Die Creol taal

250 years of Negerhollands texts

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort

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Preface

The present book is an anthology of texts in Negerhollands, the now extinct creole language of the current US Virgin Islands (St. Thomas, St. John and St. Croix) which must have been spoken for at least 250 years. In spite of the fact that the Virgin Islands (originally so named by Columbus) have been a Danish protectorate for over two centuries, their main inhabitants at the time of emergence of the Negerhollands language were Dutch plantation owners and their slaves, who were originally from West Africa. This explains why the largest part of the Negerhollands lexicon is of Dutch origin, and why in other components the language displays African traits, and characteristics that are similar to those of many other creole languages in the Caribbean.

The Dutch-based creole language of the US Virgin Islands is referred to by several names. In The Netherlands it usually goes by the name of *Negerhollands* ('Negro-hollandic'), as originally christened by van den Bergh in 1840, analogous to, for instance, *Neger-Engels* ('Negro-English') and *Neger-Frans* ('Negro-French'), and used in the important publications of Hesseling and de Josselin de Jong. In works written in English, Creole Dutch or Virgin Islands Dutch Creole can also be found. As noted in de Josselin de Jong's publications, the native Virgin Islanders call the language *die how Creol* (Negerhollands for 'the old Creole'), which means: the language of former days, which is not spoken any more. When in 1736 Negerhollands was first called *Carriolse* ('Creole') (see e.g. Stein 1982a), it became the first language to be called a creole language. Later on in the 18th century, Danish and German missionaries called it *die Creol spraak or die Creol taal* (both Negerhollands for 'the Creole language'). Since the latter was the first one mentioned in the more significant translations, we have chosen it to be the main title of our book. Because of the association of this book with its predecessors, Hesseling's *Het Negerhollandsch der Deense Antillen* and de Josselin de Jong's *Het Huidige Negerhollandsch*, and because this name is already in use in the field of Creole linguistics, we have used the name *Negerhollands* for the language which is the subject of this publication.

This anthology consists of a wide variety of texts from different periods in history. It grew originally out of a project to create a computerized databank of 18th-century manuscripts in Negerhollands. These manuscripts were produced by the Moravian mission and recently rediscovered in the Moravian archives in Herrnhut by Peter Stein. The project, which was carried out by the editors of this book, extended over more than two years, from September 1991 to December 1993, during which some 2000 manuscript pages and 500 printed pages were entered into the computer, in a diplomatic edition that stayed as close to the originals as possible. As these manuscripts are in a state of decay and will probably share the sad fate of innumerable documents in innumerable archives around the world, they have been put on microfilm. Photocopies made from these films formed the material that the editors used in the transcription. The reasons for building this digital database of Negerhollands are two-fold: first, the manuscripts themselves deserve preservation from total obliteration; secondly, the unique linguistic material that they contain has to be made accessible for research into
creole languages. Preservation in a digital form has several advantages, the main one of which is that it makes possible automated search procedures. The outcome of the whole project also has its disadvantages, however. One important one is that a publication in a digital format is not as accessible to the wider public as a book can be. Furthermore, the database consists almost exclusively of bare 18th-century Negerhollands texts, which may be difficult to work with even for creole language specialists. These were the main reasons for the present annotated publication of a selection of these manuscripts in book format.

Inspired by *Creole Drum*, the anthology of Surinamese Creole literature edited by Jan Voorhoeve and Ursy Lichtveld (1975) and now a collectors’ item, we wished to place the Moravian texts in a wider linguistic and historical context. This resulted in a collection of material containing a great variety of texts from different historical phases. This volume can also be seen as a tribute to Dirk Christiaan Hesseling who in 1905 published the first anthology of Negerhollands texts, based on what was available at the time.

This work consists of three parts: the introduction, the texts and the bibliography. In the introduction, edited by Pieter Muysken, Negerhollands and the interest in this language will be dealt with. The main subjects contain important historical and linguistic information like the genesis of the language, the 18th-century variety of Negerhollands and variation within the Negerhollands material.

The main part of this publication consists of texts. The texts presented here cover nearly the whole period of existence of Negerhollands, and we hope that their chronological order reflects the historical development of the language itself. This anthology furthermore contains texts of as many different types as possible, with which we hope to have captured also the full range of actual stylistic and sociolinguistic varieties of the former Negerhollands language. Next to passages from manuscripts, we have also included sections from rare printed sources. At the end of the second part of this anthology, we present some field notes Frank Nelson made in the 1930s and some transcriptions of recordings Gilbert A. Sprauve and Robin Sabino made of stories told by the last native speaker of Negerhollands, Mrs. Alice Stevens.

The third part of this book is the annotated bibliography of manuscripts and printed publications in and about Negerhollands. It is partly based on the bibliography Peter Stein published in Amsterdam Creole Studies (1986) and is an attempt to present as comprehensive a list as possible of publications and documents pertaining to the Negerhollands language.

In the interpretation of the Negerhollands material in all its aspects, for example the etymology of the lexicon, phonological properties, historical development, etc., we have drawn extensively upon the expertise of Hans den Besten, as becomes apparent from the footnotes. Peter Stein, who is without a doubt the one who knows the most about the Negerhollands letters, selected some of them for this anthology and wrote the introductions in the pertinent section.

All Negerhollands material that does not represent a literal translation of parts of the Bible is provided with an English translation at the end of each subsection. We regret that this sometimes necessitates leafing back and forth a bit, but it turned out to be unavoidable. The difficult work of rendering of the Negerhollands texts and the

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glosses into free translations was done by Pieter Muysken. All texts are furthermore accompanied by literal morphe-eme-by-morpheme translations in English, placed directly under the corresponding Negerhollands morphemes.

Many readers will ask why the Negerhollands language is not presented in Dutch, since this is its lexifier language which at the same time would allow us to leave many things untranslated. On the other hand one could think of German or Danish because those were the native languages of the people responsible for the documentation of the language, who also played an important role in the history of the Islands and their inhabitants. However, there are several reasons for presenting the Negerhollands language through the medium of English.

In the first place, apart from the fact that a bare presentation of the texts would not contribute to their analysis in a consistent manner, we have personally experienced that leaving the Negerhollands untranslated would require too much of even the Dutch non-specialist. Secondly, few Dutch, or Danish, or German speakers understand the other two languages sufficiently well, while many know English. Furthermore, not many English-speaking creole linguists are familiar enough with Dutch to be able to interpret the Negerhollands material easily without a translation. Yet the most important reason for choosing English as the ‘meta-language’ is that Negerhollands is primarily part, of the cultural heritage of the Virgin Islands. The accessibility of the published Negerhollands material should therefore in the first place concern the inhabitants of the Virgin Islands, who display a great interest in their heritage and who mainly speak English Creole and English. Negerhollands being an extinct language, the Virgin Islanders deserve access to it in the language best known to them, which is English.

The original database project of 18th-century Negerhollands manuscripts was financed by the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Scientific Research (NWO, Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek) and the P.J. Meertens-Institute for Dialectology, Folklore/European Ethnology and Onomastics (P.J. Meertens Instituut voor Dialectologie, Volkskunde en Naamkunde), which is an institute of the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences (KNAW, Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen). The project was carried out at the Institute for General Linguistics of the University of Amsterdam, under the supervision of Hans den Besten (University of Amsterdam), Pieter Muysken (University of Amsterdam) and Peter Stein (University of Regensburg).

It will be clear that the supervisors of the original project also played an essential role in the realization of the present anthology.

For the acquisition of several sources of Negerhollands texts, we were additionally helped by Professors Frank Nelson, Robin Sabino and Gilbert A. Sprauve, who generously contributed their field notes to this anthology, and by Frau Pastorin Baldauf from the Archiv der Brüder-Unität in Herrnhut and Paul Olsen of the Rigsarkiv in Copenhagen, who pointed out the whereabouts of several documents to us and let us work in their archives. Furthermore, providing the Negerhollands texts with morphemic glosses was greatly facilitated by the interlinear text analysis programme ‘Shoebox’ developed by the Summer Institute of Linguistics. For realignment of the
glosses after manipulation of character size we could turn to the software developed by Roland Tweehuysen of the Institute for General Linguistics in Amsterdam. Most of the illustrations were provided by the Public Record Office of Utrecht and the University Library of Amsterdam. We are grateful for the help we had in finding and photographing the originals. The University Library of Amsterdam supported the edition of this anthology by waiving the usual compensation for reproduction rights. Finally, the publication of this book also became possible through partial financial support from NWO, and technical assistance from the Institute for the Functional Study of Language and Language Use (IFOTT). We gratefully acknowledge the help of these people and institutions, and take the responsibility for all errors which may remain.

Amsterdam, 14 November 1995

The editors,

Cefas van Rossem
   Hein van der Voort
# Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Language</th>
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<td>Du.</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eng.</td>
<td>English</td>
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<td>Ge.</td>
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<td>NH.</td>
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<td>Port.</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
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# English glosses

<table>
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<th>Gloss</th>
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<td>ACC</td>
<td>Accusative suffix</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASP</td>
<td>Aspect particle</td>
<td>(le, lo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE</td>
<td>Copular verb ‘to be’</td>
<td>(bin, wees)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAAS</td>
<td>Usual form to address a minister of the Moravian Brethren.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>Dative suffix</td>
<td>(non-Negerhollands forms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>Demonstrative</td>
<td>(deese)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET</td>
<td>Determiner</td>
<td>(die)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>Diminutive (is not necessarily productive)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUR</td>
<td>Durative marker</td>
<td>(lo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMP</td>
<td>Emphatic element</td>
<td>(da)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOR</td>
<td>Complementizer, Purposive conjunction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>Future tense</td>
<td>(sal, sa, lo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>Genitive marker/affix</td>
<td>(non-Negerhollands forms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB</td>
<td>Habitual aspect</td>
<td>(le)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOD</td>
<td>Modality particle</td>
<td>(lo, lolo, sa(l))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Multifunctional preposition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negation</td>
<td>(no)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>(usually non-Negerhollands forms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRF</td>
<td>Perfective aspect</td>
<td>(ka, kabba)</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRG</td>
<td>Progressive aspect</td>
<td>(lo)</td>
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<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>Past tense</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>RED</td>
<td>Reduplication</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>TMA</td>
<td>Tense, mood or aspect marker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>First person singular pronoun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>Second person plural pronoun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Between brackets examples of Negerhollands words which were represented in the interlinear translation by the abbreviations.
Diplomatic symbols

The Negerhollands material, whether printed or manuscript, is presented unaltered. We have stayed as close to the original as possible and have not corrected spelling mistakes, etc. In fact, we have attempted to make a diplomatic edition of the Negerhollands material. This implies that we did not omit any information which can be rendered in a printed form, e.g. corrections by the author, original footnotes, etc. We kept various types of information by way of a consistently applied system of diplomatic symbols. Below, we list the symbols used:

1. Additions

   - `<a>` a added on the line
   - `<ol•a>` a added over the line
   - `<ul•a>` a added under the line
   - `<lm•a>` a added in left margin
   - `<rm•a>` a added in right margin
   - `<tm•a>` a added in top margin
   - `<bm•a>` a added in bottom margin as a footnote
   - `<*:>` something is added, but illegible
   - `<*<a>*>` a possibly added on line
   - `[a]` a added by editors
   - `<§a>` a added at end of paragraph or section
   - `<np•a>` a added on next page, normal type page

2. Omissions

   - `[-a]` a deleted
   - `[-:*]` deleted and illegible
   - `[-a]<b>` a deleted, b added on line
   - `[-a]<ol•b>` a deleted, b added over line
   - `[-a]<ul•b>` a deleted, b added under line

2 These symbols are based on the ones proposed by Verkuijsse (1973-1974).
3. Replacement

[a+]<b> \hspace{1cm} a is overwritten by b

4. Uncertain readings

*a* \hspace{1cm} a is uncertain
a*b* \hspace{1cm} b behind a is uncertain
*...(?)* \hspace{1cm} uncertain whether something is written
*word* \hspace{1cm} whole word is uncertain
A/a \hspace{1cm} uncertain whether upper case A or lower case a is intended
a/b \hspace{1cm} uncertain whether a or b is intended
ab|cd \hspace{1cm} uncertain whether ab and cd are written as one

Because of the automatic glossing, if it was uncertain whether two words were written as one they were split apart. The diplomatic symbol is in those cases mostly added to the second part.

5. Other metagraphic notations and remarks

In case of uncertain readings, we used one dot per illegible character, and in case of doubt about the number of characters, a question mark is added.

Two horizontal bars with one space between symbols symbolizes blank space on the line: ||.

If synonyms or alternative expressions are given in the manuscript by placing them over or under one another, we represented this as follows: na|in ‘NA|in’ (where na is the upper form and the alternative form in is the lower).

Remarks about torn paper, note reference symbols lacking a note, etc. are placed between dollar signs: $..$.

The symbol for ‘addition on a following page’ only occurs with footnotes which continue on the next page, so this symbol only occurs as embedded in another note sign: <bm•b <np•a>>. Usually, such a note is continued in the bottom margin of the next page: <bm•b <np•bm•a>>, thus outside the normal type page.

Moravian missionary Böhner, who produced several large manuscript translations, sometimes makes use of asterisks and brackets. Also, he uses slashes in some cases. Our diplomatic use of slashes occurs only in between asterisks, and it can therefore be distinguished from Böhner's use.
Abbreviations in the manuscript: double characters are sometimes represented in the manuscript by a single character with a horizontal bar over it. Here, we wrote all abbreviated forms out in full, but we have kept the paleographic information by underlining the omitted parts, e.g. mamma ‘mother’.

We made use of underlinings in three different cases in the manuscripts:
1) In case of abbreviations like Johs: we write Johannes;
2) In case of double characters, often indicating lengthening, which is symbolized by Böhner as a horizontal bar above the character to be doubled, as in hopō ‘up’: we write the doubled character underlined: hoppo;
3) In case of umlaut which is often symbolized by Böhner with a small e over the concerned character, as in koönig ‘king’: we represent the umlaut by placing the small e underlined behind the concerned character: koen. When the German umlaut sign is used, we did so as well: könig. There is no overlap between umlaut and lengthening (doubling): gemäkt ‘made’ > gemaakt; Judae a > Juda; but overlap between umlaut and abbreviation occurs sometimes: koönig > koenig; sende > sender, but we did not regard this as problematic.

General conventions

We have chosen to leave intact the original size of the lines in the manuscripts. Also, we chose not to repair ‘broken off’ words, but we left hyphens or spaces in their original place as they may be useful in e.g. research of Negerhollands prosody. These decisions necessitated the use of the minus sign (-) in the glosses by which we want to indicate that the pertinent form belongs to the last ‘word’ of the previous one, under which the gloss can be found. In some cases, the gloss is put under the second part when it contains the stem of a form.

The translation of morphology

Especially in the early texts written by Europeans, bound morphemes (affixes) can be encountered that seem to be used productively. Here, we often find derivational affixes such as diminutive -je/-ki ‘little’, superlative -st ‘most’, nominalizing -heid/-skap ‘-ness, -hood’ etc. instead of the analytic creole forms. They are often identical to their Dutch equivalents, both in form and use. It is usually unclear whether they were productive in the variety of Negerhollands known to the authors, or that they came directly from the Dutch superstate model.

In the same texts we often also encounter zero-derived (or, conveying the same sense: multifunctional) forms such as dood for ‘dead’ (adjective, Du. dood, dode, dooie), ‘death’ (noun, Du. dood) or ‘die’ (verb, Du. doodgaan, sterven). If Dutch affixes were really productive in Negerhollands, we would also have expected them in such cases.
In this anthology, Dutch morphology is in principle regarded as fossilized, usually translated unanalyzed, and as such not treated as Negerhollands morphology; e.g. *hoogste* 'highest' and not: ‘high.SUP’. With this we did not necessarily mean to imply that Negerhollands should be a language without morphology, or that nothing of the grammar of Dutch could have been transferred to Negerhollands. We did analyze some morphology originating from Dutch, as if it were part of Negerhollands grammar. Especially in the plural formation of the nouns there is much variability. The Dutch inflectional plural markers -s/-en are as often present as they are lacking, and they are even used regularly in combination with the equally frequent Negerhollands analytical plural morpheme *sender/sen* 'they’, e.g. *die jüngers sender* DET apostle.PL 3PL’ (meaning ‘the apostles’). We have left it an open question whether plural inflection is productive in Negerhollands or not. Where English plural glosses are encountered, the Negerhollands word is not marked for plural itself, e.g. *gebeente* ‘bones’, or an equivalent expression, e.g. *danki* ‘thanks’.

Of Negerhollands compositions which do not exist in English, the morphemes or words are bound by a point, e.g. *voetbank* is glossed as *foot.stool*. Negerhollands compositions of which the morphemes or words are bound by a hyphen, are glossed alike, e.g. *quaat-doenders* is glossed as *evil-doer.PL*.

### The translation of prepositions

In particular, prepositions are often not easily glossed. Generally, Negerhollands prepositions have the same semantic properties as their formal equivalents in Dutch, e.g. *op* means both ‘up’ and ‘on’ in Negerhollands and Dutch. And both prepositions *op* and *aan* are represented in English by ‘on’, both for Negerhollands and Dutch. The situation is symbolized by the following figure:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUDU</th>
<th>ENG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OP</td>
<td>UP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAN</td>
<td>ON</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consequently, we provided these and other prepositions with only one translation, leaving the correct interpretations for future researchers to establish. The inventory of (ambiguous) prepositions encountered and the glosses we used is listed below:
The preposition na is dealt with below.

The translation of homonyms

Negerhollands words of a bicategorical status, which is the usual case with lexical words, e.g. *leev* 'live (verb), life (noun)', are glossed only in one way, here 'live' (viz. our remark on *dood* under morphology). Another example is *fraj* 'good, nice (ADJ), well (ADV)', which we chose to gloss as 'good'.

True homonyms, such as *lief* 'body, dear, love', are translated in the sense corresponding with the context of their use. (As it was sometimes difficult to be strictly consistent in giving a single translation, we did the same with words like *enigste* 'only, any', *leer* 'learn, teach, doctrine', *raad* 'advice, council'.) One exception is *kom* which means both 'come' and 'become': because *word* is also used for 'become', although often also as a passive auxiliary, we translated *kom* only as 'come'. Since the productivity of *word* as a grammatical marker of the passive remains questionable, it is just translated as 'become' and not with an abstract grammatical symbol like 'PASS'.

Expressions

The texts also contain many calques on Dutch expressions, e.g. *woon onder*, which apparently in both languages means 'live among'. We opted for a literal translation, here 'live under', and made a comment on the expression in a footnote.
Comments on specific glosses

**a** represents the indefinite article *een*, disregarding English morphophonology. Another meaning of *een* is ‘one’, either in the sense of a numeral or as an indefinite person pronoun. If the context did not help to solve the ambiguity, we translated *een* as ‘a’.

**as** The word *as* was found in Negerhollands with three meanings: ‘as’ (Dutch *als*, *as*), ‘when’ (Dutch *wanneer*) and ‘than’ (Dutch *als*, *as*, *dan*). In combination with *so* it has the meaning ‘like’. We refrained from interpreting and translated it in all cases as ‘as’. (In Dutch, the word for ‘if’ is also *als*, *as*).

**BE** represents the verb ‘to be’ in its suppletive forms *bin* and *wees* and its spelling variants.

**DEM** is a demonstrative pronoun, usually *deese*, which in Negerhollands as well as in Dutch can have a singular or plural interpretation: ‘this, these’.

**DET** can be seen as determiner, representing Negerhollands *di* or *die*, which originates from the Dutch demonstrative and relative pronoun *die* ‘that (one), (relative) who, which’. DET abstracts over its possible use as a determinate article or relative pronoun, and it enables us to avoid the problem of its possible demonstrative sense, which is the only sense determiner *die* has in Dutch. In some cases, *diegeen*, *dijeen* ‘the one [+human]’ may have preserved a demonstrative sense, ‘that one, he’. Also, it may have a plural meaning in both cases: ‘those’. To stay away from speculations about the author’s intentions, we translated NH *diegeen*, *dijeen* as ‘DET.one’.

**FOR** possibly comes from Dutch *voor* ‘for’, which can be used in substandard or dialectal Dutch as a purposive complementizer, normally in combination with the infinitival marker *te*: *voor te* ‘for to’ (rare in NH, only the early variants, as in the Poppo fragment (see section II, 1.1): *vor tů*). In Negerhollands, forms corresponding to *for* do not require such an extra complementizer to introduce a purposive clause. Other possible interpretations of NH *for/vor/voor* are as a modal auxiliary (*ju no for du die* ‘you are not to do that/it’) or prepositional, like locative ‘in front of’ or beneficial ‘for (someone)’. Unlike Du., but like Eng., NH *for* can also have the sense of ‘because’.

**NA** is from Dutch *naar* ‘to’ (historically also spelled *na*) or *na* ‘after’, perhaps Portuguese *na*, a contraction of *em* a ‘in the’, or it has an African origin. The Dutch preposition has several directional interpretations in Dutch, and in Negerhollands (as in West- and French-Flemish) its functional range is even wider, including directional as well as locative and non-prepositional uses, e.g. introducing a benefactive argument. To sum up, Negerhollands *na* has according to the context the following different equivalents; ‘to, on, in, at, after,'
This highly multifunctional preposition *na* also occurs in combination with localizers as inessive *binne* ‘(being) inside’, which sometimes gives it an illative sense: *nabinne* ‘(being or going) inside’. Because these parts also occur independently of each other, but with possibly the same meanings, we translated both either just for themselves (*NA* and ‘inside’), or when written together we analyzed it as ‘NA.inside’. In the same way all occurrences of *na*, either in a compound or not, are translated as ‘NA’.

**NEG** represents a negation either in the form of ‘no’ or ‘not’. The concept ‘nothing’ may be expressed in NH as *no* ... *(een)* ... *goed* ‘not (a) thing’, or as *geen* ‘not one, none’. We chose to translate *geen* as ‘NEG.one’, in analogy with *diegeen* ‘DET.one’.

**so** The word *so* is found in Negerhollands with three meanings: ‘so’ (DU *zo*), ‘as’ (DU *zo*, as in *zo gauw als* ‘as soon as’) and ‘such’ (DU *zo*, as in *zo als* ‘such as, like’, *zo een* ‘such a’). Also this form is translated in an identical manner in all cases: ‘so’. Here, the Dutch form is also identical in all senses.

**3PL** not only represents the personal pronoun of third person plural, but also the analytical plural marker, which is etymologically derived from the former.

**3Ref** is a form with different possible interpretations: the third person singular (reflexive) pronoun and the third person singular reflexive possessive pronoun (*si*, *sie*, *shi*). They were likely homonyms, and we have interpreted, i.e. translated, it depending on the context. Note that the form of the personal pronoun, for insta/nce, third person (NH. *em*), can also be used as a reflexive (Muysken & Van der Voort 1991, to appear). We glossed it always as 3SG however.

**Orthography of the texts of de Josselin de Jong**

Since the more or less phonetic orthography of de Josselin de Jong was hard to reproduce in this work, especially the combinations of different accents above one vowel, we have used some simplifications in the spelling as used in Ponelis (1988).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>De Josselin de Jong</th>
<th>Ponelis</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>aa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ê</td>
<td>ee</td>
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<tr>
<td>ī</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ô</td>
<td>oo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n dot above</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š</td>
<td>sh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ž</td>
<td>zh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of illustrations

| AU       | Public Record Office of Utrecht |
| RAU     | University Library of Amsterdam |

1. p.1
An example of the first page of ms. 322 (± 1780). Xerox copy. Original: AU NB VII R3, 6f.

2. p.6
Map of the Caribbean.

3. p.24
Portrait of Count von Zinzendorf. RAU R46, 622b.

4. p.36
Friedensthal on St. Croix. From Oldendorp (1770). RAU.

5. p.49
An example of the first page of the manuscript of Zinzendorf's letter (1739). Xerox copy. Original: AU R15 Ba - 1.II.6.

6. p.70
Pages 486-487 of Zinzendorf (1742).

7. p.79
A School of the Moravian Brethren on St. Croix. RAU R46, 550.

8. p.90
Archiv der Brüder-Unität, Herrnhut. 1993. C. van Rossem

9. p.108
St. Thomas. RAU R46, 559.

10. p.119

11. p.144
Bethaniën on St. John. RAU R46, 560.

12. p.182
Fragment from ABC-boekje voor die Neger-Kinders. Barby: 1800.

13. p.201
Neu Herrnhut on St. Thomas. From Oldendorp (1770). RAU.

14. p.210

15. p.224

16. p.231
Emmaus on St. John. RAU R46, 555.

17. p.253

18. p.266
Neu Herrnhut on St. Thomas. RAU R46, 554.
I Negerhollands: an introduction
1 Negerhollands

Negerhollands is a creole language which emerged in the Virgin Islands around 1700 from the contact between varieties of Dutch and other (African and European) languages. It is now extinct, but it has been preserved in a remarkable collection of manuscripts, from the 18th century onwards.

The following illustration represents a late 18th-century manuscript (no. 3.2.2 in Stein 1986b). It is a piece of commentary from an introduction to a Negerhollands creole translation of the Evangelienharmonie, a compilation of the four gospels. The translation was undertaken by Moravian missionary Johann Böhner of the Moravian Brethren, also known as the Herrnhut missionaries, or in German die Evangelische Brüdergemeine. The commentary was written around 1780 in a language he called Creole (Cariolsch, Criolisch or Creolisch), and which has been known as Negerhollands since van den Bergh (1840). In this text, which is addressed to the Moravian slave community of the Virgin Islands and precedes the translation, the writer explains his purpose.

1. An example of the first page of ms. 3.2.2 (± 1780)

Die ben nu al sommige Jaar geleeden, dat ons
DET BE now already some year ago, that 1PL
[Het is nu al enkele (sommige) jaren geleden, dat wij]
It has now already been several years since we provided you with a creole hymnal, that you could help sing when we hold our meetings, as so many of you have learned to read, and to make use of it also, when you are at home not being at work, to become familiar with the hymns (or songs).'

At first glance one is struck by the strong resemblance of the Negerhollands in this text to (older) Dutch. Still, a number of differences come to the fore, e.g. in the word order and the verbal system, which makes use of tense, mood and aspect particles instead of verb inflection. In the glosses we have sometimes used an abbreviation, such as DET ‘determiner’ or 1PL ‘first person plural’ because the Negerhollands forms do not always correspond directly to either an English or a Dutch form. Negerhollands ons, for instance, corresponds to Dutch wij/ons/once ‘we/us/our’, and Negerhollands die corresponds to ‘it/the/that/which/etc.’; in short, the general notion of determination.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, *Die Creol taal*
Consider now a fragment from text 59, line 12-14, of the recordings by anthropologist de Josselin de Jong in the early 20th century:

Am a ko a hus. Am a see a shi shishi, 3SG PST come NA house 3SG PST say NA 3POS sister,

[Hij is thuis gekomen. Hij heeft aan zijn zuster gezegd:]

ju kaa trou een man, am mi een beefergi! Nu shi shishi a see 2SG PRF marry a man, 3SG BE a boar: pig Now 3POS sister PST say

[jij bent met een man getrouwd, hij is een varken. Nu zei zijn zuster]

nu a waa! Di jung a see am: jaa, as ju nu gloo NEG be true. DET boy PST say 3SG yes, if 2SG NEG believe

[het is niet waar. De jongen zei haar: ja, als je me niet geloof]

mi sa wis ju wapi ju kaa trou een 1SG FUT show 2SG where 2SG PRF marry a

[zal ik je laten zien waar je een varken getrouwd hebt]

‘He came home. He told his sister: you married a man, who is a pig. His sister said to him: it is not true. The boy said to her: yes, if you don't believe me I will show you where you have married a pig.’

Here the resemblance to Dutch is much more remote, at first glance. Still, it is the same language as the one in the earlier fragment: we notice the same tense and aspect particles a and ka, for instance. As this book is an attempt to document the various phases of Negerhollands and to make texts accessible for those interested, we will return to the differences between these texts, and offer explanations, below in 7.5.

Negerhollands (lit. 'Negro-Hollandic') is the original creole language, lexically closely related to Dutch, of the Virgin Islands (St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix). Whereas previously these islands were under Danish rule and were referred to as the Danish Antilles, since 1917 they are a United States colony officially called the US Virgin Islands. Negerhollands emerged as a separate language around 1700 and died out completely only a few years ago, having been gradually replaced by English in the course of the 19th century.

Because of the language contact due to the slave trade and plantation system, many creole languages have emerged in the Caribbean. These are characterized by lexicons of European origin: mostly French (e.g. Haitian) and English (e.g. Jamaican), but sometimes Portuguese or Dutch, as in the present case. It is somewhat ironical that in the colonies in the Caribbean that remained Dutch after the Napoleonic wars, the

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3 The orthography which is used for the text of de Josselin de Jong is the somewhat normalized one by Ponelis (1988); cf. the section on abbreviations, orthography and notational conventions after the table of contents.
creoles are not lexically related to Dutch. In Surinam the main Creole is Sranan, with an English lexicon, and in the Dutch Antilles Papiamentu, with a Portuguese and Spanish lexicon. Creoles with a Dutch lexicon emerged in (formerly British) Guyana -once a group of Dutch colonies - on the Berbice and Essequibo rivers (Berbice Dutch Creole and Skepi Dutch, respectively) and in the Virgin Islands. From the text cited at the beginning, it becomes clear that the necessity to treat Negerhollands as a separate language in its own right was felt at least as early as 1780. Because of missionary activity, it became necessary to study this language seriously. Consequently, its creole nature was noticed, and it was discussed by Moravian Mission historian Oldendorp (1777 [1987:251]), who describes the situation quite graphically:

By the term Creole language I mean the language that is spoken by the Negroes on St. Thomas and St. John and to a certain extent by those on St. Croix. The domain of this language extends not further than these islands. It is not the only Creole language because every European language which is spoken in a corrupted manner in the West Indies is called Creole. So it is that Creole English is spoken by the Negroes of English masters who have come to St. Croix with them from other English islands.
The Creole language about which I speak here originated in St. Thomas where Dutchmen, Danes, Brandenburgers (most of whom spoke Low German), and Frenchmen lived among one another at the beginning of the Danish settlement. The Negroes learned the language of the masters.

Oldendorp denies, however, that Negerhollands is to be considered a separate language:

Thus, the elements of the Creole language have been drawn primarily from Dutch and Low German. The difference between the Creole and the latter two languages is in the mutilation and misplacement of words and generally in their foreshortening, which occurs primarily in the peculiar kind of alteration and adaptation of nouns and verbs. These characteristics do not seem quite far-reaching enough to cause the Creole to be considered a separate language. Since, however, it is now already so well-established to speak of the Creole as a separate language, it can do no harm to allow the use of that term in this context.

It is quite clear, in retrospect, that Negerhollands did become a separate language and is structurally quite different from Dutch. Before we come back to this matter, we will

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4 Actually, the printing of the first booklet in Negerhollands indicates that the independent status of Negerhollands was already acknowledged by the Moravians by 1765 (see section II, 2.2.1). The manuscript evidence goes back even further, namely to 1736.
introduce the islands, their people and their history, insofar as they concern our linguistic purpose.
2 Early History and Demography of the Virgin Islands

To use a traditional opening, in 1493 Columbus gave the Virgin Islands their present-day name and met some Amerindians on St. Croix. The St. Croix Tainos were subsequently decimated by genocide and epidemics (see Sale 1991, Taylor 1977). A more comprehensive work on the Tainos was produced by Rouse (1992).

From 1600 onward the islands were being populated by Europeans of various descent and slaves imported from Africa. The year 1653 marked the founding of the Danish West-Indian Company, and hence the (late) entry of Denmark into the European colonizing efforts.

2. Map of the Caribbean

In 1665 the first attempt was made by the Danish to settle on the island of St. Thomas, the most sought-after of the three Virgin Islands because of its natural harbour, but it was without success. In 1671 the Danish West-Indian Company obtained a monopoly over St. Thomas, and in 1672 the Danish colonization proper of the island began, with 113 inhabitants. The Danes surely were not the first European settlers of the island, but we lack precise information on what happened before their arrival. The island seems to have been abandoned and uninhabited when the Danish settlers arrived.
The English had been raiding, among others, the Dutch Windward Antilles since 1666. Shortly afterwards a group of Dutch planters, who had fled from St. Eustatius to escape from the English (Goslinga 1971), settled on St. Thomas. According to Goodman (1985), they possibly brought a Dutch pidgin or creole with them, spoken by their slaves, although Sabino (1990) argues that the number of slaves brought along was probably very limited. It is also not unlikely that a pidgin or creole based on African, Dutch and other languages was used around the European forts on the West African coast (see Tonkin 1971). There the slaves were held in confinement by Dutch and other slave traders for some time up to six months or longer, until enough were gathered to fill a slave ship for the Caribbean. There are reports of West Africans who had learnt English and Dutch (Ardener 1968). However, no data of a possible Dutch-influenced contact language in West Africa have been found yet. At the height of Dutch activity in West Africa, the lingua franca was an already extant Portuguese pidgin. It was only replaced by West African Pidgin English when the English became dominant.

Now consider for a moment the constitution of the European population of the Virgin Islands in what is taken to be the formative period of Negerhollands. In 1688, when the first official census was held, there were 422 slaves in St. Thomas, as noted above, and 317 whites, among which there were (see Arends & Muysken 1992, and for an inventory based on slightly different figures Stein & Beck forthcoming):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holstein</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures show that the slaves were faced with a potentially very heterogeneous primary ‘target’ language, dominated by Dutch (mainly in Zeelandic and Flemish varieties). We can also expect English and Danish (lexical) influences, and those turn out to be there as well.

On the basis of archival research, Sabino concludes in her dissertation (1990) that in 1692 already a fifth of the slave population consisted of children born in St. Thomas. This is a relatively fast development, especially when considering that in Suriname for instance there was only a large group of locally born slaves after one century of colonization.

We should also consider the homogeneity of the slave population of that time. Often they were abducted from various places far away from the West African coast. According to Feldbaek & Justesen (1980) the large majority of the slaves imported in the period between 1672 to 1739, the formative period of Negerhollands, consisted of Twi-speaking Akan. Nevertheless we do not find clear traces of this Akan influence.
In fact, Sabino (1988) hypothesises that Ewe-speakers constituted the most important group in terms of African lexical substrate influence. One might assume that Negerhollands would become a creole language diverging rather strongly from Dutch, judging by the relatively short period between colonization and the emergence of a locally born slave community. There was no time for a very gradual acculturation of the imported slaves to the colonial languages and cultures. We should point to the fact, however, that apparently the natality figure (the number of children being born) of the population was so high (which also transpires from Sabino’s data) that a creole emerged which was quite close to Dutch. It must have been the locally born slaves who created Negerhollands, and they would have learned better Dutch than the newly arrived.

If we accept the theory of Goodman (1985) that Negerhollands perhaps emerged gradually in St. Eustatius before being taken to St. Thomas, then it is clear that internal migration (i.e. inside the Caribbean) played an important role in the genesis of Negerhollands. The sudden impulse of an established group of Negerhollands-speaking slaves at the beginning of the Virgin Islands colony could have been the decisive factor.

We saw above that in 1688 the slave population in St. Thomas outnumbered the white population. In 1725 their number had increased to 4490. In 1717 St. John came under Danish occupation, but by 1721, 25 of 39 planters on St. John were Dutchmen, and only nine Danes (Hall 1992:11). It was reported quite soon that the slaves on that island also spoke Negerhollands, which is perhaps an indication that the creole must have already existed early in the 18th century.

In 1733 St. Croix was bought by the Danes from the French, but by 1741 there were already five times as many English on the island as Danes (Hall 1992:13). The Danes asked the Herrnhut missionaries to participate in the colonization of St. Croix, but they were unable to do so; the majority of the settlers in 1733 were Moravians, but many became ill and soon passed away due to the climate. Thus, Negerhollands came to be used much less here than on the other two Danish Antilles, and an English creole emerged. Nevertheless, there are a few Creole slave letters from that island (see II, 1.2.6).

Some decades later, the resulting language situation in the three Virgin Islands was summarized (in Negerhollands) by the Moravian missionary Auerbach (1774) as follows:

Die hab well twee drie onder die swart Volk, die sender a leer voor verstaan beetje van die hollandisch Taal, as sender woon na die Stadt, en hoor die ider Dag van die Blanko, maar die Plantey-Volk no kan vor verstaan die soo. Doch, die no sal maak een Verhinder, as die lieve Broeer will skriev eenmaal na sender, maski die ben Hollandisch of na die Hoogduytsch, soo die sal maak sender moeschi bli, en ons sal lees die Brief voor sender na Creol. Na St. Croix die hab meer van die Negers, die sender kan verstaan English, as na St. Thomas en St. Jan, maar doch sender English Praat ka mingel ook altoeveel met die Creol- en Guinee-taal... Da Neger-English die ben.
‘There are some among the black people who have learned to understand a bit of the Dutch language, as they live in town, and hear it every day from the whites, but the plantation folk cannot understand it. This should not be an impediment if the dear brethren will write to them some time, albeit in Dutch or High German, for this will make them very happy, and we will read the letter for them in Creole. On St. Croix there are more blacks who can understand English than in St. Thomas and St. John, but still their English speech is mixed very much with the Creole and Guinea languages. It is Negro-English.’

We conclude our historical sketch at this point as the Negerhollands language is definitively established and documented. The history of the Virgin Islands after the formative period will be detailed in various places. It is related to the sociolinguistic development of Negerhollands in sections 5 and 7.4. It is also dealt with in relation to the history of the missions and their consequences in section 6. For further reading about the history of the Virgin Islands, we refer among others to Brøndsted (1953), Degn (1974) and Hall (1992).
3 Negerhollands and Creole studies

Unlike other languages, creole languages are by definition languages of which we know when and (in some cases) how they emerged as separate linguistic systems: that is, when peoples speaking mutually unintelligible languages come into contact, the possible creole emerging from this contact could not have existed before. This gives us a unique opportunity to study aspects of the process of language birth and its results, particularly in the case of the relatively recent creole languages, such as those that developed on plantations in the Caribbean under European occupation. The study of language birth can provide us with important insights into how linguistic systems in general are constituted and what is needed to make them function adequately as systems of human communication.

In addition, the circumstances of language birth can tell us something about the drastic linguistic change and innovation which may take place in situations of language contact. Thus, many characteristics of the European languages which provided the vocabulary for creole languages are not at the same time reflected in the structure of these languages. So when creole languages came into being, only certain components of other languages were transferred, whereas particular other linguistic components of creoles do not originate from either one of the languages in contact. For this reason, creole languages cannot be seen as (defective) varieties of contributing other languages. This has been the reason for the emergence of a separate subdiscipline: creole studies.

As language structure, function and ecology became central concerns of linguistics, creole studies moved from the not-quite-respectable fringes of historical linguistics at the beginning of this century towards the center of linguistic research.

The creole languages do not constitute a family in the sense of historical linguistics, although some of them are clearly related. A common way to classify them is in terms of the language that has contributed most of the vocabulary. Thus, we have creoles based on African languages, and on the major colonial languages such as French, English, and Portuguese. Most of these languages are spoken in the Caribbean, West Africa, the Indian Ocean, South East Asia, and the Southern Pacific. There are several hundred pidgin and creole languages known.

The term pidgin refers to a contact language that is not spoken natively in any speech community. Contrasting creoles with pidgins, we can define creoles as contact-induced languages which are spoken as the mother tongue of a speakers' community. Pidgins are by definition acquired as a second language. The theory that creole languages are the result of the acquisition of pidgins as a first language is widely accepted but hardly proven.

While they are not related in historical terms, creole languages have often been thought of as belonging to one typological class. In the following section a number of ‘typical creole features’ will be mentioned. However, in recent years attention has shifted to the grammars of individual languages and to the study of areas in which the creole languages differ from each other structurally.
While five major European languages have been involved in creole genesis, the Ibero-Romance (Portuguese and Spanish) and the Dutch-based creoles have been underrepresented in research. Most of the insights gained so far derive from English-and French-lexicon creoles. This bias has several serious consequences.

First, the fate of a number of potentially very interesting grammatical features of Ibero-Romance and Dutch (e.g. word order, optional subject pronouns, verb clusters and verbal particles) under creolization has remained unstudied so far.

Second, the groups of both Ibero-Romance and Dutch creoles are much less homogeneous, structurally, than the English and French creoles. Therefore, the fact that so many English and French creoles resemble each other may be due to accidental reasons of historical relatedness rather than to properties of the process of creole genesis as such.

In addition, the field of creole studies has remained surprisingly a-historical, given its strong conceptual links with historical linguistics, and the consensus among creolists that the actual socio-historical circumstances of creole genesis must have been crucial for their formation. While it is clear that the earliest available documentary sources for creoles should be examined if we want to gain an insight into the field, these have remained relatively inaccessible and unstudied.

In recent publications (e.g. Carden and Stewart, 1988; Arends, 1989) the question was brought up of whether creole genesis is a gradual or a single-generation phenomenon. The study of early texts makes it possible to be much more confident regarding statements about which grammatical structures early creoles did or did not have, and to what extent the stabilization of the creole languages was an extended process. The substantial collection of 18th-and 19th-century Negerhollands manuscripts and edited texts (Stein, 1982a,b, 1985, 1986a,b,c, 1989, 1991), the folk tales recorded at the beginning of this century (de Josselin de Jong 1926), and recent recordings of which this book gives an overview makes it possible to look at the language in its historical context and to study its development.
4 Negerhollands: a brief sketch

Without pretending to be either complete or original we shall now illustrate a few features of Negerhollands, in part through the analysis of a few Negerhollands proverbs from Magens' grammar of 1770. Magens was a Danish citizen born on St. Thomas. His 80 page booklet is written in Danish and is the first ever printed grammar of a creole language. It follows the model of Latin grammar, and it gives a large number of sentence examples, fragments of everyday speech, and proverbs, e.g.:

(1) Pampuen no kan parie Kalbas (1770)
Pumpkin NEG can bear Calabash

'A pumpkin cannot give birth to a calabash.'
Dutch: Een pompoen kan geen kalebas voortbrengen.

Example (1) demonstrates the fixed Subject - Negation - Verbal Complex - Complement word order of Negerhollands. It contrasts with that of Dutch, where the auxiliary *kan* occupies the second position, and the main verb *voortbrengen* occurs at the end of the sentences, preceded by the object. There is also a difference with respect to the position of the negation. Generically used nouns, common in proverbs, do not get an article. Notice also the occurrence of both Spanish or Portuguese (together labeled as Ibero-Romance) elements: *parie* 'give birth to' (< *parir*), and Dutch ones: *kan* 'can'. The form *no* 'not' can be both English and Spanish, but the latter is more probable.

(2) Branmierval na Malassie, da sut hem ha vind (1770)
Ant fall NA molasses, because sweet 3SG PST find

'He gets what he deserves.'

Sentence (2) contains the all-purpose locative preposition *na* (probably <Port. *na* < *em a* 'in the (fem.)'; cf. also Du. *naar* 'to', older form *na*). There is an example of fronting for the purpose of focus or stress: In a construction with *da, sut* is placed early in the secondary clause and becomes emphasized (*da sut*). The particle *ha* (<Du. *had* 'had' or a dialectal form of the infinitive of the verb 'have') is used to mark tense. Notice that *hem*, the stressed non-subject form of the pronoun in Dutch, is used for the subject, the direct and the indirect object in Negerhollands.

Some of the particles used to mark tense, mood and aspect in Negerhollands derive from verbs. As a result there is a small class of frequently used homophonous verbs and particles. *lo* (assumed to derive from Dutch *loop* 'walk') belongs to this class, and it is not always clear in what capacity it is used. A 20th-century example in which it occurs as a main verb, a verb which introduces a purpose clause, and a progressive aspect marker, in that order, is:
‘He has to go home to do what is there waiting for him.’

Consider now another 18th-century proverb:

‘(S)he loves her/his children.’

In (4) we encounter an example of the invariant possessive pronoun si
(Negerhollands has no grammatical gender) (<Du. masc. SG. zijn) and of the
(pidgin-like) periphrastic adverb alteveel ‘all too much’ as a degree marker. Hesseling
(1933) argues that the use of wil (<Du. willen ‘want’) for ‘love’ also betrays
Papiamentu influence, since in Ibero-Romance querer means both ‘love’ and ‘want’.

‘I can't help seeing it.’

Example (5) is given here to illustrate two phonological features: the replacement
of Dutch /oː/ (in Du. deur [dœ:r] ‘door’), a marked sound and therefore difficult to
learn, by /eː/ in deer and the occurrence of, it appears, an extra vowel in hogo, which
yields an (unmarked, i.e. easy to learn and to pronounce) CVCV-pattern5. Such
vowels are termed epithetic. Later in this introduction we will return to the issue of
whether, and to what extent, Negerhollands has epithetic vowels.

‘They do with him/her as they please.’

Example (6) shows that the particle yt ‘out’ can be used as a verb, meaning ‘go out’,
unlike Dutch. This type of reinterpretation from a particle to a verb is typical of the
relation between a creole language and its lexifier. It is furthermore preceded by the
perfective aspect marker ka (<Port./Spa. acabar ‘finish’), an element which occurs
in many creole languages in one form or other. The article (when present) is invariant
die ‘that’. It is not unusual in creole languages and, for that matter, in other language
families for the article to be derived from the demonstrative pronoun. Notice that in
the second clause there is no inversion of subject and verb, as in Dutch (where we
would have had springt het kleine kind ‘jumps the little child’; in this respect the
Subject-Verb-Complement order of Negerhollands is very strict.

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5 Incidentally, the initial h in hogo, absent in standard Du oog, may well be due to hypercorrection
with relation to Zealandic or Flemish.
Here we notice a typical creole possessive construction with both the possessor Dootman preposed to the noun and the resumptive third person possessive sie. While in an earlier example we had deer ‘door’ from Du. deur, here we have the more usual form door (20th century do:/doː) possibly derived from English, or from the 17th century Du. variant form door.

In both of the previous examples there is a particle marking duration or habitual, le, possibly from Dutch leggen ‘lay’. Many descriptions of Negerhollands mention a shift in the tense/mood/aspect system in the course of time, but concentrate only on a change in the lexical items involved. An example is the gradual replacement of the durative marker le by lo, which was accomplished at the beginning of the 19th century. Because of the association of lo with its original verbal meaning ‘go’ (<Du. loop ‘walk’), this element is ambiguously used as a progressive marker and a (near?) future marker, thus entering in competition with the older, well established future marker sa(l). The following 20th-century example clearly indicates that lo must have different functions:

(8) mi lo lo mankan mi ju (1926)

1SG GO go together with 2SG

‘I will accompany you.’

Another proverb:

(9) Mie jammer Ju tee mie kries Ju, tee mie neem Steen veeg mie Hogo.

1SG bewail 2SG till 1SG cry 2SG till 1SG take stone wipe 1SG eye

‘I pity you to the point of crying for you, of wiping my eyes with a stone.’

In sentence (9) it is striking that the first person pronoun expressing the subject here, mie, is derived from Du. mij ‘me’, a non-subject form; it is furthermore also used possessively. The preposition or conjunction tee may well derive from Port. até ‘until’, and we see that the verbs jammer and kries can be used transitively (with a human object in this case), which they cannot in the language from which they are derived, namely Dutch. Many originally Du. verbs thus have acquired other syntactic properties.

A remarkable feature is also the serial verb construction neem ... veeg ... ‘take ... wipe ...’, in which the object of the verb neem is marked as an instrument. Many researchers connect these constructions with West-African languages. Various authors have tried to argue against the existence of serial verb constructions in Negerhollands. Serial verb constructions do not seem to be used very often in earlier Negerhollands, but we did encounter some instances of it, for example in (10):
In one reading of this example, ‘walking’ and ‘sleeping’ are to be regarded as separate actions whose sequence and consecutiveness is iconically represented by juxtaposition of the verbs (‘walk and then sleep’). In the more probable serial reading, however, walking has an inchoative meaning, and the construction indicates what in non-serializing languages would be expressed through subordination by means of complementizers and the like (‘start to sleep’). In example (11), different subjects are in play:

(11) Em a roep een van die knechten kom bi em (±1780)
    PST call one of DET servants come at 3SG

‘He called one of his servants to him(self).’

Although we have not found abundant evidence so far for verb serialization in earlier sources, later sources such as de Josselin de Jong's texts (1926), in (12) and (13), and recent recordings (cf. Sabino, forthcoming) do abound with serial constructions:

(12) Ju fo lo wapi di ‘lion’ sinu bi lo sini en fa shi klen
    2SG FOR walk where DET lion 3PL BE walk cut one of 3POS small
    finger get DET bring come give 1SG

‘You must go where the lions are (and) cut one of his little toes (and) bring it for me.’

(13) Am a see shi meester, de kiniŋ loo koo ki am (1926)
    PST say 3POS master, DET king ASP come see 3SG

‘He told his master that the king was coming to see him.’

In fact, when looking at these 20th century sources of Negerhollands, they give a much more Creole-like impression than the 18th-century sources do (although of course the fact that the 18th-century sources use Dutch orthography is very deceptive). We can at least distinguish ‘complementizer’ serial verbs roep ... kom in (11), aspectual loop ... slaep in (10), directional brin ... ko in (12), and benefactive ko ... gi in (12) serial verbs. Before we finish on the subject of serial verbs, however, we would like to point out that in the 18th century their existence was noticed by Oldendorp. In his manuscript dictionary of 1767-8 (published in Stein forthcoming b), he comments under the entry breng, bring ‘to bring’: ‘In general kom is added to it: Mi breng die kom “I bring it” [lit.: I bring DET come], bring kom mi die hieso “bring it here to me” [lit.: bring come with DET here].’ [our translation]. Notice, by the way, that bring could also be used without kom, as in (14):
The king asked where is that thing that he has brought."

The early writers of Negerhollands were European missionaries, who understood the sentences containing serial verbs, but they did not produce them because they may not have been aware of their peculiarity to creole languages. They possibly even avoided using them because they wanted to follow the European model, which lacks serial verb constructions. This was also the case in the letters written by slaves who were taught by the missionaries to write in Dutch. The rarity of occurrence of serial verbs in our 18th-century Negerhollands material may thus in the first place be due to the missionary factor.

A proverb illustrating the use of *ka* again is:

"Your enemies will always find something to take revenge."

Example (15) shows how an etymologically non-verbal element, *qwaet* ‘angry’, can be used as a predicate ‘become angry’, marked by the verbal particle *ka*. Literally it says ‘have gotten angry’. A similar example occurred with *yt* ‘out’ in (6) above. Furthermore, we see the Papiamentu word *makut* ‘bucket’, and the use of *for* to form infinitival complements. The forms *om* and *te*, characteristic of Dutch non-finite complement clauses, do not occur, and neither does English *to*. An element such as *fu* in many creoles is attested to have this function (see Bakker 1987). In example (16) the use of a conjunction meaning ‘for’ can be observed marking infinitive and purposive sentences in the same way:

"Therefore I have come to baptize with water."

Another proverb illustrates the copular verb (*bin*), which has been studied in detail by Sabino (1988):

'I must suffer for my poverty."

The area of copula constructions also relates to other parts of the grammar, such as topicalization (a topicalized constituent is introduced by a copula), tense (early Negerhollands had a past and a non-past form of the copula), and the issue of the distinction between verbs and adjectives. This distinction appears to be blurred in many creole languages which do not distinguish overtly between *Mary work* and *Mary tall*. The latter issue is all the more pertinent since in many West African languages which
may have played a role in the formation of creoles such as Negerhollands, verbs and adjectives belong to the same class. Negerhollands differs, however, from many of the Caribbean creoles (like Berbice Dutch Creole) in that it requires a copular verb (‘to be’) to introduce adjectives in predicative position:

(18) a. Di gut mi frai (Negerhollands) DET thing BE nice

'It is nice.'

b. ldri gu ... bam. (Berbice Dutch Creole. Kouwenberg 1994:118)

every thing ... nice

'Everything ... is nice.'

As mentioned before, Negerhollands follows the ‘creole’ pattern for the ordering of constituents, viz. SVO (Subject-Verb-Object). Surface word order may differ as a result of several processes, of which predicate cleft (verb doubling) is one. Fronted elements in focus constructions are usually introduced by the copula da or dat in Negerhollands, and this seems to be obligatory when the verb is fronted.

(19) da slaep mie ka slaep (1770) EMP sleep 1SG PRF sleep

'I really have slept.' or 'It is sleeping that I did (sleep).'

Note that none of the variant forms of the copula, i.e. neither the ‘present tense’ form bi(n)/mi nor the ‘infinitival’ form we:s, can be used to introduce fronted elements, although using a copula-like form in such a position is not unusual among Caribbean creoles.

The optionality of plural marking is illustrated in the proverb in (20):

(20) Twee slem no kan kook Boontje na een Pot
Two smart NEG can cook bean NA one pot

'No reason to get in each other's way.'

Important here is that two apparently plural nouns appear without overt plural marking, one preceded by a numeral and one used as a substance noun. It is possible to mark plurals in Negerhollands through the use of the third person plural pronoun sender (sinu in 20th century NH):

(21) a. die kabaj sender ‘the horses’
b. mit die neeger sender ‘with the Negroes’

However, the plural is used in much more limited contexts than in Dutch: mostly with animates, and not after an explicit quantifying expression such as a numeral. It is important to note that in many 18th-century texts Dutch morphological plurals occur as well.
The apparent resemblances with Dutch, which are emphasized by the spelling used in the proverbs, do not imply that Negerhollands is a sort of Dutch. Even a superficial glance brings to light a number of differences. What is needed is a systematic study of this 18th-century distant cousin of the Dutch dialects from Holland and Zealand, with special attention being paid to the differences that we find between different kinds of Negerhollands and the embedding of the language in the context of a slave society (cf. van Rossem Forthcoming a).
5 The origin of Negerhollands

After this short presentation of the main peculiarities of Negerhollands, we now return to its origin, history and development. In section 1.2 we have already treated the formative period and the context of its emergence. Before we return to that context, the special multilingual setting of the slave society in a multilingual European settlement, we will discuss the influence of the different source languages and briefly consider the various features of Negerhollands in relation to possible scenarios for its emergence as a language.

5.1 West African influence

The extent of West African influence on Negerhollands still needs to be established, but it probably was not as large as on some of the other Caribbean creoles, particularly those of Surinam. We pointed out the presence of serial verbs and predicate cleft constructions in the creole, constructions which are often claimed to be characteristic of West Africa. It also remains hard to estimate the extent to which slaves were induced by the missionaries to ‘de-africanize’ their language (Stein forthcoming a).

