

HANS DEN BESTEN† & CEFAS VAN ROSSEM\*

# Diplomatische editie van de Negerhollandse woordenlijsten van Frank G. Nelson

## I Editie en annotatie

### 1.1 Informatie over de gebruikte teksten en bronnen

De Reineckelijst (paragraaf 2) is een typoscript op acht A4'tjes dat vervaardigd is door John E. Reinecke in 1936. Het werd bewaard in de Tsuzaki/Reinecke Creole Collection in de Hamilton Library van de University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii, Verenigde Staten. Uit de briefwisseling tussen Hans den Besten en Eleanore Au, de bibliothecaris, bleek dat het origineel onvindbaar was en dat een fotokopie van Hans den Bestens exemplaar, inclusief zijn aantekeningen hierop, aan het Hawaïaanse archief is gestuurd (Van Rossem 2013: 6). Het origineel van Hans den Besten wordt bewaard in de afdeling Bijzondere Collecties van de universiteitsbibliotheek van de Universiteit van Amsterdam. Op het moment van de afronding van deze publicatie was de signatuur van deze collectie nog niet bekend.

Hans den Besten heeft in de zomer van 1996 enige problemen en onduidelijkheden die te maken hebben met vormen in de Reineckelijst voorgelegd aan Robin Sabino, een voor-aanstaand onderzoekster van het Negerhollands (Auburn University, Alabama, Verenigde Staten). De onderwerpen van hun e-maildiscussie hebben zij ondergebracht in twee rubrieken: acht genummerde punten in de rubriek ‘Consonants’ en zeven in de rubriek ‘Vowels’. Al deze opmerkingen zijn met de rubrieks- en nummervermelding verwerkt in de voetnoten in paragraaf 2.

De Nelsonlijst (paragraaf 3) is een typoscript van achttien bladzijden dat Frank Nelson in het weekend van 20 oktober 1993 heeft overgetypt uit zijn originele veldwerknotities uit 1936. Het is op 23 oktober 1993 aan Den Besten gestuurd. Den Besten heeft naar aanleiding van deze lijst vele vragen aan Nelson gestuurd, met name in een lijst met 96 vragen die in 1999 door Nelson beantwoord zijn. Deze vragen zijn met hun reacties van Frank Nelson letterlijk opgenomen, met de vermelding van het nummer van de vraag, in de voetnoten van paragraaf 3. Begin 2012 ontving ik van dr. Frank Vandervegt, een vriend van Frank Nelson, scans van zijn exemplaar van de Nelsonlijst. De aantekeningen die Nelson op dit exemplaar heeft gemaakt en die niet in het exemplaar van Hans den Besten voorkomen, zijn ook opgenomen in de voetnoten in paragraaf 3. Van Rossem (2013) bespreekt de ontstaansgeschiedenis van de woordenlijsten en de briefwisselingen die daarmee verband houden.

\* Hans den Besten is ooit begonnen met verzamelen van zo veel mogelijk materiaal rond de Negerhollandse woordenlijsten van Frank Nelson, maar hij overleed op 19 juli 2010, voordat er ook maar iets gepubliceerd kon worden; de eerste persoon enkelvoud in deze publicatie verwijst dan ook steeds naar de tweede auteur. Het is mij een eer zijn werk op dit gebied af te mogen maken. Graag bedank ik Pieter Muysken niet alleen voor zijn initiatief om het werk van Hans den Besten aan de Nelson-woordenlijsten gepubliceerd te krijgen, maar ook voor zijn kritische opmerkingen op deze uitgave. Nwo bedank ik graag voor de promotiebeurs voor leraren die ik mocht ontvangen, waardoor ik dit stuk bij de vakgroep Taalwetenschap van de Radboud Universiteit kon afronden. Hans Bennis, Robbert van Sluijs, Sarah Scanlon-Nelson, Liesbeth den Besten, Frank Vandervegt, Gilbert Sprauve, Robin Sabino en Hein van der Voort dank ik hartelijk voor hun belangstelling en hulp.

De enige twee bladzijden uit de originele veldwerkaantekeningen zijn overgeleverd als fotokopie in een brief die Nelson aan mij heeft gestuurd op 18 juli 1996.

### 1.2 Taalgebruik en spelling

Alle woorden en reacties zijn letterlijk overgenomen uit de gebruikte manuscripten en typoscripten. In een enkel geval is een storende spelfout verbeterd. De spelwijze die Nelson heeft gekozen in zijn typoscript, waarin met diacritische tekens extra waarden aan tekens gegeven wordt, (paragraaf 3, de Nelsonlijst) is zo precies mogelijk door mij gekopieerd.

De letters e die door Nelson zijn geschreven als ε (onderkast epsilon) en door Reinecke abusievelijk zijn beschouwd als een van de e afwijkende klank, zijn in deze woordenlijst vetgedrukt. Dit komt alleen voor in de Reineckelijst (paragraaf 2) en in de uitgave van de fotokopie van de veldnotitie (paragraaf 4).

### 1.3 Editieapparaat

Coderingen ten behoeve van de diplomatische weergave zijn als in *Die Creol Taal* (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: XII-XIII). Deze coderingen zijn gebaseerd op het heldere voorstel uit Verkruijsse (1973-1974).

#### *Toevoeging*

- <a> a is op de regel toegevoegd.
- <ol•a> a is boven de regel toegevoegd.
- <ul•a> a is onder de regel toegevoegd.
- <lm•a> a is toegevoegd in de linkermarge.
- <rm•a> a is toegevoegd in de rechtermarge.
- <tm•a> a is toegevoegd in de topmarge.
- <bm•a> a is toegevoegd in de bodemmarge.
- <\*.\*> Er is iets toegevoegd, maar het blijft onduidelijk welk teken of woord.
- \*<a>\* a is mogelijk op de regel toegevoegd.
- [a] a is toegevoegd door de tekstbezorger.
- <§a> a is toegevoegd aan het eind van de sectie of paragraaf.
- <np•a> a is toegevoegd op een volgende pagina.

#### *Doorhaling*

- [-a] a is doorgehaald
- [-\*.\*] Iets onleesbaars is doorgehaald.
- [a]<b> a is doorgehaald en b is op de regel toegevoegd.
- [a]<ol•b> a is doorgehaald, b is boven de regel toegevoegd.
- [a]<ul•b> a is doorgehaald, b is onder de regel toegevoegd.

#### *Vervanging*

- [a+]<b> a is overschreven door b.

#### *Onzekerheid*

- \*a\* a is onzeker.
- a\*b\* De b die na de a staat, is onzeker. De tekstbezorger doet een suggestie welk teken het meest waarschijnlijk is.

\*...(?)\* Het is onduidelijk of er hier iets is geschreven. Per mogelijk letterteken plaat-

	sen we een punt.
*word*	Het hele woord is onzeker.
A/a	Het is onzeker of de hoofdletter of de kleine letter is bedoeld.
a/b	Het is onzeker of a of b is bedoeld.
ab\cd	Het is onzeker of ab en cd samen een woord vormen.

#### 1.4 Afkortingen

CVR	Cefas van Rossem, alleen gebruikt in passages waarin onduidelijkheid kan zijn over wie de informatie verstrekt.
FH	Frans Hinskens
FN	Frank Nelson
HB	Hans den Besten
<u>N</u>	Door Hans den Besten als nieuwe vorm herkend
NRHB	new remarks Hans den Besten (alleen in reactie op opmerkingen Robin Sabino)
PRF	voltooide tijd
PST	verleden tijd
RS:	Robin Sabino

Als in een voetnoot alleen een vraagteken wordt gegeven, heeft de desbetreffende persoon ook letterlijk een vraagteken in zijn aantekeningen opgenomen.

Bij verwijzingen in de voetnoten gebruik ik de namen van de woordenlijsten in de paragrafen 2 en 3, respectievelijk de Reineckelijst en de Nelsonlijst. De paginanummers die hier gegeven worden, verwijzen naar de pagina's binnen deze lijsten.

Ik heb de regelnummering van de verschillende woordenlijsten laten doornummeren om bij verder onderzoek het verwijzen te vergemakkelijken.

**2 De Reineckelijst: de woordenlijst uit Creole Collection John E. Reinecke<sup>1</sup>**

[p.1]

WORDS AND TEXTS

- 10 Collected in Virgin Islands, June, 1936, by Mr.  
Frank Nelson

	(Sounds approximately as in Anglo-Saxon)	
15	broom	bēzum
	mat	mat
	on	bo
	flown	flek <sup>2</sup>
	board	plang
20	pillow	kizinchi
	sheet	lāken
	bean	bōnchi
	doctor	dōkto
	call	rūp
25	now	nu
	leaf	bla
	(to call chickens)	chip, chip
	gallery	gābrī <sup>3</sup>
	belt	[-ble] belt
30	parlor	hāl
	pocket h'k'f	sāknestūk
	petticoat	sēyā
	bucket	bōkuto
	climb	klim
35	hill	bērge
	sew	nai
	to plant	plant
	jump up	lep op
	work	weruk
40	kneel	kini
	guts	dētum <sup>4</sup>
	horn	horn
	quinepa (fruit)	kenepī

1 Deze tekst is, zover ik het uit de correspondentie van Nelson kan opmaken, een door John E. Reinecke overgetypt manuscript van Frank Nelson. De tekst werd oorspronkelijk bewaard in de John E. Reinecke Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii.

2 HB: flaw?

3 HB: gāldrī? ld = b. RS: Consonants 3. gabri (N.) – gallery, veranda. /b/ seems to be substituted for /d/ here. (HB:) Or maybe /galdri/ or even /galri/. In Dutch it is ‘galerij’ and ‘gaanderij’ (the latter form derives from folk etymology). I don’t know whether there is/was a form ‘gaalderij /galderij’. RS: galtri is a form used in the V.I.E.C. Do you think the /b/ is a typo or mishearing? NRHB: Yes I think the ‘b’ is a typo, a transcription mistake due to the fact that Nelson did not always transcribe his notes carefully. In the new transcripts I found ‘Porch, gallery. – Galri’, which makes more sense. CVR: Wellicht is de typefout te wijten aan Reineckes interpretatie van Nelsons handschrift.

4 HB: dērum? RS: Consonants 1. datum (N.) – intestine. /t/ is substituted for /r/. NRHB: I agree. I should be “darum”. Since I did not feed Nelson’s ‘new’data into the computer. It is hard for me to look up words. (However I came across ‘Guts – Derum’.

	sing	sing
45	song	sāng
	red	rō
	black	swāt
	duck	pātch-pāchi
	wood (material)	hautū
50	brazier	kōlpāt'
	stew	stō
	soursap	tizān <sup>6</sup>
	earrings	orāngu
	gold	gaut
55	bead	kālēla
	silver	selvu
	to iron	strik
	fold	fau
	sprinkle	sprinnl <sup>7</sup>
60	feather	plim
	ghost	ges, jūmbi
	grass	bēshet <sup>8</sup>
	scissors	sket <sup>9</sup>
	boat	bōt
65	canoe	bāto, kāno <sup>10</sup>

[p.2]

	mamme (fruit)	māmai
70	papaya	papai
	corn meal	farnya
	sneeze	nis
	laugh	lak
	cry	kris
75	yell	skrēo
	knee	kīnī
	back (of body) <sup>11</sup>	rege
	beat	slā
	tanya (fruit)	jankōl
80	shark	[ -ahi] hai
	bay	bai
	swim	zwim
	drown	draun
	marry	trau
85	wedding	"
	sweetheart	fristū

<sup>5</sup> HB: of kolpot (vgl. kōp) of hōl<sup>6</sup> HB: ? sizāk? moet zijn soursop (\*nog ...\* m'n Webster be\*...)\*<sup>7</sup> HB: springl? sprinkl? vgl. nestōn (p. \*...)\*<sup>8</sup> HB: \*add\*<sup>9</sup> HB: sker?<sup>10</sup> HB: 'bateau' of bōto?<sup>11</sup> HB: ?

	spectacles	hoyō kinu (?) <sup>12</sup>
	bull	būl
	pork	spek
90	understand	fōstān
	forgotten	frogit
	letter	bref
	trousers	brūk
	shirt	hemetē
95	tie	krūwāt
	comb	kām
	cup	kāninchi
	burn	brān
	watch (noun)	paso
100	walk	wāndu
	mind (take care)	moin (Irish inf.) <sup>13</sup>
	fall	fāl
	stumble	mēsēfāl
	clean	fek <sup>14</sup>
105	Numberal <sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup>	
1.	en, ēn	30 dērtī, dertik, trētik
2.	twē	40 twēskeling, fērtik
3.	drī, trī	50 fifti, fevtik
110	4.	60 drīskeling, sēstik
	5. fev	70 seventi, sewentik
	6. ses	80 forskeling, āktik
	7. sēw' n	90 negontī, nēgontik
	8. āk <sup>17</sup>	100 en patakon, ēn hundert
115	9. nēgon	
	10. ten	
	11. elef	
	12. twālf	
	13. dērtīn	
120	14. fītīn, fētīn	
	15. fevtīn	
	16. sestīn	

12 HB: hogō? kikā?? RS: Consonants 5. hojo kinu (N.) – eyeglasses. The /n/ is etymologically unmotivated. (HB:) I vaguely remember the form /hogo kika/: De Josselin de Jong or Nelson's more recent transcripts? I don't remember. RS: The form is hogokika—how to explain the /n/; the /u/ is odd etymologically too. NRHB: Nelson may have misread his own handwritten 'n' as 'k', which is quite possible given a certain tye of handwriting. It is even possible to misread a badly written 'a' as an 'u'. However: In the new transcripts I found 'Spectacles, - Hogo kiku'. In fact, for me this form makes more sense than 'hogokika'. I never understood the final 'a'. 'Kiku' may derive from Du. 'kijker'(in Zeelandic 'kieker' of course) which literally means 'looker'. [In Modern Du. 'kijker' means 'spy glass'.]

