versoocke aen UwE: om keene tijt te passeeren voor Solches
 te thun; daar heij ist een Mann die niet betaalen will, ick
 Veroblegere meijn aen UwE, danckbahr te weesen; eende Ver-
 soocke als eenieg fremdes news in Albany ist omb meijn met
 deese Mann de Schrijwen, ick tweljffele niet aen UE:
 oprechtiegeit, omb Jacob W. Vroomann een aendere weeg te
 wijzen; kaen ick UE: eeniege dienst alhier thun, so ver-
 wachte UE: ordre, ick Verblijve

Schocharie

d: 9te. Augt

1757

Mijn Heer

UE: Dienar

Johann Jacob Werth

(The letter above is an example of Palatine German mixture
 in NYD.)

1758 Septembr 4 Schonechtady

Harmanes Brouwer

Meyn versoeck is of gy sovel gelift te donen

en sent meyn des soma gelt ten ersten

Ik man ker het hel nodig Ik heb

al lang uyt myn gelt gewest

u vrou heft geseyt daet har vader

het betalen sou maer Ik heb

self op schorharey gewest Ik

heb u vader self gesproken en

hey heft tegen meyn geseyt daet

hey gen en pene daer vaen betalen wou

Ik heb niet verder met u vader te doen

gy hebt de goderen gehaet en gy moet mey

betalen Ik hoep gy sael meyn het gelt

senden ten ersten of an wort hir op

Ik wou nayork gan Ik wou daet wel

heben er daet Ik gong niet mer

verblyven u vreint en dinnaer

Isaac Truax yuer

Komt daet gelt L 4-13-0- $\frac{1}{2}$

Mr Jates
Manheer

Canajohary den 2 Maert 1762

Gy hebt myn zoon adoniah geseyt dat gy myn
gaern by u wilde sien ick hoop als t Godt belieft
de aenstaende maent in april UE te sien als ick
Leef & gesont ben als gy Yets van myn begeert
om Yets van myn te weete so hoop ick sal UE aen
Myn Schryve wat UE begeert is & gy had geseyt
dat ick in myn Eyge Licht Stae ick denck daar by
dat Ymant Yets tegen UE geseyt het van weege
het patent daar ick nu Woon Misschien Capt Jilles
Fonda & Yurrie Klock om dat Philip Livingston
Woude hebbe dat ick & myn zoon Pieter soude
Fonda & Klock helpe & dat durfde wy niet de
Reede als ick UE siet sal ick UE well segge &
sy dencke Misschien dat ick of Pieter de wilde
tegens haar op geset hebbe maar daar is godt
myn getuyge van dat ick niet heb voor ick ben so
een vrint niet van de wilde die all vyf
Yaere de heur vant Landt in Kore genome
hebbe by force & ick now noch myn broodt kore
moet Cope twelck een harde Saeck is ick hoop
het altyt so niet sal gaen ick hoop niet dat
Captn Fonda enige gedachte sal hebbe dat ik
hem Quaet soude gunne ick woude dat

Ick met Fonda Rys Conde spreeke niet
dat ik hem hier Roepen will maar ik soude
hem segge dat hy noch niet & weet vorder
Mr Jates als t UE belieft Laet myn Rys
weete of gy noch niet vernome hebt by Freest
of by de Knickerbackers of Quacken bos van
Weege de Schrifte van de Stien bakery UE
Sal daar geen klyne Rewaerd voor hebbe So
Doende verblyve UE Vrint & Dienaer

David Schuyler

Neponagh November 16th, 1786

Dier Sir

Gelieft soo veel te Doen En breng yst
new York voor my vyf hondert wigt Eyser
tien Schaerplaten Een Staf breed voor bylen
-len van te maken Een Dicken Staf maer
kort voor De wagen van De Schaers te
maken twee vierkante Staven De Rest
Smallen Staven voor wagen wilen te
beslaen Een Staf voor De bylen Saft Eyser
het ander Swets Eyser De Schaer platen
moeten niet groot wesen maer wat Dick
En glad Een Staf Sweets Stal Stamp
klaver En hart koop het Eyser En Stal
voor my op Een yaers trost En als gy
niet soo lang tyt kan hebben ick soude
het Dan op Een half yaer betalen gelieft
ock soo veel voor my te Doen En betael
Dese bylepersel £ 10-1-7 En ick sal Ue het
gelt weder betalen Soo Dra als gy tuys
komt Dit van UE Dienst wilgen Dienaer

Johannis Bevier Jur

Albanie Oct 19th 1797

Mede Broeder een Seer Geliefde Vriend
UE Brief wy hebt ontfangen -- Wy sal
Seer Blyd wesen om UE te Zien in Person
in Der Selve Tydt wy syn Dankbaar voor De
Eere UE hebt ons gedaan te proposeeren
een toepasselyk Voorreden te Maken -- Het is Noodwen
digh, dat wy UE iets te kennen geven -- dat
de Drukker verwacht op ons -- en dat we
hebt beloofd De Werk terstont in hand
te Nemen -- Als Dan UE niet immedeatlyk
kan te Albanien Rysen -- wy sal blyd Wesen
Dat UE het Copie moght gestuert werden
met de Eerste gelegenheid.

Wy syn

UE

Broder en Vriend

Den Heere

John Bapete

John B Johnson

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Charles-Theodor Gehring was born on April 3rd, 1939 in Fort Plain, New York, son of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Gehring. He attended Fort Plain Central School and graduated from it in 1956. His first two years of undergraduate education were spent at Virginia Military Institute. In 1958, due to financial difficulties, he transferred to West Virginia University. After one semester he was forced to leave the university in order to save enough money at various jobs for continuance of his education. In 1960 he returned to West Virginia University as a German major and assisted in the language laboratory. He married Jean Matis of Saint Johnsville, New York in 1962. In June of the same year he received an A.B. in German with a minor in Philosophy. In August his son Dietrich Christian was born. While working toward his M.A. at West Virginia University he taught German as a teaching assistant. In 1964 he received an M.A. in German with a minor in History. He was awarded a Fulbright Fellowship to Germany and studied two semesters at Albert-Ludwigs Universität in Freiburg. While in Germany he pursued his interest in Germanic Linguistics and began his study of Dutch. In 1965 he was granted an NDEA title IV Fellowship to study Dutch at Indiana University. He completed his doctoral course work in 1968 and began researching for his dissertation. While working on his dissertation he taught German for five years at the State University of New York at Albany. During the summer of 1971 a travel grant awarded by the University Research Foundation enabled him to assist in research at the Dialect Institute in Amsterdam, Holland.