5.2 The genesis of Negerhollands and second language acquisition

On the basis of what we know of the acquisition of Dutch as a second language by adults, we can explain a number of properties of Negerhollands and establish a plausible scenario for the genesis of the language.

Given the demographic facts, we can establish that the first language or mother tongue of the majority of the slaves in the probably decisive initial phase was 17th century Twi and possibly Portuguese pidgin and Papiamentu. The possible ‘target’ languages were primarily 17th century spoken Zealanderic and Hollandic, and also Danish, English, and French. The resulting creole language shows mainly Zealanderic and Hollandic lexical and phonological influence.

The features of Negerhollands similar to those of Dutch as a second language are among others:
(a) word order, in particular the rigid SVO order of Negerhollands and the absence of postpositions;
(b) the choice and semantic features of the tense/mood/aspect particles and of auxiliary verbs;
(c) the absence of Dutch er forms in Negerhollands.
To exemplify the last point: in Negerhollands there is no reflex of the Dutch R-pronouns:

(22) a. wagut ju wil du mit di
    what 2SG want do with DET

‘What do you want to do with it?’
    cf. Du.: ‘wat wil je ermee doen?’

b. am no weet een gut fan di
    he NEG know a thing of DET

‘He does not know a thing of it’
    cf. Du.: ‘hij weet er niets van’

One way of explaining this is by assuming that the er-pronouns, being phonologically weak, did not survive in the process of second language acquisition. On the other hand, the phonologically strong forms, the Dutch demonstrative R-pronoun daar and the interrogative R-pronoun waar, which are only used with non-human NPs, have also disappeared. This suggests that factors of morphological and positional markedness are involved as well. A tentative conclusion could be that the slaves only used those parts of Dutch that they understood, in building up their new language.

5.3 The Zealandic and Hollandic lexifier language

An important issue is the precise characterization of the target language varieties. From the seminal work of Hesseling (1905) it appears that Negerhollands must have had Zealandic Dutch as its greatest target language, although Hesseling takes recourse now and then also to related West Flemish dialects (see van Rossem Forthcoming a).

Just like Zealandic Negerhollands has /i/ for Du. ij, a diphthong (e.g. kijk(en) ‘see, look’ <Du. kijk(en) ‘look’). The Middle Dutch /y/ of Zealandic, which never underwent diphthongization, is an unrounded /i/ in 20th-century Negerhollands, so that a Standard Dutch diphthong ui that derives from a Middle Dutch /y/ generally corresponds to a Negerhollands /i/, as in brin (<Du. bruin ‘brown’). Only where Zealandic, just like Middle Dutch, has a diphthong ui (the so-called ui-2), do we find a diphthong (or a monophthongized variant) in Negerhollands: e.g. reil ‘exchange, change’ (<Du. ruil(en) ‘exchange’), loi (<Du. lui ‘lazy’). Note that in 18th-century (and maybe early 19th-century) Negerhollands, Zealandic /y/ was still present as a variant. We may derive this from the graphemes <y> and <ye> in the Danish texts as well as from data in the Danish ABC booklets (Kingo 1770 and Wold 1770). Furthermore, note that Standard Dutch never diphthongized /y/ (or /i/) before /r/, so that a Negerhollands /i/ out of /y/ sometimes corresponds to an /y/ in Standard Dutch. Disregarding some other complicating factors such as the historical phonetics of ui, we could summarize the

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6 See also example 5 where the term ‘marked’ is used in the same sense as ‘out of the ordinary’.
development of the high front vowels from Middle Dutch to Zealandic as in Figure 1 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ML</th>
<th>DU</th>
<th>Ze</th>
<th>NH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[yi]</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>[i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[\textiti]</td>
<td>[\textiti]</td>
<td>[\textiti]</td>
<td>[\textiti]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The development of the high front vowels from Middle Dutch to Negerhollands. The symbol [\textit{y}] represents the IPA front round high vowel, and [\textit{øy}] is a diphthong where the [\textit{y}] is preceded by the centralized back vowel [\textit{œ}], in Dutch orthography <ui>.

The Zealander target language also explains the West Germanic /u\textit{u}/ in ju ‘you sing.’

and nu ‘now’ instead of the diphthong or /y/ of Standard Dutch jou and nou, nu resp., so that an English etymology for NH ju is unnecessary. Similarly, the West Germanic /u\textit{u}/ instead of regular Zealander /y/ (or Negerhollands /i/), in words like hus ‘house’ and mu\textit{ši} ‘mouse’ does not have to be ascribed to Danish since such irregular variant forms are also attested for Zealandic (cf. van Ginneken 1913).

Finally, the Zealandic target language also explains the occurrence of southern Dutch words such as kot ‘cabin’, hof\textit{i} ‘garden’ and rigib\textit{e}:n ‘backbone’ (all examples from de Josselin de Jong) or, in the 18th century, kach\textit{el} ‘foal’ and schui\textit{f} ‘drawer’ (cf. van Ginneken 1913), who, however, was wrong about the status of neus\textit{doek} ‘handkerchief’). Furthermore, 18th-century keer ‘like’ may derive from Zealandic keuren ‘like, please’ rather than from Papiamentu ke(r), kie(r) ‘want, like, love’ (cf. den Besten 1989).

Still we have to take into account Hollandic or Standard Dutch as an available target, perhaps in a later stage. The relevant words appear to have to do with town and harbour and with education and religion. De Josselin de Jong (1926) gives a number of words with initial /z\textit{l} and /\textiti{v}/ where we would have expected /s\textit{l} and /\textiti{I}/ due to Negerhollands devoicing rules, as in: se: ‘say’ (<Du. zeg(\textit{gen})) and for ‘for’ (<Du. voor), namely: ze: ‘sea’ (<Du. zee), zeil, ze\textit{il}e ‘sail’ (<Du. zeil(\textit{en})), zil ‘soul’ (<Du. ziel), valis ‘valise, hand bag’ (<Du. valies), ven\textit{st}u, ven\textit{sta} ‘window’ (<Du. ven\textit{ster}). This is confirmed by data in the word list of Nelson (1936) and by the recorded use of the word z\textit{onda} ‘sin; what a shame’ by Miss Alice, the last known speaker. The 18th-century religious...
texts often have the regularly derived creolized form sondo, with a devoiced s. This may suggest that changes in voicing reflect changes in the target over time.\footnote{22} Initial \(/z/\) and \(/v/\) are lacking, however, in the list of cardinal numerals in de Josselin de Jong (1926) and Nelson (1936). In the latter source there is an unexpected vowel in the words \(fe\) 'five' and \(fe\)\(vt\):n 'fifteen'. This corresponds with the use of \(ei\) in veif, etc. in Magens (1770) and feif in de Josselin de Jong (1926), which is in accordance with the diphthong.\footnote{7}

5.4 A Portuguese pidgin?

In many creoles, even ones lexically unrelated to either Spanish or Portuguese, we find lexical items of Portuguese origin. Examples are the well-known pickaninny (<Port. pequeninho 'very little') and save (<Port. saber 'know') in English creoles. One hypothesis to account for these has been the assumption that there was one Portuguese pidgin, spoken in the slave trade along the coast of West Africa, from which the Caribbean creoles were formed through the partial replacement of Portuguese by English, French, etc. vocabularies, respectively. This replacement would not have been complete, and hence the lexical traces from the Portuguese pidgin. In the proverbs we noticed a number of Ibero-Romance lexical items. This could be interpreted in the light of this Portuguese pidgin hypothesis. It is much more likely, however, that they derive from Papiamentu, as pointed out by Hesseling (1933). Planters who settled on the Virgin Islands brought over some, presumably Papiamentu-speaking, slaves with them from the island of Curaçao, and these may well have influenced the emerging creole.

5.5 The epithetic vowels: substrate or superstrate influence?

A special problem in connection with the Dutch target dialect (the superstrate or main lexifier language) and with possible African (the substrate language) influences is the question of the so-called epithetic vowels in Negerhollands. In some creole languages (e.g. in Surinam) full vowels appear with great regularity at the end of 'European' words, and a very regular consonant-vowel-consonant-vowel-pattern emerges (e.g. buku ‘book’). This pattern could have a universal basis in laws of ease of pronunciation, but it is more likely that it is connected to African patterns.

\footnote{7 Another explanation may be the fact that texts written by the Moravian missionaries reflect the Northern Standard German voiced \([^z]\), which at the beginning of the word is written \(\langle s\rangle\), whilst the character \(\langle s\rangle\) is pronounced \([ts]\). It is more likely, however, that the missionaries' \(\langle s\rangle\) was ambiguous between \([s]\) and \([^z]\) as was still more or less the case in 18th century Dutch spelling. In Danish the \([^z]\) does not have a phonemic status. In any event, the occurrence of the \(\langle s\rangle\) in any early Negerhollands text is rare, except in proper names.}

\footnote{8 The word \(\text{fikop}d\)\(\text{bl}\) 'five-headed devil' in De Josselin de Jong's glossary (1926) appears to give a more popular variant of the numeral, but considering tale 49 in De Josselin de Jong the translation 'fourheaded devil' is more probable. (Cf. \(\text{fi}^4\) 'four' in De Josselin de Jong (1926) and \(\text{fi}^4\) 'four' in Nelson (1936)).}
Negerhollands also seems to have such epithetic vowels, although we must exclude petrified diminutives as in hofi ‘garden’ (<Du. hof-je, hof-ie) and kalf ‘calf’ (<Du. kalf-je, kalf-ie), and original full vowels, as in apalsina ‘orange [lit.: apple china]’. What remains are words such as hogo ‘eye’ (<Du. oog), but it is a sporadically occurring phenomenon and mostly limited to nouns and an adjective or two.

Such a full final vowel also occurs where historically a Dutch schwa may be assumed, as in he:le, he:le:, hele ‘whole, whole (noun)’ (<Du. hele), here ‘Lord (God)’ (<Du. here), tobo, tubu ‘tub’ (<Du. tobbe) and (a)beti ‘in, into, inside’ (<Du. binnen). If we take the so-called epithetic vowels in krabu ‘crab, lobster’, rigi ‘back’, roto ‘rat’ and stère: ‘star’ to be original Dutch schwas, then we have the Zealandic forms krabbe, rugge, rotte and sterre with a Middle Dutch final vowel. The sporadic use of epithetic vowels in Negerhollands nouns seems to correspond in large measure to the use of a final schwa in their Zealandic counterparts.

The so-called epithetic vowels of Negerhollands thus appear to be mostly explainable as Dutch diminutive endings (-ie), original full vowels (from Dutch or from other target languages) or as colourings of Dutch or Zealandic final schwas. Whether all forms can be explained like this is a point for further research. A few cases are worth mentioning:

(a) the word duku, dugu, duko ‘clothes, blankets, cloth’ seems to contain a true epithetic vowel, as opposed to a fossilized diminutive or a historical word final vowel. Possibly we have a West African word of Dutch origin here (Norval Smith, personal communication).

(b) According to the early 19th-century Herrnhut grammar of Negerhollands cited by Hesseling (1905), the slaves are claimed to have said groot ‘big, large’ instead of groot, and de Josselin de Jong (1926) gives gro:to: as a variant of gro:t. His texts give a different picture from the older grammar, however. So far we have only found the adjective gro:t and once the nominalization gro:to: ‘big one’ (<Du. grote) in di twee: gro:to: sinu ‘the two big ones, the two oldest’, with the plural marker sinu. Note that Oldendorp (1767-8) mentions in his dictionary grooto and groot as synonyms for ‘big’ but only the latter occurs as an adjective, for example in the entry ‘greedy’: \textit{em ha goe groot hogo} ‘he is greedy, cannot get enough [lit.: he has very big eyes]’.

(c) Voet ‘foot’ is fut or futu, futo, and the final /u/ has not yet been accounted for.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, \textit{Die Creol taal}
6 The further development of the language

Perhaps the most interesting part of Creole languages is their genesis. Unfortunately, this often took place in the 17th century for the Atlantic Creoles, so there is no opportunity to consult recordings or informants, and the use of written material is limited to a small number of texts. Negerhollands is, thanks to the activities of 18th-century missionaries, an exception to this. The corpus the missionaries have left for us consists of a bulk of texts in which the oldest stage can be approached closer than is possible for

3. Portrait of Count von Zinzendorf
other Creole languages. The manuscripts are not always word by word translations of existing religious texts. Texts which are free compositions (in both the Danish and the Moravian tradition) show that the language is used in a quite natural way.

These early sources may be especially helpful in the demystification of the early stages of creolization. We think that the material, in the near future accessible by computer, is very interesting for creolists as well as for linguists with interest in other subjects, like historical linguistics, sociolinguistics and Dutch dialectology. Most of our manuscripts have a religious background and are mostly written or translated by missionaries, particularly the Moravians. From 1765 until 1834 books were printed in Negerhollands. The collection includes various kinds of religious texts, from hymnbooks to catechisms, but also linguistic works. The writers and publishers were usually missionaries originating from Denmark or Germany.

6.1 The Moravian mission in the Virgin Islands

The mission of the Moravian Brethren on the Virgin Islands started in 1732 and began to be successful in 1736. The Moravian Brethren originate from the Protestant movement of the Husites (followers of the reformer Jan Hus who was burnt at the Concilium in Konstanz in 1415). They were persecuted, but the movement never ceased completely. In 1722 a group of refugees came to Upper Lusatia, near the present-day borders of Germany, Poland and the Czech Republic, where they founded the town of Herrnhut. Count Zinzendorf, the owner of the land, offered them this opportunity; he then became the first leader of the young community. Herrnhut became and still is the center of the Moravian Brethren; they are therefore also called Herrnhuters or Herrnhuter (or Evangelische) Brüdergemeine (in Dutch Herrnutters and Evangelische Broedergemeente).

They started their worldwide missionary work in 1732 on the Danish Virgin Islands; this work covers a wide range of countries, from Greenland to South Africa, from Surinam to the Himalayas (see Beck 1981).

Several aspects of their missionary work have a great linguistic interest:
(a) They taught the local new members of their community to read and to write (the latter not necessarily to all), so that they would be able to read the Bible, prayers and hymns, and to keep a diary, to communicate by letters with other Moravian communities, etc.;
(b) They felt it to be their main task to translate the Bible and all kinds of hymns and prayers into the local language, even if this was not yet a written language;
(c) To do this and to help subsequent missionaries to learn the local languages, they prepared dictionaries and grammars of these languages; in several cases those were the first descriptions of the languages ever made;
(d) History and documentation of their work formed one of the important tasks. They not only kept regular diaries from the very beginning of their activities, they also preserved nearly all written documents they produced, however insignificant.
The result of all this is that we have a large documentation of the early times of the Moravian mission, descriptions of the local languages and documents about their use. We also have good and valuable information of daily life and problems. For Negerhollands (or carriols, cariolisch, criolisch, creolisch, as they called the language in the first decades of their activities on the Virgin Islands), all of this this means that we have a good documentation in and about that language (cf. Stein 1986b).

The documentation of Negerhollands starts with Friedrich Martin's (the leading missionary of the beginning mission) diary notice from 8 November 1736, i.e. only eight months after his arrival on the islands:

‘Br. Cars[tens] war fleissig wolt das neijeste testament ins cariollse bringen: es ist aber sehr schwer: den sie besteht in all zu vieler Sprachen.’

(Brother Carstens⁹ was industrious, wants to translate the new testament into the creole; it is very difficult, however, since it consists of too many languages.)¹⁰ (See Stein 1982a)

This passage is intriguing for different reasons. First, of course, the mentioning of the creole (Negerhollands). This was the first time that the word creole is used anywhere for the language. Second, the suggestion is made that the creole was still very heterogeneous.

The first letters written by slaves date from the year 1737; they are still written in Dutch, but with more or less strong creole interference. At the beginning of the year 1739 (30 January to 15 February), Count Zinzendorf visited St. Thomas to see the missionaries and their work. On his departure he addressed a letter to the slave community. This letter was written in creole, the first text we have in Negerhollands. We may assume that Zinzendorf did not write the letter in Negerhollands himself; it probably was a white settler, Carstens, in whose house Zinzendorf was staying on St. Thomas, who translated the text into Negerhollands. On his way back, Zinzendorf took with him two letters addressed to the Danish king and the Danish queen. The first was written by some male and female slaves, the second by a slave woman in the name of the female slaves; it is written in the African language of that woman¹¹ and translated into Negerhollands. This was the first time that a creole language was used in diplomatic letters for political purposes. The three letters (including Zinzendorf's) were printed only three years later, in 1742 (Zinzendorf 1742).

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⁹ Johann Lorenz Carstens was no member of the Moravian Brethren, but helped them in several ways. He was the owner of the plantation Muskietenbaai (Mosquito Bay). More about him can be read in Highfield & Barac (1987:285). It seems quite interesting that this man, who sometimes felt bothered by the Brethren's attempts to convert him, tried to translate the New Testament.

¹⁰ There are two possible interpretations for this note. In the first place the word Sprachen can be interpreted as ‘dialects’. In this case the interpretation would be ‘it consists of too many dialects [i.e. basilect, acrolect]. The other, more plausible interpretation, is ‘languages’. Now the translation could be: ‘it contains elements from several languages’.

¹¹ As can be read, she was from Popo, which could have been Grand Popo or Little Popo, in the coastal area of today's Togo and Benin. The language of the letter has not been identified yet, but contains elements of the Phia dialect of Ewe (see section II, 1.1.3).
Zinzendorf had provided the example, and the slave community followed him: they began to write letters, first to their 'brethren and sisters' in Europe, later on also to the Amerindian community in Pennsylvania. In the Unitäts-Archiv at Herrnhut, around 150 such letters written between 1737 and 1768 have been conserved. A large part of this collection is written in Negerhollands, but in many of the early letters a variety of Dutch with lots of creole elements is used. An annotated edition of these unique documents is now being prepared by Peter Stein and Hartmut Beck. Some of them can be found in section II, 1.2 of the present volume. They may prove to be of great interest in research on the first stages of the emergence of Negerhollands. Stein (forthcoming b) notes for example that the particles ka: 'perfective aspect' and le 'progressive aspect' were lacking in the slave letters from between 1740 and 1750. This could point to a process of gradual creolization, corresponding to the hypothesis of Arends (1989) and Carden and Stewart (1988). However, it could also reflect the development of a written tradition for Negerhollands as a language separate from Dutch. The early authors in Negerhollands did not know how to interpret Negerhollands particles. Since 1754, handwritten liturgical texts (see e.g. Stein 1982b), sermons and other religious documents in Negerhollands have been preserved.

The history of printed Negerhollands starts in 1765 with a hymn-and-prayers booklet by the Moravian Brethren. The last Moravian work in the language, the Evangelienharmonie, was printed in 1833 in New York. The most important of the printed texts was the translation of the New Testament (1802). Besides the religious texts (catechisms, hymns, etc.), there are also a few ABC Boekjes. For a complete bibliography see section III and Stein (1986b).

Not all translated texts were also printed. Between 1779 and 1785 the translation of large liturgical texts was carried out by the German missionary Johann Böhner, mentioned at the beginning of this introduction. He translated for instance the Old Testament, a compilation of the Gospel (Evangelienharmonie)\textsuperscript{12}, and the theoretical foundation of the Moravian Brethren's community, Spangenberg's Idea Fidei Fratrum, only one year after its publication in Germany in 1779. In 1795 different manuscripts of the Evangelienharmonie\textsuperscript{13} and sermons, a catechism and an adaptation of the history of creation were produced, followed shortly after 1802 by a grammar of Negerhollands.

It is unknown who exactly translated the Negerhollands New Testament printed in 1802. This Testament and the 1833 edition of the Evangelienharmonie may have been based on a translation by Böhner. In so far as we have more than one manuscript and/or printed version of a specific text, it is necessary to make all the variants available because of their potential linguistic interest. Variation between different editions can tell us something about variation in the spoken language.

In 1767, 35 years after the beginning of the mission, Christian Georg Andreas Oldendorp was charged with writing a history of the mission on the Danish Virgin Islands. He spent about 18 months on the islands, which resulted, ten years later, in a

\textsuperscript{12} Böhner translated the Evangelienharmonie at least two times, probably in 1779 and in the early 1780s.

\textsuperscript{13} These manuscripts are not dated but look somewhat like the dated sermons with which they are kept in one folder (Archiv der Brüderunität NB VII R.3 6d 'Übersetzungen ins Creolische').
manuscript of more than 3000 pages. It was much more than a history of the mission; it was a compendium of all that was known about the Antillean slave societies, with special emphasis on the Moravian missionaries' activities and the Danish Virgin Islands. In 1777 a shortened version of still more than 1000 pages was published by Bossart (Oldendorp 1777, English translation by Highfield & Barac in 1987). A critical edition of the complete manuscripts is now in progress at the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde at Dresden. The manuscript is also of great linguistic interest, because Oldendorp presents a 60-page critical description of Negerhollands (‘criolisch’) and its use by the missionaries. Regrettably, this part was shortened to 11 pages in the 1777 edition. Oldendorp also discusses the African languages he encountered on the Islands. Oldendorp’s visit to the Virgin Islands furthermore resulted in a large manuscript for a dictionary (1770). His Deutsch-criolisches Wörterbuch is a German-Negerhollands dictionary with more than 3400 entries and many examples and critical comments. An edition of the dictionary is in preparation by Peter Stein, and the grammatical section of the mission history will be published by Stein and Eroms.

In the midst of the 19th century Negerhollands became increasingly replaced by English. This shift has also been documented in the Moravian materials: Heinrich Wied prepared a manuscript for a creole catechism and hymn book in 1842/43. When he became aware of the shift, he halted, and explained: ‘In den 40er Jahren des 19. Jahrh. verschwand auf den Westindischen Inseln die kreolische Sprache und wurde durch die englische verdrängt (In the 40s of the 19th century, the Creole language disappeared from the West Indian Islands, and became replaced by English).’ Then he went on with English hymns in 1847.

6.2 The Lutheran (Danish) mission in the Virgin Islands

Already since the late 17th century, ministers of the Danish Lutheran State Church were active on the Virgin Islands, and although slaves were also baptized (at least since 1710, as attested in Lose 1891:1), the ministers primarily served Danish subjects like civil servants and soldiers, in the Danish language.

In 1756 a proper Danish Lutheran mission was established for the Virgin Islands, since in the previous year the three islands St. Thomas, St. John and St. Croix had been bought from the Danish West-Indian-Guinean Company by King Frederik V and become a Danish state colony. The mission was founded with the objective of converting the slaves. From then on, as it had done in Greenland and like the Herrnhuter mission used to do, the Danish Lutheran mission set itself the task to convert the local population of the colony through the medium of the local language, here Negerhollands. In the preface to Magens’ New Testament (1781), the General Church Inspection College writes:

14 However, the actual shift took much longer; for further reading see among others Degn (1974) and Lawaetz (1980).
Die Missioneers ha leer die Creol Tael tit aster tit, en ha begin nu for onderwies na die volgens die Order van Collegium. Dat ha hab deese geseged Werking, dat die Negers die tevoorn ha how die Leering voor een hard Woord, door die Swaerigheid van die vreemd Tael, na die sellie ha mut ontfang Onderwiesing, ha vind sooveel meer Smaek na die nu, als sellie ha kan vat en verstaen die voorgehowen Leer meer ligt en meer gaw in sender eigen Muder Tael.

‘The missionaries learned the Creole language time after time, and have now begun to teach it, according to the directive of the Collegium. That has had this blessed effect that the Negroes, who previously found the doctrine tough, because of the difficulty of the strange language in which they had to receive education, have found it so much more agreeable now, as they could grasp and understand the presented doctrine more easily and quickly in their own mother tongue.’

It was furthermore considered desirable that the slaves learn to read, but not necessarily to write (Koch 1905:147). Few of the representatives of the Lutheran Church in the Virgin Islands knew or learned Negerhollands, however.

The relation between the Danish mission and the homeland was a different one than that between the Moravians and Germany. There was a chronic lack of funds and housing in the Danish mission, and it was more dependent on the goodwill of the state. The state, however, mainly looked to its commercial interests and did not cooperate much. All in all, as appears from Lose (1891) and Koch (1905), the success of the Danish mission depended less on its adaptability and determination as an organization, than on the character and spirit of its individual agents. The Danish mission was mainly active in the towns, and those who served the plantation population had to travel on foot for miles and therefore had often only access to their parish for one hour a week. The Danish mission ended in 1799. After that year, no new Danish mission ministers were sent to the Virgin Islands anymore, and the black missionary community was incorporated into the general Danish Lutheran parish on the Virgin Islands. Even though the Danish mission was less effective than the Moravian one, their production of documents in Negerhollands was almost as high.

The first ten Danish missionaries landed in July 1757 on St. Croix. Most of them died soon, but one who survived was Johan Christopher Kingo, who would be missionary and later minister for more than 25 years. According to Lose (1891), Kingo is said to have compiled a dictionary soon after arrival. Perhaps the anonymous Danish-Negerhollands Vestindisk Glossarium, counting 338 entries, is meant by this work (see van der Voort forthcoming). Kingo is also supposed to have translated Luther’s Catechism in 1764, and the Gospel according to Matthew in 1765. Of these works, only the catechism may have been printed as Anonymous (1770). In 1770 Kingo did publish a language primer-cum-catechism.

A second group of Danish missionaries had arrived in April 1766, including Erich Röring Wold. Wold nearly starved to death on St. Jan, and he was taken into the house of Stadthauptmand/Stadhoofdman ‘city prefect’ Jochum Melchior Magens as a tutor of his children. Magens was a St. Thomas-born Danish citizen, scholar in philology
and Lutheran layman. He had already written the aforementioned Negerhollands Grammar (published in 1770, to be edited by Stein & Eroms) and had translated the New Testament before 1770, on which he worked with Wold and which circulated among the Danish missionaries (Lose 1891:23). Together with Wold he also worked on (supposedly) Kingo’s catechism and on the translation of hymns which appeared in 1770. When Wold left, Magens refused to cooperate with the church any longer, but kept working on a translation of the Old Testament. In 1777 he was asked by the General Church Inspection College to make a revised edition of the New Testament. Instead he prepared a new translation of it, assisted by missionary Niels Oufsen Alling, who worked on St. Thomas. Alling had already translated 100 hymns, and in 1779 the hymns and the New Testament were in the hands of the College. With the help of Alling, who had returned to Denmark by then for health reasons, the New Testament was rapidly prepared for publication in 1781. The College also received the Old Testament manuscript that year, which, however, like the hymns, was never heard of again. Some works are mentioned in the introduction to the New Testament, to wit a dictionary, a primer-cum-catechism and songbook from 1770, and fragments of the Old Testament. It is certain that not all of them have ever been found.

Later, other missionaries and clergy arrived in the Virgin Islands, and they produced a religious Creole reader (Lund 1798), a Bible for children (Oxholm 1822), Creole hymnals (Brandt 1799, Anonymous 1823, 1827, 1834) and a reader-cum-catechism (Praetorius 1827, 1834). It is likely that other manuscripts were also produced by others. For example, missionary August Krejdahl, who was a childhood friend of the linguist Rasmus Rask, had become a very proficient speaker of Negerhollands. Lose (1891:26) mentions the fact that he had also prepared an improved version of ‘the hymnal’. From documents in the Copenhagen State Archive it appears that another translation of the Old Testament was made by the missionary A.W. Volkersen. It is still unclear which works are re-editions or revisions of earlier ones, on which manuscripts they are based, and who the ultimate authors of these manuscripts were. The present whereabouts of several of these works is not known. Careful searching in archives and libraries in Denmark, and possibly Bible Society archives elsewhere, is needed.

Thus, we also have a New Testament of Magens and other Danish Lutheran texts from the 18th and 19th century. For linguists and creolists, the competition between the Moravians and the Danish missionaries represents a very lucky circumstance. The existence of two different main sources reinforces the value of the 18th century texts, and at the same time it provides an interesting basis for comparison.

6.3 Interpreting the 18th-century materials

Before we dismiss the variety of Negerhollands the manuscripts contain as artificial, it should be noted that the German Bible translators were very critical about the use of the ‘right’ language variety. This can be surmised from various letters written around 1770 in the Danish Antilles by German missionaries (amongst them C.G.A. Oldendorp), kept in Herrnhut. For example, the language used in the hymnbook of 1765 is called ‘far too Dutch-like’ by Oldendorp. Another point against the texts not
being representative is the fact that the quite independent German and Danish sources generally confirm each other.

A first set of problems in interpreting these materials is philological: establishing dates, authorship, intertextual relations, deciphering the often complicated handwriting in poorly preserved manuscripts. Many comments on this can be found in the entries in the bibliography.

Then we face variation in the texts. This could be due to a number of things, among which:
(a) Audience design: was the material meant for a predominantly white urban population, or for the plantation slaves?
(b) Linguistic competence and procedure: how well did the translator know Negerhollands, and which variety? How were native speakers involved in the translation process?
(c) Translation practice and style: it is clear that sometimes not even an attempt was made to approach the spoken language, e.g. when the Latin accusative Jesum appears in the texts. Did the missionaries attempt to create a separate liturgical register, fit for the conveyance of religious feelings and ideas?

Quantitative techniques derived from sociolinguistics and variation theory can help us study the types of variation (particularly morpho-syntactic) present in the texts, and to see whether it is possible to isolate the ‘deep’ creole features of the 18th century Negerhollands materials. Many of the documents, particularly from the Danish tradition, may tend to reflect a ‘high’ variety of the creole, contrary to Hesseling’s (1905) interpretation, whereas the slaves may have spoken a ‘low’ or ‘deep’ variety. More on this variation in point 7 below.

6.4 Sociolinguistic development of the Virgin Islands society and the fate of Negerhollands

Not enough is known about the linguistic development of the Virgin Islands yet, which was quite complex. What follows is a rough sketch (Fig. 2).

Figure 2: The sociolinguistic situation in St. Thomas in four stages of the development of Negerhollands.
The central fact is that Negerhollands only really flourished between 1730 and 1830. In 1833 the last text was printed in Negerhollands by the Moravian Brethren, and in 1834 the last printed texts in Negerhollands appeared in the Danish tradition.

In 1848 slavery was abolished on the Virgin Islands, and this constituted, perhaps, the final death-blow to Negerhollands. From 1840 onwards Negerhollands was replaced more and more by English among the slaves, particularly when after emancipation the ex-slaves went to the towns. Because Negerhollands was a plantation language and only weakly represented in the towns, the language decayed. A telling testimony is the 1842-1847 manuscript by the German missionary Wied cited above: the first part is in Negerhollands, the second in English (‘Because no one uses Negerhollands anymore’). In 1839 the Moravians started to use English in their sermons and soon gave up Negerhollands in religious services. The Danes were first officially allowed to use English in religious services in 1844.

A Danish letter from the West-Indian Government dated 1816, written in St. Croix and requesting more hymnals and prayer books from Denmark, stresses that they should be in Negerhollands, even though that language is rapidly going out of use. The reason given is that Negerhollands-speaking slaves are more obedient and more attached to their owners. Furthermore, keeping Negerhollands alive will keep out ideas circulating in English tracts and newspapers about ‘man’s original equality, about the nullity of the colour difference, about the loathsomeness of slavery, etc.’ (Bentzon & Stabell 1816).

In 1869 the American scholar Addison Van Name wrote about the extinction of Negerhollands. According to him, the Moravian missionaries had been preaching in Negerhollands until recently, and later on ‘broken English’ (Van Name 1869:160) was used more and more.

In 1881 the Danish doctor Erik Pontoppidan published proverbs, a piece from the Bible and a short conversation. According to the latter, Negerhollands was still spoken on St. John and in the more remote corners of St. Thomas. He writes:

Now Creole has almost totally disappeared on St. Croix, also in St. Thomas in town only sporadically elderly women are found who still are familiar with the language. Only in the more remote places on the countryside, like in the missions of the Moravian Brethren in ‘Neu Herrnhut’ and ‘Niesky’, and on the small, decayed and halfway neglected island of St. Jan it has maintained itself better. There it is mother- and daily tongue of the older generation, which speaks English poorly and with difficulty, but Low-Creole with fluency; the young on the other hand, have adopted English, and one can certainly say that the Creole
language will very soon be a dead language; in one generation one will hardly find anyone who can still speak it. (Pontoppidan 1881:131, our translation).  

In 1904 St. Thomas' Moravian Bishop E.C. Greider wrote to Hesseling that the younger generation speaks a strongly anglicized creole, but the text sent along contains many Negerhollands elements. Hesseling cites the following from Greider's letter of 31 January 1904:

The language in its purity is now spoken by a very few old people, principally those living in the country districts. The younger generation speak a mixed dialect that is called Creole, but it contains very many English words...Our people [Hesseling adds: so the more civilized Blacks who do not live on the almost deserted country side] speak a comparatively pure English and there is no patois like in the French or Dutch islands. In fact, if any one wished to study the language as it now is spoken, it would be best to do it immediately. (Hesseling 1905:33-34, our translation).

As mentioned before, in 1917 the United States acquired the Virgin Islands from Denmark, yet on the Danish-Dutch Archaeological Expedition to the Antilles of 1922/23, the Dutch anthropologist/linguist/archeologist J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong was able to collect fairy tales and fables in NH, which were published in 1926. Many of those stories feature the famous African-Caribbean practical joker and hero spider Anansi. The narrators and informants were all born between 1841 and 1863, and thus at least 60 years old at that time, which was a reason for de Josselin de Jong to speak of 'presently rapidly dying Negerhollands'.

Yet the death of a language can take a very long time. In 1936 the anglicist and philologist F.G. Nelson still encountered speakers of Negerhollands, and made field notes, some of which are first published in the present book. Negerhollands continued to have a handful of speakers until the late 1970s. In 1987 the (as far as is known) last speaker, Mrs. Alice Stevens, passed away. In an interview in St. Thomas' The Daily News of Monday 15 July 1985 she said:

'I never let anybody know that I could speak it,' Alice Stephens says. 'I decided I wasn't teaching it to no one - not my children, nor my husband. Even my teachers an schoolmates didn't know I could speak Dutch Creole.'

- Why? Because she didn't want to be bothered, Stephens says. (Hewlett 1985).

7 Variation in Negerhollands texts

Part of the problem in dealing with historical materials is to determine exactly what type of speech is reflected by them. This problem is even greater in creole societies, where often dramatic linguistic differences occur within one speech community. The texts and word lists of 20th-century Negerhollands appear to represent one language type: the language of descendants of the old plantation slaves. In the 18th century both slaves and white creoles (the term ‘creole’ was used for all people born in the isles) spoke Negerhollands.

7.1 The diachronic dimension

Looking at all the available texts, there is first of all a diachronic dimension. The language has undergone a number of changes in the more than two centuries of its recorded existence. These changes can be of different types:
(a) grammatical expansion, in a gradual process of creolization;
(b) a gradual drift away from varieties close to the Dutch superstrate to true slave speech, more heavily influenced by non-Dutch patterns;
(c) increasing exposure to English lexicon and grammar;
(d) natural changes, similar to those occurring in any language;
(e) processes of language decay and language death, in the long period during which Negerhollands was used less and less;
(f) decreolization, i.e. shift away from the forms of the emerging creole under the influence of the (Dutch) standard in the early period.

We are just beginning to unravel these alternatives.

7.2 The stylistic dimension

An important factor to take into account also is stylistic variation. We know the 20th-century material represents a certain ‘register’ (i.e. stylistic variety of a language) of spoken Negerhollands, whereas with the 18th-century material it is sometimes unclear whether the occurrence of certain linguistic phenomena was only limited to a specific register of written Negerhollands. We know that different registers existed. We can be certain, for example, that the liturgic style encountered in the Bible translations was not the daily spoken language of the majority.

In many cases, our material reflects a superstrate-influenced variety of Negerhollands. The following factors contributed to this:
(a) our most important sources of Negerhollands are written documents;
(b) most people who knew how to write were of European descent;
(c) for many white people Negerhollands was a second language, or a first language in addition to other (esp. European) first languages;
(d) many written texts were translations, i.e. texts with a direct model in a European language;
(e) many of the texts we have are of an originally European type;
(f) Negerhollands as a written language derived its standard orthography from Dutch, which is its superstrate language. This is not a guarantee for Dutch influence, but it certainly gives the material a Dutch impression;
(g) the first language the slaves had learned to write was Dutch, which then served as a model.

This points to the possibility that the linguistic data from the earlier phases of Negerhollands were in the main based on a superstrate example (see also 7.1.f and 7.4). In the present anthology, several different textual types are represented: letters, Bible texts, hymns, songs, monologue, dialogue, spoken narrative and more.

With respect to the latter point (7.2.f), Oldendorp (original ms. p. 774, also quoted in Stein 1990:194-5) bases his decision for an etymological orthography (which was the usual case) instead of a phonetic one, on the following:

because there are a lot of Dutch words present in the Creole which are completely mutilated and would not look alike anymore if one were to write them differently; primarily however because the blacks who are learning to read, learn it the Dutch way; who one does not confuse then - and correctly so - through another way of writing, especially through other vowels, and does not make reading, for which they have little time anyway, even more difficult for them, and embarrasses them when they see Dutch words in a Creole writing which are immediately known to them according to Dutch orthography but completely foreign [to them, H.d.B.] in a modified appearance. Furthermore, this orthography has been used and introduced already a long time ago in the Creole hymn-book and other small printed pieces, and the blacks who can read are used to it and convey it to others according to the same [orthography, or, booklets, H.d.B.]. It is necessary that in the spelling of this language, as with all [orthographies, H.d.B.], something certain and constant be laid down as its basis, and that one always use the same vowels in particular. And because of the
reasons adduced Dutch orthography is best suited for that.¹⁶ [faulty style unchanged, eds.]

In our material, the basilectal varieties of Negerhollands are certainly underrepresented. Its bias towards the acrolect (the variety closest to the European superstrate model) makes it difficult to obtain a picture of the exact positions of Negerhollands in the diachronic (7.1) and social (7.4) dimensions of its variation.

7.3 The geographical dimension

Another area where very little is known so far is differences between Negerhollands of the three islands (St. John, St. Croix, and St. Thomas) and between e.g. the town

¹⁶ weil im criolischen eine Menge holländischer Wörter sich befindet, welche ganz verunstaltet werden und sich nicht mehr ähnlich sehen würden, wenn man sie anders schrieebe; hauptsächlich aber deswegen, weil die Schwarzen, welche lesen lernen, es holländisch lernen; die man also billig durch eine andere Schreibart, sonderlich dutch andere selbstlautende Buchstaben, nicht irre, und ihnen das Lesen, wozu sie ohnedas wenig Zeit haben, nicht noch schwerer macht, und sie in Verwirrung setzt, wenn sie in einer criolischen Schrift holländische Wörter sehen, die ihnen nach der holländischen Orthographie gleich bekannt, aber in einer veränderten Gestalt ganz fremd sind. Es ist auch diese Orthographie schon längst in dem criolischen Gesangbüchlein und anderen kleinen gedruckten Stücken gebraucht und eingeführt worden; und die Schwarzen, welche lesen können, sind daran gewöhnt, und bringen es andern nach derselben [denselben] bey. Es ist nothwendig, daß bey der Schreibung dieser Sprache, so wie bey allen, etwas gewisses und unveränderliches zum Grunde gelegt werde, und daß man sonderlich immer einerley Vocalen gebrauche. Und dazu schickt sich aus den angeführten Gründen die holländische Rechtschreibung am besten. [...] (Oldendorp, Rohmanuskript p. 774)
and the plantations in the countryside. More is known about differences in the importance of English: for example, St. Croix is the island where Negerhollands gave way to English (creole) earliest (Hesseling 1905). Auerbach paid some attention to this (see section 2) and confirms Oldendorp's observations in his Missionsgeschichte. The latter describes the language situation as follows (in Highfield & Barac's translation of Oldendorp 1777:263 = 1987:154) to which we have added portions from the manuscript of Oldendorp's publication:

**English, German, Danish, Dutch, French, Spanish, and Creole** are spoken in these islands. **English** and **High German** are the languages with which one can get by everywhere. **Creole** is spoken by the Negroes, as well as by everyone who has to communicate with them, [in the manuscript furthermore: they however do not all like to speak it with Whites, because it is the Negro language at the same time.] Therefore, the majority of the white inhabitants of the islands, particularly those who were born there, understand this language. (...) The number of languages is the cause of many people mixing one with the others, as well as for speaking many languages, though none well nor with purity. A knowledge of the English language is especially necessary in the towns. Since the white children are taken care of by Negro women and grow up among the Negro children, they learn first of all Creole, the Negro language. Sometimes they learn no other language properly. However, this language is spoken with more refinement by the white Creoles than by the Negroes. [Manuscript: and have their own expression- and speaking styles.] The English, on the other hand, do not learn Creole for the most part, and their slaves have to adjust to them in this matter. There are, therefore, large areas on **St. Croix** where the Negroes speak nothing but English.

### 7.4 The social dimension

Apparently, there was a great deal of variation in 18th-century Negerhollands even on St. Thomas; the newly emerged language had not yet crystallized. Still we find, starting in 1739, the first (dictated) letters in creole, but also in an African language. Anyhow, next to the creole of the slaves a type of ‘high creole’, spoken among the whites, emerged. Is the difference between the high creole and the slave language comparable with the difference between **bakra tongo** and **nengre tongo** in Surinam? The following preliminary discussion is mainly based on comments in the grammars.

To begin with, it transpires from remarks of Magens (1770) that there was a large difference in pronunciation between slave and white creoles. Thus, the slaves were said to leave out the *Litteras Gutturales*, presumably first of all the /l/ at the end of the syllable, and they were said to simplify consonant clusters. Furthermore, it is quite possible that the Zealander Dutch [y] of 18th-century Negerhollands, which is represented as <y> or <ye> in the Danish texts, e.g. Magens 1770 grammar, belonged to a high register, while the field slaves already used the unrounded variant [i] that can be found in the 20th-century texts. The existence of such a variant is evidenced by stray cases of [i] instead of [y] in the 18th century. Thus, disregarding cases where one can explain such an [i] away as a Dutch dialectal variant of an [y] based upon an earlier
West-Germanic diphthong [iu], we can find in Magens (1770) i.a. Natier ‘nature’ (p. 43), natierlik ‘natural’ (p. 46), Diffie ‘dove’ (p. 13, 35, 67, 68), Bik, bik ‘belly’ (p. 35), Parik ‘wig’ (p. 62), (na) bittie ‘outside’ (p. 25, 70). These correspond to the Standard Dutch forms natuur, natuurlijk, duifje ‘little dove’, buik, pruik, and buiten, respectively.

As regards morphology, the material we have is characterized by variability as well. Often one finds equivalent analytic and synthetic constructions, e.g. in plural formation, used at random, sometimes even in the very same sentence: die kind sender versus die kinders ‘the children’. Recall that documents often reflect white speech. It is worth noting that Magens (1770) explicitly ascribes the use of two Dutch endings to the whites: Diminutives were apparently expressed by whites and slaves with the adjective klein ‘little’, e.g. Die klein Kabaj ‘the little horse’. The ending -tje could be used as well, but mostly by the whites, e.g. Mie Montje ‘my little mouth’ (Magens 1770:11). See also kleentje ‘child’, a nominalizing diminutive of klein/klein.

In addition, both slaves and whites formed the degrees of comparison apparently without Dutch endings. An example:

(23)  
Klein ‘small’
Meer klein ‘smaller’
Meest klein ‘smallest’
Alteveel klein ‘the very smallest (cf. Du. allerkleinst)’

Only in guut - Beeter - Best ‘good - better - best’ and veel - Meer - Meest ‘much/many - more - most’ have the Dutch forms been maintained. In some words the superlative could be expressed by the ending -ste, e.g. Die mooiste ‘the handsomest’, but that was mostly done by the whites (Magens 1770:11-12).

Magens (1770) furthermore suggests that the passive in Negerhollands was used only rarely. Passives marking an action in progress were avoided. Nonetheless, a passive could occur, and then mostly in white speech. The passive auxiliary verbs were wort and bin. The latter is a present tense form. In the other tenses the infinitive wees was used in its place in combination with a tense particle (Magens 1770:19-22).

The exact nature of the bin/wees passive is not clear to us yet. Oldendorp (and to a certain extent Magens) treats it as a mere equivalent of the wort passive. Moreover, in view of the translations provided by Magens (1770) and certain grammatical properties of the bin passives that will be treated below, bin may very well (also) be the marker of a resultant passive.

From the examples in Magens (1770), it is clear that the passive, when used at all (and one must wonder to what extent this was simply to translate a Dutch passive), was expressed by a passive auxiliary verb and a Dutch past participle:

(24)  
a. Mie bin vervolgtd.  
‘I am persecuted’ (process.or.state)  
b. Mie wort vervolgtd.  
‘I am persecuted’
This is explicitly confirmed by an earlier remark in Magens on p. 16 to the effect that the auxiliary verb wort, which is particularly used by the whites, was connected with a passive participle. Example:

(25) Christus ha wort gebooren of die Maegt Maria
    ‘Christus was born from/by the Virgin Mary’.

Striking is here the combination of Dutch morphosyntax with the Creole tense particle ha ‘past’. Magens’ remarks are confirmed by the extensive grammatical description of Negerhollands in the Oldendorp manuscript (Stein & Eroms forthcoming). Here, several pages are devoted to the passive, and it appears that a wide range of combinations of participles, auxiliaries and particles was possible. Oldendorp also confirms what Magens says about the restricted use of passives in Negerhollands.

Still there was a passive in the general creole of both whites and slaves, albeit only in the perfective form. On p. 16 of Magens it is noted that the perfective aspect marker ka regularly occurs in the creole instead of the passive auxiliary verb bin. In that case the verb stands i Praesenti Indicativi, in the uninflected stem form. Magens translates ka with ‘is’ in this case.

From the examples it is clear that we could have both passives expressing a completed continuing action and passives expressing a state:

(26) a. Die Man ka trou
    ‘the man is married’

b. Die Hus ka bou
    ‘the house ka has been built’

Magens does not mention, incidentally, that in the combination bin + adjective as well, bin could be replaced by ka, as appears from a grammatical remark in Oldendorp (1777), cited by Hesseling (1905:107). An example would be mi ka moe instead of mi ben moe. Hesseling interprets this ka as the description of a state resulting from an action in the past. See also (6) and (15) above. Thus, it is not impossible that all ka-passives must be interpreted as resultant passives (Bruyn and Veenstra, 1993). Another verb that is apparently used as a passive marker with the same meaning as the one with wort, but with a different meaning as the one with ka, is kom ‘come’ (<Du. kom), which was noticed by Oldendorp in the manuscript version of his book (Stein & Eroms forthcoming). It could be used both as a ‘state’ passive and as a ‘process/action’ passive. Oldendorp provides a contrast with the ka- and wort-passives:

(27) die goed kom bederf    die goed ka bederf
    ‘it is going to be rotten’    ‘it is rotten’

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17 See Stein’s edition of the Oldendorp dictionary (Stein forthcoming a): n. 0559 ‘Man met Wief, die sender ka trouw’, ‘man and woman, who are married’.
He stressed the fact that the passive is unusual in Negerhollands except in liturgic writings. In daily use, and especially in the slave variant, the passive can be done without, and an expression in the form of an active construction is preferred. Oldendorp also mentions in his manuscript different possibilities for conjunctive constructions in which *moe(t)* 'must' (<Du. *moet*), and consequently the word *da* ‘that, if’, may play a role:

(29) O da mi moe wees/woor/kom geliefd!
    ‘O that I would be loved! (meaning: I wish I would be loved)’

(30) a. mi wensch, voor woor/wees/kom pardonneerd
    b. da mi ben/woor/kom pardonneerd
    c. dat mi moe woor/wees/kom pardonneerd
    ‘I wish I will be excused’

Bare conjunctive constructions, or those with *ka*, often require the use of *as* ‘if’:

(31) as sender sal wees geliefd
    ‘if they would be loved’

as sender sal ka woor geliefd
    ‘if they would have been loved’

em sal ka woor/ka wees/ka kom pardonneerd as em sal ka bed voor
die
    ‘he would have been excused if he would have asked for it’

Oldendorp says that ‘such’ passives (possibly referring to all complex passive constructions) are to be avoided when one intends to speak Creole. Also, one cannot form participles as one pleases, as they are uncriolisch (Ge.: ‘uncreole’) and are only understood by those who also speak Dutch or German. Instead of *gedann*, one should say *ka doe* ‘done’; *gesproken, ka praat* ‘spoken’; *gewaeld, ka vool* ‘filled’ etc. This is a clear indication of the fact that those Dutch-derived participle verb forms we do encounter in the texts are not the result of a productive rule in Negerhollands. They were adopted from Dutch into Negerhollands in that form. They may have been part of a ‘mixed’ native variety of the creole, as spoken by whites.

Finally, something has to be said about the use of personal pronouns in the 18th century. Magens (1770:12-13) provides two forms for the plural in the nominative:

(32) 1st PL Ons Wellie
    2nd PL Jender Jeliie
    3rd PL Sender Sellie
The same holds for the vocative, which is equal to the 2nd person plural. In the other cases the first form is always used: Ons, Jender, Sender. The handwritten grammar of the Herrnhut missionaries assigns the use of the -lie forms, and then only for reference to persons, to one single dialect of Negerhollands without indicating which dialect it is (Ms. 1802:10, 20; Hesseling 1905:97-98). In Oldendorp's grammar manuscript (Stein & Eroms forthcoming), probably the model of the 1802 grammar, the same is said, and the alternative forms jelli and selli are traced back to Low German (although both forms are solidly Dutch in origin).

Since the limitation in the use of the -lie forms betrays a Dutch perspective of form (-lie < Du. lieden ‘people’, as in Du. jullie ‘you.PL’ and (nonstandard) wullie ‘we’ and hullie, zullie ‘they’), it is not impossible that these exceptional forms were used particularly by whites. A possible indication for this is constituted by the following pair of examples that Magens (1770) provides in his chapter on declinations (Magens 1770:9-10):

(33) Jender Blanko ‘you.PL, whites’
    Jellie Neeger ‘you.PL, negroes’

According to Hesseling the -lie forms occur especially in the texts from the Danish sources (see below). We are dealing here with texts for people in town, sometimes produced by white speakers of the creole such as Magens himself. This is another indirect indication that the -lie forms may have been used mostly by the whites. In Böhner's translations (± 1780) sellie occurs twice, but both times it is corrected and changed into sender. Notice also that in the 20th-century texts we do not have the lie-forms.

Unfortunately, we know hardly anything about linguistic variation within the two separate main groups themselves. Within the white group, variation may have been present between further subgroups, based on position in society, profession, and so on. For example, government officials were recruited especially from Danish families, and the majority of the planters were of Dutch descent. Not much is mentioned about this in the contemporary research literature, but it merits further investigation as white varieties are abundantly documented. In his research, Hesseling (1905) observed differences between the Danish and German missionaries. Some layers of society may not have used any creole at all. There are documents in European languages, to be sure, throughout the 18th and 19th centuries.

Within the slave community, the variation may have been even greater. Oldendorp mentions this in connection with the different linguistic backgrounds of the slaves (many different West African languages) and with the differences between newcomers (Bussals), slaves from other Caribbean islands, and native Virgin Islands slaves. Apart from the as yet unpublished body of Negerhollands letters written around 1750 by literate slaves (some are included in sections II, 1.1 and 2.1), there is hardly any linguistic documentation on which research into this matter could be based.

Important contemporary observers of the sociolinguistic context of late 18th-century Negerhollands were the white missionaries. In section 2 we saw Auerbach’s comments, and throughout his grammatical study, Magens also took notice

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of the social dimension of linguistic variation in the Negerhollands-speaking population. The most explicit reports come from Oldendorp, in the original manuscript of the Mission History. About the pronunciation of the slaves, he says (Oldendorp, ms. p. 808, also quoted in Stein 1990:195):

It is as if this language had been deliberately invented to make speaking with the whites really easy for the newly arriving Guinean blacks, and to make them fit for that in a short time. They also pick it up very quickly, and they have a great ability for learning languages anyway. Yet there are many who came from Guinea when they were already very old, who never learn it well. Such people say that they do not have two tongues; they do learn some Creole, mix some Guinean through it, or pronounce the Creole according to their Guinean accent. (...) Many speak pure Creole, however immensely fast, and according to their heavy Guinean pronunciation. Most words they keep half in their mouths or they utter them so unclearly that one does not know what it should mean. It is for this reason that someone who can speak creole well does not for that reason really understand each black: that lengthy practice is required for that and yet sometimes the help of an interpreter is called for who has to explain the creole intermingled with Guinean.18

In general, Oldendorp seems to be conscious of the fact that he (like the missionaries) speaks and writes an idealized variety of Negerhollands, or at least one that closely approaches Dutch with respect to the representation of its pronunciation.

7.5 The focussing of the language

While Negerhollands was probably highly variable in the 18th century, it gradually was used less and less by the upper and middle classes, and ultimately stabilized as the slave language recorded in the 20th century. A working hypothesis that so far has been profitable is that ‘high’ or ‘acrolectal’ variants have disappeared, and that ‘low’ or ‘basilectal’ variants have survived.

A comparison of the 18th-century sources and the 20th-century materials suggests, to begin with:

18 Es ist als wäre diese Sprache mit Fleiß erfunden worden, den ankommenden guineischen Schwarzen das Reden mit den Blanken recht leicht, und sie in kurzer Zeit dazu geschickt zu machen. Sie fassen sie auch sehr geschwind, und haben überhaupt eine große Fähigkeit, Sprachen zu lernen. Indesse giebt es doch manche, die schon sehr alt aus Guinea gekommen sind, welche sie niemals recht lernen. Solche sagen, daß sie nicht zwei Zungen haben, lernen wol etwas criolithisch, mengen aber guineisch hinein, oder sprechen das criolische nach ihrer guineischen Mundart aus. [...] Manche reden rein criolithisch, aber ungemein geschwind, und nach ihrer schweren guineischen Aussprache. Die meisten Wörter behalten sie halb im Munde, oder bringen sie so undeutlich heraus, daß man nicht weiß, was es sagen soll. Es ist hieraus, daß jemand, der gut criolithisch kann, deßwegen nicht einen jeden Schwarzen recht versteht: daß dazu eine lange Übung gehörts, und dennoch bisweilen ein Dolmetscher zu Hilfe gerufen werden muß, der das mit guineischem vermischte criolithisch erkläre.