13 HB: main? vgl. blain

14 HB: vegen

15 HB: Numb<ol.?>eral?

16 CVR: De letters e die door Nelson zijn geschreven als ε (onderkast epsilon) en door Reinecke abusievelijk zijn beschouwd als een van de afwijkende klank, zijn in deze woordenlijst vetgedrukt.

17 RS: Vowels 4. ak (N.) – eight. The long vowel seems odd here. NRHB: I agree. In the new transcripts I found: '8. – Ok (Ak?)' and '8. – Ak'. I did not come across 'ak' with a long vowel, but maybe it is hidden somewhere.

	17.	sēwentīn
	18.	āktīn
125	19.	nēgontīn
	20.	ēnskeling, twe/inti
	21.	enskeling en en, en me twenti
	[p.3]	
130	S[in+]<ni>p	snī
	off	af
	tail	stet
	thing	got
135	life	lef
	like	leke
	house	hús
	name	nām
	bread	brōt
140	cheese	cās <sup>18</sup>
	butter	botər
	child	ken
	drizzle	stoñ <sup>19</sup>
	heavy rain	rēgon
145	black	hau <sup>20</sup>
	lime	limunchi
	boy	yōn <sup>21</sup>
	girl	menshi
	chair	stūl
150	bowl	komenchi
	flower	blomenchi
	parrot	popegoi-i [popinjay]
	birds	difī
	shoes	skōn
155	finger	fingə
	tooth	tān
	eye	hōgō
	nose	nēs
	ear	hō
160	hair	hār
	mouth	mon
	tall	hok
	water	wat[-e]<ə>
	sea	sē, zē
165	go	lō
	sleep	slāp
	rat	rōton <sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> HB: kās<sup>19</sup> HB: motregen (b. blijkbaar stofregen!) N<sup>20</sup> HB: hau 'oud, ha\*.\*' black?<sup>21</sup> HB: jōn<sup>22</sup> HB: rōto? of echt rōton?

	bed	beri
	pillow	kisinchīn <sup>23</sup>
e	170 basin	hænbæk
	knife	nēf, mes
	fork	forok
	spoon	leppū
	thanks	dānki
	175 goodbye	adjós
	oven	ōvn
	wash	wash, was
	body	lif
	eat	yēt <sup>24</sup>
	180 own	ēgon
	business	aferon
	Hell	Hel
	Heaven	Hemol
	Devil	Dibl
	185 a little	bechi
	of	fān
	year	yar
	glass	glās
	country	plantai
	190 pretty	moi
	soursap	sazāka <sup>25</sup>
	sugarapple	apūl
	[p.4]	
	195 cap	kārpūs
	haul	hala
	woman	frau, frōlum <sup>26</sup>
	buy	kop
	200 pound	pān
	sugar	sūko
	make	mā
	chamber	kāmbū
	kitchen	kāmbūs
	205 pantry	pāntrūm
	cistern	regolbæk <sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> HB: n? CVR: bedoeld is de finale n.

<sup>24</sup> HB: jet (CVR: boven ε horizontale lijn om lange klinker aan te duiden.)

<sup>25</sup> HB: of suzāka? \*aua\*!?

<sup>26</sup> RS: Consonants 2. fralum (N.) – woman, wife. The /lum/ seem odd. NRHB: I agree. In the ‘new’ transcripts I found ‘Woman. – Fro’ (with a lengthening sign above the ‘o’), and ‘A woman. – En frau’, ‘Lady. – Frau’, ‘Man and woman go marry. – Man me frau lo trau’. Maybe ‘-lu(m)’ derives from the TMA particle ‘lo’. There are more cases where Nelson did not understand the function of these particles. Unfortunately, this still leaves unexplained the final ‘m’. FH: Kan het niet teruggaan op Duits ‘Fräulein?’ Per slot van zaak waren sommige Herrnhutters Duitsers of in elk geval Duitstalig.

<sup>27</sup> RS: Consonants 6. regolbak (N.) – cistern, tank. /l/ is substituted for /n/. NRHB: I agree that the ‘l’ is odd. In my view this cannot be a transcription mistake. Also the new transcripts give ‘Cistern. – Regolbak’. This may be due to Nelson’s informant.

	now	nū
	can	kan
	think	dinko
210	cocoanut	kokonēt
	grave	grāf
	dead	dōd
	drink	drink
	walk	wāndu
215	write	skrif
	table	taul
	cart	karōshin
	horse	kabai
	donkey	nōli
220	cow	kūi
	pig	ferke
	calf	kalfi
	piece of ground	plantai
	box	kasha
225	money	stibu
	cat	pushi
	dog	hun
	where	upe <sup>28</sup>
	[ -fa] today	fanda
230	Sunday	Sunda
	Monday	Mānda
	Tuesday	Dīsendā
	Wednesday	Wōndā
	Thursday	Donderdā
235	Friday	Frīdā
	Saturday	Sæterdē
	mother	ma, mamā', mēdaum
	father	popā
	uncle	nōm
240	brother	buchi
	sister	shishi
	cousin	kuzín
	church	kerk
	preacher	bās (?), dōmnī
245	congregation	gomento
	mouse	mishi

<sup>28</sup> RS: Vowels 1. epi, upe (N.) – where. I would expect initial /a/. The /u/ seems especially odd. (HB:) I guess Nelson's informants simply reduced the unstressed /a/, as happened in /pupa/ (from /papa/). And a schwa can become a /u/ in NH. RS: I strongly suspect that the derivation is the other way around. U → schwa, and that paragogic full vowels were socially marked and hence were reduced preserving the CV syllable, but reducing the salience of the vowel. Anyway, the forms api/ape have equal emphasis on each syllable. Reduction seems unlikely. Mrs. Stevens never did it, nor did de Jong's consultants. NRHB: In the new transcripts I found: 'Where is the dog? – Upi th' hun?' and 'Where are you going? – Ape lolo?' and 'Where were you born? – Epe yu geboren?' If both syllables have equal stress, the 'u' is unexplained unless (a) this is a transcription mistake, or (b) there was more variation than we now know.

	blind	blain <sup>29</sup>
	see	kī
	how	hosō
250	run	kūrri
	away	awē
	with	wit
	farmer	fāma
	wife	wif
255	[p.s]	
	find	fen
	take	drā
260	sun	sun
	wind	wen
	ship	skep
	big	grolt <sup>30</sup>
	little	klen
265	sia/ail	[-zé] zēl
	captain	kaptē'n
	hurricane	hūrikēn
	lizard	kakatez
	snake	slāng
270	crab	krābū
	fowl	hūndū
	needle	nāl
	thread	garən
	window	wenstū <sup>31</sup>
275	stairs	stērs
	door	dōr
	cellar	saldū <sup>32</sup>
	breakfast	tē
	midday meal	frōkost
280	evening “	diner
	dress	kapūtū
	kerchief	nestōn <sup>33</sup>
	hungry	hongru <sup>34</sup>
	egg	ēyū
285	leaven	shīdē
	rice	ris
	red beans	rō bonji
	pot	pot

<sup>29</sup> RS: Vowels 5. blain (N.) – blind. This is English Creole. The Negerhollands forms have front monophthongs. NRHB: I agree. But it is part of a NH version of ‘Three blind mice’ and occurs twice.  
<sup>30</sup> HB: grolt? grōt? RS: Consonants 4. grolt (N.) – big, large, great. The /l/ surprising. NRHB: I agree. I only found ‘grot’(with a lengthening sign above the ‘o’) in the new transcripts. Maybe Nelson’s lengthening sign was somewhat askew so that he could misread it as an ‘l’.

<sup>31</sup> HB: niet fenstū! of venstū!

<sup>32</sup> HB: kelder x cellar, maar saldu?

<sup>33</sup> HB: tōn?

<sup>34</sup> HB: r?

	cold pot	komfot <sup>35</sup>
290	dish	sketl
	mirror	skifi
	comb	kām
	fire	fī
	charcoal	kōl
295	paper	pāmpi
	basket	mā kutū
	stick	stok
	read	lēs
	tea	te, tē
300	coffee	kāfi
	corn	ma-īs
	white	wět
	black	swart
	blue	blau
305	gray	grau
	people	folok
	yam	yāmos
	potato	bata'
	cassava	casau
310	banana	banana
	fish	fes
	turtle	skelbāt, skelpān <sup>36</sup>
	oil	oli
	heart	hāt
315	hot	het
	cold	cōt
	hat	hōt
	[p.6]	
320	Dane	Dēn, Dānsko
	wet	nāt
	bake	bāk
	clock	klok
325	early	frūfrū
	orange	aposhīn
	calabash	kalbās
	enough	gono
	afternoon	asta <sup>37</sup>
330	book	būk, biki <sup>38</sup>

35 HB: of bedoeld: kōlpot? vgl. kōlpāt 'br\*azier\*' p. 1!!!

36 RS: Consonants 8. skelpān (N) – turtle. /n/ is substituted for /t/. NRHB: I am not certain that 'n' could be a transcription mistake for 't'. This may be due to the informant, also in view of the fact that I found the same form in the new transcripts: 'Turtle. – Skelpan'. The informant may have substituted 'pan' for 'pat'. However, I also found 'Turtle. – Skelbat', with a shortening sign above the 'e'. CVR: Zie de Nelsonlijst (paragraaf 3, p.4).

37 HB: menda'k\*?

38 HB: biki? = biki? RS: Vowels 3. biki (N.); also bk (N.) – book. The initial /i/ is surprising. NRHB: I agree. The new transcripts give 'Book. – Bok, buki.' (with a lengthening sign above the 'u') Probably

	white man	blanko
	turkey	kālkūn
	little pig	pig <sup>39</sup>
	okra	kyambo
335	cloth, clothes	duku
	grandmother	gangang
	call	hōp <sup>40</sup>
	come	kōm
	kalalu (okra soup)	kalalū
340	corn cake	funjī
	hoe	[ -han] hau
	<lm.x>earring	ranggu
	watch	hōlochi'
	machete	kətlís
345	bucket	wātūtobō
	fire	fī
	yes	ya
	no	nū <sup>41</sup>
	pepper	pepū
350	hammer	hambū
	meat	flois <sup>42</sup>
	shoemaker	skūnmeka
	talk	prat
	take up	rem <sup>43</sup>
355	cut	kāp
	pean[-tus]<ol.ut>	pinda
	town	tāpus
	go	lo
	flour	mēl
360	sell	flokō
	chicken	kikinch[u+]<i>
	cane	sūkustok
	know	wet
	time	tit
365	cook	kōk
	where	epē
	born	gebōren <sup>44</sup>

Nelson misread his own handwriting. CVR: In de Nelsonlijst (paragraaf 3, p. 7 en 11) vinden we de vorm *bok*.

39 HB: big?

40 HB: rōp?

41 CVR: boven de u staat in het typoscript een horizontale streep als verlengingsteken.

42 HB: fleis? RS: Vowels 6. flois (N.) – flesh, meat. The back vowel is surprising here. (HB:) I guess this could be /fleIs/. RS: Would this be a typo or a transcription error? NRHB: Nelson probably jotted down something like ‘fleis’ and misread his ‘e’ as an ‘o’. But even the new transcripts give ‘Meat. – Flois’. CVR: In de Nelsonlijst (paragraaf 3, p.9) staat die spelling ook niet ter discussie.

43 RS: Consonants 7. rem (N.) – take up. Could this be a misreading of a transcription of nem? NRHB: This may very well be a misreading for ‘nem’. For the time being I am only able to find the form ‘ne’ (twice, inside sentences) in the new transcripts. CVR: De vorm *rem* komt nog een keer voor in de betekenis ‘nemen’ (Nelsonlijst, paragraaf 3 p. 9, regel 832). Zie de noot aldaar. Het gaat inderdaad om een leesfout.

44 HB: gō?

	other	andos <sup>45</sup>
	place	plēs
370	stocking	kausn
	socks	sāx
	hat	hūt
	tree	bōm
	sick	sik
375	baby	b*ē*bī
	get	krī
	lamp	lāmp, [-lapara]lāmpara (?)
	candle	[-kēes]<ul.kēes>
380	[p.7]	
	*m*ilk	moluk
	potato	batíta
	fight	feket[ē+]<e>
385	kill	mātā
	to saw	sā
	gourd	sōt/gō, sōt kālabās
	open	hōpō
	dance	dāns, ribot
390	drunk	drung
	plice <sup>46</sup>	sētēns <sup>47</sup>
	piece	steki
	drum	drum
	Christmas	grō Sundā
395	leader of dance	laren
	head	kōp
	side	shī
	street	stræt
	pen	pen
400	mule	būrīkō
	fast	gau
	slow	sūchi
	friend	frend
	godmother	mimá
405	hand	hān[-d]
	foot	fūtū

45 RS: Vowels 2. andos (N.) – other. The vowel should be /u/; the /s/ seems is unmotivated. (HB:) This must be Dutch ‘anders’(different, differently, in another way). In my view /o/ instead of /u/ is not that bad. RS: My assumption was that the s was elided and that the unstressed word final er would be realized as u. This is a wide spread correspondence. If the s is retained and the r deleted, what would motivate the backing? This would approach would suggest the vowel was backed by the velar r prior to deletion, but clusters were certainly less compatible with the substrate phonology than the underlying vowel to deletion. NRHB: I don’t know. There are two words in Dutch: ‘ander’ (other) and ‘anders’ (different, differently, in another way). Is it really impossible to assume that substrate speakers could substitute ‘u’ or ‘o’ for schwa, whether or not a syllable final consonant is elided? In ‘apolsina’ the ‘l’ is retained and yet we get a full back vowel instead of the schwah.

46 HB: police?

47 CVR: Bedoeld is hier het woord *seteris*. De r en i zijn samen als n gezien.

	leg	bel <sup>48</sup>
	chin	kāk
	eyes	h <sup>*</sup> o <sup>*</sup> go (?)
410	tongue	tung
	thumb	tum
	cheeks	gisē
	eyebrows	hōgobrai
	arm	erum
415	belly	bik
	stone	sten
	axe	kapmes, bil
	sky	hemel
	moon	mān
420	full	fūl
	wave	wēg
	coffin	kāfīn
	night	dūnkū
	well (adv.)	frai
425	finish	kaba
	morning	morog
	day before yesterday	el gestu
	steal	dif
	well (n.)	pēt
430	condemn	dō
	fort, jail	fort
	try	prübe
	run	kri
	sailor, p<ol.o>liceman	matrós
435	take	fang
	any	enten (?)
	say	sē
	beg	bedl
	bottle	batl
440	rum	sūpí

[p.8]

Mi ā lō en dans gistu dūnku. De wes drum dans. De ā lo pān frai. Dī  
 445 Folok a wes wel drung. Der hā ēn [-f<sup>\*</sup>..\*ee] fēketē. Der has seteris, an nē  
 Sene a di fort. As nē wet wāt sēn sa dū me sendū. Morok (?) ūns sā wet.

(I went to a dance last night. It was a drum dance. It went on well.  
 The people was well drunk. It had police, and take them in the Fort.  
 450 I don't know what they will do with them. Tomorrow we will know.)

Fandē nā gro Sunda	Today is Christmas
Wātō mī, laren, wātō mī	Water me, laren, water me, (give rum)
Wātō mī na mī kōp shi	Water me to my head side,
455 Wātō mī, laren, wātō mī	Water me, laren, water me,

48 HB: bedoeld buttock

Han mī dī guava berry  
Wātō mī, laren, wātō mī.

Hand me the g[au+]<ua>va-berry (wine),  
Water me, laren, water me.

## Three Blind Mice

460

Tri blain mishī  
Ki hoso sen kūrri  
Sen kūrri awē wit dē fāma chi wif,  
Sen snī āf sens stet wit a gebrāta mes,  
Mī no it no ka ki so en gōt a mī lef  
Leke drī blain mishī.

465

The horse pulls the cart.  
The woman is going to market.  
I'm going to buy a po[j+]<u>nd of sugar.  
Where are you going?  
What's your name?  
A man built a house; it had three  
Rooms, a kitchen and a pantry,  
A cistern outside the house.  
I cannot think of more now.

Dī kabai hala dī kārūshi  
Dī frau ˘/f\*lolo a bene market.  
Mī lolo kop en pān suko.<sup>49</sup>  
Apē yo lolo?  
Hōsē yo nām?  
A mān mā en hus. Der ha drī kambu,  
en kambus me en pantrum, en regolbæk  
a biti fan dē hus.  
Mī nū kan dinko mē no.

3 De Nelsonlijst: de woordenlijst uit Nelsons brief van 24 oktober 1993<sup>50,51</sup>

480

I.  
Henrietta Francis, Frederiksted, St. Croix

485

Come into the house. – kom na bene  
Hoso yo be?- How are you?  
Well, thank you. – Frai, danki  
Bread – Brōt.  
No. Nain.<sup>52</sup>

49 RS: Vowels 7. suko (N.) – sugar , sugarcane. The final vowel should be u. (HB:) Cf. my remarks about /o/ in /andos/, although I agree that /u/ is more regular. RS: here the tendency would be for raising in the velar environment. Vowel harmony would also reinforce the word final u. CVR: De Nelsonlijst (paragraaf 3, p. 6) geeft: "cane sūkustok", wat de klinkerharmonielezing in dit geval ondersteunt.

50 Bovenaan de lijst die HB van FN ontving met daarin de opmerkingen en antwoorden bij de vragen over de woordenlijst, heeft FN het volgende geschreven: These answers are strictly tentative, based upon memory alone. Please check with my original notes which you retrieve them from van Rossem. F.N. CVR: Deze notities zijn verloren gegaan in de post (zie Van Rossem 2013). In een e-mail van 19 maart 2012 bleek dat Nelsons vriend Frank Vandervegt ook een exemplaar had van deze woordenlijst. In enkele gevallen zijn in deze lijst verbeteringen aangebracht door Nelson. Deze heb ik in deze bijlage verwerkt.

51 Vormen die door Den Besten zijn herkend als nieuwe vormen of vormen met nieuwe betekenis, zijn door mij gemaarkeerd met een N. Deze woorden zijn door Den Besten in een aparte lijst verzameld. Zo ver ik kan zien heeft hij de lijst van Nelson vergeleken met de woordenlijst van De Josselin de Jong (1926). Den Besten had, zo blijkt uit een aantekening op zijn manuscript, de bedoeling om de lijst van Nelson ook met de brief van A. Magens te vergelijken.

52 Den Besten (brief Den Besten, 2 november 1993): "As for Henrietta Francis' *nain* 'no' instead of *nē*: *nē* is indeed used by Victoria Mossentau but Margaret Tadman gave you *nēn*. DJdJ in his article

- White man's love is leprosy.-Bokra lub is kokobai.  
 House. – Hūs  
 490 We – Ons.  
 Name. – Nām  
 Bread .- Brōt.  
 Cheese.- Kās.  
 V<ul.B>utter.- Bot'r/  
 495 All of you.- Yēno.  
 Child.- Kēn  
 Drizzle.- Stōfi.<sup>53</sup>  
 Heavy rain.- Rēgon.  
 Blach Bread.- Swart brōt.  
 500 Old.- Hau.  
 Two years.- Twē yēr.<sup>54</sup>  
 Limes (fruit).- Limünchi.<sup>55</sup>  
 Little boy.- Klē yōn.  
 Little girl.- Klē mēnshi.  
 505 Chair.- Stūl.  
 bowl.- Kōmēnchi.  
 Flower.- Blomēnchi.  
 Parrot.- Pōpegi̯.<sup>56</sup>  
 Birds.- Dīfī.  
 510 Shoes.- Skōn.  
 Finger.- Finge'.  
 Teeth. – Tān.  
 Eyes. – Yōhōgō.  
 Nose. – Nēs.  
 515 Hair. – Hār.  
 Mouth. – M[u+]<o>n.  
 Tall man. – Hok M[-ae]<ol.æ>. <mæn>  
 Ears. – Hō

520

2

- Sea water. – S[\*i\*+]<ē> wat'.<sup>57</sup>  
 I go. – Me lōlō  
 Sleep. – Slāp.  
 525 Rat.- Roton.  
 Bed.- Bēre.  
 Pillow. – Kisinchin.

preceding his 1926 publication claims that the obsolete Dutch form *neen* ‘no’ was the sole form possible among his informants. *Nē* for them meant ‘take’. Whenever I used the form *nee* ‘no’, DJdJ says, they corrected me. They found it a ridiculous mistake. So I guess the *n* in *nain* belongs to the original Creole. And you were right that the *ai* sound either derives from blending with German *nein* or from blending with Danish *nej*.”

53 N

54 HB: 25. p.1, line 19: “Two years”: Could *twē yēr* also be *twē yār*? FN: possibly.

55 HB: 08. p.1. line 20: “Limes (fruit)”: should “(fruit)” be in red? FN: Yes, to avoid confusion with plaster.

56 HB: 26. p.1, line 26: “Parrot”: Is it *pōpegoi̯* or did you jot down *pāpegaï̯* (cf. Du. *Papegaai*). N

57 HB: 27. p.2, line 1: “Sea water”: Is it *wat'* or *wate'*? (In the 1936 transcript it is *wato*.) FN: wate.

- <rm.Basin. – Hænbæk.>  
 Knife. – N̄ef.<sup>58</sup>  
 530 Fork. – Fōrōk.<sup>59</sup>  
 Spoon. – Leppu<sup>60</sup>  
 Thanks. – Dānk[e+]<í>. –  
 Goodbye. – Adjos.<sup>61</sup>  
 Oven (stove?). - Ovn.<sup>62</sup>  
 535 Wash your body. – Was yo lif.  
 Eat. – Yēt.  
 Drimk.<sup>63</sup> – Dri[m+]<n>k.  
 Walk. – Lo Wanda.<sup>64</sup>  
 Write. – Skrif.  
 540 T[o+]<a>ble. – Tavl.<sup>65</sup>  
 [-Cart. – Kabai]. <rm.< Cart – Kārōshin>  
 <rm.Horse – Kabay>  
 Donkey. – Noli.  
 Calf. – Kalfi. <rm. < Cow – Kui>  
 545 Pig. – Ferki.  
 Piece of land. – Plantai.  
 Box. – [\*.\*+]<K>ashi.  
 Money. – S[\*...\*+]<tib>u.  
 Go in. – Lo [-\*bed\*] ben.  
 550 Go out. – Lo na bīti.  
 Cat. – Pushi.  
 Dog. – Hun.  
 Where is the dog? – Upi th’ hun?  
 I am going to St. Thomas. – Me lolo na St. Thomas.  
 555 Today is Sunday. – Fanda a Sunda.  
 Monday. / Mānda.  
 Tuesday. Dīsenda.  
 Wednesday. [-\*Wonda\*]. Wōnda.  
 Thursday. Donderda.<sup>66</sup>  
 560 Friday.<sup>67</sup> – Sae<ol.æ>terde.<sup>68</sup>  
 (Informant knew names of month [i+]<o>nly in English.)<sup>69</sup>

58 N59 N60 N61 N ((nieuwe variant) +ajos, HB)

62 HB: o9. p.2, line 13: “Oven (stove?)”: should “(stove)” be in red? FN: yes.

63 Typoscript Frank Vandervegt: Dri[m+]&lt;n&gt;k.

64 HB: 28. p.2, line 17: “Walk”: Is it wanda or wando or wandu? (In your 1936 transcript you give wandu, which is the ‘correct’ form.) FN: probably wandu.65 HB: 29. P.2, line 19: “Table”: Is it tavl or taul (i.e. ta-ul). In your 1936 transcript you give taul. But both forms would be correct.