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(a) the deletion of /r/ and consonant cluster reduction is also fully documented in de Josselin de Jong's (1926) texts, as well as in Nelson (1936);
(b) apart from *me*; 'meer', *me:*ste 'most', *be:*ta(r) etc. 'better', *bes* 'best', and also a *-ste*-form: *gro:*ste 'greatest' next to anglicized: *hogis* 'highest', *di langis* 'longest (adv.)’ no other morphological comparatives and superlatives occur in de Josselin de Jong's (1926) texts. This question merits further research;
(c) there are no morphological diminutives any more, except for fixed, petrified, diminutive forms (*hofi* 'garden', *kalfi* 'calf');
(d) there is no longer a passive with *wort*, only with *ka*;
(e) of the -*lie*-forms only *sel* appears in de Josselin de Jong's (1926) texts, and this is clearly an unusual form in these materials.

However, it is still a daunting task to make sense of the variation in the earlier materials; the nature of the difficulties will become clear when we consider the missionary activities and writings more closely.

One example of research recently undertaken in this domain has been the investigation of reflexive pronouns in 18th-century Negerhollands. This research was the first quantitative study on the 18th-century manuscript material. In van der Voort and Muysken (to appear) we looked for variation in reflexive usage. Until recently, it has been defended that, following its tendency as a creole to non-ambiguity, Negerhollands made a more consistent distinction between reflexive and non-reflexive use of pronouns (through the use of an exclusively reflexive pronoun *sie* and/or a reflexive disambiguating marker *selv*) than its potential non-creole superstrate models like Dutch, German and Danish. Part of the establishment of such consistency appeared to be due rather to the one-sidedness of the source material (mostly Danish Lutheran) that was available before the edition project started, than to the tendency to strict transparency in Negerhollands. We now have access to several different versions of texts derived from the New Testament, the Old Testament and others by the Moravian Brethren. It appears that there is considerable variation. One of the conclusions supported by the variance in the reflexives when compared to yet other sources of Negerhollands is that Negerhollands as a whole in time became more and more exclusively creole-like. Also, the Moravian documents are more basilectal than the Danish texts, as far as reflexives are concerned.

Another example of research of a similar nature concerns plural marking in the Slave Letters (Stein forthcoming b, Stein & Beck forthcoming).
The study of Negerhollands

In some sense the study of Negerhollands starts in the 18th century, with the publication of Magens (1770), the first grammar written of any creole language, and perhaps the most important work about Negerhollands. In the same period C.G.A. Oldendorp, a German, printed a grammatical sketch of the language in his voluminous book ‘History of the Moravian Brethren in the Virgin Islands’ from 1777, which could have been written beforehand. Just after 1802 another grammar was written by the Moravian missionaries, but this one has never been published.

In the 19th century, various scholars devoted some attention to the language: the Danish linguist R.K. Rask contrasted Greenland Inuit, a morphologically very complex language, with the morphologically extremely simple Negerhollands (± 1810). He argued against J.C. Adelung’s claim (1809) to the effect that Negerhollands was nothing but corrupted Dutch. The American librarian and scholar Van Name compared Negerhollands with Papiamentu, Trinidad French Creole, and Sranan (1869-70) and noted many common features. Next is the study mainly based on written texts by the Danish doctor E. Pontoppidan in 1881. In 1905 the Dutch Hellenist and creolist avant la lettre D.C. Hesseling wrote his monumental Het Negerhollands, which is a comprehensive historical study. In this work material from the Herrnhut archive is used next to Danish printed material, which Hesseling prefers for its greater naturalness. The Austrian Romance scholar Hugo Schuchardt corresponded with a remote relative of the aforementioned J.M. Magens, namely A. Magens, who wrote to him in Negerhollands in 1883 and supplied a number of proverbs. Schuchardt (1914) was thus able to comment on Pontoppidan (1881) and Hesseling (1905).

In 1926 de Josselin de Jong published the stories in Negerhollands collected in 1922/3, and more than a decade later in 1936 F.G. Nelson collected words and short texts on St. Thomas, which remained unpublished but appear here in print for the first time, revised in 1993/4 by Nelson himself.

During the last two decades, the linguists A.V. Adams Graves, R. Sabino and G.A. Sprauve have published their research on the spoken language of the last native speakers. Graves worked with about five informants. In the period 1980-1987 many recordings were made by Sprauve and by Sabino of the last fluent speaker of Negerhollands, Mrs Alice Stevens.

Since the beginning of the 1980s, P. Stein has been publishing articles on the material he discovered in 1982 in the Unitäts Archiv in Herrnhut. In about the same period, i.e. 1983-1987, T. Stolz published on Negerhollands, mainly on the basis of the de Josselin de long materials. Finally, since the mid-1980s H. den Besten, P. Muysken, C. van Rossem and H. van der Voort have been working on Negerhollands and the Negerhollands materials. A first product of their Negerhollands database project (in cooperation with P. Stein) appears in the present book.
References

References not found below are in the Bibliography (which forms part III of this book).


Il Negerhollands texts
1 The first texts: letters

In the first half of the 18th century, around 150 letters were written in Negerhollands. Only one was addressed to the slaves (see 1.1.1), while all of the others were written by slaves who were taught to read and write by the Moravian Brethren. In this section we only present a small selection; all known slave letters will be published in Stein & Beck (in preparation).

Every letter presented here is accompanied by a separate introduction containing information about the letter, like the exact provenance in the Archive of the Moravian Brethren in Herrnhut (Germany), its date, its author and writer, and its addressee.

5. An example of the first page of the manuscript of Zinzendorf’s letter (1739)

1.1 Three letters from the Büdingische Sammlung (1742)

1.1.1 Des Hrn. Grafen Zinzendorff Abschied-Schreiben an die Negers in St. Thomas, in Carolithsischer Sprache.

The first letter consciously and intentionally written in Negerhollands is not by a slave but by Zinzendorf. On leaving the Virgin Islands, he addressed a farewell letter to the slave community on 15 February 1739. This letter was printed in the Büdingische Sammlung in 1742 and thereby became the first printed Negerhollands text of some length. The printed version contains some transcription errors, which have been corrected here after the manuscript text in the Herrnhut Archive. Apart from typical creole structures, Zinzendorf’s letter also contains many Dutch influences and ‘semantic incongruences’ (falsche Freunde). Its significance lies in the fact that, among
other things, he demonstrated to the slaves the possibility of writing in their own language. Zinzendorf may not have written the text entirely by himself. Probably he was assisted by one of the settlers who thought well of the Herrnhut missionaries, Carstens. Of interest is the justification of the existence of slavery and the enslaving of Black people, which Zinzendorf gives in the last part of the letter. For an honest evaluation of his arguments one has to take into account that the letter was also directed to the white slave owners, whose permission Zinzendorf needed for the mission among the slaves.

The printing errors are visibly corrected here, according to the original1 manuscript, by Stein and van Rossem. Where a manuscript form differed from the printed form, the manuscript form is added between accolades.

VII.

Des Hrn. Grafenvon Zinzendorff
Abschied=Schreiben an die Negers in St. Thomas, in Cariolischer Sprache.2

1 Min hartlive Vrinde, my heart-loved friend.PL
 Mi a kom deze3 verr pad, vor kik yoe4 en
 1SG PST come DEM far path FOR see 2PL and

1 We only know this manuscript, which is a rather fair one, and we think it may be a copy of an earlier original.
2 Des Hrn. (...) Sprache: German, meaning: ‘Count Von Zinzendorf's farewell letter to the negroes in St. Thomas, in the creole language’.
3 yoe: ‘you’, also you in this letter, is the Zealandic pronoun. Its spelling, with <y> and sometimes <ou>, may indicate that it was considered an English loan. yoe: its use as 2pl in this text is not in accordance with the grammar of 18th c. NH as we know it, where joe/ju served as 2sg and jender or jellie as 2pl, but rather with the grammar of Early Modern Dutch, where gij, jij (Zld. joe) could be both sg. and pl.
4 deze ‘this’: du. demonstrative. cf. NH diso ‘this’ in de Josselin de Jong (1926).
bin bly vor kik een begin, dat mi 
a BE happy FOR see a beginning that 1SG PST
wens over ses jaar dit mi a Stier\textsuperscript{5} die eerste
wish over six year DET time 1SG PST send DET first
5 van mi broeders voor leer yoe-Li\textsuperscript{6}.
of 1SG brother.PL FOR teach 2PL
Gedankt bin onze Heere God, di a zegen
thanked BE our Lord God DET PST bless
yoe Bas\textsuperscript{7} Martinus, mi dierbaare Broeder, en
2PL BAAS Martinus 1SG dear brother and
die help hem!
DET help 3SG
Di zal giv\textsuperscript{8} een groot blydschap na de Ko-
DET will give a great happiness NA DET king
10 ning van Denemarcken, as em hoor, dat in all
- of Denmark when 3SG hear that in all
zyn plaats heydenen leer kenen, zyn Maje-
his place heathen.PL learn know his majesty.GEN
steits\textsuperscript{9} God, die eenige en warachtige God.
- God DET only and true God
Maar o hoe groot zal wees di blydschap
but o how great will BE DET happiness

\textsuperscript{5} Stier: Du. \\textit{sturen}. Seems to be the sole case of unrounding in this letter, which makes it more probable that it is a dialectal form with an [i] deriving from West Germanic [iu], which usually yielded [y] in Standard Dutch.

\textsuperscript{6} yoe-Li’2pl’: from \textit{yoe-lie(den)} ‘you-people’, cf. Du. \textit{jullie} ‘2 pl’. Its use as a direct object is not in accordance with the grammar of 18\textsuperscript{th} c. NH as we know it but rather with the grammar of Dutch, since NH \textit{jellie} could only be used as a nominative or a vocative.

\textsuperscript{7} Bas (elsewhere: Baas): Du. \textit{baas} ‘boss’, here used as a title for the Moravian missionaries and preachers. In other Moravian texts it is also used as an appellative. Although it is reminiscent of Afrikaans \textit{Baas} ‘Master, Massa’ it should be distinguished from it, because in this text a slave owner is referred to as \textit{Meester} ‘Master’. Note that Magens (1770) does not make this distinction: in his conversations both slave owners and a Lutheran catechist are addressed with \textit{Meester}.

\textsuperscript{8} giv: It is unclear whether this represents Du. \textit{geven} ‘give’ or Germ. \textit{geben} ‘give’ of the German existential construction. Elsewhere in this text a Creole existential construction with \textit{hab} ‘have’ is used.

\textsuperscript{9} zyn Majesteits God: first case of a Dutch possessive construction with the suffix -\textit{s} in this text.
voor onze Heere Jesus, de Verlosser van all
FOR our Lord Jesus DET Saviour of all

15 die arme Moors\textsuperscript{10} siel met si eygen \{e\textsuperscript{g}\*gen\}Bloed, voor
DET poor black.PL soul with 3POS own own blood FOR
dat hem kik all -gar goed voor -uyt, en wet all
that 3sg see every things for -out and know already
onder ginder die sal blyv getrouw, en zal
under 2PL DET will stay faithful and will
wor si zaligheid deelagtig?
become 3POS salvation share

Ik schey van yoe met soo veel beeven, als
I part from 2PL with so much shaking as

20 blydschap: de reden van myn blydschap is die:
happiness DET reason of my happiness BE DET

Die Cruis van onze Heer Jesus bin nu all
DET cross of our Lord Jesus BE now already

bekennt op een en vyftig plantagies: as die
known up one and fifty plantation.PL as DET

a hab maar een\textsuperscript{11} op elk die blyv getrouw, he\textsuperscript{12}
PST have but one up each DET stay faithful 3SG

zou wees een Licht voor all zyn Meester -
should BE a light FOR all 3POS master

.............................................. Negers,

25 Negers\textsuperscript{13}, en zyn Werk zouw wees een groot \{groot\}
eg negro.PL and his work should BE a great great

Zegen voor zyn Meester.
blessing FOR his master

\textsuperscript{10} Moors: the -s could also be GEN.
\textsuperscript{11} as die a hab maar een if there were only one': Creole existential construction with hab 'have'.
\textsuperscript{12} all zyn Meester Negers 'all his Master's Negroes': first case of an unmarked possessive construction, in this text.
Wa-gaid what di mester nu win, die hab over die
"gud" what DET master now gain DET have over DET
vyftig ia over de hondert, die loop naar Mar-
fifty yes over DET hundred DET walk to -
tinus skool voor leer, vor ken God, zoo aas {as}
Martinus school FOR learn FOR know God so as as

30 Compagnie-Plantagie, Mr. Jan de Windt, Mr.
Company -plantation Mr. Jan de Windt Mr.

Adriaan Bever -hout, en ander.
Adriaan Beverhout and other

God zegen all met segen van boven, en
God bless all with bless of above and

met segen van beneden, die wel zyn grae15, dat
with bless of below DET want his mercy? that

die ziel van silli16 Negers uit de slaverey van
DET soul of 3PL negro.PL out DET slavery of

35 Duivel wor gebragt tot Christus vryheit.
devil become brought to Christ freedom

Die rede om dat my beev {ben} voor yoe -lid17
DET *** reason for that 1SG shake BE FOR 2PL

{yoe -lid[-en]}
2PL.PL BE DET

De Duivel en de Wereld zal pass you op
DET devil and DET world will watch 2PL up

Gy18 as gy ni nu wandelt getrouw.
2PL when 2PL NEG now walk faithful

---

14 Wa-gaid: typo for Wa-goed ‘what stuff, what’.
15 grae may be a typo for g(e)nae, a shortened variant of genade ‘mercy’.
16 silli: In this case its use is not in accordance with the grammar of 18th c. NH as we know it because sellie is supposed to be restricted to the nominative and the vocative. Cf. n. 6.
18 Gy ‘2sg’ and ‘2pl’: Dutch rather than NH. Belongs to the written register of Dutch of that period.

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All die hoor de Evangelium, en liv het\textsuperscript{19}, en
all DET hear DET gospel and love DET and
meest die bin gedoopt van Martinus in di
most DET BE baptised of Martinus in DET
naam van God Vader, Son en Heilig Geest, en
name of God Father Son and Holy Spirit and
di bin gesett voor leer die ander.
DET BE put FOR teach DET other
Zo de Wereld zal spot met ginder\textsuperscript{20}, en die
so DET world FUT mock with 2PL and DET
Duivel sal klag yoe \{aan\} na God en \{den\} Heere.
devil FUT complain 2PL on NA God and DET Lord
Ik\textsuperscript{21} a wes eerst verwondert, dat Martyn a
1SG PST BE first surprised that Martyn PST
wes zo scherp, dat em a jaj \{ja*get\} de Negers van de
BE so sharp that 3SG PST chase chase DET negro.PL of DET
Leer, wanneer em a hoor, dat zinder\textsuperscript{22} anneem\textsuperscript{23}
teaching when 3SG PST hear that 3PL PST.take
weer an iets van die oude manier;
again on something of DET old way
Maar ik zie, em a ha glyk, voor di dat\textsuperscript{24} vor
but 1SG see 3SG PST have right FOR DET that FOR

\textsuperscript{19} het 'it': Dutch pronoun 3sg.
\textsuperscript{20} ginder '2PL': corresponds to NH jender. The spelling ginder is reminiscent of the West Flemish 2PL pronoun discussed by Hesseling (1905) as a possible source for jender.
\textsuperscript{21} Ik '1sg': Dutch personal pronoun instead of NH \textit{mi}.
\textsuperscript{22} anneem 'PST.take': the spelling seems to represent the Dutch particle verb aannemen 'adopt, take up' (litt. 'on-take'). However, aan- must be NH a 'PST' here, since the pertinent particle shows up in postverbal position (-\textit{neem weer an}) in accordance with NH grammar. This also implies that \textit{weer an} is not Early Mod. Du. \textit{weeraan} 'again'.
\textsuperscript{23} zinder '3PL': corresponds to NH sender. The spelling zinder is reminiscent of the West Flemish 3PL pronoun discussed by Hesseling (1905) as a possible source for sender.
\textsuperscript{24} voor di dat: probably 'because'.
... Vor dat i bin ook goed, dat Martinus no FOR that I BE also good that Martinus NEG leer you in di tyd, dat yoe mu werk; teach 2SG in DET time that 2PL must work

Want as die bin yoe recht zin vor {vo} wor zaa - because when DET BE 2PL right sense FOR FOR becomeblessed

lig, Jesus kan zegenen\textsuperscript{26} die klyn tyd die gu habt\textsuperscript{27} - Jesus can bless DET small time DET 2PL have

60 over van yoe zelfs voor leer.
over of 2PL self FOR learn

Een Heyden no mo hab ander reden voor a heathen NEG must have other reason FOR bekeer hem, als dat em geloov, dat Jesus Gods convert 3SG as that 3SG belief that Jesus God.GEN

Zoon em a Herr {sterv} voor betaal voor, de mens son 3SG PST *** die FOR pay FOR DET man

\textsuperscript{25} han: probably typo for hau ‘keep’.
\textsuperscript{26} zegenen: Dutch infinitival form.
\textsuperscript{27} habt: Du. inflexional ending -t.
Zonde, en dat hem nu waar leevt\textsuperscript{28} voor mag
sin and that 3SG now true lives FOR may

65 de mens lev met hem:
DET man live with 3SG

Een Heyden no kan du van natuur zoo veel
a heathen NEG can do of nature so much

goed, als wel meenig mens, die bin van kleens
good as well many man DET BE of small

af geleerd voor du goed, en no kryg per -
off taught FOR do good and NEG get -

missie vo du quaed.
permission FOR do evil

70 Want een Heyden bin vom\textsuperscript{29} klyn af gewent
because a heathen BE of the small off used

vors du bosheit, en na leer beter.
FOR do anger and NEG learn better

Maar als een Heyden kryg die Genade van
but as a heathen get DET mercy of

de Heer Jesus, dat zyn Zonde word verge -
DET Lord Jesus that his sin become forgiven

ven, en em word gewaschen met Jesus Bloed;
- and 3SG become washed with Jesus blood

75 soo em kryg die kracht om al quaed te laten,
so 3SG get DET strength for all evil to leave

en goed te doen\textsuperscript{30}, en em haat de zonde so veel,
and good to do and 3SG hate DET sin so much

\textsuperscript{28} leevt: Du. inflexional ending -t.
\textsuperscript{29} vom: German typo for van ‘of, from’. Germ. vom is a standard contraction of von ‘of, from’ and dative dem ‘the (masc. or neuter)’.
\textsuperscript{30} om al.... te doen: sudden interruption of Dutch infinitival OV order. This may be due to the use of the Dutch complementizer om plus infinitival marker te instead of NH vo(or).

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als 3SG  had  liev  tevoor-en.
as  PST had dear before

Dan 3SG  bin  een  van  Christus  sin  Volk,  zoo
then 3SG BE one of Christ 3POS people so

als yoe  Bas  Martinus  zal  leer  yoe  verder.
as 2PL BAAS Martinus will teach 2PL furthermore

80 Nu  me  wens  maar,  dat  ik  wes  verzekert
now 1SG wish but that 1SG BE assured

van yoe-Li,  dan  mi  zal  loop  gerust  van  yoe,  en
of 2PL then 1SG will walk quiet off 2PL and

denk  op  ginder  met  groot  blydschap  voor  den
think up 2PL with great happiness FOR DET

Heere.
Lord

Voor-eerst  dat  gy  dink  altyd  op  de  Heer
first that 2PL think always up DET Lord

85 Jesus,  dat  ginder  bid  Hem  altyd  voor  em
Jesus that 2PL pray 3SG always FOR 3SG

giv  yoe  de  rechte  geloov,  dat  de  Heere  mag
give 2PL DET right belief that DET Lord may

staan  altyd  voor  ginder  ziel,  zoo  of  gy  gik31
stand always FOR 2PL soul so if 2SG like

................................. Hem

Hem,  zoo  als  Hem  ha  dot32  voor  yoe  aan  het33
3SG so  as  3SG PST die FOR 2PL on DET

Kruis.
cross

31 gik: may be Du. gek 'mad, crazy' used as a verb 'to love' here.
33 het: Dutch neuter article instead of NH die.
32 dot 'die' < Du. dood 'dead'.
90 Voor die tweede: dat yoe handel met Mar-tinus en die andere, die leer yoe, met een op-Martinus and DET other.PL DET teach 2PL with a -recht hart, en no toon yoe selfs beeter als yoe sincere heart and NEG show 2PL self better as 2PLbent.  
Voor die derde: as yoe word weggejaagt van third when 2PL become away.driven of de Leer, als gy ha doe quaed, dat yoe ma hab een recht berouw, en hoop eenvoudig als een klyn Kind, vor wor aangenom, weer-aan, en bid Jesus vor Gnade en beterschap.  
Voor die vierde: dat yoe mo wës uwe mee-FOR DET fourth that 2PL must BE 2SG master.PLsters en vrouwen getrouw, en uw Meester - and women faithful and 2SG master Knechten en Bombas gehoorzaam: en dat yoe doe al yoe Werk met Liefde en gauwig - 2PL do all 2PL work with love and speedi-

34 bent: Du. inflexional ending -t.  
35 driede 'third': regularized ordinal number (drie ‘three’ + -de) instead of Du. derde. According to Magens derde is the correct form in Negerhollands. Therefore, driede may be due to interference from German (Germ. dritte ‘third’).  
36 weer-aan ‘again’: Early Mod. Du. expression, literally ‘again-on’.  
37 uwe, and uw: Du. possessive pronoun 2sg corresponding to gij, which belonged to the written register of Dutch in those days. Cf. n. 17.

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keit, zoo als ha wés yoe eygen; want yoe
ness so as PST BE 2PL own because 2PL
moet weeten, dat Christus Hell [stell] elk een van
must know that Christ *** put every one of

105 syn Kind, selvst in het Werk, want de Heere
3POS child self in DET work because DET Lord
a mak alles zelf, Koning, Heer, Knecht en
PST make everything self king lord servant and
Slaav. En yder moet blyv, zoo lang ons lev
slave and everyone must stay so long 1PL live
in de Wereld, in die Plek, da God ha zett em
in DET world in DET place where God PST put 3SG
in, en wés met Gods wyze raad te -Vreeden:
in and BE with God.GEN wise advice satisfied

110 want de Heere ha zet de dood tot straff van
because DET Lord PST put DET death to punishmentof
di mensen allmaal, en di Kinder van God
DET people all and DET child.PL of God
ook moe sterven, maar di bin niet anders als
also must die but DET BE NEG else as
een slaap voor haar, en loop met blydschap
a sleep FOR 3PL and walk with happiness
mit de lyf na de graf, en met de Ziel na bo-
with DET body NA DET grave and with DET soul NA above

115 ven by de Heiland.
- with DET Saviour

38 het: Dutch neuter article instead of NH die.
39 da: may be the Dutch relative R-pronoun da(ár) ‘there, where’, whose form is governed by the stranded preposition in. The absence of r may be due to the tendency to drop syllable-final r in the NH variety of the slaves combined with interference from German where da is a relative pronoun and adverb.
40 Kinder: in Dutch kinderen or kinders, plural of kind ‘child’. This abbreviated plural form may be due to interference from German (Germ. Kinder ‘children’).
41 haar ‘3pl’: Early Mod. Du. pronoun instead of NH sender.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
Behalven dit God ha straf de eerste Negers besides this God PST punish DET first negro.PL
voor ém eygen sind van sinder\(^{42}\), en haar heel FOR 3SG own sin of 3PL and 3PL entire 
geslacht, dat sinder za wés slaven, en de generation that 3PL FUT BE slave.PL and DET
zieles -Zaaligheid, no mag\(^{43}\)gender vry na de soul.salvation NEG may 2PL free NA DET

.................... lichaam,

120 lichaam, maar neem weg al de booze gedach- body but take away all DET evil thoughts
ten, quaedheit, luygheit\(^{44}\), ongetroun {ongetrouw}, en al - anger laziness *** unfaithfullness and all
wat mak yoe verdrietig vo wes slaav; want what make 2PL sad FOR BE slave because
onze Heer Jesus, zoo lang em a wes in de our Lord Jesus so long 3SG PST BE in DET
Wereld, em a giv sig zelfs vo wes een Knegt, world 3SG PST give 3RP self FOR BE a servant
125 en a wés een ambachtsmanntot een of twee and PST BE a artisan to one or two
jaar voor dat em a loop uit die Wereld, en in year before that 3SG PST walk from DET world and in
Gods Woord ons bin aangetoont als een ex - God.GEN word 1PL BE shown as a example

\(^{42}\) voor ém eygen sind van sinder 'for his/her own sind of them': difficult to interpret. ém seems anomalous here and may be a determiner. sind could be Germ. Sünde 'sin' in a southern truncated form with unrounded [y], which is somewhat unlikely given Count Zinzendorf's provenance. However we could also read eygen sind as Germ. Eigensinn 'wilfulness, obstinacy, stubbornness'.

\(^{43}\) mag: may be ma(a)k 'make'.

\(^{44}\) luygheit: -keit instead of Du. -heit (-heid) may be German.
empel voör al die Knegts. My zelf bin vvel -
- FOR all DET servant.PL 1SG self BE good

vry gebooren, maar myn Heiland ha leer mi
free born but my Saviour PST teach 1SG

voor Werk voor andere dag en nacht met
FOR work FOR other.PL day and night with

pleasure

Voor die vyfde; dat ginder aan die andere
FOR DET fifth that 2PL on DET other

Negers of Wilden mo dink altyd, die door
negro.PL or savage.PL must think always DET by

de Broeders in zoo veele plaatsen tot Jesus ge -
DET brother.PL in so many place.PL to Jesus -

135 roepen bin⁴⁵: vwant vvy⁴⁵ ha begin hier eerst by
called BE because 1PL PST begin here first at

gy -Li⁴⁷, en zoo veel van de Broeders en Zusters
2PL and so many of DET brother.PL and sister.PL

hier onder dit Werk voor ginder sin⁴⁸, en met
here under this work FOR 2PL BE and with

gebed voor ginder.
prayer FOR 2PL

Ginder die a vves die erst, ik hoop na sa vvor
2PL DET PST BE DET first 1SG hope NEG FUT become

⁴⁶ vvy: Du. pronoun 1PL instead of NH ons.
⁴⁵ die door de Broeders ... geroepen bin: relative clause with Dutch SOV word order and Creole auxiliary bin.
⁴⁷ gy-Li: Du. nominative pronoun 2PL (with gy of the written register) governed by a preposition.
    May represent the NH pronoun jellie but its use is not in accordance with the grammar of 18th c. NH as we know it because jellie is supposed to be restricted to the nominative and the vocative. Cf. n. 5.
⁴⁸ sin: Du. zijn `be (present pl.). In this case zoo veel van de Broeders ... sin follows the Du. subordinate SOV pattern, which is in accordance with the fact that historically want `because, for` was a subordinator rather than a coordinator as it is in Modern Dutch.
die lest. De Heere
 DET last DET Lord
 segne49 u -liede50 allemaal, en
 bless 2PL all and

giv, dat ik ga bi -voor51 syn troon met blydschap,
give that 1SG go before 3 POS throne with happiness
en dat elk met my52 en Martinus mag sing: De
and that every with my and Martinus may sing DET

Ziel van Christ ha segen my, sin Geest ha mak
soul of Christ PST bless 1SG 3POS spirit PST make

myn hert verbly, sin {syn} lichaam diep voor ons ge -
my heart cheer 3POS 3POS body deep FOR 1PL -

vvond, ons gedaan maak Ziel en Lyf gezond53;
wounded 1PL done make soul and body healthy
zo als ons ha sing soo dikvils hier op St. so as 1PL PST sing so often here up St

Thomas. Vaar vve!
Thomas fare well

Geschreeven op St. Thomas
written up St Thomas
den 15. Febr. 1739.
DET 15 February 1739

De Grave Lodewyk.54
DET count Lodewijk.

50 u-liede: Dutch 2nd p. pronoun u from the written register in its non-nominative form. The addition of liede(n) 'people' instead of -lie is again a feature of the written Dutch of that period.
49 segne 'may bless': cf. the Du. conjunctive zegene or its Germ, counterpart segne.
51 bi-voor: Engl. before?
52 myn instead of my ‘me’ may be dialectal Dutch.
53 ons ... gezond: gedaan, which does not fit into the iambic meter, may be a perfective marker and may be a substitute for ka. The true line may be “ka maak ons Ziel en Lyf gezond‘ PRF make 1pl soul and body healthy’. gedaan as a substitute for ka may then presuppose an auxiliary heeft ‘has’ so that ons, interpreted as an Indirect Object could shift to the left.
54 Geschreeven ... Lodewijk: Dutch.
From the Lord Count von Zinzendorf, a farewell letter to the negroes in St Thomas, in the creole language.

My dear-loved friends

I have come this long way to see you and I am happy to see a beginning that I wished six years ago, the time I sent the first of my brothers to teach you. Thanked be our Lord God, who blessed your master Martinus, my dear brother, and helped him! It will give a great happiness to the king of Denmark when he hears that in all his places heathens get to know his Majesty's God, the only and true God. But oh how great will be the happiness for our Lord Jesus, the Saviour of all the poor black souls with his own blood, so that He sees everything in advance, and knows all among you who will stay faithful, and will share in his salvation? I part from you with as much shaking, as happiness: the reason of my happiness is this: The cross of our Lord Jesus is now known on already fifty one plantations; if there would be just one on every one who remains faithful, he would be a light for all his master negroes and his work would be a great great blessing for his master. What does the master gain now, who has over fifty, yes over one hundred (slaves), who go to Martinus school to learn, to know God, just like Company-plantation, Mr. Jan de Windt, Mr. Adriaan Beverhout, and others. God bless all with blessing from above and with blessing from below, who well his grace, that the soul of you negroes from the slavery of the devil is brought to Christ's freedom. The reason for that I shake for you is this: The devil and the world will watch you, when you do not walk faithfully now. All that hear the gospel and love it and most who are baptised by Martinus in the name of God Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and who have been made to teach the other ones. So the world will mock you and the devil will complain about you to God and the Lord. First I was surprised that Martyn was so sharp that he chased the negroes from the doctrine, when he heard that they again took up something of the old ways; but I see, he was right, because to keep the hypocrite off from Jesus, to prevent them from their false thoughts, to be seen by others, and to have it easier in the world, or not to work or to become free, or what I can say more. For that it is also good that Martinus does not teach you in the time, that you must work; Because when it is your real wish to become blessed Jesus can bless the little time that you have for yourself to learn. A heathen should not have another reason to convert himself, than that he believes that Jesus God's son has died to pay for mankind's sin, and that he now truly lives so that man may live with him; A heathen cannot do by nature as much good, as any a human who has learned from childhood to do good, and does not get permission to do evil. Because a heathen is from childhood on used to do evil, and has not learned any better. But when a heathen gets the mercy of the Lord Jesus, that his sin is forgiven, and he is washed with Jesus' blood; so he receives the strength to leave all evil, and to do good and so he hates sin so much, as he had loved it before. Then he is one of Christ's people, so as your Master Martinus will teach you furthermore. Now I just wish, that I am assured of you, then I will go quietly from you, and think of you with great happiness for the Lord.
First that you think always of the Lord Jesus, that you pray to him always, for him to give you the right belief, that the Lord may stand always for your soul, as if you are crazy about Him, the way he died for you on the cross.

Second: that you deal with Martinus and the others that teach you, with a sincere heart, and do not show yourself better than you are.

Third: when you are driven away from the doctrine, when you have done evil that you may have a sincere repentance, and hope simply as a small child, to be adopted again, and pray to Jesus for mercy and improvement.

Fourth: that you must be faithful to your masters and mistresses and obedient to your master servants and overseers: and that you do all your work with love and quickness as has been proper for you; because you must know that Christ puts every one of His children, in his plan, because the Lord has made everything Himself, king, lord, servant and slave. And everyone must remain, so long as we live in the world, in the place, that God has put him in, and be with God's wise council satisfied: because the Lord has made death as the punishment of all people, and the children of God also must die, but it is nothing else as a sleep for them, and go with happiness with the body to the grave, and with the soul above with the Saviour. Besides this God has punished the first negroes for their own sins, and their entire generation, that they will be slaves, and the soul blessings does not make you free in the body, but takes away all the evil thoughts, anger, laziness, unfaithfulness, and all what makes you sad to be a slave; because our Lord Jesus, so long as he was in the world; he gave himself even to be a servant, and was an artisan up to one or two year before he went away from the world, and in God's word we are shown as an example for all the servants. I myself am free born, but my Saviour taught me to work days and nights for others with pleasure.

Fifth: that you must always think of the other negroes or savages, who have been called to Jesus by the brothers in so many places; because we have begun here first with you, and so many of the brothers and sisters are here in this work for you, and with prayer for you. You who were the first, I hope will not become the last. The Lord bless you all and give, that I will go before His throne with happiness, and that each one with me and Martinus may sing: The soul of Christ has blessed me, His spirit has made my heart cheerful, His body deeply wounded for us, made our soul and body healthy; so as we have sung so often here on St. Thomas. Fare well!

Written on St Thomas, 15 February 1739. The count Lodewijk.

1.1.2 Der erweckten Negros in St. Thomas Schreiben an Jhro Majest. den König in Dännemarck.

On the return journey, Zinzendorf brought two letters with him to Europe, one from the male slaves for the Danish king and one from the female slave Marotta, baptised Magdalena, for the Danish queen. The second letter (in 1.1.3) is in Marotta’s African language, accompanied by a Negerhollands translation. Both letters - the first diplomatic correspondence in a creole language - were also printed in the Büdingische Sammlung (Zinzendorf 1742). Especially in the letter by the male slaves, the language

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
clearly is still influenced by Dutch, which shows the difficulties in the beginning of the employment of this spoken language as a written language.

References: Found in Büdingische Sammlung 1:483-485; see letter nr. 125 (3.60) in Beck & Stein (forthcoming), which is a transcription/copy.

Remarks: The text in the Büdingische Sammlung shows deviations from the manuscript. Here we give the original text.

Language: NH/Du.

XI.

Der erweckten Negros in St. Thomas Schreiben an Ihro Majest. den Koenig in Daen-nemarck.

An. 1739.

1 Gnadige mercyful Heer lord Koning! king

Nú is ons hope, de Konings Majestait ons
now BE 1PL hope DET king GEN majesty 1PL

sal die order geven, dat ons durf
dare FUT DET order give that 1PL dare

...................................... voort-

voortgaan te leeren den Heere Jesus. Ons
continue to learn DET Lord Jesus 1PL

5 staan vast tot noch toe, als het God den
stand fast to yet till as it God DET

55 Der ...Daen-nemarck: German.
56 Note the use of the genitive here.
57 Note the order Subj. - Obj. pronoun - Aux. - NP - V. This need not be an L2 acquisition mistake since the intrusion of phrasal material between verbs of the verbal cluster is known from older stages of Dutch as well as from dialects.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
Heere geliefd, schon ons seer gedrukt word
Lord pleases though 1PL very oppressed become
van all, en komen60 ons slagen60 en kappen,
by all and come 1PL hit and hew
as ons by den Heyland leert, en Boek ver-
when 1PL by DET Saviour learn and book -
branden, en doop Hon-de-Doop noemen, en
burn and baptism dog -christening call and

10 Broeders Beesten, en Negér moet niet zaal -ig
brother.PL beast.PL and negro must NEG blessed
worden, een gedoopt Neger is Brandhout
become a baptised negro BE fire.wood
in de Hell. En hebben ons Broeders, son -
in DET hell and have 1PL brother.PL -
erlyk Bas Martinus, die God aan ons al
especially BAAS Martinus DET God on 1PL already
had gebrúikt, en die van twentig Broeders
had used and DET of twenty brother.PL

15 overgebleven is, (die gestorven zyn,) met
remained BE DET died BE with
syn Broeders, over drie Maant op de Fort ge -
3POS brother.PL over three month up DET fort -
sett, en wil sy van de land bannen. All
put and want 3PL of DET country exile all
beriepen zich nú op S. Majesteits 61, en segge
called 3RP now up 3PL majesty.GEN and say
Gy heeft verboden, dat Negers niet mo -
2SG have forbidden that negro.PL NEG may

60 slagen instead of Du. slaan 'beat' (past participle geslagen) may be interference from German
(Germ. schlagen 'beat').
59 Read zij komen 'they come'.
61 Genitive unexplained.
20 gen de Heiland leere kennen, en Gy sult
- DET Saviour learn know and 2SG will

Bas Martinus hast {krass} weg yagen. Maar we &c.
BAAS Martinus soon severely away drive but 1PL etc.

&c. {niet geloven dat en hebben twee broeder gesturt om etc. NEG believe that and have two brother sent for
u te vragen,Jens Rasmus and Andries een Dienaar van de Neger
2SG to ask Jens Rasmus and Andries a servant of DET negro

Gemeente} en bidden U. laat ons den Heere leeren
congregation and pray 2SG let 1PL DET Lord learn

25 kennen, en by de Broeder -kerke{Broeders kerke} blyven:
know and with DET Brethren Brother.GENchurch stay
-church

Want wy willen met haar tot den Hey -
because 1PL want with 3PL to DET Saviour

landt gaan. Ons wil ons Meesters in all
- go 1PL want 1PL master.PL in all

ing gehoorsam zyn, enkel ons siel na de thing obedient BE only 1PL soul NA DET

Hemel by den Heer Jesus stüüren. Want
heaven at DET Lord Jesus send because

30 ons heeft ons Heere {Herte} gestolen⁶², Maron ge -
1PL has 1PL lord heart stolen maroon -

loopen, na Porto Rico gegaan, vlaw⁶³ ge -
run NA Puerto Rico gone naughty -

west, en de Heeren an d'leftogd bedrogen;
been and DET master.PL on DET.daily.rationdeceived

en nu is dat all anders by ons, so de mee -
and now BE that all different with 1PL so DET master.PL

⁶² Heere may be plural: ‘masters’. gestolen may be bestolen ‘robbed’.
⁶³ vlaw: Du.flauw, which can be translated into ‘weak’ or ‘naughty’. In this context ‘naughty’ seems the most correct.
heeft Neger Menig weet. Menig Neger heeft
- well know many negro has

overhed \(^{64}\) {over het} quad stand -fastig voeten en handen
because.of DET over DET evil stead -fastly foot.PL and hand.PL

sin \(^{65}\) laten afkappen. Wy sullen grac {grae} onsen
3POS let off.cut 1PL shall voluntarily gladly 1PL

den voor de Gemeente onder het bui \(^{66}\) {buyk} leg -
head FOR DET community under DET axe belly lay

gen,
-

voor den Heere Jesus, als ons Mee -
FOR DET Lord Jesus as 1PL master.PL

sters ons dooden, soo als sy seg -gen.
- 1PL kill so as 3PL say

God den Heere segne ons Genaadigste
God DET Lord bless 1PL most.blessed

Koning duisendmaal. Geschreven in St.
king thousand.times written in St

Thomas, ten \(^{67}\) 15. Febr. 1739.
Thomas - 15 February 1739

Op naam van over de seshondert en
up name of over DET sixhundred and

vyftig zwarte scholieren van Jesus
fifty black disciple.PL of Jesus

Christus, die Bas Martinus leert,
Christ DET BAAS Martinus teaches

---

64 overhed: over het ‘because.of DET’.
65 sin as as postnominal possessive is neither in accordance with Dutch nor with Negerhollands.
It may be a typo for the reflexive indirect object zich as in text 1.2.2.
66 bui ‘bump’ may be a mistake for bijl ‘axe’, since bijl should be [bil] in NH whereas bui could be [byl] or [bil].
67 ten is either the article den (non-nominative), which should be used here, or ten ‘at the’ (< te den).
The awakened negroes in St. Thomas write to their Majesty the king of Denmark.

Merciful Sir King!

Now it is our hope his majesty the king will give the order that we may continue to learn about the Lord Jesus. So far we have stood as firm as pleases God the Lord, although we are very much oppressed by all who come to beat and hew us when we learn about the Saviour, and who burn the books, and call baptism a baptism for dogs and call the brethren beasts, and say that negroes should not become blessed, and that a baptised negro is fire-wood in hell. And they have put our brethren, especially Reverend Martin, whom God had given to us already, and who has remained of 20 brethren, (who have died) with his brother, for over three months in the fort, and want to ban them from the land. All now called upon his majesty, and say you have forbidden that the Negroes learn to know the Saviour and that you will chase away Reverend Martin. But we do not believe this, and we have sent two brethren to ask you, Jens Rasmus and Andries, a servant of the negro community, and implore you. Let us learn to know the Lord, and remain with the brethren's church because we want to go with them to the Saviour. We want to be obedient to our masters in everything and only

---

68 In the manuscript version the names are placed in another order: Pieter, Madlena, Mingo, Rebecca, Malattine, Andries, Anna, Maria, Abraham. Malattine is not a name, but means 'mulatto.woman', which seems to refer to Rebecca.
send our soul to heaven with Lord Jesus. Because we have robbed our lord, run maroon, went to Porto Rico, have been naughty and deceived our masters with our daily rations. And now this is all different with us, as the masters know well. Many negroes have got their hands and feet cut off because of the evil. We will gladly lay our heads for the community under the axe, for the Lord Jesus, if our masters will kill us, like they say. God bless our most merciful king a thousand times.

Written in St. Thomas, the 15th February, 1739.

On behalf of over 650 black pupils of Jesus Christ, whom are taught by Reverend Martin, especially of all those he has baptised already, Pieter, Mingo, Andries, Abraham, Madlena, Rebecca (mulatto woman), Anna Maria.

1.1.3 Der Ältestin der Gemeine der Negros in St. Thomas Schreiben an die Königin von Dännemarck.

6. Pages 486-487 of Zinzendorf (1742).

Arch-nr.: R15Ba-3.61.r. List-nr.: 126 def.-nr.: 017
Date: 1739
Author: Marotta, now Madlena (9)
Recipient: Dä. Königin Owner:
Writer: Recipient: Dä. Königin

References: In Büdingische Sammlung I:485-486 in which a NH translation of the African text is given also.
There are 3 versions of the African text in the archive:
1. really unclear; 2. possible writer Domingo Gesoe; 3. copist.
Here version 2, and the NH translation

Remarks: It is still unclear which African language is used in this text.
Language: African language; NH
XII.

Der Aeltestin der Gemeine der Negros in St. Thomas Schreiben an die Koenigin von Daenemarck.

An. 1739.⁶⁹

Ne acadda.

[1] Cabe my le ad ga {adga} Tome {Tomas} minge bruhu {bruku}
[2] mau, mi wago voltomé {votto mé}. Gewoma {Gew oma}
[3] ........................................ dihé
[4] dihé {diké}, na mangi Bruhu {brúku} Ajuba malle na ma do
[5] wi tu ma gagni na mi, {mu} quassi nangi {mangi} netto
[6] dy {díj} a Wo Du Gowo maja powo Dn. {Du.} Poppo
[7] leosi, Mia meyi {meijji} diké bowo Dn {du} mille dikbe
[8] migeé Meacadda nadak be no vo Dn {Du} Mau⁷⁰
[9] e na dak bena Anibà dassa sala Martinus {Martinús} na
[10] doclio {doch} {[{-d]} na mi {mÍ} nassé na mi angé vo Dn. {Du.} na
[11] cossi de tami, denikó {denikó} Do Batroe {Batróe} Mau {Man[-u]} sé {Sé} Mau
[12] mé agnisà ne a cadda.
[14] en ho ma {ma[-a]} poppo!
[15] Damma {Damma}.⁷¹

Übersetzung ins Cariolische.⁷²

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groote</th>
<th>Koninginne.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>groat</td>
<td>queen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die</td>
<td>mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET</td>
<td>time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doen</td>
<td>mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td>1SG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁶⁹ XII .... An. 1739: German.
⁷⁰ Mau: Ewe ‘God’. (p.c. Dr. F. Ameke)
⁷¹ Ne acadda ... Damma. As yet unidentified African language.
⁷² Übersetzung ins Cariolische German, meaning: 'translation into Creole'.
me na blanco\textsuperscript{73} land\textsuperscript{74}, mi no wilt gu din de - NA white country 1SG NEG want very.muchserve DET

Heere. Mi no ha di grond vor tú dien die Lord 1SG NEG have DET ground FOR to serve DET

20 Heere; mi ben bedroev na min herte, voor Lord 1SG BE sad NA my heart FOR
dat Negrinne no kan dien die Heere Jesus in that negress.PL NEG can serve DET Lord Jesus in

Thomas, die Blanke no wil dien die Heere. Thomas DET white NEG want serve DET Lord

Lat so as sili\textsuperscript{75} wil, maar soo de povre swarte let so as 3PL want but so DET poor black

Broeders en susters wil dien de Heer Jesus, brother.PL and sister.PL want serve DET Lord Jesus

25 so moet zilli doen, as\textsuperscript{76} si bin maron volk. As so must 3PL do as 3PL BE maroon people when

Neacanda belyv, gy\textsuperscript{77} moet bidde de Heere Je-
Neacanda please 2SG must pray DET Lord -
sus voor ons, en bidd ook A-Niba, voor la Jesus FOR 1PL and pray also A-niba FOR let

........................................stan

stan\textsuperscript{78} Bas Martinus prek de Heere woord, stand BAAS Martinus preach DET Lord word

voor ons moet leer voor kenn de Heere, en FOR 1PL must learn FOR know DET Lord and

\textsuperscript{74} blanko land: blanco probably is an unmarked possessive.
\textsuperscript{73} blanco derives from Du. blanke 'white person'. Dutch or Zealandic word-final schwa becomes a full vowel in NH. Usually the stressed vowel determines the quality of the word-final vowel. However, in the case of stressed at the default option o/u is chosen. Cf. NH krabo/krabu 'crab' < Zealandic kraabbe (Du. krab).
\textsuperscript{75} sili: sellie instead of the more usual sender. Compare the introduction.
\textsuperscript{76} as: here in sense of 'as if'. See free translation.
\textsuperscript{77} gy: pronoun from the Dutch written register.
\textsuperscript{78} la stan 'let'.
30 voor Doop ons Negers, op Naam des Va-
 FOR baptise 1PL negro.PL up name DET.GEN Father.GEN
ders, Sons en Hilig Geest. Die Heer be-
- Son.GEN and Holy Spirit DET Lord -
waar sinder, en seegene sinder, son en doch-
keep 3PL and bless 3PL son and daughter.and
-entire family and 1SG FUT pray DET Lord

Jesus voor sinder.

Jesus FOR 3PL

35 Ob naam van over Tweehonderd en
up name of over twohundred and

Vyftig Negerssen Zrouwen die
fifty negress.PL woman.PL DET
den Heere Jesus beminnen, ge-
DET Lord Jesus love -
schreven door
written by

Marotta

nú now

Madlena

40 van Poppo uyt Africa
 of Poppo out Africa

79 op Naam ... Geest: sudden intrusion of written Dutch genitives. However the Dutch formula
(in de naam des Vaders, des Zoons en des Heiligen Geestes) is not completely followed.
80 Typo for Vrouwen ‘women’.
81 Ob naam van ... uyt Africa: Dutch. Ob may be Du. op ‘at, up’, as it is in the manuscript version.
This may be interference from German (cf. Germ. ob ‘because of’) due to the use of op (naam van) instead of regular uit (naam van) ‘in (name of)’.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
Translation

Great Queen.

At the time I lived in Poppo in Africa I served Lord Mau and when I came to the whites' land, I did not very much want to serve the Lord. I did not have a reason to serve the Lord; I am sad in my heart that Negroe women cannot serve the Lord Jesus in St. Thomas. The Whites do not want to serve the Lord. Let it be as they want, but if the poor black brethren and sisters want to serve the Lord Jesus, they have to do as if they are maroon people. If it pleases the Queen, you should pray to the Lord Jesus for us, and implore also A Niba (the King) to let Reverend Martin preach the Lord's word and baptise us Negroes, in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. May the Lord protect them and bless them, son and daughter and the whole family, and I will pray to the Lord Jesus for them. On behalf of two hundred and fifty Negro women, who love the Lord Jesus, written by Marotta, now Madlena of Poppo from Africa

1.2 The slave letters (1737-1767)

The earliest written documentation of the slaves' language is formed by letters. Since 1736, the missionaries had been teaching the slaves to read and some of them also to write, and indeed, the slaves soon began writing letters, the first one dating from January 11, 1737. A large amount of information about this stage of Negerhollands can be found in Stein's works (especially in those from 1984, 1985a, 1989 and 1991). On the whole, there are about 150 letters in the Herrnhut Archives; they were written between 1737 and 1768. These letters are mostly in Negerhollands, but one part was also in Dutch. In this chapter, we will present a selection of letters in diachronical order; Dutch letters will not be included here.

There is some difficulty in discovering the sentence boundaries. The comma sometimes seems to have the function of period, but may also be absent. When it is not clear what it does, and it therefore remains unclear to which (part of) sentence another sentence belongs, we treated it in the free translation as an independent sentence, i.e. between periods.

1.2.1 The first letter in Negerhollands

At the time the first letters were written, Negerhollands was not yet a 'written language'. Therefore, the earliest letters were based on Dutch. Such a letter should represent the first document of our selection: Peter's letter to Friedrich Martin of 21 and 24 January 1738. In this letter, Dutch and Negerhollands structures alternate. On the one hand, there are about 150 letters in the Herrnhut Archives; they were written between 1737 and 1768. These letters are mostly in Negerhollands, but one part was also in Dutch. In this chapter, we will present a selection of letters in diachronical order; Dutch letters will not be included here.

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[an de [Lifde\textsuperscript{82} broeders Maertijn to DET dear brother.PL Martin

De gemijnte en alle de broeders DET congregation and all DET brother.PL

ten diensdag\textsuperscript{]} avondt de vir broeders and Tuesday evening DET four brother.PL

en de Susters en de oud man Saca and DET sister.PL and DET old man Saca

ons heb samen met maerkanner 1PL have together with each.other

neder geval op de kneij om bed an down fallen on DET knee to pray on

De heere en lof de heere en vriedag\textsuperscript{83} DET Lord and praise DET Lord and Friday

avondt ons heb an de heere wederan evening 1PL have on DET Lord again

Gebed en ons heb met maerkanner prayed and 1PL have with each.other

GeEten en ons heb De heere gedaanckt eaten and 1PL have DET Lord thanked

Jck heb mijn\textsuperscript{84} broeder gevrag hoe 1SG have 1SG.GEN brother asked how

\textsuperscript{82} Lifde: looks like Du. noun liefde 'love' but may be geliefde 'beloved'.

\textsuperscript{83} vriedag: Zeelandic [i] instead of Du. <ij>.

\textsuperscript{84} mijn: mijn and zijn are possessive pronouns in Dutch, respectively of 1SG and 3SG.
staet met zjn hert hem seg ben zjn stand with 3SG.GEN heart 3SG say BE 3SG.GEN
hert zjn noe wel van de heere zjn woordt heart now positive of DET Lord 3SG.GEN word
Jck hebt andrijs gevrag hoe ben zjn 1SG have *** asked how BE 3SG.GEN
hert hen Seg ben Sijn hert blie -Schep heart 3SG say BE 3SG.GEN heart happy.ness
van De Lif des heer Maar zjn vrou of DET love DET.GEN Lord but 3SG.GEN woman
kan zjn hert soo boos maken daarom can 3SG.GEN heart so angry make therefore
hem ben ongesaem Joannis seg hem hebt 3SG BE disobedient Johannes say 3SG have
soo wel gevon -en zjn hert maer niet so well found 3SG.GEN heart but NEG

Vom Januari 21 und 24 1738

teure brider hier ist daß erste brieflein waß broeder Petris von seiner bande mich bericht er hats auch selbst geschrieben

85 See footnote 3.
87 noe: Zealandic noe ([nu]) instead of Du. nu ([ny]).
86 ben zjn hert: note the inversion of subject and finite verb.
88 andrijs: proper name, but not spelled with a capital.
90 blie-Schep: Zealandic [i] instead of Du. <ij>.
91 De Lif des heer: attempt to write Du. de liefde des Heren.
92 ongesaem: Du. ongehoorzaam 'disobedient'.
93 Vom Januari ... geschrieben: German.
Translation

To the dear brethren Martin, the congregation and all the brethren. One Tuesday evening the four brethren and the sisters and the old man Sac, we knelt together and prayed to the Lord and praised the Lord, and Friday evening we prayed again to the Lord and we ate together and we thanked the Lord. I asked my brother how his heart fared, and he said his heart now belongs to the word of the Lord. I asked Andrijs how his heart was and he said his heart feels the happiness of the love of the Lord, but his wife can sometimes make her heart so angry, which is why she is disobedient. Johannes says he found his heart so well, but not very much. Pitrus.

From January 21 and 24, 1738

Dear brethren, here is the first small letter which Peter sent to me from his group. Also, he has written it himself.

1.2.2 The early 1740s.

The early letters indicate that Zinzendorf's letter stimulated further writing in Negerhollands. During the subsequent years more letters followed, of which especially the one from 1741 is important. Among them the first slave letters in Negerhollands are encountered, and Dutch was no longer used exclusively. Again, the initiative for this apparently did not come from the slaves but from the missionaries. One must keep in mind that not all slaves could write; indeed, during the first years only two of them could, Peter and Domingo Gesoe. As there are more senders of letters than different types of hand-writing, the letters were apparently dictated. This is supported by the fact that often several letters appear after each other on the same sheet of paper. Mostly they were small notes, from which one can conclude that paper was not available in abundance. Furthermore, Peter and Domingo mainly wrote Dutch letters; missionary Löhans, on the other hand, wrote almost exclusively in Negerhollands. Here we included a letter from Löhans. The contents of these letters does not display much variation; they represent declarations of faith with only very scanty reference to daily life.

Arch-nr.: R15Ba-15.5a.l5 List-nr.:018 def.-nr.: 048
Date: 01.02.1740 [1741?]
Author: Lenathge Owner: Hans Claß
Writer: Löhans Recipient:
Format: 9.8 × 11.5 cm; verso
References: Büdingische Sammlung 15
Remarks: Baptised on 26 February 1741: Milka: the letter is probably from 1741, thus shortly before baptism. 1740 is not very likely
Language: NH
1 de grutniß\textsuperscript{94} an alle de Schüsters\textsuperscript{95}
DET greetings to all DET sister.PL

Mi a -was\textsuperscript{96} en arem verloren Mensch.
1SG PST -was a poor lost person

nu\textsuperscript{97}, mi.a.kom fin de heijland sein blut
now 1SG.PST.come find DET Saviour 3POS blood

die blut.a.kom wasch mi hart.
DET blood.PST.come wash 1SG heart

5 mi.a.was so lang dit vor hor de heere
1SG.PST.was so long time FOR hear DET Lord

sein wort. mar mi nu\textsuperscript{98} a.frag na die
3POS become but 1SG NEG PST.ask NA DET

mar dun mi a.kom vul de heijland
but then 1SG PST.come feel DET Saviour

sin kracht. na mi hart. da mi a.krisch
3POS strength NA 1SG heart then 1SG PST.cry

na em bardon.bardon. en so mi fin die
NA 3SG pardon.pardon and so 1SG find DET

10 genade.a.kom oover mi, mi nu ka
mercy.PST.come over 1SG 1SG NEG PRF

danck de heijland genug vor der\textsuperscript{99} sien
thank DET Saviour enough FOR that 3POS

blut.a.wasch mi hart. mi glof fast
blood.PST.wash 1SG heart 1SG believe fast

\textsuperscript{95} Schüsters: Du. zusters. <sch> maybe because of Germ. Schwester ‘sister’.
\textsuperscript{94} Germ. -niß instead of Du. -nis.
\textsuperscript{96} -was: must be a reinterpretation of NH wees ‘to be’ as Du. was ‘was’. This may indicate that Löhans did not understand the creole TMA system yet or that he was not aware of the existence of the Dutch infinitive wezen ‘to be’ (instead of regular zijn).
\textsuperscript{97} The universal use of Germ. <u> for [u] makes it likely that nu represents NH, Zealndic [nu] (noe) rather than written Dutch nu (i.e. [ny]).
\textsuperscript{98} nu, i.e. [nu]: one of the variants of the negation marker (na/no/nu). mar ... nu: ‘but ... not’ can be translated as ‘without’.
\textsuperscript{99} der: probably a mistake for det or dat ‘that’.