66 Typoscript Frank Vandervegt: &lt;rm. \*F\*riday Fridā&gt;

67 Typoscript Frank Vandervegt: &lt;lm.Saturday&gt;[-Friday]

68 Nelson (brief Nelson, 7 november 1993): “I still made a few errors and left out a couple of words! (...) on page 2, correct to Friday- Frida; Saturday –Saeterde.” (CVR: “Friday ... Saeterde.” is rood getypt.)

69 HB: 10. p.2, last line: “(Informant knew... )”: should this line be in red? FN: yes.

- 565 Mother.- Mā. Mamá.  
 Father. – Popa.  
 Uncle.- Nōm.  
 Brother. – Bushi.  
 Sister. – Shishi.  
 570 Cousin. – Kuzin.<sup>70</sup>  
 Take a chair. – Nā en stūl.<sup>71</sup>  
 Church. – Kerk.  
 Preacher.- Bās.<sup>72</sup>  
 Congregation. – Gomento.<sup>73</sup>
- 575 THREE BLIND MICE [-TREi] Tri Blain Mishi.

- NOTE: This is only one of several versions of this old nursery  
 Rime which [-I]I heard in the Virgin Islands in the spring of  
 580 1936, from both Blacks and Whites, most of whom were unaware  
 that it was even in Creole but told me that they had learned  
 it in childhood either from their parents or from nursemaids.  
 To them it was just a nonsense jingle. Unfortunately, I did  
 not take down any of these “buckra” versions with their varying  
 580 mixtures of Creole and Island English. Mea culpa.  
 Frank G. Nelson. Hilo, Hawaii. October, 1993

Three blind mice!	Tri plain mishi
See how they run!	Ki hose sen kurre <sup>7475</sup>
590 They ran away	Sen kurri awé
With the farmer’s wife.	Wit de fāma che wif. <sup>76</sup>
She cut off their tails	Sens sne af sens stet
With a carving knife.	Wit a gebrāta mēs <sup>77</sup>
I never ha[ <sup>*</sup> d <sup>*</sup> +]<v>e seen	Me noit mo ka ki <sup>78</sup>

70 N

71 HB: 30. p.3, line 7: “Take a chair”: Could *nā* be *nē*? (The ‘correct’ form is *nē*, cf Du. *Nemen*.) FN:  
*Ne* probably correct

72 N(nieuwe betekenis)

73 N

74 HB: 31. p.3, Three bl. mice, line 2: Could *hose* also be *boso* (as you wrote in your version of 1936;  
*boso* is the ‘correct’ form anyway.) FN: yes.

75 HB: 32, p.3, Three bl. mice, line 2: Could *kurre* also be *kurri*? (*Kurri* is more correct. And it is the  
 form you wrote in 1936.) FN: Use *kurri*.

76 HB: 33. p.3, Three bl. mice, line 4: Could *che* also be *chi*? (That is what you wrote in 1936 and it is  
 more correct (cf. *shi* elsewhere.) FN: *chi*.

77 HB: 34. p.3, Three bl. mice, line 6: *Gebrāta* is an intriguing form. You also used it in your 1936  
 transcript. Since I now have a feeble hypothesis about what the word actually might be: is it possible  
 that you jotted down *gabrita*? Or do we have to stick to *gabrāta*? (In one of your letters you mention  
 remembering the variant *gebroote* in a half/Creole half English version of “Thre blind mice” sung  
 to you by the lady who would not sing any songs in Creole for you “because she was now a good  
 Christian”. But I must confess that I do not know yet how to fit in this variant.) FN: The English  
 version of this old nursery rime has “carving knife”, i.e. a knife to [-\*t...\*]<ol. carve> a roast. De vorm:  
*gebrāta* mēs N

78 HB: 35. p. 3, Three bl. mice, line 7: Could *mo* also be *me* (i.e. Du. *meer* ‘anymore’? Or is it maybe  
*no*? FN: Probably “no”; English version of song has “never”.

- 595 Such a thing in my life  
As three blind mice.  
So en got a me lif  
Lěke dri blain mishi.

- 600 Rice.- Ris  
Red Beans.- Rō bonji  
Pot . – Pot  
Cold pot. – Komfot.<sup>79</sup>  
Dish. – Skětl.<sup>80</sup>  
605 Comb. – kām.  
m<ol.M>irror. – Skifi.<sup>8182</sup>  
Fire. – Fī.  
Comb. – Kām.<sup>83</sup>  
Charcoal. – Kōl..  
610 Picture. – Píkcha.<sup>84</sup>  
Paper. – Pamp[a+]<i>

## 4

- Basket. – Mākutú.  
615 Stick. – Stok.  
Read. – Lēs.  
Tea. – Tī.  
Coffee. – Kāf[e+]<i><sup>85</sup>  
Corn (maize) – Ma-īs.<sup>86</sup>  
620 Black. – Swart.<sup>87</sup>  
Blue. – Blau.  
Gray. – Grau.  
People. – Folok.  
Yam. – Yamos.

<sup>79</sup> Nelson (brief Nelson, 14 november 1993): “Another culinary puzzle: could Rebecca Francis cold pot be folk-etymology for compoete – Danish kompot? “ (CVR: Nelson bedoelt hier Henrietta Francis.) HB: 36. p.3, 4<sup>th</sup> line below Three blind mice: “Cold pot”: REMARK: Your suggestion in one of your letters that *cold pot* might be *coal pot* is correct. But I’ll keep the spelling as it is and I will explain this in a footnote. *Coal pot* is both Virgin Islands English Creole and Negerhollands (*kōlpot*). *Komfot* appears in de Josselin de Jong as *konfört ‘houtskoolpot’*, which he compares with Du. *komfoor ‘brazier’*. (As for the nasal, DJDJ probably meant *komfórt*.)

<sup>80</sup> N

<sup>81</sup> HB: 37. p.3, 7<sup>th</sup> line below Three blind mice: “Mirror. – Skifi.” Is strange, since ‘mirror’ should be NH *spigel* while NH *skifi* means ‘drawer’. – Is this due to your informant or did you conflate two entries? And if the latter is the case, what do these two entries look like? FN: Sheer confusion, mine or informant’s.

<sup>82</sup> N

<sup>83</sup> HB: 38. p.3, 6th and 9th line below Three blind mice: Two entries “Comb. – Kām.” Is this correct or should one of them be dropped – and if so, which one? FN: Drop either. My absent minded duplication.

<sup>84</sup> N

<sup>85</sup> N

<sup>86</sup> HB: 11. p.4, line 6: “Corn (maize)”: is (maize) original or should it be in red? FN: Probably original, American “corn” is maize; Britisch is [“...”] grain.

<sup>87</sup> HB: 39. p.4, line 7-9: Three color names. In view of your 1936 transcript, is it possible that between *Corn* and *Black* an entry for *white* is missing? FN: Let’s assume it is. Fill it in. CVR: In de korte tekst staat “white wēt”.

- 625 Potato. – Batá.[-\*.\*]<sup>88</sup>  
 Banana. – Banana.  
 Fish. – Fěs.  
 Turtle. – Skělbat.<sup>89</sup>  
 Oil. – Oli.
- 630 Heart. – Ha't, (Hart ???)<sup>90</sup>  
 Hot. – Hět.  
 cold. – Köt.  
 hat. – [h+]<h>ōt.  
 Cap. – Karpūs.
- 635 Ther horse pulls the cart. Di kabay hala di karushi.<sup>91</sup>  
 The woman went to market. – Di frau lolo aběne market.<sup>92</sup>  
 I'm going to buy a pound of sugar. – Me lolo kop em pan suko.<sup>93</sup>  
 Where are you going? – Ape lolo?<sup>94</sup>  
 What's your name? – Hose yo nām?<sup>95</sup>
- 640 He built a h[p+]<o>use. – A ma mā en hūs.  
 It had 3 rooms, 1 kitchen with a pantry. – Der ha trī kambu, - en  
 kambus me en pantrum.<sup>96</sup>  
 A cistern outside the house. – En regolb[-ae]<ol.æ>k a bítí fan da hūs.  
 I can't think of more now. – [-Mi] Mi nu kan dinko me no.
- 645
- 

- Coconut water (milk). – Kokonet water.<sup>97</sup>  
 My oldest brother. – Mai hausta buchi.<sup>99</sup>  
 650 My younger brother. – Mai yu<ol.\*v\*> buchi.  
 Soursap tree. – Sasaka bōm.  
 Mango tree. – Mango bōm.

655

5

Grave. – Gräf.

<sup>88</sup> HB: 40. p.4, line 12-13: Is it possible that between *potato* and *banana* a line for *cassava* is missing? (Because you mention *cassava* in your 1936 transcripts.) FN: Assume it is. Fill it in. CVR: In de korte tekst staat “cassava casau”.

<sup>89</sup> N (CVR: naast de vorm *skelpan*)

<sup>90</sup> HB: 12. p.4, line 17: “Heart. – Ha’t, (Hart ???)”: should “(Hart ???)” be in red? FN: no.

<sup>91</sup> Nelson (brief Nelson, 7 november 1993): “And karushin – cart looks like Portuguese carroça (with a tilde under the second ç), (...).” CVR: De woorden *karushin* en *cart* zijn rood getypt. Het woord *karoshin*, met een finale n komt alleen in de Reineckelijst (paragraaf 2, p.4) en als correctie in de Nelsonlijst (paragraaf 3, p. 2) voor.

<sup>92</sup> Market N

<sup>93</sup> HB: 41. p.4, line 24: “I'm going to ...”: Could *pan* ‘pound’ also be *pon*? (CF Du. *pond* ‘pound’.)

<sup>94</sup> HB: 42. p.4, line 25: “Where are ...”: Could *Ape lolo*? Also be *Ape yo lolo*?

<sup>95</sup> HB: 43. p.4, line 26: “What's ...”: Could *hose* also be *hoso*?

<sup>96</sup> Pantrum N

<sup>97</sup> HB: 13. p.4, 5th line from below: “Coconut water (milk).”: should “(milk)” be in red? FN: VI English apparently refers Coconut water, \*hence\* Amer\*icans use ..\* Coconut milk.

<sup>98</sup> Kokonet N, Kokonet water N

<sup>99</sup> HB: 44. p.4, line 32: “My oldest ...”: Could *hausta* also be *haustu* or *hausto*? FN: (CVR: heeft *hausta* onderstreep) -a probably represent\*s\* a schwa.

- Dea[\*.\*+]<d>. – Dōd.  
 Coffin. – Kafen.<sup>100</sup>
- 660 How are you tonight? – Hose yo be fanda dun[\*.\*+]<k>un?<sup>101</sup>  
 Good (sic.) thanks. – Frai, danki.<sup>102</sup>  
 My ankle is bad tonight. – Me melelek fanda dunku. (?)<sup>103104</sup>  
 I think we shall finish now. – Me denk ons ska kaba [-\*...\*] nu.<sup>105</sup>  
 I'll go to church tonight, – Me ska lo a kerk fanda dunku.

665

- Night. – [-Dun] Dunku.  
 Light. – Le.
- 670 Morning. – Morog.<sup>106</sup>  
 Day before yesterday. El gestu.<sup>107</sup>  
 Well (noun). – Pēt.  
 NARRATIVE  
 He stole a calf. – Ha ma dīf en kalfi.
- 675 They put him in jail. – Se [-\*.\*] a dōm a fort.<sup>108</sup>  
 He tried to run away, – Ha ma prube for krī wē,<sup>109110</sup>  
 but the policeman got him. – but dī matrós fang ham.<sup>111</sup>  
 His wi<ol.[-\*.\*]>fe came to see him. – Dī wīf a lo fo' ki ham.<sup>112</sup>  
 She cried. – A ma kris.
- 680 She said the child[e+]<r>en were h[y+]<u>ngrý. – A ma sī de kens seno me hungru<sup>113</sup>

<sup>100</sup> N<sup>101</sup> HB: 45. p.5, line 4: "How are ...": Could *hose* also be *hoso*? FN: yes.<sup>102</sup> HB: 14. p.5, line 5: "Good (sic.) ...": is "(sic.)" original or should it be in red? FN: original.<sup>103</sup> Den Besten (brief Den Besten, 2 november 1993): "The sentence *My ankle is bad tonight. – Me melelek fanda dunku.*, which you marked with a question mark, probably can be pared as follows: *Me me lelek fanda dunku* 'I am "bad" today night'. *Me/mi* is a 1<sup>st</sup> p. sing. pronoun as well as a present tense copula. And *lelek* may derive from Dutch *lelijk* '1. ugly, 2. Bad, not good (not applied to persons)'. Nelson (14 november 1993): "I am glad you cleared up the mystery of Victoria Mossentau's bad ankle; after telling me she "felt bad", she explained the reason in English. I am rather sorry, though, that you correctly interpreted her syntactically impossible "alas it" as a prosaic "I lost it". I must have been so impressed with her dear old soul's obvious sorrow and bad conscience that I felt an archaic *alas* fitted the occasion!"<sup>104</sup> HB: 15. p.5, line 6: "My ankle ...": should "(?)" in red? FN: no.<sup>105</sup> *Ska N* 'will, shall' (Danish)<sup>106</sup> N (Nieuwe betekenis of misverstand, HB)<sup>107</sup> N<sup>108</sup> Den Besten (brief Den Besten, 2 november 1993): "The verb *dōm* 'condemn' of Nelson (1936: 7) is based upon a misunderstanding. This Creole form seems to remind us of obsolete Du. *doemen* instead of *verdoemen*. But the narrative of the stolen calf, from which you took *dōm*, says *They put him in jail. – Se na dōm a fort*. And from this I derive that *dōm* is *dō am* or *dū am* 'put him', from Du. *doen*, which can also mean 'put'(cf. *iets ergens in doen*, DJDJ also quotes this Creole verb). So the sentence probably is *Sen a dōm [=do am] a fort* 'They PAST put-him NA [=locative prep.] fort/prison'. Your *Se na* follows the syllabification you heard. Also compare *Ha ma prube ... = Ham a prube ...* 'He PAST try ...' (same story).<sup>109</sup> Prube N<sup>110</sup> *Krī wē N* (get away (\*...\*), HB). Volgens mij is *krī* de verkorting van *kuri* 'rennen'.<sup>111</sup> *Matrós N* (policeman, HB)<sup>112</sup> Van deze passage is de enige fotokopie van Nelsons veldnotities overgebleven. Het typoscript blijkt niet overeen te komen met wat de fotokopie laat zien. In paragraaf 4 geef ik een diplomatische weergave van de oorspronkelijke tekst.<sup>113</sup> HB: 46. p.5, line 20: "She said ...": Could *sī* 'say' also be *sē*? FN: probably yes.

And she hadn't any money, - Am no ha enten no stibu,  
 to buy anything for them to eat. - for kop enten gōt for se yēt.<sup>114</sup>  
 He told his wife to beg something - Amū sē de wīf for bedl<sup>115</sup>  
 T[p+]<o> eat if she can get it. - f[-or yet asam] en gōt for yēt, asam kan kri.  
 685 He has a bottle of rum in the hous. - Ha ma ha en batl sūp[e+]<í> a běne d'  
 Hūs.<sup>116117</sup>

And the policeman found it. An d' matrós a fen di  
 [\*Sn]<He> [y+]<t>ook [-icycy] it to t[j+]<h>e fort. - An 'a dra di a d' fort.

- 690 If. - Ef.<sup>118</sup>  
 The [-\*sun\*] sun is hot today. - Di sun me hět fanda.  
 Wind. - Wěn.  
 Rain. - Rēgon.  
 695 Big ship. - Grōt [-skep] skip.<sup>119</sup>  
 A little ship. - En klēn skip.  
 Sail. - zēl.<sup>120</sup>  
 Captain. - Kapté[m+]<n>  
 Hurricane. - Hurikan.<sup>121</sup>  
 700 Sailor - matrós.<sup>122</sup>

6

- Lizard. - Kakatez (kalalez?)<sup>123</sup>  
 Snake. - [-Slang/] Slang.  
 705 Crab.- Krabu.  
 Fowl 'hen) - Hundu.<sup>124</sup>  
 Needle. - Näl.  
 Thread. - Garen.  
 Window. - W[\*i\*+]<e>nstu.  
 710 Stairs. - Sters.<sup>125</sup>  
 Door. - Dor.  
 Cellar. - Saldu.<sup>126</sup>

114 *Enten gōt N* ("anything (nieuw!)", HB)

115 HB: 47. p.5, line 23: "He told his wife ...": *Am ū sē ...: Am ū* is *am* 'he' plus a tense particle. However, could ū also be ā, since that would be the correct particle (past). A particle ū is not known (unless this is the reduced variant [u] for an unstressed vowel, a variant that de Josselin de Jong does not use).

116 HB: 48. p.5, line 25: "He has ...": Is it *He has...* or *He had?* (The NH sentence is definitely past tense: *ham* 'he' a 'past *ha* 'have'. But there may be a mismatch here.) FN: probably a mismatch.

117 *Batl N* ("bottle (Eng.) + botl", HB)

118 N

119 Skip N

120 N (nieuwe vorm, HB)

121 HB: 49. p.5, last line: "Hurrican": In 1936 you gave *b ūrikeñ*, while de Josselin de Jong gives *bulkan*. Could you check whether it is *burikan* or *buriken?* N (nieuw!, HB)

122 N

123 HB: 16. p.6, line 1: "Lizard ...": should "(kalalez?)" be in red? FN: yes, but just a guess.

124 HB: 17. p.6, line 4: "Fowl 'hen) ..." should "'hen)" (i.e. "(hen)" be in red? FN: yes, VI English for *hen* is fowl.

125 N (Engl., HB)

126 HB: 50. p.6, line 10: "Cellar. - Saldu.": Could *saldu* be *soldu* or is it *seldu* (or even *keldu*)? -- Compare Du. *zolder* 'attic' and *kelder* 'cellar' (which could be mixed with Eng. *cellar* to yield something like *seldu*). - Or have two entries been conflated here: one for 'attic (*soldu?*) and one for 'cellar'

## NUMERALS

	1.	- En	21.	Enskeling en en. <sup>127</sup>
715	2.	- Tw[*.*+]<ē>	30.	Derti.
	3.	- Drī	[-31 - ] 40.	- twe skeling.
	4.	- Fī	50.	- Fifti.
	5.	- Fēv.	60.	- drī skeling.
	6.	- Sēs.	70.	- Seventi.
720	7.	- Sew'n.	80.	- Forskeling.
	8.	- Ok (Ak?) <sup>128</sup>	90.	- Negonti.
	9.	- Nēgon.	100.	En patakan (patakōn?) <sup>129</sup>
	10.	- ten.		
	11.	- Elef.		
725	12.	- Twālēf.		
	13.	- Dertín.		
	14.	- Fitín.		
	15.	- Fe[*.*+]<v>tín.		
	16.	- Sestín		
730	17.	- Sewentin.		
	18.	- aktín.		
	19.	- Negontín.		
	20.	- [-*t*] Enskeling. <sup>130</sup>		

736 Y

	"breakfast"(midday meal.) – Frökost. <sup>131132</sup>
	"Tea"(First meal of day.) – Te. <sup>133</sup>
740	Supper. (Evening meal.) – Diner. <sup>134</sup>
	Dress. – Kaputu
	Handkerchief. – Něstok. <sup>135</sup>

7

745 BREADMAKING.  
I'm hungry. – Me me hungru.(keldu?): N<sup>127</sup> Enskeling, twe skeling, drī skeling, Forskeling N<sup>128</sup> HB: 18. p.6, numerals: "8. – Ok. (Ak?)": should "(Ak?)" be in red? FN: no.<sup>129</sup> HB: 19. p.6, numerals: "100 ...": should "(patakōn)" be in red? FN: no. N((n. bek), HB).<sup>130</sup> N("twenty - \*...\*+ skiling, HB)<sup>131</sup> HB: 20. p.6, below: should the indications "(midday meal)", "(first meal of day)" and "(Evening meal.)" all be in red or are they original? FN: All original. Not red. N("breakfast" (midday meal), HB)<sup>132</sup> HB: 51. p.6, 1<sup>st</sup> line below the numerals: "Breakfast": The final <> in frökost is surprising. Do your notes say frökost or frökos? FN: Possibly influence of Danish frokost if informant had been a servant in a Danish home. Just a guess.<sup>133</sup> N((First meal of the day), HB)<sup>134</sup> N((evening meal) (Engl.), HB)<sup>135</sup> Den Besten (2 november 1993): "The new document shows that neston 'kerchief' (Nelson 1936: 5) is indeed nestok (older Dutch *neusdoek*). Zie voor de vorm nestuk Nelson (1993: 17). Nelson (7 november 1993): "Your conjecture that neston shuld be nestok is correct, according to my original notes." (CVR: neston en nestok zijn rood getypt.)

- I am going to make the leaven. – Me lo ma dī shīdē.<sup>136</sup><sup>137</sup>  
 I want to bake some bread tomorrow morning. – Mi ma kē bāk som brot  
 morok frufru.<sup>138</sup><sup>139</sup>
- 750 I haven't any sugar to make tea tonight, - Me no ha enten suku for ma  
 t[\*.\*+]<e> fanda dunku.  
 Clock. – klok.
- 

755 Henrietta Anton, Hospital Street. Christiansted.

- Orange. – Aposhīn.<sup>140</sup>  
 Calabash. – Calbas.  
 I tell you enough this afternoon. – Mi ka s[e+]<ē> yo gono fanda asta menda.<sup>141</sup>  
 760 You can write your book out of it. – Yo kan skrif yo bok ut f[-ra] <col.fan> di.<sup>142</sup><sup>143</sup>  
 They're all dead now. – Dei all dō [-\*mi\*] nu.  
 Turkey. – Kalkūn.  
 Fowl (hen). – Hūndū.<sup>144</sup>  
 house. – Hūs.  
 765 hog. – F[\*e\*+]<a>rki.  
 Little pig. – Pig.<sup>145</sup>  
 Basket. – Makutu.  
 Okra. – Kyambu.  
 Sweet potato. – Batá.  
 770 Yam. – Yamos.  
 Horse. – Kabai.<sup>146</sup>
- 

- Victoria Mossentau. 53 Hill Street. Christiansted. 73 years old in '36  
 Cloth. – Duku.  
 775 Turtle. – Skelpan.  
 (to) rain. – Wato lo kom. (It's going to rain. [-\*...\*] ??/ F/N. 1993)  
 Shoes. – Skōn.  
 Floor – Flō'.  
 Egg. – Ēyo.

<sup>136</sup> HB: 52. p.7, line 1-2: Your 1936 transcripts suggest that there or on p.6 bottom the word for 'egg' may be missing (although it is possible that you took that word from elsewhere in your notes). Is there an entry for 'egg'? FN: probably here. CVR: In de Reineckelijst, (paragraaf 2, p. 5) staat: "egg ḥyū" na het woord "hungry". Er staan op deze plaats in de Reineckelijst geen zinnen, maar Den Besten lijkt te zien dat de lijst wel is afgeleid van de zinnen.

<sup>137</sup> Shīdē N

<sup>138</sup> HB: 53. p.7, line 3: "I want to ...": Could *ma kē* also be *mankē* ('to want')? FN: probably.

<sup>139</sup> Bāk N

<sup>140</sup> N

<sup>141</sup> HB: 54. p.7, line 9: "I tell you ...": Could *asta* also be *astu* (or *asto*)?

<sup>142</sup> Bok N (+būki, HB)

<sup>143</sup> HB: 55. p.7, line 10: "You can write...": Could *ut* also be *it*?

<sup>144</sup> HB: 21. p.7, Henrietta Anton, 7th line: "Fowl (hen)": should "(hen)" be in red? FN: yes, See above.

<sup>145</sup> N ((Eng.?), HB)

<sup>146</sup> Nelson (brief Nelson, 7 november 1993): "But kabai – horse is clearly Andalusian – South American caballo (pronounced cabayo – not Portuguese cavalo (with a clear L)." CVR: De woorden *kabai*, *horse* en *caballo* zijn rood getypt.

- 780 beads. – [B/b]id.<sup>147</sup>  
 grandmother. – Ganggang.<sup>148</sup>  
 Your grandmother calls you. – Yo ganganga hōp yo.<sup>149</sup><sup>150</sup>  
 Woman. – Frō.  
 White man. – blanko.  
 785 Money. – Tibu.