\textbf{Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, \textit{Die Creol taal}}
S. Thomas den 1. feber 1740

Translation

Greetings to all sisters. I was a poor and lost person. Now I came and found the Saviour’s blood. The blood came and cleansed my heart. I waited so long time before hearing the Lord’s word. Without asking for it. But then I came to feel the Saviour’s strength, in my heart, then I cried to him for forgiveness. And so I find the mercy has come over me. I now cannot thank the Saviour enough because his blood cleansed my heart. I believe firmly in the Saviour. He hung on the cross for me poor sinner. Lenathge of Hans Claß.

St. Thomas, February the first, 1740

7. School of the Moravian Brethren on St. Croix.

100 sonder instead of the irregular Du. form zondaar ‘sinner’ may be due to interference from Germ. Sünder ‘sinner’.  
101 Lenathge: Lena-tje, diminutive of Lena.
1.2.3 Letters to Bethlehem (Pennsylvania, U.S.A.)

From the following years only very few and then almost exclusively Dutch letters have been preserved. Starting in 1752 and 1753 we find a larger number of letters again. They are predominantly written in Negerhollands, their size has increased, and the texts are longer. Furthermore, a new addressee appears: the Indian congregation in North America (Bethlehem, Pennsylvania). From the language in the letters one senses increasing experience with the Negerhollands language, the number of Dutch interferences is low, and in their place new structures are employed (see several publications of Stein, for instance Stein forthcoming b).

The following letter is by Domingo Gesoe to the Indian congregation. Domingo Gesoe, one of the two writers from the early years, disposed of a good knowledge of Dutch and always wrote his own letters in this language, while for others he also wrote in Negerhollands. This letter is the only one known to us which he wrote in Negerhollands himself. Apparently, for him the addressee plays a role in this linguistic choice.

Arch-nr.: R15Ba-15.18.r List-nr.:072 def.-nr.: 094
Date: 30.05.1752
Author: Domingo Gesoe Owner: Carstens
Writer: Domingo Gesoe Recipient: Bethlehem
Format: Double sheet folded 2 × A4, 1.1 cm less wide, 0.7 cm shorter; front page bears the address.
Remarks: Brought by Oldendorp to Bethlehem, Penn., as are the following letters of the bundle.
Language: NH

1 En de genade van ons lieve heijland
   and DET grace of 1PL dear Saviour
   Lieve broeders alle -mael, ons alle -mael
dear brother.PL all 1PL all
   Jender arme, swaerte Broeders op St Thomas
2PL poor black brother.PL on St Thomas
   Lee groet Jender alle veel veel diesen102 mael, en -
ASP greet 2PL all much much thousand time and
5 De bloetige wonden van ons zoed Lam, die a
   DET bloody wound.PL of 1PL sweet lamb DET PST

102 diesen: Du. duizend ‘thousand’ with unrounded [y].
Dood en betaeld\textsuperscript{103} voor ons zonden aan de Chroshoud\textsuperscript{104} die and pay FOR 1PL sin.PL at DET cross.wood

Ja ons danck hem voor sie bloedige zweet en yes 1PL thank 3SG for 3POS bloody sweat and

ook voor die wonden an hand en voet Ja also for DET wound.PL at hand and foot yes

Die goed Zieholleje\textsuperscript{105}, die waer ons alle -mael DET great side.hole.DIM DET where 1PL all

10 zal zet als dijtje, voor alle quadt, hem zal FUT sit as animal.DIM for all evil 3SG FUT

Bewaar ons, ons kan noe kan gie een goed keep 1PL 1PL can NEG can give a thing

Maer ons danck hem voor die liefde die Em but 1PL thank 3SG For DET love DET 3SG

a gie Jender na bennen Jender hart dat ook PST give 2PL NA inside 2PL heart that also

Jender moe dinck op ons arm pover volck 2PL must think on 1PL pover poor folk

15 En doe soo veel moeijten voor ons hem selfs and do so much trouble for 1PL 3SG self

sal betael Jender voor die, en gie jender FUT pay 2PL for DET and give 2PL

Meer kracht en liefde voor Wandel na more strength and love FOR walk NA

bennen Sie paet die hem ka mack open inside 3POS path DET 3SG PRF make open

\textsuperscript{104} Chros-: English *cross* or a variant of a NH form *kroes* 'cross' with an Old West Germanic (Latin) [u] (Du. *kruis*). Cf. the introduction on the use of [u] instead of [y] in some Zealander etyma.

\textsuperscript{103} betaeld: Dutch past participle with ending -\textsuperscript{d} or spelling variety of expected Dutch present tense marker -t?

\textsuperscript{105} Zieholleje: an innovative compound plus diminutive, if our interpretation is correct.
voor ons, en voor de hele wereld, dat ons
for 1PL and for DET whole world that 1PL

can come free of all sin.PL through 3POS
bloed en dood, ons allemal lee groet
blood and dead 1PL all ASP greet
Jender veel veel diesen maal en ook
2PL much much thousand time and also
an ons lieve broeders die amerikanner106
on 1PL dear brother.PL DET American.PL

Die ook, die hae de lieve heilige lief, ons
DET also DET have DET dear Saviour dear 1PL

Ben moeSe blie voe hoor van Sender, ons
BE much happy FOR hear of 3PL 1PL

noe kan voe kiec hier So met makander
NEG can FOR see here so with each.other
maer ons hoop voe kiec makander bij de
but 1PL hope FOR see each.other at DET
Lieve heilige, ons Groet weer - an en de
dear Saviour 1PL greet again in DET
Naem van alle onze Swaerte broeders
name of all 1PL black brother.PL

En het Laeste ook van uwe arme
and DET last also of 2SG.GEN poor

Broeder Domingo Gesoe
brother Domingo Gesoe

106  amerikanner: older Dutch (and German) Amerikaner ‘American’ with -aner instead of more normal Du. -aan. Can be interpreted as singular or as plural. In this context a plural seems more likely.
Translation

And the grace of our dear Saviour. Dear brethren, all of us, your poor Black brethren on St. Thomas, we greet you all many thousand times. And the bloody wounds of our sweet Lamb, who died and paid for our sins on the cross. Yes we thank him for his bloody sweat and also for the wounds on his hands and feet. Yes the large side-hole, which is where we all will sit as little animals. We cannot repay him in any way, he who will keep us from all evil. But we thank him for the love which He has given you in your hearts, so that you must also think of us poor piteous people and take so great pains for us. He Himself will pay you for it, and give you more power and love to walk his path which he has opened for us, and for the whole world, so that we can become free of all sins, through his blood and death. We all greet you many thousand times, and also to our dear brethren the Americans. Them too, who love the Saviour, we are very happy to hear from them. We cannot see each other here, but we hope to see each other with the dear Saviour. We greet again on behalf of all our Black brethren, and finally also from your poor brother. Domingo Gesoe.

1.2.4 A letter from Cornelius

The following is a letter from Cornelius to Spangenberg, the principal assistant and later successor of Count Zinzendorf in the leadership of the Moravian congregation. Cornelius was the decisive personality in the slave congregation of the ‘second generation’; his portrait is found among the important Moravian personalities in the Unitäts-Archiv in Herrnhut. Like Domingo Gesoe he used both Dutch and Negerhollands in his letters. Spangenberg visited St. Thomas as early as 1736, three years before Zinzendorf.

Arch-nr.: R15Ba-15.16
Date: 06.07.1753
Author: Cornelius
Writer: Cornelius
Recipient: Spangenberg
Owner: Compagnie

Language: NH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>Mijn zeer hertelijk Broeder</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG.GEN very dear brother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 1SG ASP greet and kiss 2SG much much thousand |

| Maal ujt gnade in Jesus wonden en mi no wet time out grace in Jesus wound.PL and 1SG NEG know |

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, *Die Creol taal*
5 as\textsuperscript{107} joe sal kend/ mi voor di-\textit{j} tijd joe a weest\textsuperscript{108}na as 2SG FUT knows 1SG before DET time 2SG PST BE NA St Thomas mi no a kan loop [-na] vor hoort St Thomas 1SG NEG PST can walk NA FOR hears van de heijlænd en mi a weest [-fl] heel jong of DET Saviour and 1SG PST BE *** very young na bennen de weereld sonde. mi no a weet NA inside DET world sin 1SG NEG PST know Die hab soo en heijlænd maar nu mi noo DET have so and Saviour but now 1SG NEG kan leeft zonder de heijlan want as mi can lives without DET Saviour because as 1SG hert no sal voelt Si bloed alle Dagen na ben heart NEG FUT feels 3POS blood all day.PL NA inside mi hert <\textit{o}l\textit{o}> mi komt hel bede"oeft en mi\textsuperscript{109} 1SG heart o 1SG comes very sad and 1SG ziekt van bede"oeft maar mi hert kan ill of sad but 1SG heart can ander die ben hel zeer over de Heijlænd met other DET BE very sore over DET Saviour with allemal Si wonden na Si Lief voor mi son- all 3POS wound.PL NA 3POS body FOR 1SG sin -De want mi hert le brand allen na hem - because 1SG heart ASP burn only NA 3SG van liefde :o: mi live broeder mi no kan joe of love o 1SG dear brother 1SG NEG can 2SG

\textsuperscript{107} Despite the clearly creole features of this letter, verbal stems ('infinitives') often are written as Dutch 3SG finite forms (with -t, sometimes written as -dt).

\textsuperscript{108} as instead of of 'if, whether' can also be found in Dutch dialects.

\textsuperscript{109} mi: may be mi' (fin.) be'. In the 20th century mi' be' appears quite often. See vocabulary of De Josselin de Jong (1926).
no moet vergeet mi Ja joe no moet vergeet ons
NEG must forget 1SG yes 2SG NEG must forget 1PL
want mi ben die Aarmste verloor voelk di
because 1SG BE DET poorest lose folk DET

20 a maak de Heijland Sweet bloed vor mi
PST make DET Saviour sweat blood FOR 1SG
maar de Heijland no Rekend mi hem hab
but DET Saviour NEG counts 1SG 3SG have
mi goe muschie lief Ja hem hab ons goe
1SG very much love yes 3SG have 1PL very
en mi hab joe ook goe muschie liev na
and 1SG have 2SG also very much love NA
mi hert en [-m] niet meer mi le groet joe van mi
1SG heart and *** NEG more 1SG ASP greet 2SG of 1SG

25 Moeder ook Sooe en na almal broeder en Suste<ol•r>
mother also so and NA all brother and sister
en buijsonder[10] na di briend broeder en suster
and especially NA DET brown brother and sister
[-a] van ons almal 1 swart broeder en suster
*** of 1PL all *** black brother and sister
hier na St. Thomas en mi ben joe [-M] Aarme
here NA St Thomas and 1SG BE 2SG *** poor
Swart broeder Cornelius van de Companie
black brother Cornelius of DET company

30 St. Thomas den 6 Julij Ao 1753
St Thomas DET 6 July A.D. 1753

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111 briend: probably a hypercorrection. Dutch consonantal sequences in the rime of a syllable could be reduced in NH. This means that there may be an alternative, phonological explanation for the -t/-d ending on the verbal stems in this letter.
110 buijsonder: Du. bizonder. This spelling mistake indicates that <ui> could be pronounced as [i]. Cf. briend in the same line (Du. bruin).
Translation

My very cordial brother Spangenberg,
I greet and kiss you many a thousand times from the grace of Jesus' wounds. And I do not know whether you will know me. Before the time you were in St. Thomas I did not come to hear about the Saviour, and very young I was within the world's sins. I did not know there was such a Saviour, but now I cannot live without the Saviour, because if my heart does not feel His blood every day within my heart, O I become very sad and I am ill from sadness. But my heart can change. It is very sore over the Saviour with all His wounds over His body for my sins, because my heart burns of love only for him. O my dear brother I do not know (?) you. You must not forget me. Yes you must not forget us because I am the poorest lost person who made the Saviour sweat blood for me, but the Saviour does not hold it against me. He loves me very much. Yes he loves us much, and I also love you very much in my heart and nothing else I greet you, from my mother also, and to all brethren and sisters and especially to the brown brethren and sisters from all of us Black brethren and sisters in St. Thomas, and I am your poor Black brother Cornelius of the Company. St. Thomas, the sixth of July, anno 1753.

1.2.5 The copies of Oldendorp

Oldendorp had been conducting fieldwork on St. Thomas for his Missionsgeschichte for 17 months. On the return journey from St. Thomas, during his stay in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, Oldendorp copied a number of letters written by the St. Thomas slave congregation to the Indian congregation. One of these letters is also included here.

Arch.-nr.: R15Ba.15.25.21/22
List.-nr.: 089
def.-nr.: 127
Date: ca. 1753
Author: Catarina
Owner: Linberg
Writer: Copist-Oldendorp
Recipient:

Format: see letter 118 in Beck & Stein (forthcoming)
Remarks: see letter 118 in Beck & Stein (forthcoming)
Language: NH

1 Mi groet de Heer Graav en Baas Johannes en
  1SG greet DET lord count and reverend Johannes and
  Zuster Maria en Judit muschi, mi bin heel
  sister Maria and Judith much 1SG BE very
  bli over de gnade van de Hyland, De Heer Graav
  happy over DET grace of DET Saviour DET lord count

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
De ha gi mi de Hand een maal hieso, as mi no
DET PST give 1SG DET hand one time here as 1SG NEG

5 sal kik hem hieso, mi hoop mi zal kik hem bi
FUT see 3SG here 1SG hope 1SG FUT see 3SG at
de Hyland; Mi groet Baas Johanes ook all112, mi
DET Saviour 1SG greet reverend Johannes also already 1SG
dank hem muschi voor de gnade hem ka bring
thank 3SG much FOR DET grace 3SG PRF bring
na ons, Ons voel de nogal, mi no voerget broeder
NA 1PL 1PL feel DET quite 1SG NEG forget brother
Bruker, mi groet de heel gemeente, so groet113
Bruker 1SG greet DET whole congregation so great

di gnade bin na mi hart, so groet bin de gemeente
DET grace BE NA 1SG heart so great BE DET congregation

ook
also
already
Catarina
van
H Linberg
Catharina of Mr. Linberg
P.S. mi Mama Ruth groet muschi muschi hem
P.S. 1SG mother Ruth greet much much 3SG
bin heel bli na de gnade van ons Hyland David
BE very happy NA DET mercy of 1PL Saviour David

15 mi Man van Compani groet di heel gemeente
1SG man of company greet DET whole congregation
hem weet de Heere Graav en groet hem ook all.
3SG know DET lord count and greet 3SG also already

112 ook all: Du. ook al ‘also’ (lit. ‘also already’). The NH use of it is often not in accordance with Dutch usage.
113 groet: why the spelling groet is chosen here (instead of Du. groot ‘great, big’) is unclear.
Translation

I greet the lord count and reverend Johannes and sister Maria and Judith much. I am very glad for the grace of the Saviour. The lord count once shook my hand here. If I will not see him here anymore I hope I will see him with the Saviour. I greet reverend Johannes also. I thank him much for the grace he has brought to us. We feel it strongly. I do not forget brother Bruker. I greet the whole congregation. As large as the grace is inside my heart, so as large be the congregation too. Catharina of Mr. Linberg.

P.S. My mother greets very much. She is very happy in the grace of our Saviour. David, my husband of the Company greets the whole congregation. He knows the lord count and greets him as well.

1.2.6 Letters from St. Croix

At the outset, the centre of the Moravian slave congregation was St. Thomas. In the course of time, however, small new communities emerged on St. John and St. Croix. From St. Croix, letters have been preserved, but none from St. John. The conclusion of our selection concerns two letters from St. Croix, both written after 1760. The first one is written by Davis Messelaar, a member of the slave congregation, the second one by a missionary who is recognizable from the occasional German styling in his writing.

Arch-nr.: R15\textsuperscript{Ba} 15.28.2 List-nr.: 093 def.-nr.: 132
Date: 
Author: Nathaniel Owner: Koning
Writer: David Messelaar Recipient: 
Format: see letter 131 in Beck & Stein (forthcoming); letter 132 commences recto and ends verso (3 lines)
Remarks: see letter 131 in Beck & Stein (forthcoming)
Language: NH (St. Croix)

1 O mi Lieve Br mi le dank di Lieve heijland voor di Groet\textsuperscript{114} o 1SG dear brother1SG ASP thank DET dear Saviour FOR DET great

genadedi hem laat mi voel na ben mi hert voor Dink op [-Si] mercy DET3SG let 1SG feel NA inside1SG heart FOR think on 3POS

Si Dood en Lijden <ol\textsuperscript{•}di>hem Grieg\textsuperscript{115}na di Chrus hout en ovoor 3POSdead and sufferingDET 3SG get NA DET cross wood and over

\textsuperscript{114} Groet: why the spelling groet is chosen here (instead of Du. groot ‘great, big’), is unclear.
\textsuperscript{115} Grieg: read Crieg or Krieg (Du. krijgen ‘get’).
O my dear brother I thank the dear Saviour for the great mercy He lets me feel inside my heart to think of His death and suffering, which He endured at the cross. And because of that I want to pray to Him to feel love and have faith in Him. But I pray you dear brother that you all will also think of me poor piteous person and I do not know anything else but only to remain with Him and that alone will be to me the highest good inside my heart. Nothing else but greetings to my dear brother Nathaniel and all other brethren and sisters in the whole congregation, out of the wounds of our God and Saviour. I am your poor brother Nathaniel of his king.
The German missionary who wrote this letter for Mari Magdalene had a reasonable command of Dutch orthography. Thus, he occasionally used <ij> for [i], as in *mij* ‘1SG’ or in *mushij* ‘much’. Yet, he consistently spelled [u] with Germ. <u> instead of Du. <oe> so that there is no difference between the [u] of *mushij* ‘much’ and the [u] of *vul* ‘feel’. Furthermore, he introduced a couple of German words: *unwürdig* ‘unworthy’, *wunden* ‘wounds’, *König* ‘king’.

auf Der Königlichen Plantaij Prinzess

   genam
   St Crux d 20 April 1762

1 mij live bruder en sisters118 allgar. mij lee grud jender allgar
1SG dear brother and sister.PL all 1SG ASP greet 2PL all

mushijmushij all mij hart. wad mij sal see na jender,mij VUI
much much of all 1SG heart what 1SG FUT say NA 2PL 1SG feel

mij arm en boven119 na bin mij hart, en unwürdigvor die gnade,
1SG poor and poor NA inside1SG heart and unworthyFOR DET mercy


117 auf Der ... 1762: German, however with NH *plantai* ‘plantation’ instead of Du. *plantagie/plantage* ‘id.’. The participle *genam* could be Du. *genaamd* ‘called’ unless it represents Germ. *genannt* ‘id’.

118 Sisters: this ‘English’ spelling (instead of Du. *zuster* or semi-German *süster*) may be another early indication for a high front vowel in the NH word for ‘sister’.

119 boven ‘above’ must be a misspelling for *bover*, i.e. *pover* ‘poor’.
Translation

On the royal plantation named Princess, St. Croix, the 20th of April 1762.

My dear brethren and sisters all together. I greet you all very much from my whole heart. What will I say to you. I feel poor and piteous inside my heart, and unworthy of the grace which my dear Saviour is doing for me. And I long to come deeper into his bloody wounds. Because I feel them. It overcomes me. And I beg you to think of me for the dear Saviour. And furthermore I greet the dear reverend Nathaniel and reverend Philippus, and sister Mari M. and sister Susanna, who knows me. And I am and remain the poor unworthy, with love to you. Mari Magdalene of the king.
2 Religious Material: translations and transliterations

2.1 The first religious manuscripts

The earliest of religious texts in the tradition of the Moravian Brethren is ms. 333 from 1754. It forms the annex to Christmas day in Samy Isles' diary kept from 1754-55. It represents the translation of a hymn as sung by the children of the congregation that day. It was published in Stein (1982b).

In this section we present ms. 334 instead, which is part A of an annex to an anonymous diary kept by one of the Moravian missionaries, dated 1755.

2.1.1 Several creole hymns (ms. 334)

The following texts come from Herrnhut manuscript 334, called ‘Annex to the St. Thomas diary of the month of August 1755’. This manuscript contains two parts: part A, which is called 'Several creole hymns', and part B, which is a list in German of names of 48 women. Here, only part A is given:

Beylage zum Diario von St. Thomas
vom Mon. August. 1755.

<lm•A.)> Etliche Cariolische Lied*e*r

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Jesoe</th>
<th>Angesightes</th>
<th>Sweet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>face.GEN</td>
<td>sweat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maek</td>
<td>ons</td>
<td>Hertje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>make</td>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>heart.DIM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>Joe</td>
<td>Bloed</td>
<td>bliv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>blood</td>
<td>remain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>ons</td>
<td>Hert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>heart</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Beylage ...Lied*e*r: German.
2 Jesoe Angesightes Sweet: note the German genitive ending on Angesight and the Latin-Greek genitive of Jesus. Note as well the Dutch orthography for [u]: <oe>.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
1.

5 Een kleentje Kind mi weet mi ben, a small.DIM child 1SG know 1SG BE

en mi Kraght di ben swak, and 1SG strength DET BE weak

voor wees een vry Kind mi ha Sinn
FOR BE a good child 1SG have desire

maer no weet hoe vor maak.
but NEG know how FOR make

2.

10 Mi Heiland ka Uyt Lievd vor mi 1SG Saviour PRF out love for 1SG

wees ook een Kindje kleen BE also a child.DIM little

en ka verloss door si schoon Blood
and PRF redeem through 3POS beautiful blood

mi uit all Nodh en Pien.
1SG from all need and pain

3.

Mi lievste Heiland sei mi noe 1SG dearest Saviour tell 1SG now

hoe mi reght dankbar bedd how 1SG really grateful bed

voor all mi lievd mi wies na joe for all 1SG love 1SG show NA 2SG

dumm mi ben en noe weet. stupid 1SG BE and NEG know

---

3 vry: most probably this is not Du. vrij ‘free’ but rather NH fraai, fri ‘good’. The 18th century NH texts sometimes use <y> or <ij> instead of <aai> and Du. <ij> (or older <y>) corresponds to <i> or <ie> (i.e. [i]) in this text. Furthermore this interpretation may be more in accordance with the official ideology of the Moravian missionaries. Although we feel our interpretation makes sense in this context it cannot be excluded that vry is related to the theological notion of (Christian) freedom (rather than to social liberty).

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
4. Maer mi le dink, mi [-power] [-<ol•*pouwer*>]<ol•pover>Hert but 1SG ASP think 1SG poor poor poor poor heart
so as mi offd ka hoor
so like 1SG often PRF hear
voor en Geschenk joe ha begeert voor 2SG gift PST desired
for a gift 2SG PST desired
20 en di mi dink ben waar.
and DET 1SG think BE true

5. So neem na joe mi Hert en Sinn so take NA 2SG 1SG heart and mind
nim doe^ lievst Jesoelein
take do dearest Jesus.DIM
mi weet well, dat van joe mi ben 1SG know well that of 2SG 1SG BE
joe allerlievste Mann
2SG most.beloved man

6. 25 En noe mi arem hertje kleen and now 1SG poor heart.DIM little
van elk vüll goed bewaar
of every filthy thing preserve
joe a ka wasch di, hou die schoon 2SG PST PRF wash DET keep DET clean
van Schad en elk gevaar.
of damage and every danger

4 Although doe can be interpreted as 'do' (or as Du. toe 'please') the partly 'German' syntax of these hymns as well as the form nim instead of neem 'take' could induce one to interpret this word as Germ. du '2SG' in the normal inverted position for subjects in German imperatives.
Melod. O Haupt voll Blut u. "Wunde...".

1.

Kom't come
hie here
met with
mi 1SG
en and
kik see
di DET

höe how
hem 3SG
naben'n NA inside
si 3POS
Boet penance

die DET
Aard'e earth
met with
Sweet sweat
makt makes
natt wet
hi here

vat all
seize
si 3POS
Traanen tear.PL
goet good

met with
mi 1SG
na NA
jender 2PL
Herte heart.PL

versiemt fail
geen no
Oogenblik moment

want want
allemaal all
si 3POS
Smerte pain

meen't means
onse 1PL
eywig eternal
Glück. happiness

2

Kom't come
hie here
met with
lievde love
Traanen tear.PL

en and
kik see
di DET
Smertens -Mann pain.PL.GEN -man

na all
LEydens beauty
NA all
DEyden suffering.GEN

5 Tune: O Haupt ... "Wunde...". German, meaning: 'O head, covered with blood and wounds'.

6 The apostrophe used in this hymn seems to indicate that the following segment should not be pronounced as is clear from the forms naben'n and Aard'e since only this way these words fit the meter. This would imply that the writer wants to indicate that the plural imperative ending -t of German and older Dutch should not be pronounced in NH. Kom't should be read as kom. A rather complicated way to write NH kom. An alternative interpretation could be that the function of the apostrophe is ambiguous between indicating apocope (as in the case of Aerd'e) and syncope. In that case Kom't may be the syncopated variant of the plural imperative kommet of older German and the t should be pronounced.
40 naben'n si Bloed reght an
NA.inside 3POS blood straight on
waneer mi Hert si Leyden
when 1SG heart 3POS suffering
so kraghtig onderfind't
so strongly experiences

........................................ mi

mi passeer Ewighe -den
1SG pass eternity.PL
na di Gedaght alleen.
NA DET thought alone

3.

45 O Hoofd voll Wond'n en Schwüiren
o head full wound.PL and ulcer.PL
voll Smert en Pien en Bloed,
full pain and pain and blood
O Hoofd voll Gaat en Swieren
o head full hole and ulcer.PL
van Dornen steekel Hoet
of thorny prickle hat
Eertit ka wees voll Zierad
formerly PRF BE full adornment

50 en Heerlyk -heyt heel groot
and glory very great
noe jammerlyk schuimpeeret
now woefully scorned
willkomm'n met moeschi Groet.
welcome with many greeting

---

7 *an* particle of the particle verb *kik an* 'look at' (Du. *aankijken* 'id.'). *Kik ... reght an* is then equivalent to Du. *recht aankijken*.

8 *Schwüiren* 'ulcers', a variant of *Swieren* (<Du. *zweren* 'id.'), seems to be influenced by the vowel of Germ. *Geschwür* 'ulcer'.
4.

Wat joe mi Heer ka drag hie
what 2SG 1SG Lord PRF bear here
ka wees alleen mi Goed
PRF BE alone 1SG good

55 die Schuilk di mi ka maek hie
DET guilt DET 1SG PRF make here
joe ka betaald met Bloed
2SG PRF paid with blood

Kik hie mi staen mi pover
look here 1SG stand 1SG poor
joe Toorn mi ka verdien
2SG wrath 1SG PRF deserve
Maer gi mi Saaligmaaker
but give 1SG Saviour

60 vor kik joe Gnad alleen.
FOR see 2SG mercy only

*Lamen God Jesus
Lamb and God Jesus
Stem cross NA

Herte po[w]<v>
Hert po[v]<w>

Smert vor Joe en Smert
pain for 2SG and pain

65 hie na voor joe voet
here NA before 2SG foot

wand di ben heel Soet.
because DET BE very sweet
O wat voelt mi Hert
o what feels 1SG heart
over si grot Smert.
about 3POS great pain
Na di Crus vor kik him bludig
NA DET cross FOR see 3SG bloody
70 o di ben mi moschi Soete
o DET BE 1SG very sweet
elke wond mi groet
every wound 1SG greet
na jie Hand en Voet.
NA 2SG hand and foot

* O mi Hert le sink
o 1SG heart ASP sink
wanneer mi bedink,
when 1SG consider
75 hoeso ut si Zie le Stroomen
how out 3POS side ASP stream
Goed di mak mi Herte Vlammen
thing DET make 1SG heart flame
di Versoenings.Bloed
DET reconciliation.GEN blood
van mi Lam en God.
of 1SG lamb and God

* O jie Man vol Smert
o 2SG man full pain
80 bloed\(^0\) op jie volk Hert
blood up 2SG people heart

\(^{9}\) bloed: ambiguous between Du. bloed 'blood' and bloeden 'bleed'. Here it may be a verb.
maak ons altit nogh mehr Voelbar
make 1PL always even more perceptible
blieven na ons Hert en Hogo klaar
remain NA 1PL heart and eye clear
dat elk every Oogenblik
that every moment
joe Beeld ons kan kik.
2SG image 1PL can see

* 85 Di ben mi Plesie
DET BE 1SG pleasure
na Dagh Doenker 10 hie
NA day dark here
voor Dinkop di Lams si Traanen
FOR think.up DET lamb GEN 3POS tear PL
sla en Smert en bloedig Stroom -en
pain and ache and bloody stream -PL
da mi Hert le Vlam
then 1SG heart ASP flame

90 en sing Lamm o Lamm!
and sing lamb o lamb

**

.................................Sondaars

*Sondaars lopt na Jesus Wonden
sinner PL walk IMP NA Jesus wound PL
di ons altit open find
DET 1PL always open find
da di hab na allgaar Stonden
EMP DET have NA all hour PL

10 Dagh Doenker: It seems as if this composition, literally ‘day dark’, has the meaning ‘night’.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
Plek voor so een pover Kind.
place for such a poor child

* 

95 Let staan noe dat allgar Herten
let stand now that all heart.PL

di hier voor joe Anschein ben
DET here before 2SG face BE

voel joe bloedig Dod en Smerten
feel 2SG bloody death and pain.PL

scriv di diep na Hert en Sin.
write DET deep NA heart and sense

* 

Lat stan na ons Hert en Gronde
let stand NA 1PL heart and ground

100 en diep naben ons gemoed
and deep NA.inside 1PL mood

allmal Sondaers ondervind di
all sinner.PL experience DET

joe so dierbar Wonden Bloed.
2SG so dear wound.PL blood

* 

En als Kleentje pover Wormtje
and as small poor worm.DIM

di ben maer lelk Goed alleen
DET BE just ugly thing only

105 altit na joe soete Gnade
always NA 2SG sweet mercy

Bloed en Wonden ons verbly -en.
blood and wound.PL 1PL gladden

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
Sein Feuer hize durch uns hin
Sein blutigs Bad soll uns durchziehn
weil ihr seid sein ererbtes Gut
und kostet Ihm sein theures Blut11

* 

Joe Crües joe Groot benaut en Smert
2SG cross 2SG great anxiety and pain

joe Sweet en allemaal Wonden
2SG sweat and all wound.PL

di ka trek wey mi heele Hert
DET PRF pull away 1SG whole heart

110 en ha di vast gebonden.
and have DET fast bound

* 

Di ben di Vüer di na mi vlammt
DET BE DET fire DET NA 1SG flames

en roer mi Hert na Gronde
and move 1SG heart NA ground

........................................ vor

vor -door12 na mo<ol>e>schien Smerten Schaan
FOR -through NA much pain.PL shame

ja13 ka dod vor mi Sonde.
yes PRF die for 1SG sin

* 

115 Joe14 Hert na mi, mi Soon noe gi
2SG heart NA 1SG 1SG son now give

di ben mi Grood en Waard
DET BE 1SG great and worth

Geen rüst joe Vind ander Plek hie
NEG.one rest 2SG find other place here

11 Sein Feuer ... Blut: German.
12 vordoor ‘because’
13 ja: maybe ju ‘2SG’, although the usual spelling is joe.
14 In this stanza Jesus addresses the sinner.
So neem mi Jesus Christus aan
so take 1SG Jesus Christ on

dig mi diep na jo Bloed
dig 1SG deep NA 2SG blood

mi Glov dat jo na Crüs ka hang
1SG believe that 2SG NA cross PRF hang

mi en de wereld te Goed.
1SG and DET world to good

Joe Gottlyk Liev na mi guy uit
2SG divine love NA 1SG throw out

Joe heel schoon lievde Vlam
2SG very beautiful love flame

maer Cabba Duijster, Spitt, Valskeet
but finish darkness evil falseness

Joe Sinn schenkt mi o Lamm.
2SG sense give 1SG o lamb

O God maak mi Hert tot jo Hüss 15
o God make 1SG heart to 2SG house

hiso na deese titt
here NA DEM time

Ja latstaan joe woonhüüss, die wees
yes let 2SG home DET BE

ook na di Ewigkeit.
also NA DET eternity

---

15 Hüüss 'house' and woonhüüss 'house, home' two lines below demonstrate that Du. huis could be both [hus] (the normal form) and [hys] in 18th century NH. This confirms the use of his- in A. Magens’ letter of 1883.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
Translation

Annex to the diary of St. Thomas
of the month of August 1755.

Several Creole hymns.

Jesus face’s sweat
Make(s) our little heart wet and hot
Your blood remain(s) with God’s might
In our heart and give(s) us strength.

*  

1.
A small child I know I am
And my strength is weak.
To be a free child I have desire
But do not know how to do it.

2.
My Saviour has out of love for me
Also been a little child.
And has through his beautiful blood redeemed
Me from all need and pain.

3.
My dearest Saviour tell me now
How to pray really gratefully.
For all my love I show to you
Stupid I am and I don’t know.

4.
But I think my poor heart
As I often have heard.
You have desired for a gift
And that I think is true.

5.
So take to you my heart and mind
Take it, do dearest little Jesus.
I know well that yours I am
You most beloved man.

6.
And now my poor little heart
Preserve it from every filthy thing
You have washed it, keep it clean
Of damage and every danger.

*Tune: O head covered with blood and wounds.*

1.

Come here with me and look
How he in his penance
Makes the earth wet with sweat.
Seize all his tears good
With me in your hearts
Do not miss any moment
Because all his pain
Means our eternal happiness.

2.

Come here with tears of love.
And straight at the man of pains
In all the beauty of suffering,
Inside his blood,
When my heart experiences
His suffering so strongly
I pass eternities
In the thought alone.

3.

O head full of wounds and ulcers
Full of pain and ache and blood.
O head full of holes and ulcers
From a thorny hat.
Formerly [you] were full of adornment
And glory very great
Now woefully scorned
Be welcome with many greetings.

4.

What you my Lord have borne here
Has been only for my good.
The guilt which I have made here
You have paid with blood.
Look here I stand, me poor one
Your wrath I have deserved.
But give me, Saviour
That I may see your mercy alone.

*Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, *Die Creol taal*
Jesus God and Lamb
[You] have died at the cross's stem.
With your soul. My poor heart
Thanks you for your death and pain,
Here in front of your foot
Because it is very sweet.

O what does my heart feel
About his great pain.
At the cross to see him bloody
O it is very sweet for me.
Every wound I greet
In your hands and feet.

O my heart sinks
When I consider
How out of his side is streaming
Some thing which makes my heart flame.
The blood of expiation
Of my Lamb and God.

O you man full of pain
Bleed on your people's heart.
Make us always even more perceiving
Remain clear in our hearts and eyes.
That every moment
Your image we can see.

It is my pleasure
In the night here.
To think of the lamb's tears
Pain and ache and bloody streams.
Then my heart is a flame
And sings Lamb o Lamb.

Sinners go in Jesus' wounds
Which we always find open.
They have at every moment
Place for such a poor child.

Let it be now that all hearts
Which are here before your face
Feel your bloody death and pains
And write these deep in heart and sense.
Let it be that in our heart and ground
And deep inside our mind.
All sinners experience it:
The blood of your dear wounds.

And as small poor little worm
It is only an ugly thing.
Always in your sweet mercy
Blood and wounds gladden us.

May his fire burn right through us
His blood should run through us.
Because you are his inherited things
And are costing him his precious blood.

Your cross your great anxiety and pain
Your sweat and all wounds.
They have pulled away my whole heart
And have bound it fast.

It is the fire which flames in me
And stirs my heart profoundly.
Because in much pain and shame
You have died for my sin.

My son, now give your heart to me
It is great and worthwhile for me.
No rest you find in another place here
On the entire earth

So take me up Jesus Christ
Bury me deeply into your blood.

I believe that you have hung on the cross
For the good of myself and the world.

Throw out your divine love to me
Your very beautiful love flame.
But finish darkness, evil, falseness
Give me your sense o lamb.

O God make my heart of your house
Here in this time.
Yes let it be your home,
Also in eternity.

2.2 Printed work

In the period 1765-1834 several hymnals were published. The first one of those was *Gebeden en Liederen voor die swart Broeder-Gemeenten na S. Thomas, S. Croix en S. Jan.*, the hymnal of the Moravian Brethren. In 1770 the Danish missionaries published their first printed hymnals. The last printed work was the Danish *Creol Psalm-Buk, of een Vergaeding van Oûwe en nywe Psalmen na Creol-Tael*. The printing history of the Danish hymnals is quite complex, and we have tried to clarify the situation somewhat in the bibliography in this volume.

In this section we present some examples from the 1765 edition of the hymnal for the Moravian Brethren and from the 1823 edition of the hymnal for the Danish mission.

2.2.1 The Herrnhuter Hymnal of 1765 (3.1.3)

According to Oldendorp’s history of the Moravian mission, some hymns were already translated into creole in 1749 (Oldendorp 1987:454). Although he also mentions a publication from 1761 (p.540-541), Oldendorp (1987:573) writes:
‘In order to promote liturgical singing, the first Creole hymn booklet was published in Europe in 1765. It reached the island the following year and it was put to use in the service of the Negro congregation. No matter how rudimentary it was, this first effort provided the impetus for the consideration of the compilation of a more complete and articulate hymn book in the Creole language.’

The translator of the hymnal was possibly Johann Böhner, who also translated large parts of the Bible into Negerhollands (Oldendorp 1987:540-541). Here is one example from this first printed hymn booklet.

6.

1 En breng goei Nuws, Gemeent! na Joe: and bring good news congregation NA 2SG

Die heel fraai Nuws so veel mi breng,

DET very good news so much 1SG bring

Van die mi le praat en le sing.

of DET 1SG ASP talk and ASP sing

Voor jen ie16 heilig Meid Marie

for 2PL *** Holy maid Mary

5 Een Kindje van -daag ka pari17, a child.DIM today PRF give.birth

Van een kind so tender en soet, da die of 2PL so sweet and so die

Sal maak jender goe moeschi bli.

FUT make 2PL very much happy

Da Hem ben Jesus die Heer God,

EMP 3SG BE Jesus DET Lord God

Em wil help jen ut all’maal Nood,

3SG will help 2PL out all need

16 ie: probably die ‘DET’.

17 Voor jen ... ka pari: SOV sentence without Verb Second. Such an archaic order can sometimes be found in German hymns and songs.
10 En wees jen Heiland en maak vri
and BE 2PL Saviour and make free

Jen Sondaars van die sondo hie.
2PL sinner.PL of DET sin here

........................................ Em

28

Em breng die Saligheid all'gaar,
3SG bring DET salvation all

Die God Vader\textsuperscript{18} ka gie waar -waar,
DET God Father PRF give truly -RED

Dat jen mee Jesu\textsuperscript{19} na si Rik
that 2PL with Jesus NA 3POS kingdom

15 Sal leef na Bliskap eewiglik.
FUT live NA happiness eternally

So merk die Teken mi gie noe:
so notice DET sign 1SG give now

Na Doekoe slecht, na Beest -Canoe
NA cloth bad NA crib

Jender sal vind een Kindje daar,
2PL FUT find a child.DIM there

Die onderhou Skepsels all'gaar.
DET support creature.PL all

20 Laatstaan ons wees goe moeschi bli
let 1PL BE very much happy

En loop mee Beest -Wachtmann na die,
and walk with animal -keeper NA DET

\textsuperscript{18} Vader does not easily fit the iambic meter of this hymn. The basilectal NH form \textit{pupa} ‘father’, with stress on the final syllable, would have been more apt.

\textsuperscript{19} The Latin case form Jesu indicates that mee is meant to be a preposition rather than a coordinator. This means that Dat jen ... eewiglik more or less follows the rules of subordinate SOV word order of German and Dutch.
En kik wa God ons ka vereer\textsuperscript{20}, and see what God 1PL PRF honour

Mallechi 3 1
(Haggai 2 v.v. 8.)

Hoppo mi Hert! en kik daso rise 1SG heart and look there

25 Wagoed lee na die Beest -Canoe, what lie NA DET crib

Van wie die mooje Kindje ben;
of who DET beautiful child.DIM BE
die ben die liefste Jesus kleen!
DET BE DET dearest Jesus little

Wees welkom Joe, ons dierbaar Vrind BE welcome 2SG 1PL dear friend

Joe no veracht ons sondig Kind',
2SG NEG despise 1PL sinful child

Maar kom na Jammer na ons hie:
but come NA misery NA 1PL here

Hoe ons sal see Joe Dank voor die!
how 1PL FUT say 2SG thanks for DET

O Heer en Skepper van all'gaar!
o Lord and Creator of all

Heel pover Joe ka kom waar -waar,
very poor 2SG PRF come truly -RED

Da\textsuperscript{21} Joe na die droog Gras lee noe,
EMP 2SG NA DET dry grass lie now

---

\textsuperscript{20} German-Dutch subordinate SOV order in combination with a Creole TMA particle.

\textsuperscript{21} Da: In view of the SOV word order and the context one might also analyze Da as older German da 'where'.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, \textit{Die Creol taal}
Ofskoon die Wer'ld was nog so groot
although DET world were still so great
Vol Goud en ander kostlik Goed,
full gold and other costly thing
All'maal die altooveel kleen ben
tag DET very small BE
Voor wees voor Joe een Samba kleen.
FOR BE for 2SG a bed small
Ben grof Gras en slecht doekoe noe,
BE coarse grass and bad cloth now
Op die Joe, Koning groot en rik,
up DET 2SG king great and rich
Prajier lik na joe Hemelrik.
splendor like NA 2SG Kingdom.of. Heaven
Mi kleen Jesu! die mi lief ha
1SG little Jesus DET 1SG dear have
45 Maak mi Hert wees joe skoon Samba,
make 1SG heart BE 2SG clean bed

23 Koei: This is NH kui, which derives from dialectal Du. koei. The translator must have had Standard, Du. koe 'cow' in mind because that rhymes with noe 'now'.
22 Boerrik: NH burika 'mule'.
24 Wer'ld was: Wer'ld instead of Wereld (or: Grond) may render Welt 'world' in the German original, while Du. was 'was', which is not NH, may render G. war(e) 'were (conjunctive)'.
25 die altooveel kleen ben: German-Dutch subordinate word order.
26 die mi lief ha: German-Dutch word order due to rhyme.
Translation

6.

From heaven on high it is I come now
And bring good news, congregation!, to you.
The very good news so much I bring
Of it I talk and sing.
For you the Holy maid Mary
A little child today has borne,
A child so tender and sweet, that it
Will make you very much happy.
It is Jesus the Lord God.
He will help you out of all need,
And is your Saviour and make free
You sinners from the sin here.
He brings the salvation to all,
The God Father has given very truly,
That you with Jesus in His kingdom
Will live in happiness eternally.
So notice the sign I give now:
In bad cloth, in a crib
You will find a little child there,
Who supports creatures all.
Let us be very much happy
And go with the animal-keeper to it,
And see what God has honoured us with,
His dear Son, our heart-desire.
Open my heart! and look there
What lies in the crib
Of who the beautiful little child is.
It is the dearest little Jesus!
Be welcome you, our dear friend
You do not despise us sinful child[ren]
But come to misery with us here
How we will say you thanks for it!
O Lord and Creator of all!
Very poor you have come very truly
It is you that in the dry grass lies now,
The mules and the cow eat.
Although the world was still so great
Full of gold and other costly things,
It all is very small
To be for you a little bed.
The velvet and the silk of you
Is coarse grass and bad cloth now,
On which you, king great and rich,
Sleep like in your heaven kingdom
My little Jesus! whom I love dearly,
Make my heart be your clean bed,
To rest always very sweet inside,
That you must never come out of my mind.

2.2.2 A Danish hymnal (1823)

The history of the Danish translations of hymns is rather complex. Some of the works were re-editions of others, and for others it is quite hard to say who is the composer. In the bibliography of the present work, more information about each publication can be found.

In this section is an example from Creol Psalm-Buk of een Vergaeding van Oûwe en nywe Psalmen na Creol-Sprack (1823). According to Lund's correspondence with the Danish Missionary Society kept in RA (RA, Privatinsttituter. Det Danske Missions Selksab. Privatarkiv nr. 10.162. Pk. 324.), this hymn is a re-edition of the 1770 one, enlarged with 30 hymns written by him in 1797. Strangely enough, Lund says in a letter of 12 December 1822 that he does not know of any other hymnal than the 1770 edition (see Wold). Yet the 1823 one corresponds in several ways to the 1799 one by Brandt. In an 1827 edition, hymn 17 agrees completely, except for minor spelling differences, with the text supplied in a letter by Lund of 3 June 1823. Here we print the hymns 79 and 80.

98

No. 79.

Mel. I Jesu Navn.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Wa</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bin</td>
<td>BE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>blie,</td>
<td>happy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27 Mel. (…) Navn: Danish, meaning ‘tune: In Jesus’ name’.
O Jesu! mi ka doop
O Jesus 1SG PRF baptise

En ka kom vrie yt van die Slaverie
and PRF come free out of DET slavery

Door die saelig Gloov en Hoop;
through DET blessed belief and hope

Door die Waeter mi ka skoon,
through DET water 1SG PRF clean

Krieg get Pardoon, Pardon

En ons ka maek Kontragt
and 1PL PRF make contract

Na Jesu Bluet en Kragt;
NA Jesus blood and strength

Self die Dievel mut neem Pad
self DET devil must take path

Ju mit mi. ons ka maek Maet,
2SG with 1SG 1PL PRF make mate

door ju bluedig Sie sie Gat.
through 2SG bloody side 3POS hole

2. Ol help Ju mi,
2 o help 2SG 1SG

Mi draeg mi Kristen Naem
1SG carry 1SG Christian name

Heel stil en fraej, en noojt for gooij mi wej;
very silent and good and never FOR throw 1SG away

28 ka doop: passive.
29 ka skoon: passive or a copular construction with perfective marker ka instead of copula bin ‘(fin.) be’.
30 Imperative with Germanic V1 word order.
Translation

Number 79.

tune: In Jesus' Name

What I am happy
O Jesus! I have been baptised
And have come free out from the slavery
Through the blessed belief and hope;
Through the water I have cleaned,
Gotten forgiveness,
And we have made a contract
In Jesus' blood and strength;
Even the devil must take the path.
You with me. We have made friendship,
Through your bloody side's hole.

31 Spor: Seems a printing error for spot.
2. O! help you me, 
I carry my Christian name 
Very silently and well, and never to throw me away; 
Not to make you mockery and shame; 
Out of my baptism do not let me step 
And to sleep: 
As I will come to fall, 
Raise me then once more; 
Teach me every day to think of it. 
You have cleaned me in the baptism 
Through the water on my head.

99

No. 80.

Mel. Guds Søn er kommen

1 Elkeen, die gloof en word gedoopen, everyone DET belief and become baptised
Sal ontvang waer die Leeven. FUT receive true DET life
Want hem mit iesus Bluet ka hoop,
because 3SG with Jesus blood PRF hope
Bin een van iesus Leeden. BE one of Jesus Leeden.
5 Word onder Godt sie Kinders Tall,
become under God 3POS child.PL number
For eer die Lam mit Engels all
FOR honour DET lamb with angel.PL all
Na Leevens Buk geskrieven
NA life GEN book written

2. Ons almael sygt heel hertelig:
2 1PL all sigh very hearty

32 Mel. (...) kommen: Danish, meaning: 'Tune: God's Son has come'.
33 na Leevens Buk geskrieven: Dutch word order with Du. past participle geschreven 'written' which is required in the presence of the passive auxiliary word 'be'.
Translation

Number 80.

tune: God’s son has come.

Everyone, who believes and is baptised,
Will receive truly the life,
Because he with Jesus’ blood has hoped,
Is one of Jesus’ limbs.
Become one among God’s children’s number
To honour the lamb with Angels all
In life’s book written.

2. We all sigh very heartily:
O Jesus! allow us mercy!
That through the baptism’s strength worthily
We must walk on earth,
Inside the sweet and religious hope
That you have brought us through the baptism.
In eternal heavenly honour.

waardig: may be Du. waardig ‘dignified(ly), worthy/worthily’ or waardiglijk ‘dignifiedly, worthily’.
-lig is reminiscent of Danish.

Ons wandel mut: Dutch archaic subordinate word order probably due to the iambic meter.
3 Bible texts

No creole language can boast of such a wealth of written sources from its early years as Negerhollands. Especially during the period beginning around half a century after its first attestation, the late 18th century, Negerhollands was preserved in thousands of pages of manuscript and printing. The largest single works preserved are Bible translations. Of course, the stylistic variety of biblical and other Christian religious texts is hardly equivalent to the daily spoken language of the plantation slaves. Still, these documents represent a valuable source, especially since we sometimes have several independent translations of the same texts at our disposal. Within certain obvious limits, they offer an opportunity to conduct research into synchronic variation in late 18th-century Negerhollands, which at that time had developed into a fully fledged native language and which was at the height of its use. In the introduction we discussed the problems concerning the religious sources of Negerhollands and presented some contemporary metalinguistic remarks. Here we present sections from the Old Testament, and also contrast different versions especially of sections from the New Testament.
3.1 Translations of the Old Testament

The first excerpt from the Old Testament is from a Hermhut manuscript of over 1000 pages, ms. 325, large parts of which are hard to read due to their state of decay. The text is not dated, but it must have been written between 1780 and 1785 by Johann Böhner. The only printed version of the Old Testament in Negerhollands is a children's Bible by the Danish missionary Oxholm (1822). There may have been more Danish manuscript versions of the Old Testament, but they were never found, e.g. those by Volckersen and Magens (see the bibliography).

3.1.1 Joseph and the Pharaoh's Dreams [Genesis 40] (±1780-1785)

§. 37.