## 8

- Bowl. – Koměnchi.  
 790 Knife. – Měs.  
 Pumpkin. – Pampōm (pampōn?)<sup>151</sup>  
 Rooster. – Faulkak[.+]</><sup>152</sup>  
 Hen. – Hundu.  
 Sheep. – Skap.  
 795 Goat. – Kabita.<sup>153</sup>  
 Baby. – Ken.  
 Hold the child well (i.e. c/Carefully). – H[i+]<o>l di ken frai.  
 The child is hungry. – Di ken me hungu.  
 Kalalu. (a local dish.) – Kalalu.<sup>154</sup>  
 800 Funji. (Maise meal porridge.) – Funji<sup>155</sup>.  
 Fish. – Fěs.  
 Hoe. – Hau.  
 Earring. – Rangu.<sup>156</sup>  
 Watch. – Holochi.  
 805 Church. – Kerk.  
 Mother. – Muda, Mama.<sup>157</sup>  
 Brother. – buchi.  
 Sister. – Sisi.
- 810 Blue. – blau.  
 Corn. (maize). Mais.  
 Cane knife. (cutlass). – kutlis.  
 Bucket. – Watutobo.<sup>158</sup>  
 Fire. – Fī.  
 815 Give me a piece of fire. – Gī mī těk fī.

<sup>147</sup> N ((Engl.), HB)<sup>148</sup> N<sup>149</sup> HB: 56. p.7, 4<sup>th</sup> line from below: “Your grandmother ...” Could *ganganga* also be *gangganga*? FN: probably.<sup>150</sup> HB: 57. p.7, 4<sup>th</sup> line from below: “Your grandmother ...”: *hōp* ‘call’. This form can also be found in your 1936 transcript. However, since there is one other case where I found an <h> that should be an <r>, I wonder whether *hōp* is actually *rōp*. FN: Possibly. Initial “r” in some languages sounds like “h” in an English ear. More probably, I mistook “r” for “h”.<sup>151</sup> HB: 22. p.8, line 3: “Pumpkin ...”: should “(pampōn?)” be in red? FN: No. N<sup>152</sup> N (rooster (Eng) - ??, HB)<sup>153</sup> HB: 58. p.8, line 7: “Goat”: Could *kabita* also be *kabrita*? FN: possibly.<sup>154</sup> N<sup>155</sup> CVR: Het woord *Funji* is hier geschreven.<sup>156</sup> N (+orangu, HB)<sup>157</sup> *Muda* N ((Eng.?), HB)<sup>158</sup> N ((delen bekend), HB)

A fragment of the Lord's Prayer:

Onsu fadu a beli di hemum, giv ons fram dak ons dakels brot ...

Informant's lament when she could remember no more:

"Alas it! Alas it! It gone."<sup>159</sup>

- 820 Yes. – Ya.  
No. – Nē.<sup>160</sup>  
Limes. – Lamonchi.  
Pepper. – Pēpu.

9

- 825 Orange. – Aposina.  
Meat. – Flois.  
<rm.Hammer. – Hambu><sup>161</sup>  
I am going to cook a piece of meat. Me lo kak dī tēk flois.<sup>162</sup>  
Dog. – Hun.  
830 Shoemaker. – Skunmeka.<sup>163</sup>  
[t+]<T>alk. – Prat.  
I will take the stone and chop (sic!) you with it. –  
– Mi sal rem di stēn so kāp yo med de.<sup>164</sup>  
Peanuts. – Pinda.<sup>165</sup>  
835 (Pinda was still the common word for peanuts on St. Croix in 1936, and the local resident told me that a friend who had visited the Netherlands was amused to find it used there. F.N. 1993)

- 840 Rebecca Francis. St. Thomas. Born on St. Thomas.

- Basket. – Makutu  
Horse – Kabai.  
Pig. – Ferki.  
845 Chair. – Stul.  
Bed. – Bēr̄i.  
NARRATIVE:  
I went to town. – Mi a lo a tapūs.<sup>166</sup>  
I went to buy flour. – Mi a lo fo' kōp mēl.  
850 I sold a chicken. – Mi a flōko en kikinchi.  
Who bought the fowl? (chicken). – Wi a kōp dī kikinchi?<sup>167</sup>  
A woman. – En frau.

<sup>159</sup> Den Besten (brief Den Besten, 2 november 1993): "The Lord's Prayer recited by Victoria Mossentau looks fairly Dutch with *Onsu Fadu* for *Onze Vader en dakels* (?) for *dagelijks*. Her lament *Alas it! Alas it!* Probably means 'I lost it! I lost it!'."

<sup>160</sup> N((nieuwe vorm?), HB)

<sup>161</sup> CVR: Deze toevoeging is geschreven.

<sup>162</sup> HB: 59. p.9, line 4: "I am going ...": Could *kak* 'cook' also be *kok*? (Cf. Du. *Koken* 'cook'.) FN: ?.

<sup>163</sup> N((he<sup>o</sup>lf<sup>o</sup>t<sup>o</sup> Eng), HB)

<sup>164</sup> HB: 60. p.9, line 8: "I will take ...": It also *rem* 'take' in your 1936 transcripts. However, could *rem* also be *nem*? (Cf. Du. *nemen* 'take'.) FN: [-Possibly]<ol.nem is correct>. Poor handwriting? mistook "r" for "n".

<sup>165</sup> N

<sup>166</sup> Tapus N

<sup>167</sup> Wi N(who? (nieuwe vorm), HB)

I charged her 25 cents. – Mī a krī fra am twenty-fi cents.<sup>168</sup>

- 855 He went to cut the cane. – A mē lō fo' kāp thī sukustok.<sup>169</sup>  
 He knew it was time to cut the cane. – A mu wet de a wes tit fo'  
 kap thī suku stok.<sup>170</sup>

- 860 -----  
 [-I must cook]  
 I must cook breakfast. – Mi ha fo kok frokes.<sup>171</sup>  
 What's the time? – Wat o'clock?  
 Ten (past?) nine. – Ti ni.<sup>172</sup>
- 865 Peanuts. – Pinda.

## 10

- 870 Where were you born?. – Epe yu geboren?<sup>173</sup>  
 St. Thomas. – A Sēn Tōma<sup>174</sup>  
 Were you anywhere else? – Yu a wēs a ēnesto andos ples?<sup>175176</sup>  
 Yes. Ya.  
 I was in Tortola. – Me a wes a T[a+]<o>tola.  
 Donkey. – Noli.  
 875 Cow. – Kui.  
 Fowl. – Hundu.  
 Cat. – Pushi.  
 <rm.Dog. – han.><sup>177178</sup>  
 House. – Hus.  
 880 Rat. – Roto.  
 Oven. – Oven.  
 Stocking. – Kaus<\*e\*>n.<sup>179</sup>  
 Socks. – Sāx.<sup>180</sup>  
 Hat. – Hūt.  
 885 Tree – Bom.  
 The child is sick. – Thi ken mi sik.

168 *Fra N* (from (Eng.), HB)

169 HB: 61, p.9, 6<sup>th</sup> line from below: “He went ...”: *A mē lō fo' ...* [i.e. *am* ‘he’ *u* (?) ‘past’]: Could *mē* also be *mā*? Or rather *mō*? FN: ?. CVR: Hier is eerder sprake van het verkeerd samentrekken van klanken. Het onduidelijke *A mē* zou geschreven moeten zijn als *Am ē* ‘hij PST’.

170 HB: 62, p.9, 5<sup>th</sup> line from below: “He knew ...”: *A mu wet ...* [i.e. *am* ‘he’ *u* (?) ‘past’]: Could *mu* also be *ma*? FN: yes, *ma*. CVR: zie vorige noot van HB.

171 HB: 63, p.9, 4<sup>th</sup> line from below: “I must ...” Could *frokes* also be *frokos*? FN: probably.

172 HB: 64, p.9, 2<sup>nd</sup> line from below: REMARK about “Ten (past?) nine. – Ti ni.”: I guess this is NH *tin i* from Du. *tien uur* ‘ten o’clock’. FN: probably.

173 *Geboren N* ((nieuwe vorm), HB)

174 CVR: De *s* is in het typoscript een *s* met een verticale streep erboven.

175 *Andos N* ((loc.) (nieuwe vorm), HB)

176 *Ples N* ((Eng), HB)

177 CVR: Toevoeging is geschreven.

178 HB: 65, p.10, line 10: “Dog”: Could *han* also be *hon*? (Cf. Du. *hond* ‘dog’.)

179 *N*

180 *N*

- Baby. – Bebi.<sup>181</sup>  
 Cart. – Karoshi.  
 Needle. – Nal.  
 890 Threa[\*t\*+]<d> - Garen.  
 Knife. – Mes.  
 Get my ox (axe?) – Kri mi ax.  
 Lampara. – Lamp.<sup>182</sup>  
     (Informa[t+]<n>t said “lampara, that Spanish”; it was not clear whether  
 895 she meant that the word for lamp was the same in [\*.\*+]<C>reole and Spanish  
     or whether she had inadvertently given me a word she had picked up  
     from Spanish. F. N.)<sup>183</sup>  
 Candle. – Kēs.  
 Cheese. – Kās  
 900 Milk. – Meluk.  
 Potato. – Batíta.  
 Bread. – Brot.  
 Fight. – [-Feketi]. Fěket[i+]<é>.<sup>184</sup>  
 Kill. – Mata.

905

II

- I am going to saw womething.<sup>185</sup> – Mi a lo sa en got.<sup>186</sup>  
 Window. – Wenstu.  
 910 open the window. – Hopo th’ wenstu.<sup>187</sup>  
 Put something on the table[.+]</>- Du th’got bo th’ tafl.  
 Bottle. – Bottl.  
 Door. – Do’.  
 Shut the door. – Tu thī do’.  
 915 Good morning. – Morük.<sup>188</sup>  
 Tomorrow. – Morük.  
 Tomorrow morning. – Mörük früfrü.  
 Tomorrow afternoon. – Moru[\*s\*+]<k> asta měndā.<sup>189</sup>  
 Book. – Bok, būki.<sup>190</sup>

<sup>181</sup> N((Eng), HB)<sup>182</sup> N<sup>183</sup> HB: 23. p.10, below: sub “Lampara ...”: shouldn’t the long comment “(Informant said ... Spanish. F.N.)” be in red, or is it original? FN: Original, I believe.<sup>184</sup> HB: 66. p.10, 2nd line from below: “Fight”: Is it *fěketé* or *fěkete*? FN: ? clearly accent is on last syllable.<sup>185</sup> Typoscript Frank Vandervegt: [w+]<s>omething.<sup>186</sup> Sa N<sup>187</sup> HB: 67. p.11, line 1-3: In view of your 1936 transcripts, is it possible that here an entry for ‘gourd’ (*sôt gō*, *sôt kälabās*) is missing? FN: ? If so, supply them. CVR: In de Reineckelijst zijn losse woorden opgenomen uit de zinnen die hier in de Nelsonlijst staan. De toe te voegen regel moet zijn: *gourd sot/gō, sot kalabas*.<sup>188</sup> N((nieuwe bet\*.\*)) +morok, HB)<sup>189</sup> HB: 68. p.11, line 11: “Tomorrow afternoon”: Could *asta* also be *astu*, or *asto*?<sup>190</sup> Den Besten (brief Den Besten, 2 november 1993): “Furthermore, instead of *biki* ‘book’ (Nelson 1936: 6) you now give *buki*, which is the form I expected (a Dutch diminutive).” CVR: In de Reineckelijst (paragraaf 2, p.6) staat ook de vorm *bük* en in de Nelsonlijst (paragraaf 3, p.7 en 11) vinden we de vorm *bok*.

920 Give me the book. – Da me th' būki.<sup>191</sup>

## NUMERALS.

1.	ěn	30. – Dertik
2.	– twē.	31. – En me'dirtik.
3.	– drī.	[ -32] 40. – Firtik
925	4. – Fī	50. Fētik.
	5. – fēv.	60. Sēstik.
	6. [s+]<S>ěs.	70. Sēwentik.
	7. Sēūn.	80. – Aktik
	8. – Ak.	90. – Nēgontik.
930	9. – Nēgon.	100. – Ēn hündert.
	10. – ten.	
	11. – Ellef.	
	12. – Twaluf.	
	13. – dertín.	
935	14. – Fētín.	
	15. – Fevtín.	
	16. Sestín.	
	17. – Sewentín.	
	18. – [a+]<A>ktín	
940	19. – Negentín.	
	20. – Twentí, Enskeling.	
	21. – En me' twenty[e+]<i>	
	22. – [t+]<T>we me' twenti.	

945

12

## NARRATIVE

I went to a dance last night. – Mi a lo en dans gestu dunku.