1 Na aster die die a gebuir1, dat die Mond van -Schenk2
NA after DET DET PST happen that DET cupbearer of

Na die König3 na Egypten en die Hofbakker, a ver\sondi
DET king NA Egypt and DET court.baker PST offend

sender na sender Heer, die König na Egypten. En
3PL NA 3PL lord DET king NA Egypt and

Pharao a kom quaat op si twee Kammereer4, op die
pharaoh PST come angry up 3POS two chamberlain up DET

5 Amtmann5 over die Mond -Schenksender, en op die
civil.servant over DET cupbearer 3PL and up DET

Amtmann over die Hofbakker. En a leveer sender
civil.servant over DET court.baker and PST deliver 3PL

na die Captain van die Trabant6 sender tot bewaaring, 
NA DET captain of DET body-guard 3PL to protection

---

2 Mond-Schenk: adaptation of Ge. Mundschenk ‘cupbearer’ (Du. schenker).
1 The spelling gebuir instead of gebeur (Du. gebeuren ‘happen’) seems to indicate a pronunciation with [y] instead of [ø].
3 König ‘king’. Ge. (Du. koning).
4 Kammereer: adaptation of Ge. Kämmerer ‘chamberlain’.
5 Amtmann: Ge. Amtmann ‘higher official’.
6 Trabant: Ge. Trabant ‘body-guard’.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, *Die Creol taal*
en die a doe sender nabin die Arest Hoes, na die Plek, and DET PST do 3PL NA.inside DET jail house NA DET place
Harmoni Cap. 40, v. 1=-[13.] 23....................... 129.
waar Joseph a wees na arest. En die Captain van where Joseph PST BE NA jail and DET captain of
10 die Trabanten a gie Joseph na sender <ol>vor> Dien sender;
DET body PST give Joseph NA 3PL FOR serve 3PL -guard.PL
en sender a wees sommig {Tid |Dagen} na die Gevangnis. and 3PL PST BE some time day.PL NA DET prison
En sender twee, die Mond en die Oberst’ Bakker
and 3PL two DET cupbearer and DET supreme baker
van die Konig na Egypten, die sender a leei na die Ar= of DET king NA Egypt DET 3PL PST lay NA DET jail
est Hoes, a hab na een Donker een Droom; [-na] na elk - house PST have NA a night a dream NA NA every
15 een a droon een appart goed, en elke Droom a hab si one PST dream a separatething and every dream PST have 3POS
eigen Bedeuding’. En as Joseph Vroe-vroe a kom na own meaning and as Joseph morning PST come NA
binne tot sender, en a kik, dat sender awees bedroef; inside to 3PL and PST see that 3PL PST.BE sad
em a vrag die twee Kammerir’ van Pharao, en a see: 3SG PST ask DET two chamberlain of pharaoh and PST say
vorwaaromjender ben vandag soo bedroefd|true En sender -rig?
why 2PL BE today so sad/mournful and 3PL
20 a see: Een Droom a ka droom ons, en ons hab nimand PST say a dream PST PRF dream 1PL and 1PL have no one

7 Oberst ‘supreme’: Ge. adjective instead of the Du. prefix opper ‘id.’.
8 Bedeuding: superficial adaptation of Ge. Bedeutung ‘meaning’.
9 Kammerir: attempt at a better adaptation of Ge. Kämmerer ‘chamberlain’. In fact it should have been Du. kameraar or kamerheer.
vör lee ons die ut. Staan die niet bi Godt, dat em kan lay 1PL DET out stand DET NEG at God that 3SG can give DET interpretation Joseph PST say tell DET yet NA 1SG Da die Oberst Mond-Schenk a verthel na Joseph then DET supreme cupbearer PST tell NA Joseph si Droom, en a see na em; die a ka droom mi, een 3POS dream and PST say NA 3SG DET PST PRF dream 1SG a 25 Wien Stok a staan na voor mi. Na deese Wien Stock wine stalk PST stand NA before 1SG NA DEM wine stalk a wees drie Tacken, en die a wees as of em a ka bloei PST BE three branch.PL and DET PST BE as if 3SG PST PRF blossom kaba, en die Druifi, die a wees na die, a hab riepe finish and DET grape DET PST BE NA DET PST have ripe Baier. Maar mi a hab die Drink beer<ol•er>van Pha=berry but 1SG PST have DET drink cup of pharaoh ra*o*na mi Hand, en a neem die Baier <rm•Druifi>, en a douw -NA 1SG hand and PST take DET berry grape and PST press 30 *sen*der ut na die Drinkbeekervan Pharao, en a gie 3PL out NA DET cup of pharaoh and PST give d*ie* Beeker na die König si Hand. En Joseph a see DET cup NA DET king 3POS hand and Joseph PST say n*a* em, die Bedeuding van die ben deese: Drie Tacken NA 3SG DET meaning of DET BE DEM three branch.PL *ben* drie Dag, over drie Dag Pharao sal verhogh BE three in three day pharaoh FUT promote joe Hoofd en sal set joe weeraan na joe Dienst, dat 2SG head and FUT put 2SG again NA 2SG service that

10 Deuding: mixture of Ge. Deutung and Du. duiding.
11 Druifi: Du. diminutive of druif.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
123

35 Joe gie em die Drink beeker na si Hand,
2SG give 3SG DET drink cup NA 3POS hand

........................................ na

130. I Boek Mose Cap. 40,

na die Manir van voor, toen joe a wees si Mond
NA DET fashion of before when 2SG PST BE 3POS cupbearer

Maar dink na mi, wanneer die loop fraai na Joe,
but think NA 1SG when DET walk good NA 2SG

en doe Baermhartigkeit na mi, en breng mi na die
and do mercy NA 1SG and bring 1SG NA DET

Gedachtnis bi Pharao, en help mi ut van die Hoes.
remembrance at pharaoh and help 1SG out of DET house

40 Want mi ben gediefd12 ut die Land van die Ebrageen op
because 1SG BE stolen out DET country of DET Hebrew.PLup

verborg manir; en ook hier mi a ka doe niet die
hidden manner and also here 1SG PST PRF do NEG DET

mindste<lm•*o*nrech<ol•t>>, en dochsenderka set mi na bin die Gatt.
least injustice and yet 3PL PRF put 1SG NA inside DET hole

As noe die Oberst Hof bakker a kik, dat die
as now DET supreme court baker PST see that DET

Deuding a wees goet, em a see na Joseph: Die a
meaning PST BE good 3SG PST say NA Joseph DET PST

45 droom mi ook, dat mi a drag drie Magoeto op mi
dream 1SG also that 1SG PST carry three basket up 1SG

Hoofd. Nabin die bovenst Magoeto a wees all sort
head NA inside DET top basket PST BE all kind

12 gediefd: past participle governed by the passive auxiliary ben (cf. the introduction). It is based
upon the creole verb dif 'steal' (<Du. dief 'thief'). In Du. the verb dieven 'steal' is nearly
nonexistent.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
gebakken Goed, wat Pahrao ben geweent\(^{13}\) voor jet:
baked good what pharaoh BE accustomed FOR eat
en die Vogel sender a jett die ut van die Magoete, and DET bird 3PL PST eat DET out of DET basket
die a wees op mi Hoofd. En Joseph a antwort en DET PST BE up 1SG head and Joseph PST answer and
50 a see, die Bedeudinge ben die: Drie Magoete PST say DET meaning BE DET three basket
ben drie Dag, aster drie Dag Pharao sal slaa BE three day after three day pharaoh FUT strike
joe die Kop af, <bm\*Im Grundtext steht mit deutlichen Worten, er wir\*d
2SG DET head off
d\*ein Haupt van dir nehmen, von dir herunter, welches anders nicht kan verstanden werden als von einer en sal lat Enthauptung\(^{14}\) and FUT let
55 hang joe na een hang 2SG NA a
Hout; da die Vogel sender sal jett joe Vleesch wood then DET bird 3PL FUT eat 2SG flesh
van joe.
of 2SG
En die a ge\<ol\*b\>uirda die derde Dag, da Pharao a he\*b* si and DET PST happen NA DET third day that pharaoh PST have 3POS Gebord en a maak een Maaltid voor si Hofbed\*ien*de -dag, birthday and PST make a meal for 3POS court.servant

\(^{13}\) geweent: superficial adaptation with unrounded [ə] of Ge. gewöhnt 'used' (Du. gewoon) or from seventeenth century Dutch geweente 'usage'.

\(^{14}\) <Im Grundtext ... Enthauptung>: German, meaning: ‘In the source text stands in clear words: he will take your head off you, which cannot be understood differently as of a decapitation.’

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, *Die Creol taal*
125

60 sender. En as sender a wees bi malkander, da em "a" lat 3PL and as 3PL PST BE with each other then 3SG PST let haal die Oberst Mond en die Oberste <bm>Hof>Ba*kk*er -Schenk, get DET supreme cupbearer and DET supreme court baker Harmoni. Cap. 41, v. 1=13.......................... 131.

na [-na] boven; en a set die oberst Mond -Skenk weeraan NA NA above and PST put DET supreme cupbearer back in na si Skenkdienst, dat em gie die Drink na die König|Pha= -beeker in NA 3POS pouring service that 3SG give DET cup NA DET king/ pharaoh

rao si Hand: Maar die oberst Hof bakker em a lat hang - 3POS hand but DET supreme court baker 3SG PST let hang

65 op, glik Joseph a ka verklar sender. Maar die up like Joseph PST PRF explain 3PL but DET Oberste Mond no a dink na Joseph, maar a ver -Skenk supreme cupbearer NEG PST think NA Joseph but PST for-

-geet em. 3SG

Maar na aster een Tid van twee Jaar Pharao a but NA after a time of two year pharaoh PST hab een Droom, as of em a staan bi die Revier Nilon <bm>Die Revier have a dream as if 3SG PST stand at DET river Nile DET river

70 Nilon, welk parti em na Egyptenna seven Arm, en so as die ben Nile which split 3SG NA Egypt NA seven branch and so as DET BE bekent dat "t* em door si overloop dong15 die geheele Land, en ben known that 3SG by 3POS overflow manure DET entire country and BE die reeden dat die Grond drag fraai. Vordaaarom die a droom die DET reason that DET soil carry good therefore DET PST dream DET

15 dong: probably an English loan.
König, dat sendr a klim op ut die Revier Nilus.

en a kik vor klim op ut die Revier seven mooie en fett

75 die sendr a weid na die Biesem’gras. En aster
cow DET 3PL PST graze NA DET rush grass and after
die em a kik ander seven Koehi a klim op ut die Re=
 DET 3SG PST see other seven cow PST climb up out DET river
vier, die a wees haatlik18 en mager; en sender a staan
- DET PST BE ugly and skinny and 3PL PST stand
neven die ander Koehien na die Kant van die Revier.
beside DET other cow.PL NA DET side of DET river
En die haatlike en mager Koehien a jett die seven mooie
and DET ugly and skinny cow.PL PST eat DET seven beautiful

80 en fette Koehien. Da Pharao a kom waker.
and fat cow.PL then pharaoh PST come awake
En em a slaap in weeraan, en die a droom weeraan,
and 3SG PST sleep in again and DET PST dream again
en a kik, dat seven Kopp Korn a groei ut na een Stock,
and PST see that seven head corn PST grow out NA a stalk
die a wees deck en mooi. (voll met Saad) Darnah em
DET PST BE thick and beautiful full with seed there.after3SG
a kik seven Kopp a kom op, die sender a wees denn
PST see seven head PST come up DET 3PL PST BE thin

85 en paschima van die Ostwint. En die seven mager
and scorched of DET east.wind and DET seven skinny
Kopp a swalg in die seven decke en (van Saad) volle Kopp.
head PST swill in DET seven fat and of seed full head

17 Biesem with an m instead of Du. biezen- ‘rush’ is unexplained.
16 Koehi: unusual orthography for koei ‘cow’.
Da Pharao a kom waker, en a kik, dat die a wees een Droom. then pharaoh PST come awake and PST see that DET PST BE a dream

132. I Boek Mose

En as die ka kom Morg, da si Geest a wees verlegen, and as DET PRF come morning then 3POS mind PST BE embarrassed?

en en a stier ut, en a lat roep allemaalwaarsegers and 3SG PST send out and PST let call all fortune.teller.PL

90 na Egypten, en alle Geleerde sender, en a verhaal sen= NA Egypt and all learned 3PL and PST tell 3PL

der si Droom; maar niet een a wees, die a kan lee - 3POS dream but NEG one PST BE DET PST can lay

die ut na Pharao. Da die Oberste Mond -Skenk a DET out NA pharaoh then DET supreme cupbearer PST

praat met Pharao, en a see: Mi le dink vandag na talk with pharaoh and PST say 1SG ASP think today NA

mi Sondo. Pharao a wes Kuaat op si Hofdienaers, en 1SG sin pharaoh PST BE angry up 3POS court.servant.PL and

95 a leei mi en die Oberste Hofbakker na die Arest, na PST lay 1SG and DET supreme court.baker NA DET jail NA

bein die Hoes van die Captain over die Trabanten sender. inside DET house of DET captain of DET body.guard.PL3PL

Da die droom ons twee na een Donker na elkeen een there DET dream 1PL two NA a night NA everyone a

aparte Droom, en ijder Droom a hab si eigen Bedeu= separate dream and every dream PST have 3POS own meaning

- and a Hebrew jongmann a wees bi ons, een ding. En een Ebraeisch Jongmann a wees bi ons, een

100 Dienaer van die Captain over die Trabanten sender, die servant of DET captain of DET body.guard.PL3PL DET

19 ijder: Du. ieder ‘each’.
a lee ons ons Droomen ut, toen ons a verthelem die; em
PST lay 1PL 1PL dream.PLout when 1PL PST tell 3SG DET 3SG
a lee die ut na ijder een soo, as si Droom a wees. En soo
PST lay DET out NA every one so as 3POS dream PST BE and so
as em a verklaardie na ons, soo die a ka loop; mi, die
as 3SG PST explain DET NA 1PL so DET PST PRF walk 1SG DET
König a ka set weeraanna mi Dienst, en die ander em
king PST PRF put back NA 1SG service and DET other 3SG
105 a ka hang op.
PST PRF hang up

§. 38.
I Boek Mose Capit. 41, v. 14=46.

Da Pharao a stier hen, en a lat roep Joseph: en
then pharaoh PST send away and PST let call Joseph and
sendera lat em gau, gau ut die Gatt. En em a lat skeer
3PL PST let 3SG quick quick out DET hole and 3SG PST let shave
em, en a doe ander kleer aan, en a kom nabinne na
3SG and PST put other clothes on and PST come NA inside NA
Pharaoh. En Pharao a spreek tot Joseph, die a ka
pharaoh and pharaoh PST speak to Joseph DET PST PRF
110 droom mi, en daer ben niemand die kan lee die ut. En
dream 1SG and where BE no. one DET can lay DET out and
mi a ka hoor see van joe, dat wanneer joe hoor een Droom
1SG PST PRF hear say of 2SG that when 2SG hear a dream
soo joe kan lee ut die. En Joseph a antwort na Pha
so 2SG can lay out DET and Joseph PST answer NA pharaoh

........................................rao

Harmoni Capit. 41, v. 14=46......................... 133.

rao, en a see: Niet mi; maar Godt selv sal antwort, wat
and PST say NEG 1SG but God self FUT answer what
ben goet en fraai voor Pharao.  
BE good and nice for pharaoh

115 En Pharao a praat met Joseph: Die a droom mi, as of and pharaoh PST talk with Joseph DET PST dream 1SG as if
mi a staan na die Kant van die Revier. En a kik seven 1SG PST stand NA DET side of DET river and PST see seven
Koehi a klim op ut die Water, sendera wees mooi en fett, cow PST climb up out DET water 3PL PST BE beautiful and fat
en sender a weid na die Biesem Gras. En aster sender and 3PL PST graze NA DET rush grass and after 3PL
mi a kik seven ander, goe mager en haatlike Koehien 1SG PST see seven other very skinny and ugly cow.PL

120 a klim ut; na die geheele Egypt Land mi no a ka kik PST climb out NA DET entire Egypt country 1SG NEG PST PRF see
die soo haatlik, glik die sender a wees. En die seven DET so ugly like DET 3PL PST BE and DET seven
mager en haatlike Koehien a vreet op die erste seven skinny and ugly cow.PL PST eat up DET first seven
mooie en fette Koehien. En as sender a ka vreet die na= beautiful and fat cow.PL and as 3PL PST PRF eat DET NA
binne, die no a wees vor bemerk na sender, dat sen= inside DET NEG PST BE FOR notice NA 3PL that 3PL

125 der a ka vreet die; en sender ansien a bliev so haatlik - PST PRF eat DET and 3PL look PST remain so ugly
as die a wees toever. Da mi kom waker. as DET PST BE before then 1SG come awake
En mi a kik nochmaal na droom dat seven Kopp and 1SG PST see again NA dream that seven head

20 Die a droom mi: It is unclear whether this is true creole or just a literal translation of older German Es träumte mich ‘(lit.) It dreamed me, I dreamed’.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
a groei na een Stock (Halm) die a wees vo{o+}<1>l(Saad) en
PST grow NA a stalk stalk DET PST BE full seed and
mooi. Darnah a kom op seven droge Kopp (of: Spuir\m)
beautiful there(after)PST come up seven dry head or spur

130 die a wees denn en paschima. En die denne Spuiren
DET PST BE thin and paschima. En die denne spur.PL
a swalg die seven mooie Spuiren; die mi a ka verthel
PST will DET seven beautiful spur.PL DET 1SG PST PRF tell
na die Waarseegers, maar niemand ben, die sal kan
NA DET fortune.teller.PL but no.one BE DET FUT can
lee mi die ut.
lay 1SG DET out
Joseph a see na Pharao: Alltwee wat a ka d<ol\r>oom
Joseph PST say NA pharaoh both what PST PRF dream

135 na Pharao ben eenderley; Godt a mak bekent na Pha=
NA pharaoh BE alike God PST make known NA pharaoh
rao wat em hab voor. Die seven mooie Koehi ben
- what 3SG have for DET seven beautiful cow BE
seven Jaar, en die seven goeie Spuiren ben ook
seven year and DET seven good spur.PL BE also

seven Jaar; die ben eenderley Droom. Die seven
seven year DET BE alike dream DET seven
mager en haatlike Koehien, die a ka klim ut aster
skinny and ugly cow.PL DET PST PRF climb out after

.........................................................
die

134. I Boek Mose

140 die -jene\m dat ben ook seven Jaar; en die seven\m mageren
DET -one that BE also seven year and DET seven\skinny and

21  Spuir: The source of this noun is probably English: spur.
22  die-jene ‘that one’: a mixture of Du. diegene and Ge. derjenige.
van die Ostwint verbrante Spuiren desgeleiks: want een of DET east.wind burned spur.PL as.well because a
seven\jaarig hongertid sal FUT come
seven-year famine come
Dat ben noe die Saak, die mi a ka praat na Pharao; that BE now DET case DET 1SG PST PRF talk NA pharaoh
namlik Godt wies na Pharao, wat em hab voor. Kik, namely God show NA pharaoh what 3SG have before look
145 seven Jaar sal kom, na die sal wees groote Overvloed seven year FUT come NA DET FUT BE great abundance
na geheel Egypten Land, En na aster die selve een hon= NA entire Egypt country and NA after DET same a -
-ger-Tid sal kom die sal hou aan seven Jaar; da Volk famine FUT come DET FUT keep on seven year then people
sal vergeet na Egypten Land allegaar die Overvloed; FUT forget NA Egypt country all DET abundance
en die Hungersal jett die Land. Volk no sal weet meer and DET hunger FUT eat DET country people NEG FUT know more
150 van die Overvloed, die a wees na die Land, voor die Hong= of DET abundance DET PST BE NA DET country before DET -
ersnood, die sal kom aster-aan; want die sal wees goe famine DET FUT come later.on because DET FUT BE very
groot. En dat die a ka droom Pharao tweemaal, die great and that DET PST PRF dream pharaoh two.times DET
le beedete, dat die bi Godt ben vast <ol\en>no sal ver ASP mean that DET by God BE determined and NEG FUT -
toeF ort vor doo die. tarry FOR do DET

23 hab voor: from Du. iets voorhebben or German etwas vorhaben 'to have in mind something'.
24 beteit Ge. bedeuten 'mean'.
Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
155 Doe Pharao kik na een verstandig en wies Mann, now pharaoh look NA a sensible and wise man en set em over Egypten Land; en Pharao maak, dat and put 3SG above Egypt country and pharao make that deese Mann bestell Amtlieden, en neem die tiende ge DEM man appoint civil.servant.PL Land take DET tenth - dobbelt, na die Land, wanneer die seven Jaar van O= doubled NA DET country when DET seven year of - vervloed sal kom. En gaader alle Kost na die Goeie abundance FUT come and gather all food NA DET good 160 Jaaren, die sender sal kom; en dat die Korn word na year.PL DET 3PL FUT come and that DET corn become NA Hoop gegooit, dat Pharao hab een Voorrath na si Hand pile throw that pharaoh have a stock NA 3POS hand nabin die Stageden, en dat die selve word goet bewaard NA inside DET town.PL and that DET same become well preserved na die Kornhosen van Pharao; dat volk vind jett ver NA DET granary.PL of pharaoh that people find food - ordinirt na die seven Honger jaaren, welk sal kom ordained NA DET seven hunger year.PL which FUT come 165 over Egypten Land, dat niet die geheele Land bederv van over Egypt country that NEG DET entire country decay of <lm•Honger.> hunger .......................... Die Harmoni Cap. 41, v. 14=46......................... 135. Die Praat a behaag Pharao (goet) wehl25, en allemaal DET talk PST please pharaoh good well and all

25 wehl: looks like a mixture of Du. wel and Ge. wohl.
170 welk die Geest Godts ben? En Pharao a spreek na Jo=
which DET Spirit God.GENBE and pharaoh PST speak NA Joseph
[ seph: Derwiel God na jow a ka maak bekent soo
- seph]
- - because God NA 2SG PST PRF make known such
goed allemaal soo ben niet een so verstandig en wies
good all so BE NEG one so sensible and wise
glik jow. Joe sall wees over mi Hoes, en na jow Mond
like 2SG 2SG FUT BE over 1SG house and NA 2SG mouth
sall allemaal mi Volk wees gehoorsam; mi will maar
FUT all 1SG people BE obedient 1SG want only
175 die Koniklike Troon wees hogher, a jow.
DET royal throne BE higher NA 2SG
En Pharao a spreek tot Joseph: Kik, mi a ka
and pharaoh PST speak to Joseph look 1SG PST PRF
set jow vor wees Heer over geheel Egypten Land. En Pha=
put 2SG FOR BE lord over entire Egypt country and pharaoh
rao a neem si Ring van si Hand, en a gie die na Joseph
- PST take 3POS ring of 3POS hand and PST give DET NA Joseph
si Hand; en a kleed em met kostlike wite Kleeding, en
3POS hand and PST dress 3SG with costly white clothes and
180 a doe een Goude Ketting rond si Hals. En a lat var em
PST put a golden chain around 3POS neck and PST let 3SG
op si tweede Carosch, en a lat na voor em roep ut: Die
up 3POS second carriage and PST let NA before 3SG call out DET

26 na jow Mond ... Volk: German main clause word order with inversion.
27 a: Reduced form of na.
ben die Land si Vader, en dat Volk sall boek\textsuperscript{28} die Knie na BE DET country 3POS father and that people FUT bend DET knee NA voor em en bekenn em voor die Heer over geheel Egyp= before 3SG and acknowledge 3SG before DET lord over entire Egypt
ten Land. En Pharao a see verder na Joseph: - country and pharaoh PST say further NA Joseph

185 Soo waar as mi ben Pharao; soo sall sonder joe so true as 1SG BE pharaoh so will without 2SG will, niemand Lecht op si Hand of Voett na geheel win no one raise up 3POS hand or foot NA entire Egypten Land. En Pharao a gie Joseph die Naam Egypt country and pharaoh PST give Joseph DET name

Zophna=Paneah, da<ol>\textsuperscript{t} ben: die Utlegger van verborgen - Paneach heit. En a gie em Assenathvor wees si Wief, die a wees - and PST give 3SG Asnath FOR BE 3POS wife DET PST BE

190 die Dochter van Potiphera, die Priester na On. En so DET daughter of Potiphera DET priest NA On and so Joseph a trek ut na die Land Egypten; dertig Joseph PST move out NA DET country Egypt thirty Jaar oud a wees Joseph, as em a staan navoor die year old PST BE Joseph as 3SG PST stand NA front DET

................................................. Konig

I Boek Mose

Konig Pharao, en vaar ut van Pharao, en reis door die king pharaoh and travel out of pharaoh and travel through DET geheele Egypten Land. (En a maak Anstalt.) entire Egypt country and PST make preparations

\textsuperscript{28} boek: seems to be Du. buigen `to bend’ or Du. bukken `stoop, bend (intr.)’ with the German grapheme <ö. or <oe> to indicate the vowel represented by the Dutch grapheme <u>. Yet bukken is not transitive.
3.1.2 Genesis 1-4 in ms. 3313 (1795)

This second example is taken from *A free translation of Genesis 1,16-4,26*. As this title, which was given to the manuscript in Stein (1986b), says: it is a free and interpretative translation, without the structure of the original Bible verses. The entire original manuscript contains only 32 pages, and it may have been used as a sermon or as part of one. It is not likely that a complete Old Testament translation, like manuscript 325, was intended by the writer.

1 VI Kain en Abel 1 Mos. 4.
    VI Cain and Abel 1 Book.of.Moses 4

    Die eerste Ouders sen a krieg
    DET first parents 3PL PST get

    Kinders, die a glik sender, die ben,
    child.PL DET PST resemble 3PL DET BE

    sondige en sterflike Menschen. Sender
    sinful and mortal people 3PL

5 eerste Soon sen a gie em die Naam
    first son 3PL PST give 3SG DET name

    Kain, die ben so veel as ontvangen,
    Cain DET BE so much as conceived

........................................... derwil

derwil sen a dink altomets by si
because 3PL PST think already at 3POS

    Geboort, die sal wees die Saat van
    birth DET FUT BE DET seed of

    die Wif, welk sal drap29 die Slang si
    DET wife which FUT cut.off DET snake 3POS

10 Kop; en so die Naam a wees een
    head and so DET name PST BE a

    Bewies van sender Gloof na die
    proof of sender belief NA DET
Belofnis van God, met die sen a promise of God with DET 3PL PST
troost sender nabinne sen Elend
console 3PL NA.inside 3PL misery
Sender tweede Soon si Naam a wees 3PL second son 3POS name PST BE
15 Abel. Deese si Werk a wees voor Abel DEM 3POS work PST BE FOR
quek Vee; maar Kain a werk na raise cattle but Cain PST work NA
Grond. Die ben also die twee soil DET BE thus DET two
oudste {Manier vor lev |Ambach en ook die breng oldest way FOR live craft.PL and also DET bring
die meeste Profit. Alltwee die DET most profit both DET
20 Broeders a wees geweent31, vor br*e*ng brother.PL PST BE used FOR bring
een Vereering na God, na die rechtene een Vereering na God, na die recht
Tid, vor bewies sender Danki vor time FOR prove 3PL thanks for
si Weldaaten32. Die sen a roep 3POS benefaction.PL DET 3PL PST call
een Offer. Kain a breng Offer van een Offer. Kain a breng Offer van
a sacrifice Cain PST bring sacrifice of

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30 Elend: Ge. Elend ‘misery’ (Du. ellende).
31 geweent: superficial adaptation with unrounded [ø] of Ge. gewöhn ‘used, accustomed to’ (Du. gewoon) or from seventeenth century Dutch geweente ‘usage’.
32 Weldaaten: should be Du. weldaden ‘benefactions’. The [t] may be due to interference from Ge. Wohltaten ‘benefactions’.
si Vruchten na si Plantey; maar
3POS fruit.PL NA 3POS plantation but
Abel a breng [ -van] die <ol•bestevan sie> eerste die si
Abel PST bring of DET best of 3POS first DET 3POS
Vee a breng em.|| Derwil Abel
cattle PST bring 3SG because Abel
a doe die nabinne Gloof na die
PST do DET NA.inside belief NA DET

toekomstighe Verlossing, die God a be=
coming redemption DET God PST -
loof na die eerste Ouders; (Ebr. 11, 14.) so
promise NA DET first parents Hebr. 11 14 so
God a kik gnadig na si Offer. Maar
God PST look merciful NA 3POS sacrifice but
na die Offer van Kain Em no a hab geen
NA DET sacrifice of Cain 3SG NEG PST have NEG.one
Welbehaagen; want em no a Gloof, en
pleasure because 3SG NEG PST belief and
sonder Gloof die ben onmoogl lik vor be=
without belief DET BE impossible FOR -
haag God. Ebr. 11, 6. Na Plek van die
pleasure God Hebr. 11 6 NA place of DET
dat Cain a sal [ -soek Gnade] verneeder em
that Cain PST FUT seek mercy humiliate 3SG
vor God vor die, en soek Gnade by Em,
for/before God for DET and seek mercy at 3SG
e m a kom jalous na si Broeder Abel,
3SG PST come jealous NA 3POS brother Abel
en a kom na so een Boosheid, dat si Torn
and PST come NA such a anger that 3POS wrath
Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, *Die Creol taal*
55 so ook die Veyandskap van die Slang si
also DET hostility of DET snake 3POS

die Wif si seed PST BE FOR see DET wife 3POS

die Ongloofgen teegen DET unbelief.PL against

die Gloofgen. En deese Veyandskap DET belief.PL and DET hostility

dürer last tee van -Dag. until today

60 God a sal kan straaf deese Moord God PST FUT can punish DEM murder

eenrees met die Dood. Maar Em no once with DET death but 3SG NEG

die, maar Em a soek volgens si PST do DET but 3SG PST seek following 3POS

groote Goedheid, "E Soe" vor breng die great kindness and 3SG seek FOR bring DET

Quaatdoener tot Bekennis van si evil.doer to confession of 3POS

een geneessame Berouw. sin and to a healing repentance

-[van si Sondo]. Voordarom Em a see of 3POS sin therefore 3SG PST say

na em wagoed em ka doe, en a vraag NA 3SG what 3SG PRF do and PST ask

em: Waar joe Broeder ben? Kain

3SG where 2SG brother BE Cain
a soek vor maak em skoon met Lüge,
PST seek FOR make 3SG clean with lie

70 en a antwoord: Mi no weet die.
and PST answer 1SG NEG know DET
gheel Stoud em a see, mi sal wees entirely bold 3SG PST say 1SG FUT BE
Wachman vor mi Broeder dan?
keeper for 1SG brother then
God a breng em na si Cons*ci*enci,
God PST bring 3SG NA 3POS conscience
en a see: Wat joe ka doe? Mi
and PST say what 2SG PRF do 1SG

75 ka hoor die Bloed van joe Broeder
PRF hear DET blood of 2SG brother
koerri, welk sk[*..*]<<r*a*>>u na mi van die
run which cry NA 1SG of DET
Aarde.
earth - Maar die Bloed van
but DET blood of
Jesus praat beetter noe as die van Abel
Jesus talk better now as DET of Abel
(Ebr. 12, 24) - Aster die God a maak
Hebr. 12 24 - after DET God PST make

80 bekent na Kain die Vloek en Onsegen,
known NA Cain DET curse and unblessing
dat em sal vlücht noe voll van Onge=
that 3SG FUT flee now full of uneasiness
růst en Bangachtigheid en wandel
- and fear and walk

33 Lüge: Ge. Lüge 'lie' instead of Du. leugen 'id.'.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
na Mispat. Door die Kain a sal
NA wrong.track by DET Cain PST FUT

<lm•ka> bedink em selv, en a sal bed demoedig
PRF consider 3SG self and PST FUT pray humble

85 vor Vergeewing nabinne Gloof na die be=
for forgiveness NA.inside belief NA DET -

loofde Verlosser. || Maar die a wees
promised Saviour but DET PST BE

vor kik all, na deese eerste Soon van
FOR see all NA DEM first son of

Adam, hoe stoud en bang -achtig die
Adam how bold and fearful DET

menschlike Hert ben so well voor as
human heart BE so well before as

90 aster die Quaat die em ka doe. (Jer. 17, 9.)
after DET evil DET 3SG PRF do Jeremiah 17 9

Die Broeder - Mordnaar a bliev nabinne
DET brother - murderer PST remain NA.inside

si ongloofig en verhardte Sinn,
3POS unbelieving and hardened mind

a dink, die geskied Onrecht na em,
PST think DET happen injustice NA 3SG

en a see na God, voll van kleengloof
and PST say NA God full of little.faith

95 en [-Ver][t+]<T>wiefel: 'Die Straaf ben
and doubt DET punishment BE

all toe hard, mi no kan draag die.
far too hard 1SG NEG can carry DET

........................................

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
142

ka verlaat mi; die eerste Creatür,
PRF leave 1SG DET first creature

die gemoet mi, sal mattaan mi.
DET meet 1SG FUT kill 1SG

Maar God die Heere a wees so
but God DET Lord PST BE so

gnadig, en a verseker em door een
merciful and PST ascertain 3SG by a

Teeken, dat so Goed no sal geskied.
sign that such thing NEG FUT happen

Maar Kain a bliev doch dieselvde
but Cain PST stay yet DET.same

en a wandel met een quaaije Consci=
and PST walk with a evil conscience

wei van die Familie van die Gloovigen
away of DET family of DET believer.PL

em a bouw die eerste Stadt tot
3SG PST build DET first city to

si Sekürheid, welk em a gie die Naam
3POS security which 3SG PST give DET name

Hanoch.
Hanoch

By deese Geskiednis ons a will
by DEM story 1PL PST will

merk ons die Vermaaning van die
emphasize 1PL DET admonition of DET

Apostel; dat ons sal hab lief
apostle that 1PL FUT have dear

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
3.2 Fragments from the New Testament

In chapter 2 and section 3.1 we have seen some religious and biblical documents. They were either manuscripts or printed texts, and mostly translations of parts of the Old Testament. These Negerhollands translations are unique because they are the only extant versions and because of their age.

In the following sections, translations of the New Testament are presented. They are unique documents as well, but not in the sense that there is only one version of each. In fact, there is a considerable number of early Negerhollands translations of the same texts. This has enabled us to arrange them for comparison with each other in several ways. The two main combinations that provide interesting contrasts are those of:

a) different variants of the same texts from the same group, in some cases even by the same translator. They could give us a closer look at synchronic linguistic variation within a certain speech community. In this category we find e.g. four manuscript versions of Jesus' first miracle, translated by Böhner, or possibly based on a translation by Böhner;

b) different variants of the same texts from different societal groups. This could throw extra light on linguistic variation between and across these groups, in particular on the question of differences between the missionaries from Danish and German backgrounds. To this end one could contrast Magens' New Testament translation with that by Böhner and others.
We have also tried out these combinations in the stylistic dimension. As the New Testament contains different types of speech, we contrast the different versions of the Negerhollands New Testament with respect to narrative (e.g. Jesus’ first miracle) and elevated style (Sermon of the Mount).

As to looking at possible variations of the language for one speaker or one text, one should turn to larger texts, for which there is obviously not enough space in the present book. As pointed out above, Bible translations of both Danish and German origin have appeared in print around the turn of the 18th century, but these works are very rare. The Böhner manuscripts from Herrnhut have been made more accessible by the Negerhollands data project referred to in the Preface.

### 3.2.1 Contrasting Moravian variants of Jesus’ first miracle

**From ms 321.**

§. [-16]<15.>

1 En na die derde Dag a wees een Bruilof na Cana na and NA DET third day PST BE a wedding NA Cana NA

Galilea: en die Mama van JESus a wees daar. En JESus Galilea and DET mother of Jesus PST BE there and Jesus en si Jüngers ook a word geinviteert na die and 3POS disciple.PL also PST become invited NA DET Bruilofd.

wedding

5 En toen Wien a mankeer, da JESus Si Mama a see tot and when wine PST fail then Jesus 3POS mother PST say to Em: Senderno hab Wien (meer) JESus a see tot em: Vrouw, 3SG 3PL NEG have wine more Jesus PST say to 3SG woman wagoed mi hab met Joe toe doen? Mi Uhr no ka raak what 1SG have with 2SG to do 1SG hour not PRF arrive?

noch= yet

al Op die si Mama a see na die Dienaar sender: Wat - on DET 3POS mother PST say NA DET servant 3PL what

10 Em sal see na jender, jen doe die. En daar a wees ses 3SG will say NA 2PL 2PL do DET and there PST BE six Water Pott van Steen geset na die manir van die Hodio sen= water pot of stone put NA DET fashion of DET Jew 3PL der vor wasch sender skoon: en elkeen a hau twee tee drie - FOR wash 3PL clean and everyonePST hold two till three

35 a wees: European way of expressing an existential. In the version from ms. 322 we find the creole existential construction die a hab.
36 Jüngers: German word Jünger ‘disciple’ with Dutch plural ending -s.
37 Uhr: German spelling of Du. uur ‘hour’.
38 Dutch-German expression with the meaning ‘what are you of my concern’, with the Dutch infinitival marker te (here toe with [u] instead of schwa) and an OV ordering of the prepositional object and the main verb. In the other versions we find vor instead of toe and in the version from ms. 3232 the PP is put after the verb.
39 En daar ... geset: More or less literal translation of what can be found in the German or Dutch Bible, with NH a wees ‘PST BE’ instead of waren ‘were’. In the versions from the other manuscripts we find attempts to give this sentence a more creole outlook. Important for the comparison is that there is a deictic locative in the original text and so that daar is not the dummy pronoun of Dutch existentials.
met Water. En sender a Vull die tee na die Mond. En with water and 3PL PST fill DET till NA DET mouth and
Em a see na sender:Tap noe, en breng die na die Feesa 3SG PST say NA 3PL tap now and bring DET NA DET party
15 proef die Water, die a ka draai na Wien: en em no a taste DET water DET PST PRF turn NA wine and 3SG NEG PST weet, van waar die a kom, maar die Dienar sender know of where DET PST come but DET servant 3PL
a weet die, die sendera ka tap die Water: Soo die Feesa PST know DET DET 3PL PST PRF tap DET water so DET party

.........................................Ba
Joh. 2, 12=25. .................................27.

Baas a roep die Briudig\om en a see tot em: ijder\(^40\) master PST call DET bridegroom and PST say to 3SG every
een gie vor-eerst goeie Wien, en wanneer sender ka one give for - first good wine and when 3PL PRF
drink sender bekomst, als dan\(^41\) die slechte; maar joe drink 3PL satisfaction as then DET bad but 2SG
20 ka behou die goeie Wien tee noe. Die ben die eerste PRF keep DET good wine until now DET BE DET first
Wonder=Teikendie JESus a doe, ka geskied na Cana miracle - sign DET Jesus PST do PRF happen NA Cana
na Galilea, en Em a op\en\baar si Heerlikheid, NA Galilea and 3SG PST reveal 3POS glory
en si Jünger sender a gloov na Em. and 3POS pupil 3PL PST belief NA 3SG

From ms. 322

\(^{40}\) *ijder* ‘every’ (= Du. *ieder*) indicates that *<ij>* (and *<y>* ) should be read as [i].
\(^{41}\) *als dan*: Du. *als dan* ‘then’.
§.15. Joh. 2, 1=11

(Evang. na die 2 Sonnt, p. Epiphania.)

Gospel NA DET 2 Sunday after Epiphany

25 En na die derde Dag die a hab een Bry= and NA DET third day DET PST have a wedding

loft na Cana in Galilea; en die Moe= - NA Cana in Galilea and DET mother

der <ul•of Mama> van Jesus a wees <ol•na>daa<->-soo].En sen - or mother of Jesus PST BE NA there and 3PL

........................................... der

en Heiland op Aerden.......................... 43

der a ka nooi Jesus en si Jüngers na - PST PRF invite Jesus and 3POS pupil.PL NA

die Bryloft ookal. En toen sender a mank DET wedding also and when 3PL PST fail

30 eer Wien, da die Mama van Jesus a see - wine then DET mother of Jesus PST say

na Em: Sender no hab Wien (meer). Jesus NA 3SG 3PL NEG have wine more Jesus

a see na em: Vrow! Wat mi hab met joe PST say NA 3SG woman what 1SG have with 2SG

vor doe? mi Uur no ka kom nogal. FOR do 1SG hour NEG PRF come yet

Si Mama a see na die Dienaas: Wat em sal 3POS mother PST say NA DET servant.PL what 3SG will

35 see na jender, jender doe die. En die a say NA 2PL 2PL do DET and DET PST

42 Superficial NH version of the German line in ms. 321 with the German word Sonnt[ag]‘Sunday’.
43 Bryloft: The <y> indicates a pronunciation with an [i], instead of the diphthongal <ui> of Standard Dutch.
hab ses [-steen] Water Potten <rm•vanSteen>, die a ka set
have six stone water pot.PL of stone DET PST PRF put
da soo, aster die Manier van die Hodio
there so after DET way of DET Jew
vor skoon] Wasch sender; en elk een a kan hou
FOR clean wash 3PL and every one PST can keep
der: Vull die Water -Potten met Water.
- fill DET water -pot.PL with water

40 En sender a vull die op tee na die Mond.
and 3PL PST fill DET up up.to NA DET mouth
En Em a see na sender: tap noe, en breng
and 3SG PST say NA 3PL tap now and bring
die na die jeet-Meester. En sender a breng
DET NA DET eat-master and 3PL PST bring
die. Maar as die jeet-Meester a proev die
DET but when DET eat-master PST taste DET
Wien, die ka wees Water; en no a a weet,
wine DET PRF BE water and NEG PST know

45 van waer die ka kom, maar die Dienaars,
of where DET PRF come but DET servan.t.PL
die a ka tap die Water, a weet die, soo
DET PST PRF tap DET water PST know DET so
die Spiesmeester a roep die Brydigom,
DET food.master PST call DET bridegroom
en a see na em: ijeder volk gie eerst die
and PST say NA 3SG every people give first DET

........................................44
goieie
........................................gоеи

Goeie Wien; en wanneer sender ka drink
good wine and when 3PL PRF drink
maar joe a ka behow die goeie Wien tee
too DET PST PRF keep DET good wine until

Die ben die eerste Teeken die Jes=
now DET BE DET first sign DET Jesus

us a doe, die a ka geskied na Cana in Ga=
- PST do DET PST PRF happen NA Cana in Galilea

lilea, en a openbaar si Heerlikheid;
- and PST reveal 3POS glory

From ms 3231

§:15.
Johang;2, 1=11.

En na die derte Dag a wees een Bruiloft na
and NA DET third day PST BE a wedding NA

Cana, na Galilea, en die Mamma van Jesus a
Cana NA Galilea and DET mother of Jesus PST

wees daar. Maar Jesus en si Jüngers ook a
BE there but Jesus and 3POS pupil.PL also PST

wees genooit tot die Bruiloft. En toen die a hab
BE invited to DET wedding and when DET PST have

60 mankement na Wien, soo die Mamma van Jesus
lack NA wine so DET mother of Jesus

a see na Em: Sen no hab Wien. Jesus a see
PST say NA 3SG 3PL NEG have wine Jesus PST say

na em: Vrouw, wagoed mi hab vor doe met joe?
NA 3SG woman what 1SG have FOR do with 2SG
Mi Uur no ka kom nogal. Si Mamma a see na 1SG hour NEG PRF come yet 3POS mother PST say NA

65 die Dienaars: Wat Em see na jender, die DET servant.PL what 3SG say NA 2PL DET

jender sal doe. En daar a wees ses Water= 2PL will do and there PST BE six water

........................................... Pot=

Potten van Steen, om die Will van die Hodio sen= pot.pl of Stone for DET reason of DET Jew 3PL
der Skoon en elkeen Pott a hou omtrent -maaking, - cleaning and every pot PST keep about
twee of drie Tobbo. <bm•met Jesus a see na sender: -reten“.

two or three bucket firkin.PL Jesus PST say NA 3PL

70 Voell die Water -Potten met Water. En sender a fill DET water -pot.PL with water and 3PL PST

voell die tot boven toe. En Em a see na sender: fill DET to above until and 3SG PST say NA 3PL

Tapp noe, en breng die na die Hofmeester en tap now and bring DET NA DET court.master and

sender a breng die na em. Toen noe die Hofmee= 3PL PST bring DET NA 3SG when now DET court.master

ster a proef die Water, die ka word tot Wien, - DET taste DET water DET PRF become to wine

75 en no a weet, van waar die a kom, (;maar die and NEG PST know of where DET PST come but DET

Dienaar sender a weet die, welk a ka tapp die servant 3PL PST know DET which PST PRF tap DET

Water,;) soo em a roep voor die Bruidegom en water so 3SG PST call for DET bridegroom and

44 The Greek (Athenian) measure of liquid capacity metritis equals about 39 litre. In English Bibles it used to be translated as firkin, equalling about nine gallons.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
goejedieeerstvoorgieIdereenem.naseea
goodDETfirstforgiveeveryone3SGNA.sayPST
Bekomst,senderdrinkkasenderwanneerenWien,
satisfaction3PLdrinkPRF3PL.whenandwine
kajoemaarminder;benwelkdie,gieemdan80
PRF2SG.butlessBE.whichDET.give3SG.then
DIET.nowBEDET.now.until.wine.goodDET.save
Cana,nadoeaJesusdet.signwonderfirst
CanaGalilea, en a openbaar si Heerlikheid, en si
NA Galilea and PST.reveal 3POS.glory and 3POS
Junger sender a gloof na Em.
pupil 3PL PST.belief NA 3SG

\textbf{From ms 3232}

\textbf{§ 15.}

85 Jesus Si eerste Wonderwerk in Cana
Jesus 3POS.first wonder.work in Cana

van Galilea.
of Galilea

Joh. 2, 1-11.

En na die derde Dag a wees een Bruilofd in
and NA DET.third day PST.BE a wedding in
Cana van Galilea, en die Moeder van Jesus a
Cana of Galilea and DET.mother of Jesus PST
wees daar. Maar Jesus met Si Jungers ookal
BE there but Jesus with 3POS pupil.PL.also

90 a wees genooit na die Bruilofd. En toen die
PST.BE invited NA DET.wedding and when DET
hab Mankement van Wien, soo die Moeder
have lack of wine so DET mother

van Jesus a see na Em: Sender no hab Wien
of Jesus PST say NA 3SG 3PL NEG have wine

................................. Jesus

Jesus a see na em: Vrouw, wat mi hab vor doe
Jesus PST say NA 3SG woman what 1SG have to do

met joe? Mi Uur no ka kom nochal. Si Moe=
with 2SG 1SG hour NEG PRF come yet 3POS mother

95 der a see na die Dienaars: Wat Em see na jender,
- PST say NA DET servant.PL what 3SG say NA 2PL
doe die. En daar a wees gestel*[-lt]* Ses Wa -ter=Pot=
do DET and there PST BE placed six water -pot.PL
ten van Steen, na die Manier van die Joden, vor
- of stone NA DET fashion of DET Jew.PL FOR

Wasch sender skoon: en elkeen a hou twee of drie
wash 3PL clean and everyone PST keep two or three

Maat. Jesus a see na sender: Voell die Water=
measure Jesus PST say NA 3PL fill DET water

100 Potten met Water. En sender voell die tee boven
pot.PL with water and 3PL fill DET until above

op. En Em a see na sender: Tap noe, en breng
up and 3SG PST say NA 3PL tap now and bring
die na die Meester van die Feest, en sender a
DET NA DET master of DET party and 3PL PST

breng die. Toen noe die Meester van die Feest
bring DET when now DET master of DET party

a proef die Water, die a ka kom Wien, da em no
PST taste DET water DET PST PRF become wine because3SG NEG

105 a weet van waar die a kom, maar die Dienaars
PST know from where DET PST come but DET servant.PL
3.2.2 The Sermon of the Mount

The next section contains the Sermon of the Mount, which makes up § 25 of the Evangelienharmonie, and of which parts are found in three of the four Gospels. Because of the length of this paragraph, we chose one version, Böhner ms. 321.

The text is a translation of the verses Matth 5, 6, and 7, Mark, 3:13-19 and Luke 6:12-17; 20-49.

§. 25.

Matth. 5, 6. 7. Marc. 3, 13=19. Luc. 6, 12=17. 20=49.

1 En as Em a kik die (grootHoop)Volk, Em a loop na bovo een and as 3SG PST see DET large group people 3SG PST go NA above a

Berg vor beed:en Em a bliev die Donkerdoor na die Gebedtot mountain FOR pray and 3SG PST stay DET night through NA DET prayer to

Godt. En as die a ka kom Dag, Em a roep si Jüngervor kom God and as DET PST PRF come day 3SG PST call 3POS pupil FOR come
na Em, welk Em a will: en die sendera loop ook na Em. En NA 3SG which 3SG PST want and DET 3PL PST go also NA 3SG and
5 Em a kies Twael fut van sender, die Em ook a gie die Nam, A= 3SG PST choose twelve out of 3PL DET 3SG also PST give DET name apostle postel: die sendera sall wees bij Em, en die Em a will stier - DET 3PL PST FUT BE at 3SG and DET 3SG PST will send uit vor predik; en ook sall hab die Macht, vor genees die out FOR preach and also FUT have DET power FOR cure DET Siekten, en vor jag ut die boose Geesten, En die Na[-*.*]<ol*m> van die illness.PL AND FOR drive out DET evil spirit.PL and DET name of DET Apostel sender a wees Simon welken Em a ka roep Petrus, apostle 3PL PST BE Simon who 3SG PST PRF call Peter
10 en si Broer Andreas; en Jacobum die Soon van Zebedei, and 3POS brother Andreas and James DET son of Zebedei en si Broer Johannes, na welk twee Em a gie die Nam, Don= and 3POS brother John NA which two 3SG PST give DET name thunder ners Kinder <bm• Donner de Machtige getuigen.>: en Philipus en - child thundered powerful witness.PL and Philip and Bartolomaeus; en Thomas Bartholomew and Thomas en Mattheus die Tollenaar; Jacobum die Soon van Alph= and Matthew DET publican James DET son of Alphaei 15 aei, Simon, genamt Zelo - tes, Judam Thadeum (die Broer) - Simon named Zeelotes Judam Thadeus DET brother .................................................... van
46. Matth. 5, 6. 7. Marc. 3, 13=19. Luc. 6, 12=17. 20=49 van Jacobi; en Judas Ischarioth, die a verrath Em. of James and Judas Ischarioth DET PST betray 3SG En Em a loop na molee met sender, en a staan op een Plek na and 3SG PST go NA down with 3PL and PST stand up a place NA
Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, *Die Creol taal*
word vervolgt om die will van Gerechtigheid: want die become persecuted for DET reason or justice because DET

Hemelriek ben voor sender.
Kingdom of Heaven BE for 3PL

35 Salig jender ben, as die Mensenhaat jender, en parti blessed 2PL BE as DET people hate 2PL and cut jender af en vloek jender en vergooi jender Nam as een 2PL off and curse 2PL and throw away 2PL name like a boosagtige om die will van die Mensen Soon; en as evil one to DET reason of DET people son and as sender om die will van mi skimpeer jender en vervolg 3PL to DET reason of 1SG abuse 2PL and persecute jender, en praat all sort quaat van jender, as sender 2PL and talk all sort evil of 2PL as 3PL

40 luig met die. Wees froolik en wel gemoeth\(^45\), wees blie lie with DET BE happy and good hearted BE happy en tjomp op, na die Hemel jender sal krieg een goeie and jump up NA DET heaven 2PL FUT get a good betaal voor die. Want alsoo sender ka verv<ol•o>lg pay for DET because thus 3PL PRF persecute

........................................die

Matth. 5, 6, 7, Marc. 3, 13-19, Luc. 6, 12= .................... 47.

die Propheten, die a ka wees voor jender Tid.
DET prophet.PL DET PST PRF BE for 2PL time

Maar darte -gen Ongeluk voor jender rieke: want jender but on the other hand bad luck FOR 2PL rich.PL because 2PL

45 hab al jender Troost wee. Ongeluk voor jender, die le have all 2PL console PRF bad luck for 2PL DET ASP hab alles voll op: want jender sal wees na honger. have everything full up because 2PL FUT BE NA hunger

\(^45\) wel gemoeth: ‘cheerful’.
Ongeluk vor jender, die jender lach noe (soo moeschi:)
bad. luck for 2PL DET 2PL laugh now so much
want jender sal traan en Kruisch. Ongelukig ben
because 2PL FUT weep and scream unhappy BE
jender, as allemaal Volk praat braai van jender: want
2PL as all people talk nice of 2PL because

50 soo a ka doe sender Vadern ook na die ValscheProphe=
so PST PRF do 3PL father.PL also NA DET false prophet.PL
ten sender.-
- 3PL
Jender ben die Sout op Aerden: as noe die Sout ver=
2PL BE DET salt up earth as now DET salt -
lies si Kracht, met wat die sall word gesouten?vorder
lose 3POS strength with what DET FUT become saltened therefore
die no ben vor gebruik meer, as dat Volk stort die na
DET NEG BE FOR use more as that people dump DET NA

55 buten, en latstaan Volk trap die naonder Voet.
outside and let people kick DET NA under foot
Jender ben die Licht na die Werld. Die Stadt welk lee
2PL BE DET light NA DET world. DET city which lay
naboven een Berg no kan wees verborg. Volk ook no
NA above a mountain NEG can BE hidden people also NEG
steck op en Kers, en doe\textsuperscript{46} die na onder een (Tobo) Skoep=
light up a candle and do DET NA under a bucket bushel-
el=Meet: maar op een Kandelaar, soo die gie Licht
-measure but up a candlestick so DET give light

60 na allemaal die jeen welk ben nabin die Hoes.
NA all DEM one which BE NA inside DET house
Alsoo latstaan jender Licht skien na voor die Volk
thus let 2PL light shine NA before DET people

\textsuperscript{46} Dutch \textit{doen} ‘to do’ can also have the meaning ‘to put’, like Negerhollands \textit{doe} has here.
sender: dat sender kik jender goeie Werken, en
3PL that 3PL see 2PL good work.PL and

pries jender Vader nabin die Hemel. Jender no moet
praise 2PL father NA.inside DET heaven 2PL NEG must
dink, dat mi ka kom voor loss die Wet of<bm•doeDET
think that 1SG PRF come FOR put.awayDET law or DET prophet.PL do

65 die wee>.
DET away

Mi no ka kom vor loss die maar vor voll-doe die.
1SG NEG PRF come FOR put.awayDET but FOR settle DET

Want mi le see jender waarlijk: tee Hemel en Aerd
because 1SG ASP say 2PL truly until heaven and earth

sal vergaan, sall niet ver-gaan die Kleenste Letter,
FUT perish will NEG perish DET small.SUP letter

noch een Streekje van die Wet, tee die alles geskied.
neither a stroke.DIMof DET law until DET everythinghappen

........................................wie

48. Matth. 5. 6. 7. Marc. 3, 13=19. Luc. 6, 12=17. 20=49.

70 Wie noe loss Een van deese kleenste Gebo-ten, en leer die
who now put.away one of DEM small.SUPcommand.PL and teach DET

Volk alsoo,die sal weesgeroependie Kleenste na die Hemel=
people thus DETFUTBE called DET small.SUPNA DETKingdom.of.Heaven

riek: maar wie doe en leer die, die sal hab een groot Nam
- but who do and learn DET DET FUT have a great name

nabin die Hemelriek.
NA.inside DET Kingdom.of.Heaven

(Ev. am 6. Sonnt. nach Trinita-tis)
‘Gospel on the 6th Sunday after the Day of the Holy Trinity’

Want mi le see jender: as jender Gerechtigheid no wees
because 1SG ASP say 2PL as 2PL justice NEG BE

47 It seems as if English of is used, which is not the case.
75 (meer) beeter, as die van die na Skriftgeleerde dien Phariseen
more better as DET of DET NA scribe and pharisee
sender; soo jender no sal kom na bin die Hemelriek.
3PL so 2PL NEG FUT come NA inside DET Kingdom.of.Heaven
Jendera ka hoor, dat na die Volk na Oudtid a ka see: Joe
2PL PST PRF hear that NA DET peopleNA old.time PST PRF say 2SG
no sal mattaan; maar wie mattaan (maak dood) die sall
NEG FUT kill but who kill make dead DET FUT
wees skuldig vor na die Recht. Maar Mi le see jen=
BE guilty FOR come NA DET justice but 1SG ASP say 2PL
80 der: wie bliev quaat op si Broer, die ben skuldig vor kom
- who remain angry up 3POS brother DET BE guilty FOR come
na die Recht; maar wie see tot si Broer: Racka, die ben skul=
NA DET justice but who say to 3POS brother rascal DET BE guilty
dig vor kom na voor die (groot) Rath. Maar wie see (tot em) joe
- FOR come NA before DET great council but who say to 3SG 2SG
Sott, die ben skuldig vor kom nabin die Hell Fijer. <bm•dieben weert,
fool DET BE guilty FOR come NA.inside DET hell fire DET BE worth
dat em word verbrannd na die Valley Hinom.> Vor -daar=
that 3SG become burned NA DET valley Hinom therefore
85 om wanneerjoe ofer joe Gav op die Altar; en die kom daa na
- when 2SG sacrifice 2SG gift up DET altar and DET come there NA
joe Gedachten, dat hoe Broer hab een goed tegen joe: soo latstaan
2SG thought that 2SG brother have a thing against 2SG so let
joe Gave na voor die Altar, en loop eerst hen, en maak af met
2SG gift NA before DET altar and go first away and make off with
joe Broer; en als dann kom, en <ol•doe> ofer met joe Gave. Weesgau
2SG brother and as then come and do sacrifice with 2SG gift BE quick
na acord met joe verklager, derwieljoe noch ben na Pad met
NA agreement with 2SG accuser while 2SG still BE NA path with

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, *Die Creol taal*
90 em: dat die Verklager (of: Tegenparteyder)noleveer joe 3SG that DET accuser or opponent NEG.deliver 2SG na die Rechtmaaker met der 48 Tid, en die Rechtmaaker leveer NA DET justifier with DET.GEN.time and DET justifier deliver joe na die Wach, en joe kom nabin Arest Mi le see joe waar= 2SG NA DET guard and 2SG come NA.inside jail 1SG ASP say 2SG true lik: joe no sal kom van daar nabuten, tee joe betaal ook -ly 2SG NEG FUT come of there NA.outside until 2SG pay also die laatste quart Stieber j 49 DET last quarter penny 95 Jendera ka hoor, dat a ka see tot die Volk na Ouwtid: 2PL PST PRF hear that PST PRF say to DET people NA old.time ......................................................... Joe ................................. 49.

Joe no sell breek die Echte. Maar Mi le see jender: wie 2SG NEG FUT break DET marriage but 1SG ASP say 2PL who kik na een Wief Volk en lust na em; die a ka breekal <ol die> look NA a woman people and desire NA 3SG DET PST PRF break already DET Ech= marriage te /met em nabin si Hert. Maar as joe rechtr Oogo Aerger joe; - with 3SG NA.inside 3POS she heart but as 2SG right eye annoy 2SG 100 soo treck die üt en gooi die (wee) van joe. Die ben beeter vor so pull DET out and throw DET away of 2SG DET BE better for joe, dat een van joe Leden bederv, en niet die heele Lif word 2SG that one of 2SG limb.PL decay and NEG DET whole body become gegooit nabin die Hell. En as joe rechtr Hand Aerger joe; thrown NA.inside DET hell and as 2SG right hand annoy 2SG

48 Dutch/German genitive form.
49 Bracket in manuscript.
soo Cap die af en gooi die wee van joe. Die ben beeter voor so cut DET off and throw DET away of 2SG DET BE better for joe, dat een van joe Leden bederv, en niet die heele Lif word 2SG that one of 2SG limb.PL decay and NEG DET whole body become ge nabin die Hell. En die ook a ka see: Wie Skeid em -gooit thrown NA inside DET hell and DET also PSTPRF say who divorce 3REF van si Wief, die sall gie em een Skeidebrief. Maar Mi le of 3POS wife DET FUT give 3SG a divorce letter but 1SG ASP see jender: wie skeid em van si Wief, (of die wees dann om say 2PL who depart 3SG of 3POS wife or DET BE then to die will van Overspel) die maak, dat em breek die Echte: DET reason of adultery DET make that 3SG break DET marriage en wie neem soo een van die si Mann ka breek af, die breek and who take such one of DET 3POS man PRF break off DET break die Echte (ook.) DET marriage too Verder jender a ka hoor, dat na die Volk na ouwe tid a further 2PL PST PRF hear that NA DET people NA old time PST ka see: Joe no sall {sweer} doe een Valsche Eed, en joe sall hou PRF say 2SG NEG FUT swear do a false oath and 2SG FUT keep na Godt joe Eed. Maar Mi le see jender, dat jender no sall NA Godt 2SG oath but 1SG ASP say 2PL that 2PL NEG FUT swear int geel niet; noch b[e+]<i>[-i*] die Hemel; want die ben swear in DET whole NEG nor by DET heaven because DET BE Godt God Si Troon; noch bi die Aerde; want die ben Godt Si Voetbank: 3POS throne nor at DET earth because DET BE God 3POS foot stool noch bi Jerusalem; want em ben die Stadt van een groot nor at Jerusalem because 3SG BE DET city of a great
Konig. Joe ook no sell sweer bi Joe Hoofd; want Joe no ben king 2SG also NEG FUT swear by 2SG head because 2SG NEG BE

Capabel vor maak (maar) een enkel Haar witt of swart. capable FOR make but one single hair white or black

120 Maar lat jender Praat wees Ja, as die ben Ja; en Neen, as die but let 2PL talk BE yes as DET BE yes and no as DET ben Neen: wat ben boven die, dat ben van die Quaat. BE no what BE above DET that BE of DET evil

Jendera ka hoor, dat a ka see: Oogo voor Oogo; Taand voor 2PL PST PRF hear that PST PRF say eye for eye tooth for Taand. Maar Mi le see jender: dat jender no sall loop aan tooth but 1SG ASP say 2PL that 2PL NEG FUT walk on
tegen die Quaat: maar as ijmand gie Joe een Lapp50 na Joe rech= against DET evil but as someone give 2SG a slap NA 2SG right

.................................................. ter

50. Matth. 5. Marc. 3, en Luc. 6.

125 ter Kaak, hou em die ander ook daar. En as ijmand wil - cheek keep 3SG DET other also there and as someone want maak proces met Joe vor neem Joe die Rock: lat em ook make process with 2SG FOR take 2SG DET skirt let 3SG also hab die Mantel. En as ijmand ver-soek Joe vor loop een have DET coat and as someone request 2SG FOR walk one Miel met em; soo loop twee met em. En as ijmand bedd mile with 3SG so walk two with 3SG and as someone pray Joe voor een Goed soo Gie em, en no drey Joe wee van em, die 2SG for a thing so give 3SG and NEG turn 2SG away of 3SG DET

130 will leen van Joe. want borrow of 2SG

50 It is unclear to us whether Lapp originates from Dutch klap ‘slap’, English slap or another etymon.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
Jendera ka hoor, dat a ka see. Joe sall liev joe Nah=2PL PST PRF hear that PST PRF say 2SG FUT love 2SG neighbour ste, en haat joe Vyand. Maar Mi le see jender: hab jender - and hate 2SG enemy but 1SG ASP say 2PL have 2PL

Vyanden liev; seegen sender die vloek jender; doe fraai enemy.PL dear bless 3PL DET curse 2PL do good

na die-jeen, die haat jender; bedd voor die-jeen, die sender NA DET.one DET hate 2PL pray for DET.one DET 3PL

135 doe quaat en vervolg jender: op dat jender wees Kinders do evil and persecute 2PL up that 2PL BE child.PL
van jender Vader nabin die Hemel. Want die selve ben of 2PL father NA.inside DET heaven because DET same BE

goetig, ook na die ondankbare en Boosagtige,en lat-staan kind.hearted also NA DET ungrateful and evil and let

si Sonn hoppo over Quaadeen over die fraai Volk sender, 3POS sun rise over evil and over DET good people 3PL
en maak Reegen vall over Rechtveerdig een onrechtveer= and make rain fall over righteous and unjust

140 dige sender. Want as jender hab maar liev, die sender -one 3PL because as 2PL have but dear DET 3PL

hab jender liev; wat voor een Betaal jender sal krieg? da have 2PL dear what for a pay 2PL FUT get EMP

no die Tollenaar ook doe die selvde? en die Sondaars hab NEG DET publican also do DET same and DET sinner.PL have
ja ook sender Lievehbbersliev. En as jender doe jender yes also 3PL lover.PL dear and as 2PL do 2PL
maar Vrindskaplik tot jender Broeders sender; wat but friendly to 2PL brother.PL 3PL what

145 vor apart goed jender doe dan? da no die Tollenaarsen= FOR separate good 2PL do then EMP NEG DET publican 3PL
der ook doe soo? En as jender maar doe Goets na die -jeen, - also do so and as 2PL but do right.GENNA DET.one
die sender doe fraai na jender; wat Danki jender hab DET 3PL do good NA 2PL what thanks 2PL have
van die? want die Sondaars doe ook die selvde. of DET because DET sinner.PL do also DET same
En as jender teen maar na Volk, van die jender verwacht and as 2PL borrow but NA people of DET 2PL expect
150 vor krieg die weer-aan;wat Dank jender hab van die? FOR get DET again what thank 2PL have of DET
want die Sondaars teen ook malkander,op dat sender even because DET sinner.PL borrow also each other up that 3PL equally
.......................................................... soo
.......................................................... 51.
soo veel <ol•krig>weeraan. Vordarom hab jender Vyanden liev; so much get again therefore have 2PL enemy.PL dear
doe goets en teen waar jender no verwachteen goed voor die: do right.GEN and borrow where 2PL NEG expect a thing for DET
dann jender Loon sal wees groot, en jender sal wees Kinders then 2PL reward FUT BE great and 2PL FUT BE child.PL
155 van die Allerhochste. Vordarom jender sall wees voll= of DET most. High therefore 2PL FUT BE perfect
kom, glik ook jender Vader nabin die Hemel ben vollkom:- like also 2PL father NA inside DET heaven BE perfect
en jamerhertig, glik ook jender Vader (nabin die Hemel) and pity hearted like also 2PL father NA inside DET heaven
ook ben jamerhertig.
also BE pity hearted?

<tm•Matth.Neem acht na jender Aloesen,dat jenderno gie die na= 6.>
Matthew 6 take attention NA 2PL alms.PL that 2PL NEG give DET NA
160 voor die Volk sender, dat sender moet kik jender: op soo before DET people 3PL that 3PL must see 2PL up such manir jender hab geen Loon bi jender Vader na Hemel. fashion 2PL have NEG.onereward at 2PL father NA heaven wanneer joe gie Allmoesen, joe no sall lat blaas met when 2SG give alms.PL 2SG NEG FUT let blow with een Trompet na voor ut joe, glik as die Heuchelaarsen= a trumpet NA before out 2SG like as DET hypocrite 3PL der doe nabin sender Skoelhoes en na Strat, dat - do NA.inside 3PL school.house.PLand NA street that 165 Volk moet kik en pries sender. Waarlijk, mi le see people must see and praise 3PL truly 1SG ASP say jender: sender hab al sender Loon wee51. Maar wann= 2PL 3PL have already 3PL reward away but when eer Joe gie Allmoesen, soo joe no latstaan joe Slinker - 2SG give alms.PL so 2SG NEG let 2SG left Hand weet, wagoed die Rechter (hand) le doe, ob dat hand know what DET right hand ASP do on that joe Allmoesen wees verborg; en joe Vader, die le 2SG alms.PL BE hidden and 2SG father DET ASP 170 kik nabin die verborg, sal ver-gelt joe die opentlik. look NA.inside DET hidden FUT repay 2SG DET publicly En wanneer joe beed, joe no sall wees glik die and when 2SG pray 2SG NEG FUT BE like DET Heuchlaar, die sender staan grag vor beed na bin die hypocrite DET 3PL stand willingly FOR pray NA inside DET Kerk en na die Hoeken na Strat, dat Volk moet kik church and NA DET corner.PL NA street that people must see 175 sender. Waarlijk, mi le see jender*/,*sender hab al 3PL truly 1SG ASP say 2PL 3PL have already

51 The word wee is functioning as a PRF marker. another form is kabba, which is also used in this text.
sender Loon kabba. Maar wanneer joe beed, soo 3PL reward PRF but when 2SG pray so
loop na bin joe Kamertie en Slott die Dhor toe [-joe] en bed go NA inside 2SG room. DIM and lock DET door shut 2SG and pray

<Im•najoe> Vader na die verborg’en joe Vader, die kik nabin die NA 2SG father NA DET hidden and 2SG father DET see NA inside DET

........................................
Vor

Verborg, sal ver-gelt joe die openlik.
hidden FUT repay 2SG DET publicly

En wanneer jender beed, jender no sall maak veel
and when 2PL pray 2PL NEG FUT make much

180 praatje, glik die Heiden; want sender dink dat sender talk. DIM like DET heathen because 3PL think that 3PL

word verhoort, as sender maak moeschi Woorten. Vor= become heard as 3PL make many word.PL -
daarom jender no sall wees glik sender: Jender Vader therefore 2PL NEG FUT BE like 3PL 2PL father

le weet, wat jender mankeer, eerder as jender bedd Em. ASP know what 2PL lack before as 2PL pray 3SG

Vordaarom jender sall beed soo: Onse Vader nabin therefore 2PL FUT pray so 1PL father NA inside

185 die Hemel, Joe Nam word gehei-lig; Joe Konigriek DET heaven 2SG name become holy 2SG Kingdom

Kom; Joe Will geskiede op Aerden glik nabin die He= come 2SG will happen up earth like NA inside DET Heaven

mel; Ons daglik Brood gie ons vandag; en ver-gie - 1PL daily bread give 1PL today and forgive

ons onse Skülden, glik ons ver-gie ons Skuldenaa 1PL 1PL debt.PL like 1PL forgive 1PL debtor.PL

[ en ley ons nie na Probeeringe; maar verloss -*e/a*] ren;
- and lead 1PL NEG NA temptation but redeem
Den saz von Fasten willich übergehen; weil eseine Sache ist die unter dem Neger Volk nich üblich ist, als wiebey den Copten in Egypten.\textsuperscript{52}

\textsuperscript{52} Den ... Egypten: German, 'I want to omit the sentence about fasting, because it is something which is not usage among the negro people, as it is among the Copts in Egypt.'
Die Oogo ben die Lif si Licht: as joe Oogo ben eenvoudig; DET eye BE DET body 3POS light as 2SG eye BE simple

soo joe geheelee Lif sal wees Licht. Maar as joe Oogo ben so 2SG entire body FUT BE light but as 2SG eye BE

205 bederv; soo joe geheelee Lif sal wees duister. Maar as die decay so 2SG entire body FUT BE dark but as DET Licht, welks ben nabin joe, ben Duisternis; hoe groot die light which BE NA.inside 2SG BE darkness how great DET

Duisternis selv sal wees dann? darkness self FUT BE then

<tm•Ev. am 15 Sonnt. p. Trinitatis>

Niemand kan dien NEG one can serve
twee Meester: of die sal wees dat em two master or DET FUT BE that 3SG

210 haat die een en hab die ander Liev; of em sal hang aan hate DET one and have DET other dear or 3SG FUT hang on
die een, en veracht die ander. Jender no kan dien Godt DET one and despise DET other 2PL NEG can serve God
en ook die Mammon.(die Geld) Vordarommi le see jen=
and also DET Mammon DET money therefore 1SG ASP say 2PL
der: no wees verlee-gen(of na overleging) voor jender Leef,
- NEG BE worried or NA consideration for 2PL life

wat jender sal jet en drink; ook niet voor jender Lief,
what 2PL FUT eat and drink also NEG for 2PL body

215 wat jender sal doe aan. Ben niet die Leef meer, as die what 2PL FUT put on BE NEG DET life more as DET
ejett? en die Lif mee[+]<r>,as die Kleding?Kik die Vogel sendr food and DET body more as DET clothes see DET bird 3PL

na onder die Hemel; sender no plant, sender no maak NA under DET sky 3PL NEG plant 3PL NEG make
Hem=genderenMagazin; en jender Hem= crop 3PL NEG gather NA.inside warehouse and 2PL heavenly

eelsch Vader gie doch Nahrung na sender. Ben jender dann
- father give yet trade NA 3PL BE 2PL then

220 niet veel meer as sender? Wie ben onder jender, die sal NEG much more as 3PL who BE among 2PL DET FUT

can maak en een Ell meer lang, maski em maak overlee can make 3SG a ell more long although3SG make consideration

over[“t”] die? En waarom jender ben verleegen voor Kleding? over DET and why 2PL BE worried for clothes

Kik die Lilien na Savan, hoe sender groei. Sender no werk, see DET lily.PL NA savannah how 3PL grow 3PL NEG work

sender ook no spinn. En Mi le see jender, dat ook Salomo 3PL also NEG spin and 1SG ASP say 2PL that also Salomo

225 na allegaarsi Heerlijkheinto a ka wees bekleed,as Een van NA all 3POSglory NEG PST PRF BE clad like one of
die selve. As noe Godt keed[2] die Gras alsoo na Savan, die wel DET same as now God dress DET grass thus NA savannah DET well

vandag staan, en morg, volk gooï die nabin die Füer: today stand and tomorrow people throw DET NA.inside DET fire

sall Em dann no doe v[“t”]eelmeer na jender? O jender Kleen FUT 3SG then NEG do much more NA 2PL o 2PL little

........................................... glov


gloovige! Vordarom jender no sall wies verleegen en believer therefore 2PL NEG FUT BE worried and

230 see: wagoes ons sal jett? wagoed ons sal drink? met wa say what 1PL FUT eat what 1PL FUT drink with what
goed ons sal kleed ons? Want allegaar soo goed, die - 1PL FUT dress 1PL because all so good DET

53 Keed: probably a writing error for kleed ‘dress, to dress’.
Heiden sender soek: Want jender Hemelsch Vader le heethen 3PL seek because 2PL heavenly father ASP

weet, dat jender die allegaar hab van nooden. Soek vor-know that 2PL DET all have of need seek for-

eerst die Koningriek van Godt en na si Gerechtigheid; first DET kingdom of God and NA 3POS justice

235 dann sal die Goed allegaar vall jender toe. Vordaarom then FUT DET thing all fall 2PL to therefore

no sorg voor die ander dag, want die Dag morg sal neem NEG care for DET other day becauseDET day tomorrowFUT take

Gedachten voor die goed van <ol•selv<vangoeddievoorGedachten thought.PL for DET good of self DET BE enough that

elk -een Dag hab si eigen Plaag.) every day have 3POS own plague

<tm•Ev. am 4 S. p. Trinit.>

Cap. 7. Oordeel
Chapter 7 judge

240 niet; soo jender ook no word geoordeelt. NEG so 2PL also NEG become judged

Verdoem niet; soo jender ook no sal word verdoemd. damn NEG so 2PL also NEG FUT become damned

Ver-gie; soo jender ook sal krieg vergeevnis. Gie; soo for-give so 2PL also FUT get forgiveness give so

sal ook na jenderword gegeeven. Want met wat vor een oor FUT also NA 2PL become given because with what kind a judgement

deel jender Oordeel, met die jender (ook) sal word geoor-deelt:

- 2PL judge with DET 2PL also FUT become judged

245 En met even die Meet, met die jendermeet, Volk ook sal and with equally DET measure with DET 2PL measure people also FUT

meet na jender weeraan: Een voll, gedaude, gerüppeldeen measure NA 2PL again a full pushed *** and

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, *Die Creol taal*
over-vloedig Meed jender sal krieg na jender Skoot.

En Em a see sender een Glijnis: Kan ook een Blind=
and 3SG PST say 3PL a parable can also a blind

de wies die Pad na een ander Blinde? sender no all=
- show DET path NA a other blind 3PL NEG both

250 twee sal vall nabin die Gaat?
- FUT fall NA.inside DET hole

Die Jünger no ben boven si Baas: Wannée<ol•r>die (Leer)
DET pupil NEG BE above 3POS master when DET learn

Jünger ben glijk si Baas; dann em ben vollkomm.
pupil BE equal 3POS master then 3SG BE perfect

Maar vorwaaromjoe kik die Splinter nabin joe Broe=
but why 2SG look DET splinter NA.inside 2SG brother

er si Oogo, en joe no bemerk die Balk nabin joe Oo=
- 3POSeye and 2SG NEG notice DET beam NA.inside2SG eye

255 go? Of, hoe daerf joe see tot joe Broer: Hou still, Broer,
- or how dare 2SG say to 2SG brother keep quiet brother

mi [-so] will trek joe die Splinter ut joe Oogo? en kik,
1SG so want pull 2SG DET splinter out 2SG eye and see

een Balk ben nabin joe Oogo. Joe Heuchelaar, trek a
beam BE NA.inside 2SG eye 2SG hypocrite pull

................................................. vor
................................................. 55.

evors-erst die Balk ut joe Oogo: dar-nah kik, hoe joe sal
for-first DET beam out 2SG eye there see how 2SG FUT

-fter

kan trek die Splinter üt joe Broer si Oogo.
can pull DET splinter out 2SG brother 3POS eye

260 Jender no sall gie die Heilig goed na die Hond sender,
2PL NEG FUT give DET holy good NA DET dog 3PL
en jender Perlen jender no sall gooi na voor die Varki sen= and 2PL pearl.PL 2PL NEG FUT throw NA before DET pig 3PL
der; dat sender no vertrap die met sender Voet, en dreij - that 3PL NEG trample.down DET with 3PL foot and turn
om en skeur jender. Bedd; soo jender sal krieg: Soek; around and tear 2PL pray so 2PL FUT get seek
soo jender sal vind: Klopp aan; soo die sal word geopent so 2PL FUT find knock on so DET FUT become opened

265 voor jender. Want wie bedd, die ontfangt; en wie soek, for 2PL because who pray DET receives and who seek
die vind; en wie klopp aan, na em die (Dhor) word geopent. DET find and who knock on NA 3SG DET door becomeopened

Of welk Mensch ben onder jender, die, as si Soon bedd or which human.being BE among 2PL DET as 3POS son pray
em voor Brood, dat em sal lang em een Steen? of as em 3SG for bread that 3SG FUT give 3SG a stone or as 3SG
bedd voor een Visch, en em lang em een Slang? As noe pray for a fish and 3SG give 3SG a snake as now

270 jender, die jender ben bederv, nochtans kan gie goeie 2PL DET 2PL BE decay nevertheless can give good
gaven na jender Kinders; hoe veel meer sal jender Vader gift.PL NA 2PL child.PL how much more FUT 2PL father
nabin die Hemel gie fraai Goed na die-jeen,die sender bedd NA.inside DET heaven give nice good NA DET.one DET 3PL pray

Em? Alles noe, wat jender will, dat Volk sall doe na jen= 3SG everything now what 2PL want that people FUT do NA 2PL
der; dat/DET do 2PL NA 3PL that BE DET law

275 en die DET
Prophten. (sender Leer)
prophet.PL 3PL doctrine

<§ol•Ev. 8 Sonnt. p. Trinit.>

Loop nabin door die
walk NA.inside through DET
naue Poort. Want die Poort ben wiet,
narrow gate because DET gate BE wide

en die Pad ben breed, we<k draag na die Verdoemnis; en sender and DET path BE wide which carry NA DET damnation and 3PL

280 ben moeschidie loop op die. En die Dhor ben nauw, en die BE many DET walk up DET and DET door BE narrow and DET

Pad ben smaal, welk draag na die Leef; en sender ben wei= path BE narrow which carry NA DET life and 3PL BE few

nig, die vind die. Maar pass op jender, van die ValschePro=
- DET. find DET but watch up 2PL of DET false prophet.PL

heten, welk k*a/o*m na Skaap kleern tot jender: maar van - which come NA sheep clothes to 2PL but of

binnen sender ben skeurende Wolven. Na sender Vruch= inside 3PL BE ferocious wolf.PL NA 3PL fruit.PL

285 ten jender sall be[-r]kennsender. (dat ben, na sender leev - 2PL FUT know 3PL that BE NA 3PL life

en wandel)

and walk

........................................

Kan

56. Matth. 7,

Kan Volk ook pek (Wien) Druif*i/e* van Stee
-<kel=Hasche, can people also seize wine grape of prickle -bush

of Fiegi van Ste*e/c*kelGras? Alsoo ijder goeie Boom drag or fig of prickle grass thus every good tree carry
goeie Vrucht, maar een slechte Boom drag slechte Vrucht. good fruit but a bad tree carry bad fruit
290 En goeie Boom no kan drag slechte Vrucht, en een slechte and good tree NEG can carry bad fruit and a bad
Boom no kan drag goeie Vrucht. Een elke Boom word tree NEG can carry good fruit a every tree become
gekent na si Vrucht. ijder Boom, die no drag goeie Vrucht, known NA 3POS fruit every tree DET NEG carry good fruit
die word af ge -Capt, en na die Füer gegooit. Vordaarom DET become off chopped and NA DET fire thrown therefore
jender sall bekenn sender na sender Vruchten.
2PL FUT acknowledge 3PL NA 3PL fruit.PL

295 Een goeie Mensch breng goeie Saaken navoor ut die goeie a good human.being bring good case.PL NA.FOR out DET good
Skatt nabin si Hert; en een Quaat Mensch breng quaaje treasure NA.inside3POS heart and a evil human.being bring evil
Saaken navoor ut die quaaje Voorraat nabin si Hert.
thing.PL NA.for out DET evil stock NA.inside 3POS heart
Want van wat die Hert ben voll, van die die Mond loop over. because of what DET heart BE full of DET DET mouth run over
En vor jen\der roep mi HEER, HEER: en jender no doe,
-waar\om and FOR -why 2PL call 1SG lord lord and 2PL NEG do

300 wagoed mi see jender? Nie<\t> allemaal, die sender see tot mi, what 1SG say 2PL NEG everyone DET 3PL say to 1SG
HEER, HEER, sal[l -l] kom nabin die Hemeriek: maar, die lord lord FUT come NA.insideDET Kingdom.of.Heaven but DET
sender doe die will van mi Vader nabin die Hemel. 3PL do DET will of 1SG father NA.inside DET heaven
Moeschi sender sal see tot mi na die -jen (laatst) Dag: HEER, many 3PL FUT say to 1SG NA DET one last day lord
HEER, ons no a ka predik na die Nam van Joe? Ons no a lord 1PL NEG PST PRF preach NA DET name of 2SG 1PL NEG PST
305 ka doe veel daaten na die Nam van Joe? Ons no a ka
PRF do many deed.PL NA DET name of 2SG 1PL NEG PST PRF
gooi boose Geesten ut na die Nam van Joe? Dann mi
throw evil spirit.PL out NA DET name of 2SG then 1SG
sal beleyd na sender: Mi no a ka bekenn jender noch-al,
FUT profess NA 3PL 1SG NEG PST PRF know 2PL yet
wiek van mi, allemaal, jender quaat-doenders.
recede of 1SG everyone 2PL evil-doer.PL
Vordaaromwie le hoor die mi Praat, en em doe die; em mi
therefore who ASP hear DET 1SG talk and 3SG do DET 3SG 1SG
310 verglik met een verstandig Mann, die a bau een Hoes,
compare with a wise man DET PST build a house
en a dieg diep, en a lee die Fondament op een Klpp; en toen
and PST dig deep and PST lay DET foundation up a rock and when
een swaar Regen a vall en groot Water a stroom sterk,
a heavy rain PST fall and great water PST stream strong
en slaa tegen die Hoes; en doch die no a vall, want si
and strike against DET house and yet DET NEG PST fall because3POS

........................................Fon
........................................57.
Fondament a lee op een Klipp; en die Winden a waij
foundation PST lay up a rock and DET wind.PL PST blow
315 en a stoot na die Hoes; maar die n*o* vall. En wie le
and PST push NA DET house but DET not fall and who ASP
hoor die mi Praat, en em no doe die; die ben glik
hear DET 1SG talk and 3SG NEG do DET DET BE like
een [-glij] domme Mann, die a bauw si Hoes op die
a like stupid man DET PST build 3POS house up DET
Sand sonder Fonda-ment. En as een swaar Regen
sand without foundation and as a heavy rain
176

a vall, en die Water a kom groot, en die Wint PST fall and DET water PST come great and DET wind

320 a wey, en a stoot na die Hoes, da die vall, en a PST blow and PST push NA DET house then DET fall and PST
doe een groot vall. En die a gebuir, as JESus [-si] do a great fall and DET PST happen as Jesus 3POS
daenvall, diedaHoes,dienastootaenwey,a320PSTandfallDETthenhouseDETNApushPSTandblowPST

doe een groot vall. En die a gebuir, as JESus [-si] do a great fall and DET PST happen as Jesus 3POS

a ka vollend deese Reden, die Volk a kom ontstelt PST PRF finish DEM speech DET people PST come dismayed

over si Leer. Want Em a predik met Kracht, en about 3POS doctrine because 3SG PST preach with strength and

niet Glik die na Skrif-geleerde sender. NEG like DET NA scribe 3PL
4 Lay material

4.1 The ABC booklets (1770, 1770 and 1800)

This section deals with a specific category of printed work: language primers. Language primers, in Negerhollands *AB(C) boekjes* ‘AB(C) booklets’, were usually produced by missionaries for education of the illiterate converts. Three have survived. As they were meant to help teach reading and writing, they also represent a source of metalinguistic information. They may furthermore contain reading material of edifying calibre, often taken from Luther's catechism, like the Ten Commandments, the Lord's and other prayers, hymns and songs, verses from the NT, sacraments. Interestingly, we have both Moravian and Danish primers. The Moravian primer appears to be the more pedagogical one. Apart from the alphabet and a character combination table for the possible ‘syllables’, which are found in all three, it also gives numbers, lists of proper names, etc. The Danish give more pieces of textual reading material. Another interesting factor is the time of publication of the two Danish primers; they are both from 1770 and may as such shed light on a part of the synchronic variation in NH at the time.

First, we will treat the metalinguistic information that these books contain and, if possible, make a comparison. Thereafter, certain textual parts will be dealt with. We will only look at those texts they have in common, and in such a way that they can easily be compared. The following language primers are treated here:

**Kingo:**
- Kreool A, B, buk.
- by: Johan Christopher Kørbitz Thomsen Kingo
- at: St. Croix 1770
- 16 pages

**Wold:**
- Creool A B Buk voor die Deen Missioon na Westindien
- by: Erich Röiring Wold
- at: Unknown place 1770
- 16 pages

**Anon.:**
- A B C-BOEKJE voor die Neger-Kinders na St. Thomas, St. Croix en St. Jan.
- by: Unknown member of the Moravian Brethren
- at: Barby 1800
- 12 pages

According to Reinecke et al.'s (1975) bibliography, another Moravian primer with the same title as Anonymous was printed in 1825, but we did not have access to it.
Questions about authorship

It is claimed in Lose (1891), on the basis of his archival research of the correspondence of the Danish mission, that Kingo had translated Luther's Smaller Catechism into Negerhollands by 1764. It was, according to Lose's sources, sent to Copenhagen for printing, but it remained in Denmark for several years, before being sent to Magens on St. Thomas in 1769. Magens and Wold would have revised Kingo's translation and prepared it for printing in 1770.

All of this has never been confirmed by another independent source, or by a check of Lose's sources. All other publications that witness or imply this reconstruction base themselves on Lose. Because of a lack of immediate access to the documents consulted by Lose and others, there is at the moment only one other way that may enable us to ascertain the plausibility of Lose's reconstruction: the comparison of sources of whose authenticity we are certain.

As for Kingo, only one printed work bears his name as author: the Kreool A, B, Buk from 1770. It is a 16-page Negerhollands primer, with combinatory tables of vowels and consonants, the Lord's Prayer, the first two Articles of Faith, the Ten Commandments, and some sacraments and prayers. Finally, it contains the hymn O! Planter-Man and some verses from the New Testament.

The same can be said about Wold. His 1770 Creool A B Buk does not contain the Hymn nor the verses, however.

This copy of Wold, which was kept in Copenhagen University Library in the Fiolstraede (which in 1992 was incorporated into the Royal Library in Copenhagen), is part of a volume containing two further works, in exactly the same type, with the same decorations, also issued at an unknown place in 1770. They are D. Martin Luther sie klein Catechismus and Creool Psalm-Buk, but they lack reference to an author, and they are separately paginated.

The third part, Creool Psalm-Buk, is also found as a single volume in the Royal Library in Copenhagen. They are identical in all respects, and among the hymns O! Planterman is also included. Lose ascribes this work to Wold and Magens.

About D. Martin Luther sie klein Catechismus, the Smaller Catechism, it could be said that according to Lose it has three authors; Kingo, Magens and Wold. To find out if there is some truth in this claim, one could compare Kingo's and Wold's primers, and then compare (Wold's?) the Smaller Catechism with both, as partially the same material forms their contents (namely: the Smaller Catechism contains the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the first two Articles of Faith, the Sacrament of Baptism, the Table Sacrament, and some prayers).

If Kingo and Wold both wrote a primer, independently of each other, and if Wold and Magens revised a Catechism originally translated by Kingo, then one would expect that this Catechism would have certain traits in common with Kingo's primer, but not necessarily with Wold's primer.

Apart from the whereabouts of certain Negerhollands works, also the authorship of several known texts may continue to present the students of Negerhollands with puzzles in the future. In relation to these questions, it may be worthwhile to note that...
Kingo also contains material from the New Testament, but nothing from Matthew. For additional details, see the bibliography.

**Linguistic instruction**

All three primers contain tables with the alphabet and the syllables that may be formed by combining characters. Only in Kingo do we find some explicit instructions for the interpretation of the characters:

| Elke Letter | ha | di | self | Naem, so as every character | have DET self name so as |
| NA DET | Deen of | Latii, en | di | Voort | DET Danish or Latin language and DET word |
| le | praet | yt^1, so as | di | stan skrif^2 | hi-so, so ASP speak out so as DET stand write here-so so |
| di | no ha | nit een | svaer for les of for spel DET NEG have NEG one difficulty FOR read or FOR spell |
| DET | because | 2SG | take DET word so as DET stand |

**Translation**

Every character has the same name as in Danish or Latin, and the words are pronounced like they are written here, so there will be no difficulties in reading or spelling them, because you take the words according to how they are written.

In Anon. we find no such remarks, but on the other hand we find a list of example words for every character. They appear to be carefully chosen to illustrate the orthographic representation of vowel quantity, diphthongs, voice, etc. The first examples are easy monosyllabic words, but later examples are words of increasing syllabic and derivational complexity. Anon. also gives the numbers, both in Arabic and Roman style, gives an additional version of the alphabet in italic type, and even introduces some linguistic terms. Anon. seems to be pedagogically the most sophisticated of the three primers and must have been especially designed for reading classes. Wold only gives an alphabet and a syllable scheme, next to his religious texts. Below, we have given the sections containing linguistic instructions from all primers.

---

2 _stan skrif_ stands written: no participial morphology. Cf. note 1.
1 _praet yt_ is a hidden passive: _be pronounced_.

_Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal_
**Alphabets**

Kingo

A, b, d, e, f, g, A, B, D, E, F, G, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, H, l, J, K, L, M, o, p, q, r, s, s, t, N, O, P, Q, R, S, u, v, x, y, ö, T, U, V, X, Y, Ö.

ai. au. ei. oi. ou.

Wold

A. B. C. D. E. a. b. c. d. e. f. g. h. F. G. H. I. J. i. j. k. l. m. n. o. p. K. L. M. N. O. q. r. s. s. t. u. v. w. U. V. W. X. Y. x. y. z. ö. Z. OE.

Anon

A B C D E F G H I a b c d e f (ff) g h J K L M N O P Q R i j k l m n o p q r S T U V W X Y Z. s (s ss) t u v w x z.

Anon further divides the characters into phonetic categories and gives Arabic and Latin numbers:

Vocalen. a e i (y) o u. ('vowels')
Consonanten. b c d f g h j k l m ('consonants')

n p q r s t v w x z.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 20. 30. 40. 50.
60. 70. 80. 90. 100. 200. 300. 400. 500. 600.
700. 800. 900. 1000

I. II. III. IV. V. VI. VII. VIII. IX. X. XI.
1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11.
XII. XX. L. C. D. M.
12. 20. 50. 100. 500. 1000.
Anon also gives examples to illustrate how the alphabet should be used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a (enkel)</th>
<th>aa (dobbel)</th>
<th>e (enkel)</th>
<th>ee (dobbel)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lat</td>
<td>laat</td>
<td>en</td>
<td>een</td>
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<tr>
<td>al</td>
<td>maal</td>
<td>Vel</td>
<td>veel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dan</td>
<td>staan</td>
<td>Wet</td>
<td>weet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sap</td>
<td>Slaap</td>
<td>ben</td>
<td>Been</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>Maan</td>
<td>best</td>
<td>Beest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o (enkel)</td>
<td>oo (dobbel)</td>
<td>u (enkel)</td>
<td>uu (dobbel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vor</td>
<td>voor</td>
<td>ut</td>
<td>Uur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>word</td>
<td>Woord</td>
<td>Nut</td>
<td>Vuur</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kop</td>
<td>Koop</td>
<td>Stut</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Skot</td>
<td>Skoot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ea</td>
<td>ei (ey)</td>
<td>eu</td>
<td>ie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aerm</td>
<td>leid</td>
<td>Deugd</td>
<td>die</td>
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<td>waerd</td>
<td>skey</td>
<td>gie</td>
<td>goe</td>
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<tr>
<td>ley</td>
<td>hier</td>
<td>Hoes</td>
<td>flauw</td>
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<tr>
<td>reyel</td>
<td>niet</td>
<td>toen</td>
<td>blauw</td>
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<tr>
<td>ou</td>
<td>ui (uy)</td>
<td>aai (aay)</td>
<td>ooi (ooy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dou</td>
<td>huichel</td>
<td>draai</td>
<td>gooy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bouw</td>
<td>fraai</td>
<td>mooj</td>
<td>Koei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koud</td>
<td>saay</td>
<td>nooit</td>
<td>Moei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vrouw</td>
<td>waay</td>
<td>rooy</td>
<td>foey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


5 *dobbel*: ‘double’.

4 *enkel*: ‘single’.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, *Die Creol taal*
Fragment from ABC-boekje voor die Neger-Kinders. Barby: 1800.6

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
al le\(^7\)  an der, a ster, Ar beid, A vend,
Broe er, Be geer, be hou, Bli skap, be waar,
Dan ki, don ker, dier baar, der wil, Du vel,
ee nigst, eer der, En gel, Ei land, En de,
fro lik, Fi gur, 
Gna de, Goed heid, Ge taal, God heid, gloo fig,
Hei land, Her der, He mel, Hoop ning, 
Je sus, Jong vrouw, Jo den, jen der, Ja mer,
Ket ting, Ken nis, Kin ders, Krup pel, Ko ning,
Lief de, Li chaam, Lee ring, Lug naar, Led maat, 
Morgsteer, Mod der, Moe der, Mee ster, moe schi, 
Naa ring, Na tie, nie mand, na by, na voor, 
On skuld, on der, o ver, Oor deel, Ou ders, 
Par don, Person, Pen ning, Ple si, po ver, 
Quaa je, Quaat doen, quaa lik, Quar tier, Rik dom, 
Rant soen, Re gen, re geer, Rech ter, Sus ter, 
Son do, Ska de, Skan de, Toe komst, 
Tee ken, Tem pel, Troo ster, 
Va der, Ver stand, Vleerken, Voor hoofd, 
Waar heid, Wan del, waar schouw, Won der, Woo ning.\(^8\)

\(^7\) a: all, other, after, work, evening. b: brother, desire, keep, happiness, protect. d: thanks, dark/night, beloved, while/because, devil. e: only, earlier, angel, island, end. f: happy, figure. g: mercy, goodness, number, divinity, believing. h: Saviour, shepherd, heaven, hope. j: Jesus, virgin, Jews, 2PL, pity. k: chain, knowledge, children, lame, king. l: love, body, teaching, liar, member. m: morning star, mud, mother, master, much/very. n: nourishment, nation, no-one, close, in front of. o: innocence, under, over, judgement, parents. p: forgiveness, person, penny, pleasure, poor. q: angry one, do evil, bad, quarter. r: ration, rain, govern, judge, wealth. s: sin, damage, shame, sigh, sister. t: sign, temple, comforter/paracleter, future. v: father, wits, wing, fore head, foot bench. w: truth, walk/go, warn, wonder/miracle, house.

\(^8\) The following comments are in order: (a) Broe er: instead of the written Dutch form broeder which appears in the letters. (b) En de 'end': looks like Ger. Ende 'id.' but may be a genuine form. (c) Hoop ning: a Dutchified version of Germ. Hoffnung 'hope'. (d) (Morg) steer: looks like a compromise between Du. ster 'star' and NH stère 'id.'. (e) Naa ring: may be a Dutchification of Germ. Nährung 'nourishment'. (f) Son do: creolized version of Du. zonde 'sin'. Cf. the Introduction. (g) Vleer ken: although this is a plural in Dutch, the form flegn 'wing' in De Josselin de Jong's glossary suggests a singular interpretation.
Aster aan
Bruide gom,
Christen dom,
Drink beeker
Eig en dom,
Farin ge, Fami lie,
Genees man,
Heerlik heid,
Jong heid,
Koning rik,
Liefde voll,
Manke ment,
Na bovo,
Onder skeid,
Patien tie,
Quaat doener,
Roenkert je,
Salig heid,
Testa ment,
Voor daarom,
Weeraan komst,
Zeba oth.

Avend maal, Benauwt, Christen heid, Duster nis, Fonda ment,
Geneen skap, hooghei lig, jamer voll, Kerken raad,
Lita ney, Mis handing, Na binne, Priester dom,
Regen back, sacht moedig, Timmer man, Verster king,

Aange sicht, Betaa-ling, Cherus bim, Dankbaar heid, Evan gelium,
Gesond heid, Hemel rik Je mand, Gedach ten,
Loof psalmen, mal kander, Noodzaak lik, Op passer, Pro feten,
Regee ring, Sera phim, Toevre denheid, Verle genheid, Welbe hagen,

Zebaoth.

The following comments are in order: (a) Evangelium: this is German (Evangelium) rather than Dutch (Evangelie). (b) Farin ge: may be NH faria 'corn meal' which De Josselin de Jong relates to Portuguese farinha 'flour'. (c) (Na) bovo: Creole vowel system. Not visible in (Na) binne. (d) Roenkertje: is a Zeelandic word.
Combinations

Kingo

Ab, eb, ib, ob, ub, yb, Öb, Ba, be, bi, bo, bu, by, bö,
Ad, ed, id, od, ud, yd, öd, Da, de, di, do, du, dy, dö,
Af, ef, if, of, uf, yf, öf, Fa, fe, fi, fo, fu, fy, fö,
Ag, eg, ig, og, ug, yg, ög, Ga, ge, gi, go, gu, gy, gö,
Ak, ek, ik, ok, uk, yk, ök, Ka, ke, ki, ko, ku, ky, kö,
Al, el, il, ol, ul, yl, öl, La, le, li, lo, lu, ly, lö,
Am, em, im, om, um, ym, öm, Ma, me, mi, mo, mu, my, mö,
An, en, in, on, un, yn, ön, Na, ne, ni, no, nu, ny, nö,
Ap, ep, ip, op, up, yp, öp, Pa, pe, pi, po, pu, py, pö,
Ar, er, ir, or, ur, yr, ör, Ra, re, ri, ro, ru, ry, rö,
As, es, is, os, us, ys, ös, Sa, se, si, so, su, sy, sö,
At, et, it, ot, ut, yt, öt, Ta, te, ti, to, tu, ty, tö,
Av, ev, iv, ov, uv, yv, öv, Va, ve, vi, vo, vu, vy, vö,

Wold

Spel-Taefel.

Ab, eb, ib, ob, ub, yb, öb, Ba, be, bi, bo, bu, by, bö,
Ac, ec, ic, oc, uc, yc, öc, Ca, ce, ci, co, cu, cy, cö,
Ad, ed, id, od, ud, yd, öd, Da, de, di, do, du, dy, dö,
Af, ef, if, of, uf, yf, öf, Fa, fe, fi, fo, fu, fy, fö,
Aj, ej, - oj, - - öj, Ja, je, ji, jo, ju, jy, jö,
Ak, ek, ik, ok, uk, yk, ök, Ka, ke, ki, ko, ku, ky, kö,
Al, el, il, ol, ul, yl, öl, La, le, li, lo, lu, ly, lö,
Am, em, im, om, um, ym, öm, Ma, me, mi, mo, mu, my, mö,
An, en, in, on, un, yn, ön, Na, ne, ni, no, nu, ny, nö,
Ap, ep, ip, op, up, yp, öp, Pa, pe, pi, po, pu, py, pö,
Ar, er, ir, or, ur, yr, ör, Ra, re, ri, ro, ru, ry, rö,
As, es, is, os, us, ys, ös, Sa, se, si, so, su, sy, sö,
At, et, it, ot, ut, yt, öt, Ta, te, ti, to, tu, ty, tö,
Av, ev, iv, ov, uv, yv, öv, Va, ve, vi, vo, vu, vy, vö.
Religions instruction

Here, the situation is the inverse of that in the linguistic section. Apparently, the Danish booklets were primarily meant for religious instruction. Their major parts, in both cases pages 6 to 16, therefore consist of spiritually edifying material. Wold contains the majority of this, Kingo has basically the same material, but in some cases only gives excerpts, and Anon, contains the least. Below, we reprint the sections that are identical among the primers. Through research on possible alternative ways of expression and on the value of orthographic variants, the differences between our sources may be related to dialectal variation in Negerhollands. Apart from this, the material is also of importance in the quest to establish the authorship of other Danish works and to discover the identity of Danish works that we only know of through mention. This issue is discussed to some extent at the end of this section.

Note that the hymn *O! Planterman* is not found in Wold's primer, but it is found in the *Psalm-Buk* of 1770 which is attached to the primer. Furthermore, a fourth version of the Lord's Prayer was found in the *Klein Catechismus* of 1770, also attached to Wold's primer. Even though they do not belong to Wold's primer, we included both these texts here to facilitate comparison, and because they may be from Wold's hand.

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Kingo 1770  Wold 1770

1  Di  Heer  si  Gebet.  DET  Lord  3POS  prayer  DET  Lord  3POS  prayer
   Ons  Fader,  1PL  father  Ons  Vaeder,  1PL  father
   ju  di  bin  na  di  Hemel  senner,  Ju  di  bin  na  binne  die  Heemel.
   2SG  DET  BE  NA  DET  heaven  3PL  2SG  DET  BE  NA  inside  DET  heaven
   ju  Naem  kom  heilig11,  Ju  Naem  wort  geheiligt.
   2SG  name  come  holy  2SG  name  become  hallowed

5  ju  Konig -Rik  kom,  Ju  Kooningrik  kom.
   2SG  kingdom  come  2SG  kingdom  come
   ju  Vil  geskiet  Ju  Wil  geskiet
   2SG  will  happen  2SG  will  happen
lik  na  die  Hemel,  so  ok  na  di  Gront12,  na  Aerdeglik  na  binne  die  Heemel.
like  NA  DET  heaven,  so  also  NA  DET  earth  NA  earth  like  NA  inside  DET  heaven

gif  ons  fan  Dag,  ons  daglik  Broot,  Gief  ons  van  Dag  ons  daglik  Broot.
give  1PL  of  day  1PL  daily  bread  give  1PL  of  day  1PL  daily  bread
en  gif  ons,  ons  skylt  as -ter13,  Vergeef  ons  ons  Skylt,
and  give  1PL  1PL  guilt  after  forgive  1PL  1PL  guilt

10  lik  ons  soo  glik  ons
   like  1PL  so  like  1PL
le  gif  ons  Skyldenarsenner  aster,  vergeef  ons  Skyl  sender.
ASP  give  1PL  debtor  3PL  after  forgive  1PL  debtor  3PL

11  ju  Naem  kom  heilig:  This  sentence  is  ambiguous  between  ‘may  Thy  name  become  holy’  (cf.
   Du.  heilig ‘holy’)  and  ‘Hallowed  be  Thy  name’  (cf.  Du.  heiligen  ‘hallow,  sanctify’),  where  the
   other  versions  use  the  unambiguous  ‘Dutch’  passive  wort/word  geheiligt.  Cf.  the  Introduction
   on  the  various  passive  constructions  of  18th  century  Negerhollands.
12  As  for  Gront  ‘ground,  field,  earth’  (<Du.  grond  ‘ground’)  vs.  Aarde/Aerde  ‘earth’  compare
   de  Josselin  de  Jong  sub  gron  and  adu  resp.
13  gif ...  aster,  which  occurs  twice  in  this  version,  may  mean  ‘give ...  afterwards’,  ‘forgive ...
   afterwards’  or  simply  ‘forgive’.

Cefas  van  Rossem  en  Hein  van  der  Voort,  Die  Creol  taal
en no bring ons na binne die Prophetie; 
and NEGbring 1PL NA inside DET try 1PL NA inside temptation

ma trek ons yt fan di Qvaet, maer verlos ons van die Qwaet. 
but pull 1PL out of DET evil but deliver 1PL of DET evil

vant fan ju bin di Konig Want fan Ju bin die Kooningrik, 
because of 2SG BE DET kingdom because of 2SG BE DET kingdom

15 di Kragt en di Eer die Kragt en die Heerligheid 
DET power and DET glory DET power and DET glory

NA eternity amen until NA DET eternity amen

Anon 1800

Die Gebet van die Heere. Die Gebet van ons Heiland. 
DET prayer of DET Lord DET prayer of 1PL Saviour

Ons Va. der Ons Vaeder, 
1PL father 1PL father

na die Hemel! Ju die bin na binne die Heemel 
NA DET heaven 2SG DET BE NA inside DET heaven

20 Joe Naam word ge heilig; Ju Naam wort geheiligt. 
2SG name become hallowed 2SG name become hallowed

Joe Koningrik kom; Ju Kooningrik kom. 
2SG kingdom come 2SG kingdom come

o dat Joe Will sal ge skied Ju Wil geskied 
o that 2SG will FUT happen 2SG will happen

op die Aar.de, soo as na die Hemel; na Aerdeleglik na binne die Heemel. 
on DET earth so as NA DET heaven NA earth like NA inside DET heaven

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
Gie ons van Dag ons daag Brood, Gief ons van Dag ons daglik Broot.
like
give 1PL of day 1PL daily bread give 1PL of day 1PL daily bread

25 en ver gie ons on se Skul-den, Vergeef ons ons skylt,
and for give 1PL 1PL fault.PL forgive 1PL 1PL fault
soo as ons glik ons
so as 1PL like 1PL
ver gie ons Skul de le vergeef ons Skyldenaarsender.
naars;
for give 1PL debtor.PL ASP forgive 1PL debtor 3PL
en ley ons niet na Ver soe En no lej ons na binne Ver
king,
and lead 1PL NEG NA temptation and NEG lead 1PL NA inside temptation
maar ver-lossons van die Quaa Maer verlos ons van die Quaet.
je.
but deliver 1PL or DET evil but deliver 1PL or DET evil

30 Want van Joe ben die Ko ning Want van Ju bin die Ko
rik,
because of 2SG BE DET kingdom because of 2SG BE DET kingdom
en die Kracht, en die Heer-liek die Kragt en die Heerlikheid
and DET power and DET glory DET power and DET glory
na Ee wig heid. Amen. tee na die Eewigheid. Amen
NA eternity amen until NA DET eternity amen

Kingo

Wold

Di Tien Got Gebot. Godt si tien Gebot
DET ten God commandment. God 3POS ten commandment

DET ERSTE. Die Eerste.
DET first DET first

Mi bin di Heer ju Got. Mie bin die Heer. Ju Godt,
1SG BE DET Lord 2SG God 1SG BE DET Lord 2SG God

ju no sa ha ander Got senner Ju no sa hab niet een ander Godt
2SGNEGFUT have other God 3PL 2SGNEGFUT have NEG one other God
bitten mi. meer as mie.
outside 1SG more as 1SG

DI TVEDE. DET second Die Tweede.

Ju no sa gebryk Ju no sa gebryk
2SG NEG FUT use 2SG NEG FUT use

40 di Heer, ju Got Naem die Heer Ju Godt sie Naem
DET Lord 2SG God name DET Lord 2SG God 3POS name

for soso, na een wissie wissie Ma -nier;
FOR so -so NA a wishy washy manner

vant di Heer Fordiemaek die Heer
because DET Lord therefore DET Lord

em sa straf di senner, hem sa straf sender,
3SG FUT punish DET 3PL 3SG FUT punish 3PL

di le gebryksi Naem so -so die le gebryksie Naem voor soso.
DET ASP use 3POSname so -so DET ASP use 3POSname FOR so -so

45 DI DERDE. DET third Die Derde.

Denk op, Dink op
think up think up

da ju le hou die Rees heilig.die Rest -Dag dat Ju hou hem heilig.
that 2SGASPkeep DET rest -Dag, holy DET rest -Dag, that 2SG keep 3SG holy

DI FIIRDE. DET fourth Die Vierde.
Hou ju Tatta mit ju Mammana Respekt, Respecteer Ju Tata mit Ju Mama, 
keep2SGfatherwith2SGmother NA respect respect 2SGfatherwith2SGmother

50 da di kan kom for lop ju frei', dat die kan loop Ju fraej, 
that DET can come FOR go 2SG well that DET can walk 2SG well
en ju kan leef langna di Verel.en dat Ju kan leef langna bobo die Aerde. 
and2SG can live longNA DETworld and that2SG can live longNA above DET earth

Ju no sa mattenit een Folk. Ju no sa martannet een Volk. 
2SG NEG FUT kill NEG one folk 2SG NEG FUT kill NEG one folk

55 Ju no sa huur. Ju no sa huur. 
2SG NEG FUT whore 2SG NEG FUT whore

Ju no sa dif. Ju no sa dif. 
2SG NEG FUT steal 2SG NEG FUT steal

Ju no sa praet fals Getygen. Ju no sa praet vals Getiegen 
2SG NEG FUT speak false witness 2SG NEG FUT speak false witness

60 tegen ju Naeste. teegen Ju Naeste. 
against 2SG neighbour against 2SG neighbour

14 ‘That you may prosper’. For lop ju frei’ (lit.) you (ind. obj.) well’ compare Du. goed gaan  
‘(litt.) well go’ plus indirect object.
Neegende. Die Neegende.
DI DET ninth ninth
Ju no sa beeger Ju no sa hab sin
2SG NEG FUT desire 2SG NEG FUT have desire
ju Naeste Hus. na Ju Naeste sie Hus.
2SG neighbour house NA 2SG neighbour 3POS house
DI DET TIENDE. Die Tiende.
Tenth DET tenth
65 Ju no sa hab sin Ju no sa ha Sin
2SG NEG FUT have desire 2SG NEG FUT have desire
na ju Naeste si Vif, na Ju Naeste sie Wif,
NA 2SG neighbour 3POS wife NA 2SG neighbour 3POS wife
si Jong, si Meisi, si Os, si Borika, sie Jong, sie Meisje, sie Os, sie Borika,
3POS boy 3POS girl 3POS ox 3POS donkey 3POS boy 3POS girl 3POS ox 3POS donkey
of eniste gut, fan allema di*,* en na niet een gut,
or any thing of all DET and NA NEG one thing
DI DET of 3SG DET BE of 3SG
70 Fan allema di Gebot senner Van almael die Gebot,
of all DET commandment3PL of all DET commandment
Da so Got le praet da soo Godt le praet
EMP so God ASP speak EMP so God ASP speak
na 2 Mos. 20 Kap. 5,6, v. na Moses die tweedeBuk 20 Kap. 5,6, Vers.
NA 2 Mos. 20: Ch. 5-6, v. NA Moses second book 20 Ch.5th.6th. Verse

Kingo Wold

Gebet for sei opfru asju le hoppo. Gebet for vruvrue, asJu hoppovan Slaep.
fru, prayerFORsayupearly as2SGASpUp prayerFORearly.REDas2SGup fromsleep
-RED

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
Mi le sei ju mussi groot Danki, O! Mie seg Ju groot Dankie O
1SG ASP say 2SG much big thanks o 1SG say 2SG big thanks o
75 Fader en Heer fan di Hemel Vaeder, Heer van Heemel
Father and lord or DET heaven Father Lord of heaven
en di Gront door Jesum Kristum15 en Aerde, door Jesus Christus
and DET earth through Jesus Christ and earth through Jesus Christ
ju lief-de Soon, ons Heilant, Ju lieve Soon, ons Heilant,
2SG dear Son 1PL Saviour 2SG dear Son 1PL Saviour
da ju ka bevaermi na di Donker, dat Ju ka be mie fraejna die Donker,
-waer
that2SGPRFs save 1SGNADETdarkness that2SGPRFsave 1SGwell NADETdarkness
en ka parra allega Qvaet fan mi, en ka parae almaelqwaetvan mie:
and PRF keep all evil of 1SG and PRF keep all evil of 1SG
80 mi le bet ju mussi, Mie bidt Ju,
1SG ASP pray 2SG much 1SG pray 2SG
dat ju vil bevaermi okal fan Dag, dat Ju wil bewaermie ookalvan Dag,
that 2SG will keep 1SG also of day that 2SG will keep 1SG also of day
da mi no sa kom for fal dat mie no sa val
that 1SG NEG FUT come FOR fall that 1SG NEG FUT fall
na binne di Sonde16 of an-der Qvaet, na Sonde of ander Qwaet,
NA inside DET sin or other evil NA sin or other evil

15 Jesum Kristum is a Latin accusative. Also the dative Jesu Kristo and the Latin-Greek genitive
Jesu can be found. The use of Latin cases for the names Jesus, Christus and Jesus Christus
is (was) not uncommon in Danish and German religious speech.
16 Sondo: compare what the remarks about the forms sondo and zonde in the Introduction.
ma gif! da allemami Ge maer gief, dat almaelmie Gedagten, -dagten, but give that all 1SG thought.PL but give that all 1SG thought.PL

85 Voort en Verk senner mie Woort en mie Werk sender word and work 3PL 1SG word and 1SG work 3PL

mut ves frei for ju, mut wees fraej na Ju; must BE well FOR 2SG must BE well NA 2SG

vant mi le betrou mi self Want mie le be - trou mie self, because1SG ASP entrust 1SG self because1SG ASP entrust 1SG self

mit Leggom en Siel mie Likam en Siel mit almael gut with body and soul 1SG body and soul with all thing

na ju Hant, na ju Hant:
NA 2SG hand NA 2SG hand

90 no la stan ju heilig Engel sennerNo la-staenJu heilig Engel sender NEG let stand 2SG holy angel 3PL NEG let 2SG holy angel 3PL -stand

lop nit een Plek fan mi, loop niet een Plek van mie, walk NEG one place of 1SG walk NEG one place of 1SG

da di Divel no sa for du mi dat die Die no sa due mi - vel

that DET devil NEG FUT FOR do 1SG that DET devil NEG FUT do 1SG

een Qvaet. Amen. niet een gut. Amen. Ons Vaelder &c. one evil amen NEG one thing amen 1PL Father etc.