It went on well. – De a lo pan fria.

It had (there was) a fight. – Der ha en fēkētē.

950 The people was (sic!) well drunk. – thi folok a wes weld rung.

It has (there were) police and take them in (to) the fort. – Der has  
Setēris an ne sene a de fo't.<sup>192</sup>

I don't know what they will do with them. – As nē wet sen sa du me'  
sendu.<sup>193 194</sup>

955 It was a drum dance. – De [-wes\*s\*] wes drum dans.<sup>195</sup>  
Tomorrow we will know. – Moruk ons sa'wet.

Give me a piece of bread. – Giv mi stēki brot.

I am very hungry.<-> Mi mi friai hungu.

960 Give me 5 cents. – [\*.\*+]<G>iv mi fai cents.  
Let me buy bread. – Sta mi ko brot.

191 Da N (lb.) of = t\*a\*/lasta?, HB

192 Setēris N

193 HB: 69. p.12, line 7: "I don't know ...": It is also *nē* in your 1936 transcript. However, could *nē* also be *nō*?

194 HB: 70. P.12, line 7: "I don't know ...": After *wet* something like *wat* 'what' seems to be missing, which does show up in your 1936 transcript. Is that correct? And is it *wat* or *wāt*? CVR: In Reineckelijst (zie paragraaf 2) staat deze zin als volgt: "As nē wet wāt sēn sa dū me sendū."

195 Drum N ((Eng.), HB), drum dans N

- CHRISTMAS BEGGING DANCE. Groups of dancers under a “Laren” (Queen of the dance) used to sing[-.\*.]g this song as they made the rounds of merchants and plantation-owners’ houses on[\*f\*+]<n> Christmas Eve, New Years’ Eve, and Whit Monday. F.N. 1993

965 Today is Christmas Eve. – Fandē n[o+]<a> Gro Sunda,  
Water me (give me drink) Laren. – Wato mī, Laren, wato mī.<sup>196197198</sup>  
970 Water me to my head-side. – Water mī na mi kop shi.<sup>199</sup>  
Water me, Laren, water me. – Wato mi, Laren, wato mi.  
Hand me the guava berry (wine). – Han mī di guava bēr[e+]<i>. –  
Water me etc. [-.\*.] Watu me, Laren, wato mi.<sup>200</sup>

- 975 Informants Jeremiah Hatchett and Mary Francis from Smith Bay.

Horse. - Kabai.	Twenty. - [s+]<S>kiling.
Mule. - Buriko. <sup>201</sup>	Pen – Pen. <sup>202203</sup>
980 Donkey. - Noli.	Paper – Pampi.
Go fast. - Lo gau.	Good Morning. – Morok
Go slow. - Lo suchi.	Goodbye – Ajos.
Friend. - Frend.	Good Afternoon. – Frai asa men dag <sup>204</sup>
Godmother. Mimá. <sup>205</sup>	

985

13

Hand.- han.	
Foot. -Fūtū.	
990 Leg. - Bēl. <sup>206</sup>	
Head. - Kop.	
Chin. - Kāk	
Eyes. - hogo.	
Teeth. - Tan.	
995 <rm.Tongue. - Tung> <sup>207</sup>	

196 HB: 24. p.12, the Christmas begging dance, line 2: is “(give me drink)” original or should it be in red? FN: in red.

197 *Laren* N (queen of the dance, HB)

198 Wato mī N

199 HB: 71. p.12, Christmas begging dance, line 3: In this line pops up, on the NH side, the word *water* instead of the usual *wato*, while your 1936 transcript has here *wato*, and not *water*. What do your notes say: *water* or *wato*?

200 HB: 72. p.12, Christmas begging dance, line 6: On the NH side pops up a stray example of *me* instead of the usual *mi*. (The 1936 transcripts have *mi* here.) What do your notes say: *me* or *mi*?

201 HB: 73. p.12, 3rd line below the begging dance, lefthand side: “Mule”: could *buriko* also be *burika*?

202 HB: 74. p.12, below the begging dance: Your 1936 transcript gives the impression that you may have left out an entry Street. – Stra^et. Here. Is that correct? And where should it be inserted? HB verbetert de a^e in æ.

203 N

204 HB: 75. p.12, 7th line from below the begging dance, righthand side: “Good Afternoon”: Could *asa* also be *asta* or *astu* or *asto* or *asu* or *aso*?

205 N

206 N ((partly new m.), HB)

207 CVR: Ingevoegde tekst is geschreven.

- Thumb. – Tum.<sup>208</sup>  
 Finger. – Fingu.  
 Nose. – Nēs.  
 Cheeks. – Ḡsē.  
 1000 Hair. – Har.  
 Eyebrows. – Hogobrai.<sup>209210</sup>  
 Ears. – Ho.  
 Lips. – Lip.<sup>211</sup>  
 Mouth. – Mün.  
 1005 Arm. – ērum.  
 Belly – Bik.  
 Stone. – Stēn.  
 Tree. – Bom.  
 Cat. – Pūshi  
 1010 [a+]<A>xe. – Kāpmes, Bil.<sup>212</sup>  
 Rain. – Regon.  
 Sun. – Sun.  
 Sky. – Hem[-\*l\*]l.  
 Star. – Sterre.  
 1015 Full moon. – Ful mān.  
 sea. – Zē  
 Waves. – Weg.<sup>213214</sup>  
 Candle. – Kēs.  
 My sister. – Mi shishi.  
 1020 Brother. – Buchi.  
 Father. – Popā.  
 Mother. – Momā.  
 Weary. – Mu.

1025

14

Informant: Margaret Tadman. Born East End. Doesn't know age.

- Mind your own business. – Pasa yo egon aferon.<sup>215216</sup>  
 1030 Go to Hell. – Lo a Hel.  
 Heaven. – Hemol.  
 Children, come take your tea. – Ken, ko ne yo te.  
 No. – Nēn.  
 It is [\*.\*+]<h>ot. – Di me' het.

208 N((Eng?), HB)

209 HB: 76. p.13, line 14: "Eyebrows": Also the 1936 transcripts give *hogobrai*. Could it also be *hogobrau*? FN: ?.

210 N

211 N(+lep, HB)

212 Bil N

213 HB: 77. p.13, 7<sup>th</sup> line from below: "Waves": The 1936 <ol.transcripts> have a similar form: *wēg*. Since I cannot etymologize this form, I wonder whether it might be *wef*(< Eng. *wave*). Or maybe *wey* 'wave (with ones hand)' (< Du. *waaien*).

214 N

215 HB: 78. p.14, line 2: "Mind your ...": Your 1936 transcripts have *paso*, the 'correct' form. Could *pasa* also be *paso*? (Cf. Du. *pas op.*) FN: probably paso

216 Aferon N

- 1035 The Devil is never good. – Thi Dibl neve' fria.<sup>217</sup>  
 Wash your face. – Was yo gese.  
 Go sleep. – Go slap.

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Informant: Isabela Sylvester, Born on St. John in 1853; grew up there  
 1040 And on Tortola. 83 years old when interviewed in 1936.

- A little of it. – Bechi van dī.<sup>218</sup>  
 I was born in 1853. – Mi a gebor di yar a[\*t\*+]<k>tin fefti dri.  
 Lady. – Frau.<sup>219</sup>
- 1045 Minister. – Domni.  
 Church. – Kerk.  
 Girl. – Menshi.  
 <rm.Boy. – Yūn.><sup>220</sup>  
 House. – (Engl.) house.
- 1050 Glass. (mirror) – glās.<sup>221</sup>  
 Bowl. – Komēnchi.  
 Spoon. - leppu.  
 I am going to town. – Mi lolo a tapūs.  
 Town. – Tapūs.
- 1055 In the country. – a plantai.  
 Pretty girl. – Moi menshi.  
 Bring the horse. – Bring en kabai.  
 Soursap. – sazaka.  
 Mamai (tropical gruit) – Mamai.<sup>222</sup>
- 1060 Sugar apple. – apul.<sup>223</sup>  
 Papaya. – Papai.<sup>224</sup>  
 Corn. – Mais.  
 Potatoes. – [-Bat[a+]<í>ta.] <rm.Batita>  
 Fry. – Bak.
- 1065 Fry fish. – Bak fés.  
 Bake bread. – Bak brod.

## 15

- 1070 Flour. – Mel.  
 Cornmeal. – Farnya.<sup>225</sup>  
 Sneeze. – Nis.<sup>226</sup>

217 *Neve' N*((Eng), HB)

218 Nelson (brief Nelson, 14 november 1993): “If I had been familiar with Dutch and the conventions of Dutch orthography, I would probably have used it and so missed Isabela Sylvester’s “Standard”van and ze in contrast to the usual fan and se.”

219 *N*((nieuwe bet), HB)

220 CVR: Toevoeging is geschreven.

221 *N*((Eng?), HB)

222 *N*

223 *N*((n. bet), HB)

224 *N*

225 Nelson (brief Nelson, 7 november 1993): “(...) and farnya – maize meal – must be Portuguese farinha rather than Spanish h[-arina] harina.” (CVR: De woorden *farnya*, *maize meal* en *harina* zijn rood getypt.

226 *N*

- Cry. – Nis.<sup>227228</sup>  
 Yell. – skreo.
- 1075 Knee. – Kíní.  
 Back. – Rege.  
 Leg. – Futu.<sup>229</sup>  
 A dance. – en dans.  
 <lm.A> Dance – ribot.<sup>230</sup>
- 1080 Drum. – Drum.  
 Beat the drum .<ol.-> Lo sla di drum.  
 (He got) drunk and fought. ... drung an fekete.  
 Rum. – Sopi.  
 Eat. – Yēt.
- 1085 Tanya (a fruit) – [-[k+]<J>ankil] Jank'l.<sup>231</sup>  
 Shark. – Hai.  
 Bay. – Bai.  
 Drown. – Draun.<sup>232</sup>  
 <rm. Swim. – Zwim.><sup>233</sup>
- 1090 Sea water. – Ze water.  
 Marry, wedding. – trau.<sup>234</sup>  
 Man and woman go marry. – Man me frau lo trau.  
 Sweetheart. – fristu.  
 Spectacles, - Hogokiku.<sup>235</sup>
- 1095 Goat. – Kabrita.  
 Cow. – kui.  
 Bull. – Būl.<sup>236</sup>  
 Butcher a pig. – [-\*..\*] Mata di ferki.<sup>237</sup>  
 White man. – Bulka, blanko.
- 1100 Sleepy. – Slapri.<sup>238</sup>  
 Understand me? – Yo fo'stan mi?  
 Today is New Year's Eve. – Fanda la [-auj]<ol.hau> ya dunku.<sup>239240241</sup>

<sup>227</sup> Nelson (brief Nelson, 7 november 1993): “Cry- Kris.” (CVR: Rood getypt.) Typoscript Frank Vandervegt: [-Nis.]<Kris>.

<sup>228</sup> HB. 79. p.15, line 3-4: Your 1936 transcripts suggest that here an entry *Laugh*. – *Lak*. is missing. Is that correct? And where should it be inserted? CVR: In Reineckelijst p.2 (zie paragraaf 2) na *sneeze* en voor *cry*. HB gebruikt hier de opmaak zoals FN die in dit typoscript gebruikt zou kunnen hebben.

<sup>229</sup> N((n. bet), HB)

<sup>230</sup> N

<sup>231</sup> HB: 80. p.15, line 16: “Tanya”: Could *jank'l* also be *jankól* or *jankōl*? (It is *jankōl* in your 1936 transcripts.) FN: probably [-\*j..k.ōl\*] jankōl.

<sup>232</sup> N((Eng.), HB)

<sup>233</sup> CVR: Toevoeging is geschreven.

<sup>234</sup> N((n. cat + bet), HB)

<sup>235</sup> N((betere vorm), HB)

<sup>236</sup> N((Eng?), HB)

<sup>237</sup> HB: 81. p.15, 9th line from below: “Butcher ...”: Your 1936 transcripts suggest that here somewhere an entry *Pork*. – *Spek*. is missing. Is that correct? And where should it be inserted? FN: Probably after “Butcher a pig”. CVR: In Reineckelijst, p.2 (zie paragraaf 2), tussen *bull* en *understand*.

<sup>238</sup> N

<sup>239</sup> Toevoeging is geschreven.

<sup>240</sup> HB: 82. p.15, 5th line from below: “Today is ...”: The word *la* is surprising. Could it be *ka*, maybe? FN: Probably ka. CVR: Ik zou hier eerder een vorm van ‘zijn’ (misschien *na*) verwachten en geen PRF *ka*.