Kingo Wold

Gebet for di Skoolkint senner. Gebet voor en Skool - Kint. prayer FOR DET schoolchild 3PL prayer FOR a school - child

95 O! Ju eene Almagtig Got O Ju eewig en eene almagtig Godt, O 2SG one almighty God O 2SG eternal and one almighty God
Fader; Soon en Heilig Gees, Vaeder, Soon en Heilig Geest, 
Father Son and holy Spirit Father Son and holy Spirit 
ju di bin een Fader over alle=madi, Ju die bin Vaederover al, 
2SG DET BE one Father over all DET 2SG DET BE Father over all 
di ha kint Naem fan di Hemel die hab Naem van Kint na Heemel 
DET have child name of DET heaven DET have name of child NA heaven 
en di Gront, help mi pover Kint en Aerde, help mie, mie pover Kint, 
and DET earth help 1SG poor child and earth help 1SG 1SG poor child 
100 en ‘stier’ mi di Heilig Gees en styer mie die Heilig Geest 
and send 1SG DET holy Spirit and send 1SG DET holy Spirit 
for braek mi Haert, for breek mie Hart, 
FOR break 1SG heart FOR break 1SG heart 
en for gif mi Hon na ju Voort, en gief mie Hongerna Ju Woort, 
and FOR give 1SG hunger NA 2SG word and give 1SG hunger NA 2SG word 
di bin di ret Pat for kom viis, die bin die regt Begin for kom wies; 
DETBE DET right path FOR come otherwise DET BE DET right beginning FOR come otherwise 
bevaer mi fan al fals leer, Bewaermie van al vals Leer, 
save 1SG from all false teachings save 1SG from all false teaching 
105 en la stan mi grui-j op en Lastaen mie gruj op 
and let stand 1SG grow up and let stand 1SG grow up 
na di ene vare Gloof, na die een waer Gloof, 
NA DET one true belief NA DET one true belief 
en hou stif na di te mi laste, en hou vast na die tee mie leste: 
and hold rigid NA DET until 1SG last and hold fast NA DET until 1SG last

17 Kingo’s stier vs. Wold’s styer with Danish <ye> for [y] may be indicative of variation in the 

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, *Die Creol taal*
plant na mi die vare Liefdena ju, Plant na mie die waer Liefdena Ju, plant NA 1SG true love NA 2SG plant NA 1SG DET true love NA 2SG
da ju Voort mut kom for fas Vortel dat Ju Woort mut wortelvast that 2SG word must come FOR seize root that 2SG word must root fast

110 na mi Haert, na mie Hart, NA 1SG heart NA 1SG heart

en di mi mut drag mi self frei\(^{18}\), en dat mie mut draegmie self fraej; and DET 1SG must carry 1SG self well and that 1SG must carry 1SG self well help, da di Divel, di Verel, Help mie, dat die Die die Weerelt, -vel, help that DET devil DET world help 1SG that DET devil DET world mi eigen Fleis en Blut mie eigen Fleis en Bluet, 1SG own flesh and blood 1SG own flesh and blood

en qvai Geselskap en qwaej Geselskap and evil company and evil company

115 no sa bedrig en fer -lei mi, no sa bedrig en verlej mie; NEG FUT deceive and tempt 1SG NEG FUT deceive and tempt 1SG da mi kan kom for grui-j op Dat mie kan gruj op that 1SG can come FOR grow up that 1SG can grow up as een frei Plantki\(^{19}\) as een fraej Plantje, like a nice plant.DIM like a nice plant.DIM

en blui-j na al Rektfer en blui na al Regtveerdigheid, -dighiteit, and blossom NA all righteousness and blossom NA all righteousness

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\(^{18}\) Read ‘and that I must behave myself well’. In view of de Josselin de Jong’s bidraag one would expect bedrag (cf. Du. zich gedragen, Germ. sich betragen).

\(^{19}\) Plantki: a Danish spelling for something like [plAntʃi]. Cf. the phonology of the petrified Dutch diminutives in de Josselin de Jong’s NH vocabulary.
na Ferstant en gui-j Maneren na al fraej Verstanten muej Manier NA understanding and good manner. PLNA all good sense and good manner

120 for Got en ider Mens; voor Godt, en ieder Mens. FOR God and every human.being FOR God and every human.being

hoor mi, mi Tat-ta Hoor mie mie Vaeder, hear 1SG 1SG Father hear 1SG 1SG Father

na di Hemel Ju die bin na binne die Heemel NA DET heaven 2SG DET BE NA inside DET heaven

na Jesu, mi Heilant si Naem. Amen. &c. NA Jesus 1SG saviour 3POS name amen etc.

Kingo Psalm-Buk

1770

Melodi: na Jesu Naem. Melodie. J. Jesu Navn20, tune NA Jesus name tune in Jesus name

1.

125 O! Planter-Man O! Planter-man, o planter -man o planter.man

Ju frei en suuto21 Got, Ju fraej en sutte Godt, 2SG good and sweet God 2SG good and sweet God

Di alle Lan En elke na si Stan Die alle Lant, en elke na sie Stant, DET all land and each NA 3P0Sclass DET all land and each NA 3P0Sclass

Rup door ju Voort en Gebot: Rup door Ju Woort en G’bot; call through 2SG word and command call through 2SG word and command

Help mi, da mi hoor ju Rup Help mie, dat mie hoor Ju Rup help 1SG that 1SG hear 2SG call help 1SG that 1SG hear 2SG call

20 J. Jesu Navn: Danish.
21 suuto: Dutch inflected adjective zoete with coloring of the schwa.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
130 En kom klug, En kom kluk, 
and come alert and come alert

Da ju krig Sin na mi, Dat Ju krieg Sin na mie, 
that 2SG get desire NA 1SG that 2SG get desire NA 1SG

Vant ju ka kop mi Fri: Dat Ju ka koop mie vrie; 
because 2SG PRF buy 1SG free that 2SG PRF buy 1SG free
Stier mi lop na ju Plantaj, Stier mie loop na Ju Plantaj 
send 1SG walk NA 2SG plantationsend 1SG walk NA 2SG plantation

Da for plant, for verk en sai, Daer for plant, for werk en saej, 
EMP FOR plant FOR work and sow there FOR plant FOR work and sow

135 Brek mi Haert, as di bin tai. Breek mie Hart, as die bin taej. 
break 1SG heart as DET BE tough break 1SG heart as DET BE tough

2. 
Vaneer ju ma Wanneer Ju maer, 
when 2SG but when 2SG but

Self le deel yt di Loon, Self le partie die Loon; 
self ASP part out DET wage self ASP part.out DET wage

Denkmi op da Mi Verkben passima, Ju denkop daer, mie Werkka pasima, 
think 1SG up that 1SG work BE skinny 2SG think up while 1SG work PRF skinny

Ju fan Gnade skenk Pardoon; Ju van Gnaede skenk Pardoon; 
2SG of mercy grant pardon 2SG of mercy grant pardon

140 Vant as mi kik, en le suk Want, as mie kik, en le suk, 
because as 1SG look and ASP search because as 1SG look and ASP search

22 Both this line and the corresponding line in Psalm-Buk 1770 seem to be corrupted. daer ‘there’ in the Psalm-Buk version should be da(it) ‘that’. In Kingo’s versoorn mi’1SG’ does not make sense unless Denk mi op da ... is a corruption of Denk op mi da ... ‘remember (think of) me, that ...’. Alternative emendations are En denk op da … ‘and (if you) remember that ...’ or Ju denk op da ... ‘You remember that ...’.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
Na mi Dag Va Gut mi ka ferdinNa mie Dag Wagut\textsuperscript{24} mie ka verdien, -Buk, -Buk, NA 1SGday whatthing1GPRFearn NA 1SGday what 1GPRFearn -book\textsuperscript{23} -book

\begin{verbatim}
Di no bin na ju Sin:
DET NEG BE NA 2SG desire
Di mak\textsuperscript{25} Jesu denk op mi, Die maek Jesu denk op mi DET make Jesus think up 1SG DET make Jesus think up 1SG
Nit een Gut, mi ha for kri, Niet een gut mie hab voor krieg, NEG one thing 1SG have FOR get NEG one thing 1SG have FOR get

145 As ju no le jammer mi. As Ju no le jammermie. as 2SG NEG ASP pity 1SG as 2SG NEG ASP pity 1SG

Joh. 6 Kp. 54, 55, 56 v.
John 6 Ch. 54, 55, 56 v.

Em, di le jet mi Fleis, en drink mi 3SG DET ASP eat 1SG flesh and drink 1SG
Blut, em ha een evig Lif, en mi sa mak blood 3SG have a eternal life and 1SG FUT make
em hoppo na di laste Dag; vant mi Fleis 3SG up NA DET last day because 1SG flesh

150 bin vaer jet, en mi Blut vaer Drink. BE true eat and 1SG blood true drink
Di geen jet mi Fleis, en drink mi Blut DET one eat 1SG flesh and drink 1SG blood
em blif na mi, en mi na em. 3SG stay NA 1SG and 1SG NA 3SG

1 Petr. 1 Kp. 13, 14, 15, v.
1 Peter 1 Ch. 13, 14, 15, v.
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{24} Wagut: literally ‘what thing’, means ‘what’.
\textsuperscript{23} Dutch: dagboek ‘diary’.
\textsuperscript{25} Di mak ‘therefore’. 

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, \textit{Die Creol taal}
So mak jenner Sin los fan di Verel ves
so make 2PL desire loose from DET world BE

155 nykter, en set jenner Hoop heel heel na
dober and place 2PL hope very very NA
di Gnade, di nu le kom for offereer jenner na
DET mercy DET now ASP come FOR offer 2PL NA
di Kennis fan Jesu Kristo: ves so as gehoorsam
DET knowledge of Jesus Christ BE so like obedient

Kinder, da jenner no hou an na di sondig Lust,
child that 2PL NEG keep on NA DET sinful desire
senner, Velke jenner ka ha te foren na jenner
3PL which 2PL PRF have before NA 2PL

160 Blinheit; ma evenso em bin heilig, di ka rup
blindness but equal.so 3SG BE DET PRF call
jenner, so jenner okal ves heilig na jenner
2PL so 2PL also BE holy NA 2PL

Vandle.
walk

Ebr. 13 Kp. 20, 21, v.
Hebr. 13 Ch. 20, 21, v.

Di Got fan di Frede, em, di ha bring yt
DET God of DET peace 3SG DET PST bring out

165 fan di doot veran di grooto26 Baes over di
of DET dead again DET big boss over DET

Skap senner, ons Heer Jesum Kristum, door
sheep 3PL 1PL Lord Jesus Christ through

een evig Testament27 Blut, Em mak jenner be -
one eternal testament blood 3SG make 2PL competent

---

26 grooto: Dutch inflected adjective grote with coloring of the schwa.
27 Testament ‘testament’, i.e. ‘covenant’.
4.2 Dialogues and proverbs

Like the primers, the 'ABC booklets', the grammars cannot be said to have strictly secular contents. Yet we have put any material from these sources in a chapter titled 'Lay material'. The edifying aspect of the contents of the material was not, we believe, the main objective of the authors. The ABC booklets were principally intended to

further the acquisition of literacy by (native) Negerhollands speakers. The grammars principally analyzed and classified the structures of Negerhollands according to the classical Latin mould. They were also used for second language acquisition by missionaries and by other literates as well (at any rate, Magens, the author, was a layman himself). The target audience probably consisted of literate Europeans who had not been in contact with the language before. This may be one of the reasons why all grammars contain conversations which were obviously intended to illustrate Negerhollands in its daily spoken form.

In this chapter we present text samples from all three known grammars: two Moravian manuscript grammars, one of which is a part of Oldendorp's Missionsgeschichte of the early 1770s, and the other the Herrnhut grammar of around 1802; and the famous printed grammar of 1770 by Magens. From Magens, we also took a number of proverbs, including some of their Danish translations.

4.2.1 Dialogue from Oldendorp's Missionsgeschichte

The following dialogue passage is from the grammar part of the fair manuscript copy of Oldendorp's Missionsgeschichte. From several conversations in Oldendorp's manuscript it becomes clear that many slaves, especially the married ones, bring their arguments before the congregation's Minister for judgement.

1.) Gespräch zwischen Baas nebst seiner Frau und einem ungetauften Ehepaar. 28

'Conversation between the Minister with his wife and an unbaptized married couple.'

1 Baas. Wagoed jender ha voor praat mee malkander. Laatstaan Minister what 2PL have FOR talk with each other let

ons hoor jender na voor malkander. Koffee! joe begin voor 1PL hear 2PL NA FOR each other Koffee 2SG start FOR praat. Koffee. Baas! da mi wief ben da. Em no doe niemetal talk Koffee MinisterEMP 1SG wife BE there 3SG NEG do nothing

voor mi: em no kook pot, em no soek hout, em no gie mi water FOR 1SG 3SG NEG cook pot 3SG NEG seek wood 3SG NEG give 1SG water

5 voor waschmi hand en mi voet, em no gie mi vuur voor stek op 29 FOR wash 1SG hand and 1SG foot 3SG NEG give 1SG fire FOR stick up

mi pipe, em no werk mee mi na plantij 30. Voor sosoo mi ha em, 1SG pipe 3SG NEG work with 1SG NA plantation FOR nothing 1SG have 3SG

28 Gespräch (...) Ehepaar: German.
29 Stek op: from Dutch opsteken ‘to light’.
30 plantij instead of plantai: In this text <ij> is sometimes used instead of graphemes like <ai>, <aai>, <ay>, etc. Cf. nj ‘sow’, sjie ‘skirt’. This indicates knowledge of the diphthongal status of <ij> in Standard Dutch.
B. Noe, Teteel, praat jie reden. Wagoed jie ha voor praat?
B now Teteel talk 2SG reason what 2SG have FOR talk

Die ben waar, wat Koffee praat?
DET BE true what Koffee talk

10 Teteel. Die no ben waar. Die tied, mi a neemem, em no a ha
Teteel DET NEGBE true DET time 1SG PST take 3SG 3SG NEGPST have
doeki na si lief. Da mi a maak em voor Man. Mi a koop doeki
cloth NA 3POS body EMP 1SG PST make 3SG FOR man 1SG PST buy cloth
voor em, mi nij em broek, en kamisol, en hemmede, karpoes
FOR 3SG 1SG sew 3SG trousers and camisole and shirt cap
ookal. Van sens mi ha em, em no a gie mi niet een goed. Mi ha
also from since 1SG have 3SG 3SG NEGPST give 1SG NEG one thing 1SG have
soo moes chi Kinders van em: em no gie mi jeet voor mi en mi
so many child.PL of 3SG 3SG NEG give 1SG food FOR 1SG and 1SG

15 Kinders. As mi no werk, voor koop brood, ons no sal ha jeet.
child.PL as 1SG NEG work FOR buy bread 1PL NEG FUT have food

Em ha soo veel kassau na si plantij. Wanneerem trek die, da
3SG have so many cassave NA 3POS plantation when 3SG pull DET EMP
mi moe krou die, da mi moe bak die, da mi moe verkoop die
1SG must rasp DET EMP 1SG must bake DET EMP 1SG must sell DET
ookal, en mi moe gie die Man die stuver. Baas! em no gie mi
also and 1SG must give DET man DET penny Minister 3SG NEG give 1SG
soo - em no gie mi een stuver van die. Wanneemi vraag
- veel31, so - much 3SG NEG give 1SG a penny of DET when 1SG ask

20 die Man, em sal gie mi een stuver: em le quaat, em le see, mi
DET man 3SG FUT give 1SG a penny 3SG ASP angry 3SG ASP say 1SG

---

31 Read: ‘He does not even give me THAT much’.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
no ha. Baas! die loop soo - Mi no weet, wat plek em doe si NEG have MinisterDET walk so 1SG NEG know what place 3SG put 3POS stuvers. Mi moe vind die kleer mee die jeet voor mi mee mi penny.PL1SG must find DET clothes with DET food FOR 1SG with 1SG Kinders, en voor die Man ookal. En as mi no gie em, em no ha child.PL and FOR DET man also and as 1SG NEG give 3SG 3SG NEG have doek voor draag. Koffee. Die no ben waar, wat jie praat. cloth FOR wear Koffee DET NEG BE true what 2SG talk

25 Tete. Gie mi tief voor praat, mi ook a gie jie tied. Da no Tete give 1SG time FOR talk 1SG also PST give 2SG time EMP NEG allegaarvan mi sweet, wagoed mi ha? 32 Mi werk, tee die sweet all of 1SG sweat what 1SG have 1SG work until DET sweat drup na grond. Baas! van sens mi ha em, em no a gie mi sije, drip NA ground Minister of since 1SG have 3SG 3SG NEG PST give 1SG skirt em no a gie mi japoennje, em no a gie mi naesdoek, 33 em no ben 3SG NNEG PST give 1SG dress. DIM 3SG NNEG PST give 1SG nose cloth 3SG NNEG BE kapabel voor merteneer si kinders. As mi kook jeet voor em, em capable FOR maintain 3POS Child.PL as 1SG cook food FOR 3SG 3SG

30 le see, die jeet no fraai. En mi moe koop die vleesch. As mi ASP say DET food NEG well and 1SG must buy DET meat as 1SG no tek hand na mi sak, voor koop die jeet, ons no ha jeet. Mi NEG put hand NA 1SG sack FOR buy DET food 1PL NEG have food 1SG wasch voor em, mi nij voor em, mi doe allegaargoed voor em. wash FOR 3SG 1SG sew FOR 3SG 1SG do all thing FOR 3SG

Mi moe koop die garn, mi moe vind die lap, voor lap si doek. 1SG must buy DET yarn 1SG must find DET cloth FOR patch 3POS cloth

32 The emphatic expression Da no allegaar van mi sweet, unlike Da no ander dag below, is difficult to translate. The wh-word wagoed 'what?' makes it impossible to render it as 'Isn't it all through my sweat that…'. Therefore, read: 'unless all through my sweat'.

33 naesdoek, literally 'nose-cloth', derives from Du. neusdoek (obsolete) 'kerchief' (not necessarily 'handkerchief').

34 Probably a writing error for merteneer.
Em no weet, van waar die kom. Koffee. Baas! Die no waar, em praatlug. 3SG NEG know of where DET come Koffee Minister DET NEG true 3SG talk lie

35 Tettee. Baas! Die ben waar, mi no sal lug na voor em. Tettee Minister DET BE true 1SG NEG FUT lie NA FOR 3SG Koffee. Die no waar, em lug. Mi no weet, wagoed mi sal doe mee Koffee DET NEG true 3SG lie 1SG NEG know what 1SG FUT do with em. Da no ander dag 35 em a sal bring water voor wasch mi voet? 3SG EMP NEG other day 3SG PST FUT bring water FOR wash 1SG foot

Em no a doe die, em a ha goe asserantmond. Mi no daerf praat 3SG NEG PST do DET 3SG PST have very bold mouth 1SG NEG dare talk
een woord na em, em vlieg eenrees op.
one word NA 3SG 3SG fly once up

40 Tettee. Mi no a maak heet water voor jee? mi no a bring die Tettee 1SG NEG PST make hot water FOR 2SG 1SG NEG PST bring DET kom? Baas! Die ben waar, mi no a wil wasch si voet, em kan come Minister DET BE true 1SG NEG PST want wash 3POS foot 3SG can wasch sender self. Baas! die no genoeg? Baas! die Man ben wash 3PL self Minister DET NEG enough Minister DET man BE altoeveelstout. As mi maak mi altoeveelkleentje na onder em, very naughty as 1SG make 1SG very small NA under 3SG em meer mi. Baas! Ons a ha eenvarik. Da mi a queekem, da mi 3SG more 1SG Minister 1PL PST have pig EMP 1SG PST foster 3SG EMP 1SG

45 a soek jeet en drink voor em, mi a pina mee em soo lang, tee PST seek food and drink FOR 3SG 1SG PST worry with 3SG so long until die vark a kom groot. Da mi a maak em vet. Ons matandie DET pig PST come great EMP 1SG PST make 3SG fat 1PL kill DET vark, voor verkoop pig vleesch, die a maas 16 stuk. Baas! em pig FOR sell DET meat DET PST make? 16 piece Minister 3SG

35 Da no ander dag: ‘Wasn’t it the other day that...’

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
no a gie mi soo - veel van die.\textsuperscript{36}

NEG PST give 1SG so - much of DET

Koffee. Baas! mi bewaardie stuvers tee na skaars tied, dan mi Koffee Minister 1SG save DET penny.PL until NA scarce time then 1SG

50 koop jeet en kleer voor die. As mi gie em die mee een\textsuperscript{37}, em maak buy food and clothes FOR DET as 1SG give 3SG DET with one 3SG make ween mee die, em morssdie, en die tied ons mankeerdie, ons no away with DET 3SG spoil DET and DET time 1PL lack DET 1PL NEG ha. En as mi ook koop em een dobbelsteensij, die no genoeg have and as 1SG also buy 3SG a dice skirt DET NEG enough voor em: em ha goe groot hoogo. FOR 3SG 3SG have very great eye Tetee. Die no ben waar. Em no a gie mi sije, van sens mi ha Tetee DET NEG BE true 3SG NEG PST give 1SG skirt or since 1SG have

55 em. Baas! em droenk.As em ook ha stuvers, em koop soopi voor 3SG Minister 3SG drunk as 3SG also have penny.PL 3SG buy brandy FOR die. En as mi praat over die, em gie mi bangele\textsuperscript{38}. DET and as 1SG talk over DET 3SG give 1SG slap Baas. Noe mi ka hoor jender, en mi bemerk, jender all twee ha Ministernow 1SG PRF hear 2PL and 1SG notice 2PL all two have faut. En mi no wil neem idereen si skuld, en lee na gewicht, wrong and 1SG NEG want take everyone 3POS guilt and lay NA weight voor kik, wie ha meer faut. Jendermoe maak die af mee malkan FOR see who have more wrong 2PL must make DET off with each other

60 der. Koffee ben groothert, en Tetee ben asserant: die maak - Koffee BE arrogant and Tetee BE bold DET make niet een kan verdraag een goed van die ander. Maar as jender NEG one can stand one thing of DET other but as 2PL

\textsuperscript{36} Read: ‘He did not give me even THAT much of it.’

\textsuperscript{37} mee een ‘with one’, i.e. ‘at once’. Cf. Du. meteen ‘id.’.

\textsuperscript{38} Cf. banggalá/bangglá ‘club’ in de Josselin de Jong’s vocabulary. It is unclear whether this is a plural form.
pover sal leer voor ken jender bederf hert, en kik, na wat poor FUT learn FOR know 2PL spoil heart and see NA what voor\textsuperscript{39} een slecht omstandigkeetjender ben: dan idereen sal vind FOR a bad circumstance 2PL BE then everyone FUT find si eegen faut. Jenderben Heiden nochal, en jender no ken God, 3POS Sown wrong 2PL BE heathen still and 2PL NEG know God die maak, dat jender moe handel na jender bederf natuur. Dan DET make that 2PL must act NA 2PL spoil nature then die loop soo, as die ben tuschen jender twee. En die reden DET walk so as DET BE between 2PL two and DET reason ben, die liefde mankeema onder jender. Maar jender doch kom BE DET love lack NA under 2PL but 2PL yet come na kerk, en hoor die soet woord van die liefe Heiland. Da die NA church and hear DET sweet word of DET dear Saviour EMP DET maak ons praat mee jender, en gie jender goeje raad. make 1PL talk with 2PL and give 2PL good advice As jender bed die liefe Heiland, voor verklaar jender die as 2PL pray DET dear Saviour FOR explain 2PL DET woord jender le hoor, dat jender hert kom verander\textsuperscript{40}, en as word 2PL ASP hear that 2PL heart come change and if jender sal krieg die Heiland lief: soo jender ook sal krieg 2PL FUT get DET Saviour dear so 2PL also FUT get meer liefde tegen malkander. more love towards each other Koffee en Tetee. Danki Baas! danki Vro! Koffee and Tetee thanks Minister thanks woman Baas. Laatstaanons hoor, hoeso die loop verder mee jender. Minister let 1PL hear how DET walk further with 2PL

\textsuperscript{39} wat voor ‘(lit.) what for’: ‘what kind of’ (Dutch).
\textsuperscript{40} kom verander: passive.
Conversation between (the) Minister with his wife and an unbaptized married couple. 

**Minister:** What do you have to argue about with each other. Let us listen to you in the presence of each other. Koffee! You start talking. **Koffee:** Minister! There is my wife. She does nothing for me: she does not cook meals, she does not gather wood, she does not give me water to wash my hands and feet, she does not give me fire to light my pipe, she does not work with me on the plantation [Oldendorp notes: ‘namely on their own Negro-plantation’]. I have her for nothing, I do not even know that I have a wife at all. Isn’t it true? **Minister:** Now Teteel, give your argument. What do you have to say? Is it true what Koffee is saying? **Teteel:** It is not true. At the time I took him, he did not have a rag to wear. I made a man of him. I bought fabric for him, I sewed trousers for him and a camisole and shirts, caps too. Since I have him, he has not given me a thing. I have so many children of him: he does not give me food for me and my children. If I do not work to buy bread, we will not have anything to eat. He has so much cassave on his plantation. When he pulls it out, I have to rasp/grate it, I have to bake it, then I have to sell it too and I have to give the money to that man, Minister! he does not give me THAT much, he does not give me a penny of it. When I ask that man to give me a penny: he gets angry and says ‘I don't have any’, Minister! It goes like this - [Old.: ‘It goes so - away’]. I do not know where he puts his money. I have to get clothes and food for myself and my children, and for that man also. And when I don’t give it to him he has no clothes to wear. **Koffee:** It is not true what you are saying. **Teteel:** Give me time to speak, I also gave you time. Unless all through my sweat, what do I have? I work until the sweat is dripping on the ground, Minister! Since I have him, he has not given me a skirt, he gave me no dress, he gave me no kerchief, he is not capable of taking care of his children. When I cook for him, he says the food is bad. And I have to buy the meat. If I do not pay from my own purse to buy food we do not have anything to eat. I wash for him, I sew for him. I do everything for him. I must buy the yarn, I must find the fabric to patch up his clothes. He does not know where it is from. **Koffee:** Minister! It is not true, she is lying. **Teteel:** Minister, it IS true, I will not lie in his presence. **Koffee:** It is not true. She is lying. I don’t know what I should do with her. Is it not the other day that she would bring water to wash my feet? She did not do it, she had a real insolent mouth. I do not dare to say one word to her, she flares up immediately. **Teteel:** Did I not heat up water for you? Did I not bring it over? Minister! It is true, I did not want to wash his feet, he can wash them himself. Minister! Is it not enough, Minister! That man is far too tough on me. If I humiliate myself for him too much, he will overpower me. Minister! We have a pig. I brought it up, I gathered food and drink for it, I have strained myself with it so long until the

---

**Translation**

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, *Die Creol taal*
pig grew up. I have fattened it. We killed the pig to sell the meat, it measured 16 pieces [Old.: *16 Stück von Achten* ‘16 pieces of eight’]. Minister! He has not given me even THAT much of it. Koffee: Minister! I save the money until scarce times, then I buy food and clothes for it. If I give it to her at once, she wastes it, she spoils it and when we need it we have nothing. And when I also buy her a dice skirt, it is not enough for her: she is very greedy. Tetee: It is not true. He has not given me a skirt, since I have him. Minister! He is a drunkard. If he has money, he buys brandy with it. And if I say anything about it he gives me a thrashing. Minister: Now I have listened to you, and I notice you are both wrong. And I do not want to take the guilt of each of you and put it on the scales to see who has most of it. You will have to sort it out with each other. Koffee is arrogant and Tetee is insolent: that makes that no-one of you can stand a thing of the other. But when you poor people will learn to know your own spoiled hearts, and see what bad circumstances you are in: then each will discover his own fault. You are still heathens, and you do not know God, which is the reason that you have to act according to your spoilt nature. Then it goes as it is between the two of you. And the reason is that there is no love between you. Yet you do come to church, and hear the sweet words of the dear Saviour. That is why we talk with you, and give you advice. When you pray to the dear Saviour, to explain to you the words that you are hearing, so that your heart will change, and when you begin to love the Saviour: then you will also get more love for each other. Koffee and Tetee: Thank you Minister! Thank you Madam! Minister: Let us know how you will be doing. When you have time, you can come again. Koffee and Tetee: Yes Minister! We will come.

### 4.2.2 Proverbs and dialogues in Magens' grammar

In the grammar of J.M. Magens (1770) more than just a grammatical description of Negerhollands is presented. The final parts of the book consist of a section of proverbs and one with several colloquies. In this paragraph we would like to reproduce the proverbs and sayings and a selection of the conversations in order also to present some examples of secular texts, since most of the material in the 18th century has a religious character.

The content of the three conversations we included tells us something about the life of slaves and masters in St. Thomas in the 18th century. We include all the sayings which are presented in Magens (1770). It is interesting to see how local animals and plants are the subjects in these sayings.

These texts were also included unchanged in Hesseling (1905). We took over his version.

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B. Teksten ontleend aan de Spraakkunst der Denen. (G.D.)

‘Texts borrowed form the Grammar of the Danes. (G.D.)’

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41 Dutch titles are from Hesseling (1905).
### 14. Cassave

**Spreukwoorden en zegswijzen.**

*‘Proverbs and sayings’*

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Mie jammer Ju tee mie kries Ju, tee mie neem Steen veeg
1SG regret 2SG until 1SG cry 2SG until 1SG take stone wipe
    mie 1SG Hogo.
    eye

10 Hont hab vier Vut, no kan loop twee Pat.
dog have four foot NEG can walk two path
As Ju no ha loop na KrabboGat, Ju no sa hoor Krabbo
as 2SG NEG PST walk NA crab hole 2SG NEG FUT hear crab

Nyws.
news
As Ju suk gut. gut sa due Ju.
as 2SG search thing thing FUT do 2SG
As pover Volk doot, Guwerneerno hoor, as rik Volk dood,
as poor people die governor NEG hear as rich people die

15 Guwerneer ka hoor.
governor PRF hear
No na eenmael alleen Man kan suk Wief.
NEG NA once only man can search wife
    Één Finger no kan vang Lues.
one finger NEG can catch louse
As Ju no kan krieg Kaneel, neem Mapua.
as 2SG NEG can get cinnamon take mapua
As Ju no ha kik mie, Ju no sa weet mie ha kik Ju?
as 2SG NEG PST see 1SG 2SG NEG FUT know 1SG PST see 2SG

20 Altit Ju praet qwaet na bobo sie Kop.
always 2SG talk angry NA above 3POS head
Als die Vier ka yt, klein Kint le jump na die Hassesje.
as DET fire PRF out small child ASP jump NA DET ashes
As Pussie ka slaep, Rotto le kurrie na Vluer.
as pussy-cat PRF sleep rat ASP run NA floor
As Volk ka qwaet na Ju, sender gief Ju Makut for tap as people PRF angry NA 2SG 3PL give 2SG basket FOR tap water.

25 Twee Hont vekkete voor een Been. two dog fight FOR one bone Twee slem no kan kook Boontje na een Pot. two clever NEG can cook bean.DIM NA one pot Finger seg Ju, no seg mie. finger say 2SG NEG say 1SG Hangman no sa verloor sie Regt. hangman NEG FUT lose 3POS right Diefman no betrou sie Maet draeg groot Sak. thief NEG trust 3POS mate carry great bag

30 Hem no kan help, da sie hou sik die bin. 3SG NEG can help EMP 3POS old illness DET BE Da no eenmael Volk kan snie Haer, Haer sa gruj weeran. EMP NEG once people can cut hair hair FUT grow again Katje no vraeg na Diffie, Diffie no vraeg na Katje. cat.DIM NEG ask NA pigeon pigeon NEG ask NA cat.DIM As Kukkuba vlieg, hem weet na welk Boom hem sa vlieg. as sparrow fly 3SG know NA which tree 3SG FUT fly -hawk Makaku monkey know NA what tree 3SG FUT climb

35 Die gut kan due Stok, kan due Tou. DET thing can do stalk can do rope Die gut bin Slang Bik, bin na Kakketis Bik ook -al. DET thing inside snake belly inside NA lizard belly also Pover Volk no mut hab wil. poor people NEG must have want

42 The word *makaku* originates from Portuguese/Spanish *macaco* 'monkey'.
Samenspraken.

‘Dialogues’

Tussen twee slaven.

‘Between two slaves’

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<td>ASP</td>
<td>grow</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>3POS</td>
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Door. grui | 3POS | NA | grow | ASP | grass |

Ju | Mont | sa | koop | Kabaj | for | Ju | rie. |
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<td>2SG</td>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>buy</td>
<td>horse</td>
<td>FOR</td>
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<td>ride</td>
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Mie | Mont | ha | slip. |
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<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>PST</td>
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Ju | suk | for | pik | Haer | na | mie | Nees. |
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<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>search</td>
<td>FOR</td>
<td>pick</td>
<td>hair</td>
<td>NA</td>
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<td>nose</td>
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As | mie | Hogo | tengel | mit | sie | Hogo. |
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<tr>
<td>as</td>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>tangle</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>3POS</td>
<td>eye</td>
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Hem | bin | sender | Funje | Pot. |
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<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>BE</td>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>cornmeal</td>
<td>pot</td>
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Ju | suk | Tant | na | mie | Mont. |
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>search</td>
<td>tooth</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>mouth</td>
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</tbody>
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Ju | suk | for | skraep | mie | Tong. |
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>search</td>
<td>FOR</td>
<td>scrape</td>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>tongue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, *Die Creol taal*
Da wa gut ju sa due daso?
EMP what thing 2SG FUT do there

Mie sa seg na die Meesterknegt for lastaen maek Jeet klaer.
1SG FUT say NA DET foreman FOR let stand make food ready

Ju Meester le loop na Plantaj?
2SG master ASP walk NA plantation

Ja, en Ju Meester sa rie mit hem.
yes and 2SG master FUT ride with 3SG

55 Da diemaek mie Meester ka stier mie for hael sie Kabaj,
EMP therefore 1SG master PRF send 1SG FOR get 3POS horse

en for lastaen beslae die.
and FOR let shoe DET

Da Ju sa loop mit hem?
EMP 2SG FUT walk with 3SG

Neen, mie mut blief na Hus for pas op.
no 1SG must remain NA house FOR watch on

Dat wie sa loop mit hem?
that who FUT walk with 3SG

60 Die ander Vutbaj.
DET other servant

Mie wens da Ju ha mut loop mit, fordiiemaekmie no keer
1SG wish that 2SG PST must walk with because 1SG NEG care

for maek Maet mit die ander.
FOR make mate with DET other

Adjoie,
goodbye

Tussen twee vrienden.

‘Between two friends’

Hueso, Ju no ka hoppo nogal?
how so 2SG NEG PRF stand up yet
65 Neen, maer mie ka wees wakker lang Tit. no but 1SG PRF BE awake long time
Wat maek Ju slaep soo laet van Dag? what make 2SG sleep so late of day
Mie ha loop lej neer for lo slaep gue laet gester
1SG PST walk lay down FOR ASP sleep good late yesterday

Donker.
night

Da wat Ju ha due dan, aster Ju ha ka jeet? EMP what 2SG PST do then after 2SG PST PRF eat
70 Aster Ju ka loop wej, die ander ka blief hiesoo, en soo after 2SG PRF walk away DET other PRF remain here and so
sender ha wil speel Kaert.
3PL PST want play cards

Jender ha speel?
2PL PST play

Ju, mie ookal.
yes 1SG also

Dat wat Speel Jender ha le speel?
that what play 2PL PST ASP play

75 Ons ha speel drie Kaert.
1PL PST play three cards

Jellie almaal ha speel?
2PL all PST play

Ju, maer ons ha wees alteveel, soo die Speel no ha wees
yes but 1PL PST BE too.much so DET play NEG PST BE

sut.
sweet

Da wie ha win?
EMP who PST win
80 Da mie alleen.
EMP 1SG only

Hueveel Ju ha win?
how.much 2SG PST win

Tien Stik mit half.
ten piece with half

Ju no bin gewent for win.
2SG NEG BE used FOR win

Mie kan verloor altit.
1SG can lose always

85 Hue laat Jellie ha speel?
how late 2PL PST play

Ons ha speel tee twee Yer.
1PL PST play until two hour

Wat Tit Ju ha loop slaep?
what time 2SG PST walk sleep

Die Tit die Klok ha slae drie.
DET time DET clock PST strike three

Dan die no bin Wonder, Ju le lej soo laat.
then DET NEG BE wonder 2SG ASP lay so late

90 Hue laat die bin?
how late DET BE

Neegen yer ka slae.
nine hour PRF strike

Dan mie mut hoppo nunu.
then 1SG must stand.up now.RED

Voor wagut?
FOR what

Sender ha seg sender sa kom jeet Vrukost na mie.
3PL PST say 3PL FUT come eat breakfast NA 1SG
Tussen een vrouw en haar slavin.

‘Between a woman and her female slave’

From Dutch toe ‘please’.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
Krieg een Paer skoon Kous.
get a pair clean stocking
Ju ka krieg skoon Kleer?
2SG PRF get clean clothes

110
Ja, Vrou. yes woman

Wa mie blau Sie Skuen mit die Silver Galoon?
where 1SG blue silk shoe with DET silver lace
Gief mie een van die Onder Saja mie ha maek lest.
give 1SG one of DET under skirt 1SG PST make lately
Gief mie een Hemete mit Bordier -Lobbetje.
give 1SG a chemise with embroidered side. DIM
Ju mut neem die Kap, en die Neesduk van die selfde
2SG must take DET cap and DET handkerchief of DET same

115
Sort. Kind Ju hoor?

Wat Japuen Vrou wil heb?
what dress woman want have

Die roo Damast.
DET red damask

Wat lent Vrou wil hab?
what ribbon woman want have

Die blau sender, en die blau Kalala en Oorhanger.Ju
DET blue 3PL and DET blue necklace and earring 2SG

120

hoor?
hear

Kom, bind mie Haer!
come tie 1SG hair

Wa mie Kap?
where 1SG cap
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spel.</th>
<th>mie</th>
<th>Spel.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gief</td>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>pin</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Die</th>
<th>no</th>
<th>hab</th>
<th>meer</th>
<th>groot?</th>
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<tr>
<td>DET</td>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>have</td>
<td>more</td>
<td>big</td>
</tr>
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</table>

125 Die no hab.

Kik na die Skiffie, die hab daeso.

look NA DET have there

Veeg die Spiegel.
wipe DET mirror

Hoppo die Venster.
ope DET window

Mie Kap sit fraej na aster?

1SG cap sit well NA behind

130 Spel die Lent na aster.

pin DET ribbon NA behind

Die Strikkie no ka maek fraej.

DET bow.DIM NEG PRF make well

Ja, nu die bin guet.

yes now DET BE good

Wa mie Hemete bin?

where 1SG undershirt.DIM BE

Hieso.
here

135 Sender no ha plooj die klein genug.

3PL NEG PST fold DET small enough

Gief mie mie onder -Saja.
give 1SG 1SG under -skirt

Wa die gestigt Keers?

where DET stiched bodice
Gief mie die blaue.
give 1SG DET blue

Wa mie Sak sender bin?
where 1SG pocket 3PL BE

140 Geef mie die Japuen.
give 1SG DET dress

Wa mie Borsje bin?
where 1SG under.bodice BE

Kik, as mie Japuen sit glat na ast.
see as 1SG dress sit smooth NA behind

Hael mie Hemete beetje na molee.
pull 1SG chemise little NA down

Da alteveel, mie geloof Ju bin sot.
EMP too.much 1SG believe 2SG BE foolish

145 Ja, nu die bin fraej.
yes now DET BE well

Wa mie Hals-Neesduk?
where 1SG neck-kerchief

Spel die na aster.
pin DET NA behind

Na wa Ju blief mit die Spel sender? Ju no hoor?
NA where 2SG remain with DET pin 3PL 2SG NEG hear

Mie le kom.
1SG ASP come

150 Mie gloof Ju wil hab mie sa kom haal Ju.
1SG belief 2SG want have 1SG FUT come get 2SG

Die no hab meer van die groot Spel sender.
DET NEG have more of DET big pin 3PL

Gief mie van die kleintje.
give 1SG of DET small.DIM

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
Bind tie 1SG necklace
Due do DET Oorhanger earring NA mie 1SG Hoor.
do NA die NA na mie 1SG do
155 Ju 2SG due mie Seer.
domie 1SG pain
Mie no kan help.
1SG NEG can help
Gief give mie 1SG mie Hantskuen sender.
give 1SG 1SG glove 3PL
Gief give een beetje Waeter.
a little water
Hueso how.so Ju ka spel die Kap na aster?
how.so 2SG PRF pin DET cap NA behind
160 No 1SG steek mie.
NEG stab 1SG
Wa where mie Vlyveel Bangres?
where 1SG velvet hooded.cloak
Mie ha 1SG denk Vrou think woman
PST sa gebryk use die DET Hutje.
Vrou woman sa gebryk use die DET Hutje.
Wa where die Paresol?
die DET parasol
Kik see as DET Kas sender ka tue.
see if DET closet 3PL PRF close
165 Due do DET Magasien warehouse Sleetel na die Kas.
dodie Magasien warehouse Sleetel na die Kas.
Gief give mie 1SG die Kas -Sleetel sender.
give 1SG DET closet -key 3PL
Pas watch op, tee mie le kom na Hus.
on until 1SG ASP come NA house
Translation

*Texts taken from the grammar of the Danish.*

**Proverbs and sayings.**

A pumpkin cannot give birth to a gourd. / An ant falls into the molasses, very sweet it finds it. / A hen knows its nest. / A hen like its chick very much. / I am a poor cockroach, I do not have a right to be in the chicken-coop. / An eye does not have a door. / Ugly people have beautiful things. / I lament you until I cry for you, until I take a stone and wipe my eye. / A dog has four feet, it cannot go on two paths. / If you did not go into the crab hole, you will not hear the crab news. / If you look for thing, thing will do you. / When poor people die the governor does not hear it, when rich people die the governor has heard it already. / Not once only can a man look for a wife. / One finger cannot catch lice. / If you cannot get cinnamon, take mapua. / If you did not see me, you will not know that I saw you? / Always you talk scandal over his head. / When the fire has gone out, a small child jumps on the ashes. / When the pussy-cat has fallen asleep, rats are running on the floor. / When people have become angry with you, they give you a basket to tap water. / Two dogs fight for one bone. / Two clever ones cannot cook a little bean in one pot. / The finger says you, it does not say me. / The hangman will not lose his right. / A thief does not trust his mate to carry a large bag. / He cannot help, it is his old illness again. / It is not once people can cut their hair and the hair will grow again. / The little cat does not ask the pigeon, the pigeon does not ask the little cat. / When the sparrow-hawk flies, it knows which tree it will fly to. / The monkey knows into what tree it will climb. / The thing that can do stalk, can do rope. / The thing that is in a snake belly, is in a lizard belly as well. / Poor people must not have wishes. / His tutelary spirit has turned a stone. / Grass does not grow at his door. / Grass is growing at the dead man's door. / Your mouth will buy a horse for you to ride. / My mouth slipped. / You aim to pull hair out of my nose. / When my eye tangles with his eye. / It is their cornmeal pot. / You look for a tooth in my mouth. / You try to scrape my tongue.
Colloquies.

**Between two slaves.**

- Good day, comrade. - Good day, what are you up to? - I go to our plantation. - What is it you will do there? - I will tell the foreman to have food prepared. - Is your master going to the plantation? - Yes, and your master will ride with him. - It is for that reason my master has sent me to get his horse and to let them shoe it. - Will you go with him? - No, I must remain at home to keep watch. - Who then will go with him? - The other servant. - I wish that you had to accompany, because I do not care to befriend the other person. - Goodbye.

**Between two friends.**

- How come you have not gotten up yet? - No, but I have been awake a long time. - What makes you sleep so late today? - I went and laid down to sleep very late yesterday night. - What then did you do, after you had eaten? - After you had gone away, the other ones remained here, and so they wanted to play cards. - Did you play? - Yes, I also did. - What game did you play? - We played three cards. - Did you all play? - Yes, but we were too many, so the game was not agreeable. - Who won? - Only me. - How much did you win? - Ten pieces and a half. - You are not used to winning. - I normally always lose. - Till how late did you play? - We played until two o'clock. - What time did you go to sleep? - The time the clock struck three. - Then it is no wonder you are in bed so late. - What time is it? - Nine hours have struck. - Then I must get up this very moment. - For what? - They said they will come and eat breakfast with me. - It is because you have won their money. - I believe so. - You must be quick in getting up. - Why? - They are coming. - Please go a little way to meet them. - Tell my negress to make the breakfast ready. - I will. - But you must not stay away long.

**Between a woman and her female slave.**

Where were you? - I was getting clean clothes for madam. - Where is your little woman? - She is here. - Get a pair of clean stockings. - Did you get clean clothes? - Yes, madam. - Where are my blue silk shoes with the silver lace? - Give me one of the underskirts I have made lately. - Give me a chemise with an embroidered side. - You must take the cap and the kerchief of the same kind, you hear? - What dress does madam want? - The red damask one. - What ribbon does madam want? - The blue ones, and the blue necklace and earrings, you hear? - Come, tie my hair! - Where is my cap? - Give me my pin. - There is no bigger one? - No, there is not. - Look at the drawer, it is there. - Wipe the mirror. - Open the window. - Is my cap correct from behind? - Pin the ribbon at the back. - The bow has not been tied well. - Yes, now it is good. - Where is my chemise? - Here. - They did not fold it small enough. - Give me my under skirt. - Where is the stitched bodice? - Give me the blue one. - Where are my bags? - Give me the dress. - Where is my under bodice? - See if my dress fits smoothly from behind. - Pull my chemise down a little. - It is
too much, I believe you are foolish. - Yes, now it is good. - Where is my scarf? - Pin it at the back. - Where then are you with the pins? Don't you hear? - I am coming. - I believe you want to have me come and get you. - There are no more of the large pins. - Give me some of the small ones. - Tie my
necklace. - Put the earrings in my ears. - You hurt me. - I cannot help it. - Give me my gloves. - Give me a little water. - How have you pinned the cap from behind? - Do not stab me. - Where is my velvet hooded cloak. - I thought madam would use the little hat. - Where is the parasol? - See if the closets are closed. - Do the warehouse key in the closet. - Give me the closet keys. - Keep watch until I am coming home. - Tell your master I am ready, I am waiting for him. - Where then, give me my kerchief, my snuff box and my fan. - Kaj! Madam has changed very prettily!

4.3 Short secular texts

As can be seen in the previous sections (except for 4.2.2), most of the texts written and published at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century have a religious character or were written by missionaries. However, in a few sources short texts are presented which have a secular content. Since these texts are quite rare and not well studied, we will present a few samples.

In Schmidt (1788) a rebellious slave song was published. Although the song does not appear to be particularly incomplete, in Vibaek (1953:350) it is called 'fragments of a rebel song'. The text is spelled rather phonetically, and not according to Dutch or German spelling. Another curious aspect is the origin of the text. According to Schmidt it is from St. Croix, but several sources state that on this island, at least at the end of the 18th century, hardly any Dutch-based Creole was spoken.

15. Pages 233-234 of Samleren (1788)
1 Adjo my Mester Neeger, e -Samja44
goodbye 1SG master negroe ***

Da lob my lo lob, e -Samja
EMP go 1SG ASP go ***

My nöy kan hau di uit mer, e -Samja
1SG NEG can hold DET out more ***

Di Blanco no frey, e -Samja
DET white NEG good ***

5 Adjo my Syssie, e -Samja
goodbye 1SG sister.DIM ***

Van -Dag du Mandag, e -Samja
today EMP Monday ***

Adjo my Mama, e -Samja
goodbye 1SG mother ***

Da lob my lo lob, e -Samja
EMP go 1SG ASP go ***

Adjo my beer45 Maade46, e-Samja
goodbye 1SG bed friend.PL ***

10 Adjo my gud Friende, e -Samja
goodbye 1SG good friend.PL ***

Adjo my Tata, e -Samja
goodbye 1SG father ***

Di Land no frey, e -Samja
DET country NEG good ***

Adjo my Viefе, e -Samja
goodbye 1SG wife ***

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44 According to the Danish translation of this text in Samleren the expression e-Samja means 'I unhappy one'. It is not Negerhollands.

46 beer Maade: Literally 'bedfellows', but according to the Danish translation (see 15) the meaning of these words is 'stable brothers', which also means 'close friends'.

45 beer, bere 'bed' in vocabulary of de Josselin de Jong (1926).
Translation

Farewell my Master-slave, I unhappy one.
I am going to leave, I unhappy one.
I can't stand it anymore, I unhappy one.
The whites are not good, I unhappy one.
Farewell my sister, I unhappy one.
Today it is Monday, I unhappy one.
Farewell, my mother, I unhappy one.
I am going to leave, I unhappy one.
Farewell my bedfellows, I unhappy one.
Farewell, my good friends, I unhappy one.
Farewell, my father, I unhappy one.
This country isn't good, I unhappy one.
Farewell, my wife, I unhappy one.
Live good with my mother, I unhappy one.
Always think about me, I unhappy one.
I will not forget you, I unhappy one.

One of the most well-known and important slaves to the mission of the Moravian Brethren was Cornelius to whom a chapter is dedicated in Degn (1974). He was one of the Moravian Brethren and was buried in Neu-Herrnhut, St. Thomas. In Degn (1974) his gravestone text is reproduced:

Translation (Continued)

GebeentedierustHieso1
die bones DETrest there
Jesus Frienden Dienaar en
Faithful servant and
Heere Liefde Heere
Lord

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Translation

Here rest the bones of the faithful servant and friend of Jesus. He has gone to his beloved Lord.

In the Royal Archives in Copenhagen, Denmark, the so-called Politiprotokoller (police reports) are stored. These are the reports of the interrogation of suspects and prosecutors at the St. Jan police court. They are almost wholly written in Danish, fraktur script, yet in some of them, words and short sentences in Negerhollands and English are found in Latin script, when direct speech is quoted untranslated. The quotations are sometimes marked by: /:quotation:/. Parts in Latin script are here represented underlined.

To give some examples, the following words and sentences were found in volumes 40 and 41 of the reports:

I. volume 40, p.93b

... at lade <ol•(neger)> Drengen Jacob arbeide i Marken, følgende Ord: ‘Wa ma senne self ne a kom dick die’ *werende* hvorfor hun /:Sarah Elisabeth Martin:/ ikke selv kom og gravede i Marken.

Negerhollands:

\begin{verbatim}
wa ma senne self ne a kom dick die
\end{verbatim}

Translation

... to let the negro boy Jacob work in the field, the following words: ‘Why did they not come to dig it themselves’, being [=meaning] why she /:Sarah Elisabeth Martin:/ not came herself and dug the field.

II. volume 41, p.120

... gik *Vogt* manden Christopher forbi ham; *dey* huus op til sit Eget, og sagde de, saadan hen for sig: ‘Mr Matheus Duvergie ka wees hieso gester dunko!’; men eller sagde han intet.

Negerhollands:

\begin{verbatim}
Mr Matheus Duvergie ka wees hieso gester dunko
Mr Matheus Duvergie PRF BE here yesterday night
\end{verbatim}
Translation

... went the guard Christopher past him "his" house up to his own, and they said, for themselves: 'Mister Matheus Duvergie has been here yesterday night!', but otherwise he said nothing.

III. volume 41, p. 121

de som gik hjem til sit huus paa Plantagen, og passerede de andre Negerhuse, kalte som "seet med" sig selv, om hvad han forrige Aften havde seet, og sagde: Mr Duvergie ka wees hieso gesterdunko met die twee Jung sender; mi ka rick kowtobak heel fray en die bin die ma*n*er dat die ducko ka[-n] lo[-op]<ol-op> way: men han talte ikke til David eller nogen i saerdeleshed.