<sup>241</sup> Hau ya dunku N

- I'm going to tell you something. – Me lo se yo en got.  
Butter. – botu.  
**1105** Smoke. – smök.  
I've forgotten. – Mi ka frogit.

26 <rm.16><sup>242</sup>

- 1110 Letter. – Bref.  
 Trousers. – bruk.  
 Shirt. – hemete.  
 Shirt and pants. – Hemete me' bruk.  
 Necktie. – Kruwat.<sup>243</sup>

1115 Clock. – Klok.  
 Ring. – Ring.<sup>244</sup>  
 Comb your head. – Kam yo kop.  
 Hair. – har.  
 Wash clothes. – Was duku.

1120 Plate. – Bak.  
 Cup. – [-kani] Kaninchi.  
 Candle. - Kees.<sup>245</sup>  
 Fire. – Fi.  
 <rm.The house burned down. – [-Di] Dī hūs ka brān.><sup>246</sup>

1125 Watch your step. Mind you don't fall. Paso hoso yo wandu. Moin yo no fal.  
 I have stumgled.<sup>247</sup> – Mi ka mese fal.<sup>248</sup>  
 Sweep the house. – Fek di hus.  
 Take the broom. – Ne di bezum.<sup>249</sup>  
 Wipe your feet on the mat. – Fek yo fot bo di mat.<sup>250251</sup>

1130 The fowl (hen) is there on the roof of the house. – Di hundu bin da  
 bo di hus.  
 It has flown upon the house. – Ka flik bo di hus.

**343** CVR: Toevoeging is geschreven.

-243-

**244 N(to ring? (Eng), HB)**

<sup>245</sup> HB: 83, p.16, line 13; "Candle": Is there some diacritic missing in *kees*? FN: ?. CVR: In de Reineckelijst, p.6 (zie paragraaf 2) staat immers "[*-kēes*]<*ul.kēes*>".

## **246 CVR: Toevoeging is geschreven.**

<sup>247</sup> Nelson (brief Nelson, 7 november 1993): "I have stumbled." (CVR: Rood getypt.) Typoscript Frank Vandervegt: stu[m+]<\*.\*>gled.

248 *Mese fal N* ((etym?), HB)

249 Bezug N((wel in \*comp?\*, HB)

<sup>250</sup> Den Besten (brief Den Besten, 2 november 1993): "Isabella Sylvester's *bo* in the sense of 'on (the roof of)' and 'upon' in two sentences said by her, however, most probably does not reflect Danish *paa* (*på*). It derives from Dutch *boven* via Creole Dutch *abo/abobo/nabobo*, which consists of the all-purpose locative preposition *na* and *bobo* (from Du. *boven*)."

251 Mat N

<sup>252</sup> HB: 84, p.16, 16th line from below: *Bedclothes*. – *Bede*. Is a bit surprising since NH *bede* means ‘bed’. I would expect something like *bede duku* or simply *duku*. Is it possible that two entries have been conflated here?

- Sheet. – La'k'n.<sup>253254</sup>  
 Beans. – Bonchi.  
 The baby is sick. Di ken me sik.<sup>255</sup>
- 1140 Doctor. – Dokto.  
 Has called the doctor. Ka rup di dokto.  
 Now – nu.  
 Oil. – Oli.  
 Leaf. – Bla
- 1145 Chicken. – Kikinchi.  
 To call little cchikens. – Chipchipchip.<sup>256</sup>  
 Porch, gallery. – Galri.  
 Kitchen. – Kambus.  
 Bedchamber. – Kambu.
- 1150 Parlor. – Hal.<sup>257</sup>

[-27]&lt;rm.17&gt;

- The boat is going to sail tomorrow. – Di bot lo zel moruk.<sup>258</sup>  
 Money. – Stibu.
- 1155 Kerchief. – Nestuk.  
 Pocket handkerchief. – Saknestuk.  
 Belt. – Belt.<sup>259</sup>  
 Pettycoat. – Seya.  
 Dress. – Kaputo.
- 1160 Cistern. – Regolbak.  
 Bu\*y\*ket.<sup>260</sup> Bokuto.  
 Shoes and socks. – Skun me' kaus'n.  
 Stole a chicken. – Ka dif en kikenchi.  
 Go climb the hill. Lo klim di berge.
- 1165 I have seen him coming. Mi ka ki [-lo] kom lo ko.<sup>261</sup>  
 Sew. – [-Naii] Nai.  
 Go plant beans. – Lo plant bonchi.  
 Jump.<ol.-> Lep op.<sup>262</sup>  
 Build a house. – Ma en hus.
- 1170 Cut.<ol.-> - Kap.  
 [t+]<T> walk. Wandu.  
 To work. – weruk.  
 To kneel. – Lo kini.<sup>263</sup>  
 Guts. <ol.-> Derum.
- 1175 [-\*Heart.-Hea]

<sup>253</sup> HB: 85. p.16, 14th line from below: "Sheet": Is *la'k'n* maybe *lāk'n* or *lāk'n*? Or is it *lak'n*?

<sup>254</sup> N

<sup>255</sup> Sik N

<sup>256</sup> N

<sup>257</sup> N((n. bet), HB)

<sup>258</sup> Zel N((Eng? \*h\*?), HB)

<sup>259</sup> N((Eng), HB)

<sup>260</sup> Typoscript Frank Vandervegt: [B+]<B>u[\*.\*+]<c>ket.

<sup>261</sup> HB: 86. p.17, line 13: "I have seen ...": Could *kom* 'him' also be *kam* or *ham*? FN: probably ham I may have read h as k.

<sup>262</sup> N((n. comb.), HB)

<sup>263</sup> N

- Heart. – Ha't.  
 Bowels. – Bik.  
 The cow's horn. - Di kui horn.  
 Kinepa (fruit). – kinepa.<sup>264</sup>  
 1180 Nail. – Nal.<sup>265</sup>  
 Thread. – Garen.  
 I like to sing. – Mi sa wil fo sing.  
 I want to sing. – Mi manke (mauke?) sing.  
 Song. – Sang.  
 1185 Red. – Ro.  
 Green. – Grun.  
 Red. Ro.<sup>266</sup>  
 Black. Swart.  
 Blue. Blau.  
 1190 White. – Wet.

28<sup>267</sup> <rm.18><sup>268</sup>

- Lip. – Lep.  
 1195 Duck. Patchipachi.<sup>269</sup><sup>270</sup>  
 A piece of wood. Stele hautu.<sup>271</sup>  
 Charcoal. – Kol.  
 Brazier. – Kolpot.<sup>272</sup>  
 Breakfast. – Frukos.  
 1200 Dinner. – Dine.  
 Supper. – Supa.<sup>273</sup>  
 Okra. Kyambo.  
 Callylou (a local dish) – Kalalou.<sup>274</sup>  
 Stew. – Sto.<sup>275</sup>

<sup>264</sup> HB: 87. p.17, 12th line from below: "Kinepa ...": The NH translation is also *kinepa*, whereas the 1936 transcripts give *kenep i*. Could you check your notes again? CVR: In Reineckelijst, p.1 (paragraaf 2) staat: "quinepa (fruit) kenepī".

<sup>265</sup> HB: 88. p.17, 11th line from below: *Nail. – Nal.* is surprising because NH *nal* means 'needle'. Do your notes really say *nail*?

<sup>266</sup> HB: 89. p.17, 6<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> lines from below: Two times *Red. – Ro.* Is that correct?

<sup>267</sup> Typoscript Frank Vandervegt: [-28]

<sup>268</sup> CVR: Toevoeging is geschreven.

<sup>269</sup> HB: 90. p.18, line 2: "Duck": In your 1936 I found the form *pātch-pāchi*. Could you check your note book whether it is *patchipatchi* or *patch-patchi*? Nelson (7 november 1993): "(...) I believe I've found the origin of patchpachi for duck: Spanish *pato* (duck) plus a Dutch diminutive, reduplicated." (CVR: De woorden *patchpachi*, *pato* en *duck* zijn rood getypt.)

<sup>270</sup> N((n. vorm), HB)

<sup>271</sup> HB: 91. p.18, line 3: "A pieche of wood": Could *stele* also be *steke*? (Cf. Du. *stukkie*.) FN: probably may have misread "l" as "k". CVR: Een typfout lijkt me meer voor de hand liggen. De typmachinetoetsen voor k en l liggen immers naast elkaar.

<sup>272</sup> N

<sup>273</sup> N((E), HB)

<sup>274</sup> HB: 92. p.18, line 10: "Callylou": Does your notebook give NH *kalalou* or *kalalu*?

<sup>275</sup> N

- 1205 Sourap. – Tizan.<sup>276</sup><sup>277</sup>  
 Earring. – Orangu.  
 Gold. Gaut.  
 Bead. – Kalela.<sup>278</sup>  
 Silver. Selvu.
- 1210 to iron. [s+]<S>tr[\*.\*+]<i>k.<sup>279</sup>  
 Fold clothes. – Fau di duku.<sup>280</sup>  
 Sprinkle clothes. – Sprink'l.<sup>281</sup><sup>282</sup>  
 Chicken feather. – Hundu plim.<sup>283</sup>  
 Ghost, spook. – Ges, Jumbi.
- 1215 Grass. – Beshet.  
 Ground. Grand.<sup>284</sup>  
 The sea is high. – Di ze me hok.  
 Scissors. – Skeh.<sup>285</sup>  
 Boat. – Bot.
- 1220 A little tin [g+]<b>oat. – Bato, Kano.<sup>286</sup>  
 Dane. – Dansko.<sup>287</sup>  
 Get wet. – Kri nat. (kri wat?)

#### 4 Fotokopie veldnotitie 1936 uit brief Nelson van 18 juli 1996

[he] dī wif álo fo<sup>288</sup>  
 ki ham. His wife  
 came to see him.  
 Am ā kris. She cried.  
 Ama sē de kens sēnd  
 [-sh\*ee] mě hungru  
 She said the children  
 were hungry  
 Am|no ha entens \*(na)\*  
 stibu. And she

dī wif álo fo  
 ki ham. His wife  
 came to see him.  
 Amā kris. She cried.  
 Ama si de kens sēnd  
 mě hungru  
 She said the children  
 were hungry  
 Amño ha enten  
 stibu. And she  
 han<sup>289</sup> money

for her enten got  
 to buy anything  
 for se yet for  
 them to eat. Amā  
 se di wif for  
 bedl for in got for  
 yet adam kan kā  
 He told his wife to  
 bid something first  
 if she can get it.  
 (hair old.)

276 Nelson (7 november 1993): "But I wonder if tizan for soursap might not be French tisane? I have memories of someone – an English speaker – referring to fruit juice as tisane in '36." (CVR: De woorden *tizan*, *soursap* en *tisane* zijn rood getypt.)

277 N((n. b?), HB)

278 N

279 N

280 Fau N

281 HB: 93. p.18, 11th line from below: "Sprinkle clothes": The word *duku* seems to be missing in the NH translation, although that would be understandable in view of the previous entry. Nevertheless, could you check whether your notebook gives *sprink'l* or *sprink'l duku*?

282 N

283 *Plim* N((n.b?), HB)

284 HB: 94. p.18, 7th line from below: "Ground": Could *grand* also be *grond*? (Cf. Du. *grond* 'ground'.)

285 HB: 95. p.18, 5th line from below: "Scissors": Could *skeh* also be *sker*? (This would be a dialectal variant for Du. *schaar* 'scissors'. Also compare *hōp* 'call' above, which may be *rōp*.) FN: I probably misread r as h.

286 Bato N

287 HB: 96. p.18, 2nd line from below: "Dane": Your 1936 transcripts give NH *Dēn*, *Dānsko*. Is it possible that *Dēn* is missing here? FN: probably.

288 Deze passage is terug te vinden in de Nelsonlijst, paragraaf 3, regel 678-684.

hasn't [-\*no] <ol.any> money  
 [nieuwe pagina]  
 for kop enten gōt  
 to buy anything  
 for se yēt for  
 them to eat. Amū  
 sē di [-f] wif for  
 bedl for ēn gōt for  
 yēt asam kan krī  
 He told his wife to  
 beg something to eat  
 if she can get it.  
 (hau – old.)<sup>289</sup>

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<sup>289</sup> Deze laatste notitie heeft Nelson niet overgenomen in het typoscript van 1993. De woorden staan wel op bladzijde 1, regel 500 de Nelsonlijst (zie paragraaf 3).

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