Negerhollands:

Mr. Duvergieka wees hieso gesterdunko met die twee Jung
Mr Duvergie PRF BE here yesterday.nightwith DET two Young
sender; mi ka rick kowtobak heel fray en die bin
3PL 1SG PRF smell chew.tobaccovery good and DET BE
die ma*n*er dat die ducko ka[-n] loop way
DET way that DET night HAB go away

Translation

those, who went home on the plantation, and passed the other negro houses, spoke, as mentioned, for oneself, about what he had seen the other evening and said: Mr. Duvergie has been here yesterday night with the two boys; I have smelled chewing tobacco very well and that is the way to pass the night\textsuperscript{47}; but he did not speak to David nor to anyone in particular.

IV. volume 41, p. 126b

det var da mörkt /:di ka wees dyst*au/er* frey:/ mussie Dunko:/

Negerhollands:

di ka wees dyst*au/er* frey mussie Dunko
it PRF BE dark well very dark

\textsuperscript{47} This seems the most plausible interpretation, provided that ka is interpreted as the habitual marker derived from kan 'can' (see Bruyn & Veenstra 1993 and Bakker, Post and Van der Voort 1994), and the word ducko as dunko 'night'.
Translation

after all it was dark: it has been dark, very very dark.

V. volume 41, p.127

i en spørgende Tone: ‘Massa, no ka frag me na di twe Haurobak met duiko?’

Negerhollands:

    Massa, no ka frag me na di twe Haurobak met duiko?
    master NEG PRF ask 1SG NA DET two chew.tobacco with night

Translation

in an interrogative voice: master did not ask me for the two chewing tobaccos at night?

VI. volume 41, p. 127b

Malene, som er Grootmoi

Negerhollands:

    grootmoi
    great.aunt

Translation

Malene, who is grandmother
5 The late 19th century

5.1 Pontoppidan (1881)

The material in this section is from Dr. Erik Pontoppidan, a Danish physician who lived on St. Thomas and wrote an article about Negerhollands in the Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Although it is rather obvious from his remarks about Negerhollands that he was not a linguist, his article is very valuable because it contains, apart from a copy of the 14th chapter of Matthew taken from Magens (1781), two other sections which were recorded from late 19th-century Negerhollands speakers of St. Thomas by Pontoppidan himself, proverbs (that were copied in Adams 1977) and an informal conversation. Here, we only present the Negerhollands texts, and we leave out Pontoppidan's German translations.

16. Emmaus on St. John

1 -Kaker -laker' no ha bestel na hundu sji cot
   cockroach NEG have business NA chicken 3POS run

1 *Kaker-laker*: Danish graphemic interpretation of NH *kakalaka* 'cockroach'. Da. *kakerlaker* means 'cockroaches', however, and in Pontoppidan's German translation NH *Kaker-laker* is rendered as an indefinite plural: *Kakerlaken*. In all the other proverbs the NH animal names without determiners are translated as definite singular NPs.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, *Die Creol taal*
-Hundu sukmakūtu, makūtu tu him chicken search basket basket lock.in 3SG

-Pad mi long, geambódrog na sji boom road BE long ochre dry NA 3POS tree

-Een finger no kan fang lus one finger NEG can catch louse

5 Blau diffie seg: wen regen caba, mi sal bau mi eigen hus blue pigeon say when rain finish 1SG FUT build 1SG own house

-Pobre folluk no fo ha hart bran poor people NEG FOR have hearth burn

-Hundu seg: mi kan sweer for mi eju, mo no fo mi chicken say 1SG can swear for 1SG egg but NEG FOR 1SG

kikin -sji chick-DIM

-Na guj hart mak cabrita sji gat bin nabit-ti NA good herd make goat 3POS bottom BE outside

10 -Pobre no bin fraj. poor NEG BE nice

-Wanneerde wind ris, dan ju fo kik hundu sji gat when DET wind rise then 2SG FOR see hen 3POS bottom

-Na groot geest mak Crab-bo no ha kop EMP great mind make crab NEG have head

-Wanneerjekké sji flegon ha breek, dan him suksuwhen guinea.fowl3POS wing PST break then 3SG search FOR

colhow geselskap mit hundu hold company with hen

15 -Cocro no bang Slang, Slang no bang cocro crocodile NEG afraid snake snake NEG afraid crocodile

-Water kok fo fes, fes no weet water boil FOR fish fish NEG know
-Kuj sji horn noit sal ben swar for him drag cow 3POS horn never FUT BE heavy FOR 3SG carry

-Brambi fal na molassi, da sut him ka fen ant fall NA molasses EMP sweet 3SG PRF find

-Bergi mit Bergi no kan tek, ma twee mens sal tek mountain WITH mountain NEG can touch but two people FUT touch

20 -Mata mumma, du die before die kint, him sal jeet; ma kill mother do DET in.front.of DET child 3SG FUT eat but mata kint, du die before mumma, him no sal jeet, him kill child do DET in.front.of mother 3SG NEG FUT eat 3SG sal FUT kris cry

-Wat ple ju bottle bin, mi glas bin. what place 2SG bottle BE 1SG glass BE

-Een man dodt een ander man brod. a man death an other man bread

25 -Ekke man suk sji eigen wif every man search 3POS own wife

-Man dodt, besjet gurri na sji door. man death grass grow NA 3POS door

-No fordimak pussje wander him fang rotter². NEG because cat.DIM walk 3SG catch rat.PL

-Crabbo no wander, him no kom fet; as him crab NEG walk 3SG NEG come fat when 3SG wander attofel, him sal loop na pot. walk too.much 3SG FUT go NA pot

Probe eines Gesprächs im gewöhnlichen Kreol³. ‘Specimen of a conversation in ordinary Creole’

2 rotter: Danish plural (‘rats’). Probably a Danish interpretation of NH roto ‘rat’.
3 Probe ... Kreol: German.
30 -Morruk, cabé, huso ju be die frufru?
   morning comrade how 2SG BE DET morning

   Dank, mi be fraj. Huso ju slaap dunko?Ju ka drum enista
   thanks 1SG BE well how 2SG sleep night 2SG PRF dream something
   fraj?
   well

   -Mi no ha slaap fraj, mi ha ha pin na mi tan, ma die
   1SG NEG PST sleep well 1SG PST have pain NA 1SG tooth but DET
   fraj die be mussie better, dank God.
   morning DET BE much better thanks God

35 -Ju aht to fo loop na die doctor fo trek die tan na
   2SG ought to FOR go NA DET doctor FOR pull DET tooth NA
   bitte.
   outside

   -Mi addu wak bitzji meer, fo kik as die tan
   1SG rather wait little more FOR see if DET tooth

   sal pin mi weeran,dan mi sal loop fo trek die. Wat ju
   FUT pain 1SG again then 1SG FUT go FOR pull DET what 2SG

   sal eet fo frukost van -dag?
   FUT eat FOR breakfast today

40 -Mi sal ha stof fleis mit bateta en dan ene kominsje
   1SG FUT have stewed meat with potato and then one cup.DIM
   the. Cabé Meria, ju loop na ju grun fo lo peck
   tea comrade Meria 2SG go NA 2SG field FOR ASP gather
   geambó en dig bateta. Die pampun no ka rip nungal,te
   ochro and dig potato DET pumpkin NEG PRF ripe yet until

   die manskin ful. Die Peterselje no bin fraj nungal fo
   DET moonlight full DET parsley NEG BE good yet FOR

   snie.
   cut
-Huso die beest lo kom an?
how DET animal ASP come on

-Die how cirj⁴ bin fol, en sal gaw ha calluf. Die boricka ka
DET old cow BE full and FUT soon have calf DET donkey PRF
marro en caló over die bergi, mi ka stier die
run.away and PRF.go across DET mountain 1SG PRF send DET
jung fo lo fang die. Die farki bin na cot, mi lolo suk
boy FOR ASP catch DET DET pig BE NA sty 1SG ASP.go.search
bateta-tow, fo jeet fo die. Een cuj ka kom over die
potato FOR eat FOR DET a cow PRF come across DET
-stalk

barcad en ka destroi alga die jung Plantsoon;wen mi
fence and PRF destroy all DET young planting when 1SG
fang die mi sal drag die na fort, mak die eigenaer
catch DET 1SG FUT carry DET NA fort make DET owner

betal. Mi lolo na taphus, mi lolo suk stekki
pay 1SG ASP.go NA Taphus(town) 1SG ASP.go search piece
sowed gut fo mi goj na pot.
salt stuff FOR 1SG throw NA pot

-Wat ju sal ha fo dinner?
what 2SG FUT have FOR dinner

-Mi no weet, mi wel bak fes mit bak banana;wen mi no
1SG NEG know 1SG like bake fish with baked banana when 1SG NEG

kang ha ander, mi jeet sowed gut mit funchi
can have other 1SG eat salt stuff with cornbread

-Mi wonder, as die ha eniste nyw na taphus; mi
1SG wonder if DET have something new NA Taphus(town) 1SG
mankeeloop fo weet die nyw, as ni kom na Plantaj;
want go FOR know DET new because 1SG come NA plantation

⁴ cirj must be a typo for cuj 'cow'.
Translation

The cockroach does not have any reason to be in a chicken run.
The chicken looks for the basket, the basket locks it in.
The road is long, the ochro dries on its tree.
One finger cannot catch lice.
The blue bird says: when the rain is finished, I will build my own house.
Poor people do not have [wood] for their hearth to burn.
The chicken says: I can swear for my eggs, but not for my chickens.
In a good herd goat its bottom is outside.
The poor are not nice.
When the wind rises, then you should be able to see the hen's bottom.
A great mind makes the crab not have a head
When the guinea fowl's wings have broken, then it looks for company with the hen.
The crocodile is not afraid of die snake, the snake is not afraid of the crocodile.
The water boils for fish, the fish does not know.
The cow's horns never will be too heavy for him to carry.
The ant falls into the molasses, because he found it sweet.
The mountain cannot touch another mountain, but two people will touch

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5 Instead of ons ('1PL') the unusual, more Dutchlike pronoun wi is used.
Kill the mother in front of the child, and it will eat; but kill the child in front of the mother, she will not eat, she will cry.
Wherever your bottle is, my glass is also
One man's death is another man's bread.
Each man looks for his own wife.
When a man is dead, grass grows at his door.
It is not because a cat strolls around, that it catches rats.
A crab does not walk around, it does not become fat; when it walks around too much, it will go into the pot.

Specimen of a conversation in ordinary creole.
- Morning, comrade, how are you this morning?
- Thanks, I am fine. How did you sleep last night. Did you dream something nice?
- I did not sleep well, I had pain in my tooth, but in the morning it was much better, thank God.
- You ought to go to the doctor to pull out the tooth.
- I rather wait a little longer, to see if the tooth will hurt me again, then I will go to pull it. What will you eat for breakfast today?
- I will have stewed meat with potatoes and then a cup of tea. Comrade Meria, you go to your field to go gather ochre and dig potatoes. The pumpkin has not ripened yet, until the moon is full. The parsley is not good yet for cutting.
- How are the animals coming along?
- The old cow is pregnant and will soon have a calf. The donkey has run away and gone across the mountain, I have sent the boy to go catch it. The pig is in the sty, I will go look for potato stalk for it to eat. A cow has come across the fence and has destroyed all the young plants; when I catch it, I will bring it to the fort, and make the owner pay. I will go to Taphus, I will go look for a piece of salted meat for me to throw into the pot.
- What will you have for dinner?
- I do not know. I like baked fish with baked banana; when I cannot have anything else, I eat salted meat with cornbread.
- I wonder if there is something new in Taphus; I need to go to know the news, because I come to the plantation; because we have work to do in plantation. I have to go to the field to go plant sugarcane.
- But neighbour, the pot is brewing.
- Put it on the ground until I stand up. I am going to talk with the master, but I will come and look at it myself.
- I will greet until later, I will come again.
- Goodbye.
5.2 The Magens letter

In 1914 the famous creolist avant la lettre Hugo Schuchardt published the so-called ‘Magens-letter’ in the *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde*. This letter, written on the 23rd of February 1883 and addressed to Schuchardt, was written by A. Magens, a descendant of J.M. Magens (see Introduction and section 4.4.2). In the same volume, a translation of the letter into Dutch and a postscript were published by D.C. Hesseling. Unfortunately, we have not been able to trace the original manuscript of the letter, and we suspect that it has disappeared. At least, it has not turned up so far in the Schuchardt Archive in Graz, Austria.

The letter is an interesting example of a 19th-century free composition in Negerhollands, in which several topics of daily life are included. Notice that A. Magens admits having only limited knowledge of the language.

1 Mi liewe MaisterDokter! Mi ha dink di beste Manii fo mi fo mak 1SG PST think DET best manner FOR 1SG FOR make
ju ferstann di rekte Manii, di Creol tael pratt, be fo krikk
2SG DET understand DET right manner FOR creole talk BE FOR write
ju na Creol, as faer as mi kan. Mi no weet muschifan di, bot wa
2SG NA creole as far as 1SG can DET much know MUCH DET but what
mi weet mi be tofreeden for skrikk. Mi no weet fo spell die wort
1SG know 1SG BE satisfied FOR write DET know FOR spell DET word

5 senderfrei, mi be spell di as mi fang di, wanaermi hoor di follek
3PL well 1SG BE spell DET as 1SG hear DET people
sender. Mi ka fragg en maenschifan en how creol famili fo hellep
3PL 1SG PRF ask a girl of an old creole family FOR help
mi, mi ka fraggam na InGIS wa mi mankeefo sae, an am sae mi
1SG 1SG PRF ask 3SG NA English what 1SG want FOR say and 3SG say 1SG
hosó fo sae na Creol. Na di Manii mi dink mi sa gii ju en frei
how FOR say NA creole NA DET way 1SG think 1SG FUT give 2SG a good
ferstann fan di tael.
understanding of DET language

10 Mi ka probeefo krii som buk fan di Creol, bot mi no kan krii
1SG PRF try FOR get some book of DET creole but 1SG NEG can get
mehr als eine posallembuk fan di jaar aktiin hondert an
more than a hymn book of DET year eighteen hundred and
fii an dertig6 an een niu testament, wa no ha di datum fan di
four and thirty and a new testament what NEG have DET date of DET
jaar7. Mi ha sukk oká di Grammar, wa een fan mi how famill ha
year 1SG PST search also DET grammar what one of 1SG old family PST
skriif, mi no ha krii di nungáel; mi hoop gáw mi sa krii een fo
write 1SG NEGPST get DET yet 1SG hope soon 1SG FUT get one FOR

15  stier na ju.
send NA 2SG

Mi dink ju sa wees blii fo hoor muschicreol wort, so mi sa
1SG think 2SG FUT BE happy FOR hear much creole word so 1SG FUT
skriif nu alga di wort sender mi ka fenn.
write now all DET word 3PL 1SG PRF find

Wanaerons hopó na frufru, ons sae ons gebeet; ons was ons lief,
when 1PL get up NA morning 1PL say 1PL prayer 1PL wash 1PL body
caam ons haar, skon ons heele gesek, foorhof, hogo, naes, munn mi
comb 1PL hair clean 1PL whole face forehead eye nose mouth with

20 lepp an tann, hoor, kak, tschin, keel, skowwe mi aerem, hann an
lip and tooth ear cheek chin throat shoulder with arm hand and
finger, bors, big, reggé, hepp, di twee bell9, kenii, futto an
finger breast belly back hip DET two buttock knee foot and
taeschisender. Dann ons drook ons lief an du án ons duko. Di
toe 3PL then 1PL dry 1PL body and put on 1PL cloth DET
frow-follek du án hometé, dann onder -saya, kowsen mi skuen,
woman put on chemise then under -skirt stocking with shoe
people

6 Creol Psalm-Buk 1834.
7 Maybe a page was lacking in this edition of the New Testament; we know not of any undated
8 Magens 1770.
9 bell can also refer to the thighs. Cf. De Josselin de Jong's vocabulary (de Josselin de Jong
1926) and the Vestindisk Glossarium (van der Voort forthcoming).
dann kaputó, benn sen kop mi sen naesduk. Di man-folleksender then apron bind 3PL head with 3PL kerchief DET man 3PL -people

25 du án hemetémi bruk, onder dann sen batschi an hutt -kamsol, put on shirt with trousers under then 3PL jacket and hat -camisole

bo sen kop. Di kleen kinn senderdu án sen kleen japon an nae above 3PL head DET little child 3PL put on 3PL small dress and NEG ting ander gutt. - Wanaerons ka kabá klaet, ons ném ons heet water thing other thing - when 1PL PRF finish dress 1PL take 1PL hot water mi sukkú; di man senderném en sopi. Senderwell sopi muschi, sender with sugar DET man 3PL take a dram 3PL like dram much 3PL ném di fan frufru an aster se jeet sen frokóss, wanaerdi ka take DET of morning and after 3PL eat 3PL breakfast when DET PRF

30 klár. Di frokóss, senderwell, be funschi mi féss, an dann sen ném ready DET breakfast 3PL like BE combread with fish and then 3PL take en sopi werán. As ju kik sen well sopi muschi. Senderném sopi so a dram again as 2SG see 3PL like dram much 3PL take dram so feel as sen kann fo krii. - As sen kan krii fo jeet, sen been lei much as 3PL can FOR get - as 3PL can get FOR eat 3PL BE lazy fo werrek. Sen well fo geerá an fegeté testen makander.- Disó bé FOR work 3PL like FOR quarrel and fight against teach other - this BE di manii fan leff fan di power follekk. DET way of live of DET poor people

35 Di ander Dack di ha mak hondert mi feittig jaar di Baas DET other day DET PST make hundred with fifty year DET master Domini ha ko hisó fo praek fo di Neger sender. Se ha Ministern PST come here FOR preach FOR DET negro 3PL 3PL PST howd -óp di Dack an se ha lei di fondament fo en niú kerrek, celebrate? DET day and 3PL PST lay DET foundation FOR a new church
Alga di hook koop fan di lann ha wees da, di Governeermi all DET high head of DET country PST BE there DET Governor with schi wif ha lei di eerstesteen. Almadi lees an di praek an 3POS wife PST lay DET first stone all DET reading and DET sermon and

40 di posallemha wees na ingis. Wanaerse ha howd-ódi hondert DET hymn PST BE NA English when 3PL PST celebrate DET hundred jaar, se ha lees an praek na creol. Mi ha fragg di Domini fo year 3PL PST readinga sermon NA creole 1SG PST ask DET Minister FOR suk di praedikaschifan di Dagg, an am ha blöff mi fo suk search DET sermon of DET day and 3SG PST promise 1SG FOR search di fo mi.

DET FOR 1SG

Na di slaventidt, ers di neger senderha krii fri, di a ha NA DET slave time before DET negro 3PL PST get free DET PST have

45 muschi sukkuplantai. Di werrek na di sukkuplantai ha wees much sugar plantation DET work NA DET sugar plantation PST BE hardt werrek. Di follek sender, mann mi frow, a ha fo hopó hard work DET people 3PL man with woman PST have FOR get up fru a foordagg, nèm schi how bobo schi skowwe, schi early NA dawn take 3POS pick axe above 3POS shoulder 3POS kap na schi hann fo lo na kámmina, mi di gaeng mi di -mess machete NA 3POS hand FOR go NA field with DET gang with DET bumba aster sender fo ki sen werrek. Dann sen werrek te sess overseer after 3PL PST look 3PL work then 3PL work until six

50 ier. - Di jeet wa senderha kri, ha wees fárria an meel fo o'clock- DET food what 3PL PST get PST BE ground corn and flour FOR mak funschi, an herring mi po. Di maester oká ha -werdjáck. make combread and herring with stockfish DET master also PST gi senderfo dúkkubambú mi gaimás. As sen mankeeen eeneste give 3PL FOR cloth bombazinewith rough linen 3PL want an any
The Negerhollands word *stibbo* 'money' originates from Dutch *stuiver, stuver* 'five-cents piece'.

In the Westflemish dialect of Dutch the word *langeajuun*, literally 'long onions', is used for a kind of chives.
di sukkustok, wa di follek sender ha kap an di noli ha DET sugar. canewhat DET people 3PL PST cut and DET mule PST bring fan di kámmína. Di maellekan di calfi fan die kui mi di bring of DET field DET milk and DET calf of DET cow with DET skap sen ha frokó na taphus. Di eigener oká ha kvaek sheep 3PL PST sell NA Taphus DET owner also PST breed 70 kalkun mi hundu, palpat, tschekké, diffi an powwis; fan di staert turkey with chicken duck guinea.fowl pigeon and peacock of DET tail fan di powwis sen ha mak fliggi Sender ha plant sonder -besom. of DET peacock 3PL PST make fly-broom 3PL PST plant without sukku ander jeet, jamus, báku ba, bánana, mais an muschi ander gut. - sugar other food yam banana horse maize and much other thing - -banana

Di neger senderna di plantai sen noit ha trow, bot di mann DET negro 3PL NA DET plantation 3PL never PST marry but DET man mi frow ha paar makander.- Elkereen fan di huus fan di neger with womanPST mate each other- everyone of DET house of DET negro 75 sendera ha twee kamber, een slaap mi een foor Di -kamber -kamber. 3PL PST have two room a sleep-room with a front -room DET foorhemmelte fan di huus ha wees sukku an di shi fan di -bla, canopy of DET house PST BE sugar and DET side of DET -leaf

huus ha wees mii13. Sen hissaat14 ha wees en banki mi en plank -tafel. house PST BE wall 3PL furniture PST BE a bench with a board -table

Sen slap-plae ha wees bánana Sen ha en kaes fo boa sen -bla. 3PL sleep PST BE banana 3PL have a case FOR keep 3PL -place -leaf duku. Sen ha kook sen jeet foor sen door, sen no a ha cloth 3PL PST cook 3PL food before 3PL door 3PL NEG PST have

14 hissaat ‘furniture’: Du. huisraad. This is the sole case where the expected form [his] (or [hys] < Zealandic huus) instead of the usual NH form [hus] shows up.
13 In his appendix to Schuchardt’s paper Hesseling suggested ‘cow dung’ as a translation for mii, which he based upon a passage in Oldendorp’s monograph. However, by means of the usual phonological rules mii can be related to Du. muur ‘wall’.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
kamb-huus.

kitchen

Wanaerdi neger senderbeen sikk, di eigenerha stiir fo di dokter, when DET negro 3PL BE ill DET owner PST send FOR DET doctor

wa ha gi senderpurgaschifo laxeer sender, an sendera ha fo who PST give 3PL purgative FOR purge 3PL and 3PL PST have to

lo na grass. Wanaesenderha piin na bors, dann senderkri dreppel. go NA grass when 3PL have pain NA breast then 3PL get drops

Di neger senderweet muschiblá fo ném wanae sen fuul sikk foor DET negro 3PL know much leave FOR take when 3PL feel ill FOR

kuurdi sender sellef. Di ha en boom, sen lo rupp di cure.it 3PL self DET have a tree 3PL ASP call DET

piin -na -koop di blá van die sen benn na sen foorhof fo -blá -boom;
pain -in -head DET leave of DET 3PL bind NA 3PL forehead FOR -leave -tree

piin na koop. Fo piin na big sen kook pain NA head FOR pain NA belly 3PL cook

su -sákka mi lamunschi sen du steekki appelschinkaskei na benne -bla,
sour -sack with lemon. DIM 3PL put piece orange peel NA inside -leaf

mi en klompi sowt, an sen du en steekki djindjamberoká na benne. with a lump salt and 3PL put a piece ginger also NA inside

90 Sens di neger senderha krii fri, sen ka reil sen manii fo lef. since DET negro 3PL PST get free 3PL PRF swap 3PL manner FOR live

Sen ka ko so astrannan makti mi sender sellef, dat sen 3PL PRF come so bold and powerful with 3PL self that 3PL
gló sen been as gutt as elke follek. Bot wanaese fenn sendersellef belief 3PL BE as good as every people but when 3PL find 3PL self

na plá sen no ka Pratt or klaar sendersellef, dann sen ha fo ló NA trouble 3PL NEG PRF talk or clear 3PL self then 3PL have FOR go

fo fragg di blanko sender, fo hellep sender. Twee, dri fan di how FOR ask DET white 3PL FOR help 3PL two three of DET old
As written in Valls (1981) Bakawal means ‘something separate from the rest’, but it is also used for a Charlotte Amalie (in the eighteenth century known as Tapus) locale. Today it is known as Backadal.
maenschimisellef. Mi ha fenn am na bö di flu lo rool an skrew girl myself 1SG PST find 3SG NA on DET floor ASP roll and scream

110 su wae as schi ma. Danneenvandi frow senderwa ka stann desbi somemuchas 3POS mother then one of DET woman 3PL who PRF stand near di maenschiha sae: ‘Na big am fo ha. Na better fo ruup en DET girl PST say EMP belly 3SG FOR have EMP better FOR call a dokter; am sa weet een maal wa du am.’ Dann schi ma ha beginn doctor 3SG FUT know one time what do 3SG then 3POS mother PST begin

fo flukk an damineeran sae: ‘ju liik, ju fofluktekapman, mi kinn FOR curse and damn and say 2SG corpse 2SG cursed hangman 1SG child na en frei kinn, am ló na kerrek an am no speelm man, so wápla EMPa good child 3SG go NA church and 3SG NEG play with man so where

115 am sa ka krii big? ju no sa bederregmi kinn schi karaktee, mi 3SG FUT PRF get belly 2SG NEG FUT deceive 1SG child 3POS character 1SG sa draa ju forren di bifó 16 fo mak schi naam frei. Mi sa FUT carry 2SG before DET district judge FOR make 3POS name good 1SG FUT gi ju en butt mi en skop, ju ferdammteteff.’ Dann die ander frow give 2SG a kick with a shovel 2SG damned bitch then DET other woman ha sae: ‘ju ondang barbaes, mi ha sae ju die waargeit, wa du ju PST say 2SG ungrateful beast 1SG PST say 2SG DET truth what do 2SG kinn, an ju no wae gloof. Ju sa kii, am sa krii na en iir-tidt child and 2SG NEG want belief 2SG FUT see 3SG FUT get NA on hour -time

120 en kinn, dann ju sa gloof. Mi sa Kumitt it ju huus.’ Mi sa a child then 2SG FUT belief 1SG FUT come. outset 2SG house 1SG FUT lapp ju eers ju lo.’ ‘Du di as ju kann.’ Dann am ha gi am di slap 2SG before 2SG go do DET as 2SG can then 3SG PST give 3SG DET lapp, an sen ha fang fegetéan an ha skaeram nakenan gi am en slap and 3PL PST catch fight on 3SG PST rip 3SG naked and give 3SG a

16 Negerhollands bifó originates from Danish byfoged ‘town governor’. 

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
bit na schi finger an sae: naem di da nu fo wa ju ha sae bite NA 3POS finger and say take DET there now FOR what 2SG PST say
tegen mi kinn.’ Di pestakeil ha wees so groot, sen ha skrew against 1SG child DET uproar PST BE so great 3PL PST scream
125 ‘moodt, di twee frow lo mättá een mi makander, ruup di citéres.’
murder DET two womanASP kill one with each other call DET police
Di citéres ha ko an frá: na wa ka geskidt?’ an DET police PST come and ask EMP what PRF happen and senderha neem senderfo draa na fort. Na di tidt sen ha ka 3PL PST take 3PL FOR carry NA fort NA DET time 3PL PST PRF raak na fort, en frow a kurrii fo beddel di bifo fo get NA fort a woman PST run FOR beg DET district judge FOR  lo stand
let stand
130 di frow ko kii schi kinn lo dodt. Di bifo ha sae di DET woman come see 3POS child ASP die DET district judge PST say DET citéres lo mi am fo kii wa du di kinn an bring am weran, an police go with 3SG FOR see what do DET child and bring 3SG back and kri en dokter oká fo kii di sikk.- So sen ha krii benné di plaas, get a doctor also FOR see DET ill - so 3PL PST get inside DET place se ha hoor di maenschlo steen; di dokter ha lo na benné an 3PL PST hear DET girl ASP moan DET doctor PST go NA inside and pratt mi am, an na di sellef tidt di kinn ha geboren. Dann di talk with 3SG and NA DET same time DET child PST born then DET
135 má ha begin info slá di maenschlo, an di citéres mi di follek mother PST begin FOR beat DET girl and DET police with DET people sender ha neem am wae fo no mättá di maenschlo. 3PL PST take 3SG away FOR NEG kill DET girl
Proverbs

As slang bit ju, ju fo bang kakka -tess
as snake bite 2SG 2SG FOR be.afraid lizard

As ju ha luus, ju fo ha net.
as 2SG have louse 2SG FOR have nit

As ju speel mi honn, honn sa leck ju munn.
as 2SG play with dog dog FUT lick 2SG mouth

140 As ju goi en steen na himmel, di sa faal bo ju koop.
as 2SG throw a stone NA sky DET FUT fall above 2SG head

As ju spick op na himmel, di faal na ju geseck.
as 2SG spit up NA sky DET fall NA 2SG face

See no ha boom.
sea NEG have tree

Elke follek passó sen eigen affeerens, se sa ha genú fo du.
every people watch 3PL own business.PL3PL FUT have enoughFOR do

Fegg ju flu a frufru, no passó ju biiren.
sweep 2SG floor NA morning NEG watch 2SG neighbour.PL

145 Makakkuweet wa fo een boom fo klemm, am no klemmstakkelboom
monkey know what for a tree FOR climb 3SG NEG climb prickle.tree

Translation

Text

My dear master doctor! I thought the best way for me to make you understand the right way the creole language is spoken is to write you in creole as far as I can. I do not know much of it but what I know I am satisfied to write. I do not know how to spell the words well, I am spelling them as I catch them, when I hear the people. I have asked a girl of an old creole family to help me, I have asked her in English what I want to say, and she says to me how to say it in creole. In this way I think I will give you a good understanding of the language. I have tried to get some books in creole but I cannot get more than a hymn book of the year eighteen hundred and thirty four and a New Testament, which does not have the date of the year. I have also searched for the
grammar, which one of my old family has written, I did not get it yet; I hope soon I will get one to send to you. I think you will be happy to hear many creole words, so I will write now all the words I have found. When we get up in the morning we say our prayer; we wash our body, comb our hair, clean our whole face, forehead, eye, nose, mouth with lip and teeth, ear, cheek, chin, throat, shoulder with arm, hand and finger, breast, belly, back, hip, the two buttocks, knees, feet and toes. Then we dry our body and put on our clothes. The women folk put on a chemise, then under-dress, stockings with shoes then jackets, bind their head with their handkerchief. The men folk put on shirt with trousers, under-camisole, then they put a hat on their head. The little children put on their little dress and nothing else. When we are ready dressing we take our hot water with sugar; the men take a dram. They like dram very much, they take it in the morning and after they eat their breakfast when it is ready. The breakfast they want is cornbread with fish, and then they take a dram again. As you see they like their dram very much. They take dram so much as they can get. As they can get to eat, they are bone lazy to work. They want to quarrel and fight against each other. This is the way of life of the poor people. The other day it was hundred and fifty years the head clergyman came here to preach for the negroes. They celebrated the day and they laid the foundation for a new church. All the high heads of the country were there, the Governor with his wife laid the first stone. All the reading and the sermon and the hymns were in English. When they celebrated the hundred year anniversary, they had read a sermon in creole. I asked the clergyman to look for the sermon of the day and he promised me to look for it for me. In the slave period before the negroes had been freed, there were many sugar plantations.

The work in the sugar plantations was hard work. The people, men and women, had to get up early at dawn, take their pick axe on their shoulder, their machete in their hand to go to the field, with the gang and the overseer after them to look to them working. Then they worked until six o'clock. The food they got was ground corn and flour to make cornbread, and herring with stockfish. The master also gave them for cloth bombazine with ?. When they needed something else, they had to buy it of their own money. Everyone received a piece of land from their master to plant their negroe-food. They could plant beans, pigeon peas, string beans, white-beans, red-beans, black eye beans, calabash, pumpkin, ginger, sweet potatoes, cucumber, cassave. Of all the things here they cooked their soup. The vegetables for their pot they planted also: chives, thyme, parsley. The only meat they could get to eat was pork meat and goat meat. The negroes who served the master with his wife in the house, they got free food from the master's table - when the negroes had been bone impudent or lazy to work, then they got flagging with a whip or cat by the overseer. At the plantation the owner had donkeys, mules, horses, cows, sheep. The donkey with horse and bulls turned the sugar mill to grind the sugar cane, which the people had cut and which the mule brought from the field. The milk and the calf of the cow with the sheep they sold in the store. The owner also bred turkeys with chickens, ducks, guinea fowl, pigeons and peacocks; of the tail of the peacock they made fly brooms. They planted besides sugar other food, yam, green bananas, bananas, corn and many other things. The negroes on the plantation they never married, but the man and woman mated each other.
Each of the houses of the negroes had two rooms: a bed room with a front room. The roof of the house was of sugar leaves, and the side of the house was a wall. Their furniture was a bench with a table. Their sleeping place was of banana leaves. They had a closet to keep their cloth. They cooked their food before their door, they did not have a kitchen. When the negroes were ill, the owner sent for the doctor who gave them a purgative to purge them, and they had to walk into the grass. When they had pain in the breast, then they got licorice. The negroes know much about leaves to take when they feel ill to cure themselves. There is a tree, they call the pain-in-head-leaf-tree; the leaves of it they bind on their forehead for pain in the head. For pain in belly they cook sour-sop with lemon-leaf, they put a piece of orange peel inside with a lump of salt, and they put a piece of ginger also inside. Since the negroes were freed, they have changed their way of life. They have become so impudent and powerful with themselves that they believe they are as good as any people. But when they find themselves in trouble they have not spoken or managed themselves, then they have to go to ask the whites to help them. Two, three of the old negroes they still know to behave themselves for the whites with manners and politeness. I will now try to give you an impression of the people, and I will tell you what happened the other afternoon. The other night just after the shot was fired for eight o'clock I went to take a stroll down side. When I had reached as far as Main Street, I turned around to go back, and I heard a great commotion and ado. The people ran up and down the street, they were screaming, I had not understood what it was until I got at Bakawal. Then I looked inside a small house full with people; the door was open, and a woman stood at the door, screaming and crying: 'My child is dying, my poor child is dying.' I asked what was wrong with her. She did not answer me, she kept on screaming and crying. Then I went inside to see the girl myself. I found her on the floor rolling and screaming the same way as her mother. Then one of the women who had stood near the girl said: What a belly she has. It is better to call a doctor; he will know at once what do with her. Then her mother began to curse and damn and said: 'you corpse, you cursed hangman, my child is a good child, she goes to church and she does not play with men, so where she will have gotten such a belly? You will not blemish my child's character, I will drag you before the district judge to clear her name. I will give you a shovel with a kick, you damned bitch.' Then the other woman said: 'you ungrateful boss, I told you the truth about what your child did and you do not want to believe it. You will see she will get in an hour's time a child, then you will believe it. I will get out of your house.' 'I will slap you ere you go.' 'Do as you can.' Then she gave her the slap and they started fighting, she stripped her naked and gave her a bite in her finger and said: 'take it there now for what you said against my child.' The uproar was so great, they screamed 'murder, the two women are killing one another, call the police.' The police came and ask: What happened? and they took them in to read them to the fort. In the time they had arrived at the fort, a woman ran to beg the district judge to let the woman come see her child dying. The district judge said to the police go with her to see what the child was doing and bring her back, and get a doctor also to see the patient. So they got inside the place they heard the girl moaning; the doctor went inside and talked with her, and at the same time the child was born. Then the mother began to beat the girl, and the police and the people took her away so she would not kill the girl.
Proverbs

When a snake bites you, you will be afraid of the lizard. When you have lice, you must have nits. When you play with a dog, the dog will lick your mouth. When you throw a stone in the sky, it will fall on your head. As you spit up into the sky, it will fall in your face. In the sea there are no trees. All people watch their own business, they will have enough to do. Sweep your floor in the morning, do not watch your neighbours. A monkey knows what kind of a tree to climb, he does not climb prickle trees.

5.3 The sentences of Greider

In his large study on Negerhollands D.C. Hesseling based his observations especially on the printed texts that were available in the University in Leyden (the Netherlands). In addition, he corresponded with A. Glitsch, the head of the archive of the Moravian Brethren in Herrnhut to obtain more information about Negerhollands. A few letters have been kept in which Hesseling ordered a copy of the Herrnhut grammar of Negerhollands, a copy which is still in the Leyden University library.

Hesseling also sent letters to the Moravian Brethren in St. Thomas to obtain more information, especially about the use of the language in the beginning of the 20th century. Bishop Greider of the Moravian Brethren wrote back the following:

‘The language in its purity is now spoken by a very few old people, principally those living in the country districts. The younger generation speak a mixed dialect that is called Creole, but it contains very many English words ... Our people speak a comparatively pure English and there is no patois like in the French or Dutch islands. In fact if any one wished to study the language as it now is spoken, it would be best to do it immediately.’ (Hesseling 1905:33-34)

Hesseling comments: ‘The (...) words are not as English as they look at first sight; this appears from the translation into older Creole, in Dutch transcription (...)’ (1905:34)

In this section we present successively Greider's example of 'Bastard Creole', as he calls it, Hesseling's transcription, our glosses and Greider's English versions.

1   How   so   you   be?
    Hoe   so   joe   be?
    how   so   2SG   be

How are you
How are you feeling this morning?

Me no full fri for da fru-fru.
Mie no voel vrie\textsuperscript{18} voor die vroe-vroe.
1SG NEG feel good FOR DET morning

I don't feel well this morning

Ons a how ... na die dunku.
Ons a hou ...\textsuperscript{19} na die donker.
1PL PST keep - NA DET night

We did not have communion last night.

\textsuperscript{18} From Greider's English translation it is clear that \textit{fraai} 'good, nice' in meant instead of \textit{vrie} 'free'.

\textsuperscript{19} Unfortunately a space is left in this position. Here we do not only expect a Negerhollands word for 'communion', but also the negation, which we see in the English example.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, \textit{Die Creol taal}
6 The 20th century

6.1 De Josselin de Jong's texts

In 1926 J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong published a collection of 103 texts he collected in the first months of 1923, together with a large word list and some English summaries. He had nine informants, of whom the youngest was 60 years old. The texts were dictated to him and reproduced phonetically. We have chosen three texts from this material. The first one is very informative about sugar harvesting, and although the main characters are the spider Anaanschi and Bru Tekoma, it is not a classical Anansi-story. The second is based on the Bremen Town Musicians, a traditional German fable. Finally, there is the tale of the Three Blind Mice, which can also be found in Nelson's material (section 6.2).

The orthography used in this section is the same as that in Ponelis (1988). See the Abbreviations section for details.
LXXV

1 Di kining' a ha een suku-stik. Am a see a Tekoma, am DET king PST have a sugar 3SG PST say NA Tekoma 3SG -cane

mangkééshi suku fo kap wapi am lo kri een man fo maa lack 3POS sugar FOR cut where 3SG go get a man FOR make

fi ondu do keetel sinu fo maa suku. Tekoma a anturt fi fire under the kettle 3PL FOR make sugar Tekoma PST answer

a am, Anáánshikan maa fi. So am nu weet huweel am sa NA 3SG Anansi can make fire so 3SG now know how much 3SG will

5 charge am fo maa fi fo neem af² de crop. So am a see, charge 3SG FOR make fire FOR take off the crop so 3SG PST say

am ha fo lo a Anáánshifo lo see am, fo am ho, wa am 3SG have FOR go NA Anansi FORDUR say 3SG FOR 3SG hear what 3SG see. So weni am a lo a Anáánshi, Anáánshia see am, say so when 3SG PST go NA Anansi Anansi PST say 3SG jaa, am sa maa fi, bot dan, weni am kabáá neem af de yes 3SG will make fire but then when 3SG ready take off the crop, di kining ha fo gi am feitik patakón mi twee ton crop DET king have FOR give 3SG fifty patakón and two barrel

10 suku fodima am ha een gunggu crop da fo tre³. So sugar because 3SG have a large crop there FOR harvest so

Tekoma a ko a kining, am a see di kining. Di kining Tekoma PST come NA king 3SG PST say DET king DET king a see a Tekoma, jaa, am sa gi am di da, fodima PST say NA Tekoma yes 3SG will give 3SG DET there because

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1 kining 'king': This form suggests a dialectal Dutch predecessor keuning (with [ø]) instead of Du. koning (with [o]). And it may also explain why we can find the German König 'king' (also with [ø]) in the translation of the Old Testament.

2 neem af 'take off': The m of Du. nemen 'take', which usually drops in NH (nē), is preserved by the presence of a particle.

3 tre: NH tre 'pull, get' (< Du. trekken 'pull').
a een swee crop bi nabo di lan. So Tekoma di Maanda -frufru
NA a heavy crop BE on DET land so Tekoma DET Monday -morning

a kri mushi fuluk fo ko kap suku. Weni am a lo PST get much people FOR come cut sugar when 3SG PST go

15 see di fuluk sinu, sin a see, jaa, sinu sa ko di say DET people 3PL 3PL PST say yes 3PL FUT come DET andu week. So di week am a wees da, am a skon op other week so DET week 3SG PST BE there 3SG PST clean up
di kopu⁴ shi hus fo hou di a ordu weni sinu bigin fo DET copper 3POS house FOR keep DET NA order when 3PL begin FOR mula. Dan di Maan-da sinu a bigin fo kap. Sinu a -frufru grind then DET Monday 3PL PST begin FOR cut 3PL PST -morning
kap suku. Sinu a bring di ko a mula, ko mula di. Dan cut sugar 3PL PST bring DET come NA mill come grind DET then

20 weni sinu a kabâa mula di week sinu a kook di suku. when 3PL PST PRF grind DET week 3PL PST cook DET sugar
Weni sinu a tre di, sinu a gooì di bini di ton, sinu when 3PL PST harvestDET 3PL PST throw DET in DET barrel 3PL a du di bini di curin'-hus fo alma di malashi kuri it PST put DET inside DET curing FOR all DET molasses run out -house

fan di. Di andu week sinu a kap werán, sinu a du diseldè of DET DET other week 3PL PST cut again 3PL PST do DET same gut. Dan da feléegen week sinu a stop betji fo lista thing then the next week 3PL PST stop little FOR let

25 sin mogáâs drook. Dan sinu a bli tu op alma 3PL ground.sugar.canes dry then 3PL PST stay cover up all di suku sinu wa sinu a gooì a ton fo ma rhum fo DET sugar 3PL what 3PL PST throw NA barrel FOR make rum FOR

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⁴ Kopu: sugar pan made out of copper, Du. koper.
di faléégenweek. Weni sinu a kabáá, dan sinu a bigín fo DET next week when 3PL PST ready then 3PL PST begin FOR kap werán. Sinu a kap twee week han-kuri. Dan sinu a stop cut again 3PL PST cut two week continuously then 3PL PST stop fo sti di eestu suku nu wa sinu a kap fo, a maak it FOR send DET first sugar now what 3PL PST cut FOR PST make out
30 fo sinu kri ple fo du di andu wa mi naastu werán. FOR 3PL get place FOR do DET other what BE NA.behindagain Sinu a kap fo, a maak it fo sinu kri ple fo du di 3PL PST cut FOR PST make out FOR 3PL get place FOR do DET andu wa mi naastu werán. Weni sinu a kabáá frukó other what BE NA.behindagain when 3PL PST ready breakfast alma, dan sinu a bigín fo kap werán tee sinu a kri all then 3PL PST begin FOR cut again until 3PL PST get di crop it fan sin han. Weni sinu a kabáá di crop skonskon, DET crop out of 3PL hand when 3PL PST ready DET crop clean.RED
35 dan di kining a rup Tekoma mi Anáánshidi twee fan sinu then DET king PST call Tekoma with Anansi DET two of 3pl mangkandu. Am a fraag Tekoma, wa am mangkéénu fo di together 3SG PST ask Tekoma what 3SG lack now FOR DET crop. Tekoma see am, am fo gi am nu fo di crop twee crop Tekoma PST say 3SG 3SG FOR give 3SG now FOR DET crop two ton suku mi twalaf patakón mi een kui. Dan as am ding barrel sugar with twelve patakon with a cow then when 3SG think a am sel, am kan gi am een gut obu di, as am nu NA 3SG self 3SG can give 3SG a thing over DET as 3SG now
40 overchargeam, di kining a see am, jaa, fodima wa am overcharge 3SG DET king PST say 3SG yes because what 3SG kaa see am fo gi am, di werak a mee a di da. So di PRF say 3SG FOR give 3SG DET work NEG?more NA DET there so DET

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
The king had a sugarcane. He said to Tekoma he needed his sugar cut, where he would get a man to light a fire under the kettles to make sugar. Tekoma answered to him, Anansi can light a fire. So he now knows how much he will charge him to light a fire to take off the crop. So he said, he should go to Anansi to tell him, to hear, what he'd say. So when he went to Anansi, Anansi said to him, yes, he would light a fire, but then, when he had finished taking of the crop, that the king had to give him fifty patakón and two tons of sugar because he had a large crop to harvest. So Tekoma came to the king. The king said to Tekoma, yes, he will give him it there, because it was a heavy crop on the land. So Monday morning Tekoma got a lot of people to come and cut sugar. When he went to speak to the people, they said yes they will come the other week. So the week he was there, he cleaned up the chief's house to keep it in order, when they began to grind. Then the Monday morning they began to cut. They cut sugar. They brought it to be ground. Then when they had finished grinding that week they cooked the sugar. When they had harvested it, they threw it in the barrel, they put it inside the curing house for all the molasses to run out of it. The other week they cut again, they did the same thing. Then the next week they stopped a bit to let their ground sugar canes dry. Then they stayed to cover up all the sugar canes that they threw in the barrel to make rum for the next week. When they were ready, then they started to cut again. They cut two weeks continuously. Then they stopped to send the first sugar which they had cut, and put it out, for them to make place to do the other which was behind again. They cut, put it out, for them to make place to do the other what was behind again. When they had all finished breakfast, they began to cut again until they got the crop out of their hands. When they had finished the crop clean then the king called Tekoma and Anansi, the two of them together. He asked Tekoma what he needed.
now for the crop. Tekoma said to him, he was to give him now for the crop two barrels of sugar with twelve patakons and a cow. Then when he thought by himself, he could give him something more, if he could overcharge him. The king said yes to him, because whatever he had said to pay him, the work had been more. So the king gave him one hundred patakons for his time with the two barrels of sugar and his cow. Then he said to him, that he could take a part of his money to go buy his food until he needed him again. So he did just like the king said to him. He and Anansi they got their payment, they went home with what they had gotten from the king.

VI

1 Een tid da ha een noli. Am ha kaa koo hou, am na a time there have a donkey3SG have PRF come old 3SG NEG kan werøk. Shi meester a loo loo mata am. Am a maro. can work 3POS master PST FUT go kill 3SG 3SG PST flee

Am a see an loo loo a Briment. Weni am a rak a paat, 3SG PST say and FUT go NA Bremen when 3SG PST hit NA road

am a fin een hon. Am a see: wamaaju loo blaas soo? 3SG PST find a dog 3SG PST say why 2SG DUR blow so

5 De hont see: mi meesar loo loo mata mi. Di noli see: the dog say 1SG master FUT go kill 1SG DET donkeysay

koo loo mi mi a Briment. Den di twee fa sine a wande come go with 1SG NA Bremen then DET two of 3PL PST walk

mangkande. Sini a fin een pushi. Sini a fraa am, wa am together 3PL PST find a cat 3PL PST ask 3SG what 3SG

loo du. Am see, am mi too hou. Am ne kan fang roto numéé. FUT do 3SG say 3SG 1SG too old 3SG NEG can catch rat no more

So di noli see: koo loo mi ons a Briment, ju sal maa so DET donkeysay come go with 1PL NA Bremen 2SG will make

10 singman. So di dri fa zina a loo. Sini a fin een hundu singer so DET three of 3PL PST go 3PL PST find a cock
haanboonoodi farm hekn\(^5\). Sini ha fraa am, wa am a loo
- on DET farm fence 3PL have ask 3SG what 3SG PST FUT
du. Am lo skrew mi alga shi stem. An see, shi meesta ha
do 3SG DUR scream with all 3POS voice and say 3POS master have
een frokós. Am loo loo mata am. Noli a see: koo loo mi
a breakfast3SG FUT go kill 3SG donkeyPST say come go with
ons a Briment. Dan di fir fa zine ha start. Dungkua fang
1PL NA Bremen then DET four of 3PL have start night PST catch
15 sini a pát. Sini a kri onde een boom. De hunduhaana
3PL NA road 3PL PST get under a tree the cock PST
flig bo di boom. Ham a rup yt a sini: di ha en le
fly on DET tree 3SG PST call out NA 3PL DET have a light
ni mi fer wéé fa ons. Di noli a see: taa ons loo api
NEG BE far away of 1PL DET donkeyPST say there 1PL go where
di le bee. Weni sini rak, sini a peep dee een
DET light BE when 3PL arrive 3PL PST look through a
venstar. Sini a ki di difman sini loo jeet. Di noli ham a
window 3PL PST look DET thief 3PL DUR eat DET donkey3SG PST
20 wees di groste\(^6\). Sini a maa am peep dee de venstar. Am
BE DET largest 3PL PST make 3SG peep through the window 3SG
a see, am kaa ki twenti mi fi man loo jit ront een
PST say 3SG PRF look twenty with four man DUR eat around a
taawul. Am a see di hon: dzhumbboo mi rigi. Di pushi a
table 3SG PST say DET dog jump on 1SG back DET cat PST
klim bo di hon rigi. Di hunduhaana flig bo di pushi
climb on DET dog back DET cock PST fly on DET cat

\(^5\) hekn ‘fence’: may look like the plural of Du. hek ‘fence’ but derives from Zealandic hekken
‘fence’.

\(^6\) groste (< Du. grootste): De Josselin de Jong's text contains a couple of Dutch superlatives
instead of the more analytical construction meestə ‘most’ + adjective, which points at a higher
amount of variability in the creole of the field slaves than one might think on the basis of what
is said in Magens (1770). Cf. the introduction.
koop. An sini a sing een sang. Di difman sini a kuri staa head and 3PL PST sing a song DET thief 3PL PST run leave

25 sin hus mi sin jit. Di noli a hooopoodi doo. Am a 3PL house with 3PL food DET donkey PST open DET door 3SG PST

loo abini. Am a maa di le. An sini a begin jit alda di go inside 3SG PST make DET light and 3PL PST start eat all DET jit. Weni sini a kabá, sini a it di le. Di noli a food when 3PL PST finish 3PL PST out DET light DET donkey PST

loo midel i plaats. Di hon a lei fo di doo. go middle DET place DET dog PST lay FOR DET door

Dá hunduhaana flig a da roof. Dá pushi a loo a da the cock PST fly NA the roof the cat PST go NA the

30 fiplee. Di difman sini a sti een. Am a koo bini de fireplace DET thief 3PL PST send one 3SG PST come in the hus. Am a loo a de fiplee. Am a ki de pushi hoogoo. house 3SG PST go NA the fireplace 3SG PST look the cat eye

Am a see: a stiki fi. Am a steek di kes a di. Dá 3SG PST say EMP piece fire 3SG PST light DET candle NA DET the

pushi a flig a shi geség. Am a staat kuri. Am a fin da cat PST fly NA 3POS face 3SG PST start run 3SG PST find the

hon a di doo. Di hon a bit am a shi bil. Am a fin dog NA DET door DET dog PST bite 3SG NA 3POS buttocK 3SG PST find

35 di noli bini de plaas. Di noli a gi am een skop. DET donkey in the yard DET donkey PST give 3SG a kick

Dá hunduhaana skreeew. Am a drai a di ande sini en see: the cock PST scream 3SG PST turn NA DET other 3PL and say

di ha een wizád a di fiple. Di ha een man mi DET have a wizard NA DET fireplace DET have a man with

een mes a di doo. Di ha een man mi een banglá bini a knife NA DET door DET have a man with a club in
Once upon a time there was a donkey. He had grown old, he could not work. His master was going to kill him. He fled. He said he would go to Bremen. When he reached the road, he found a dog. He said: Why are you panting so? The dog said: My master will go and kill me. The donkey said: come and go with me to Bremen. Then the two of them walked together. They found a cat, and they asked her, what she would do. She said, I am too old. She could not catch rats any more. So the donkey said: Come with us to Bremen, you will make the singer. So the three of them went. They found a cock on the farm fence. They asked him, what he would do. He screamed with all his voice. He said, his master has a breakfast. He wanted to kill him. The donkey said: come and go with me to Bremen. Then the four of them started. The night caught them on the road. They got under a tree. The cock flew high into the tree. He called out to them: there is a light not far away from us any more. The donkey said: let us go where the light is. When they got there, they looked through a window. They saw thieves eating. The donkey was the largest. They made him look through the window. He said he just saw twenty-four men eating around a table. He said to the dog: jump on my back. The cat climbed on the dog's back. The cock flew onto the cat's head. And they sang a song. The thieves ran away from their house and food. The donkey opened the door. He went inside. He put on a light. And they started to eat all the food. When they finished they put out the light. The donkey went into the yard. The dog lay by the door. The cock flew onto the roof. The cat went to the fireplace. The thieves sent down one of them. He came into the house. He went to the fireplace. He looked into the cat's eye. He said: it is a piece of fire. He lit the candle to it. The cat flew him in the face. He started to run. He found the dog by the door. The dog bit him in the buttock. He found the donkey in the place. The donkey gave him a kick. The cock cried. He turned to the others and said: there is have a wizard at the fireplace. There is a man with a knife by the door. There is a man with a club in the yard. The police cried: bring the thieves here.
Three blind mice. Look how they run. They run from the farmer's wife. Who cut a tail with a kitchen knife? I never have seen something like this in my life. Just look at what game!

### 6.2 Nelson's field notes

More than ten years after the visit of De Josselin de Jong to the US Virgin Islands, Frank Nelson did some fieldwork on Negerhollands on St. Thomas. In Reinecke (1975:320, nr. 31) the typoscript of the field notes was mentioned under the name *Words and texts in Negerhollands, gathered in St. Thomas, June 1936*. It consists of a seven-page word list containing 413 items and one page with short texts. In this section we present these texts.

Following the correspondence between Hans den Besten and Frank Nelson in 1993-1994, more field notes will be published in the near future. It is also from this correspondence that we know Nelson worked with informants from all of the US Virgin Islands.

1

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<td>1SG</td>
<td>PST</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>dance</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>night</td>
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</tbody>
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Dē wēs dans.

DET BE dance

Dē ā lō pān⁷ frai.

DET PST go on nice

Dī folok a wēs w[e+]<ɛ>l drung.

DET people PST BE very drunk

5

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<tr>
<th>Der⁸</th>
<th>hā</th>
<th>ēn</th>
<th>[-fkeē]</th>
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<td>there</td>
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</table>

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7 *lō pān*: This is lōp-ān ‘go on, continue’. Cf. de Josselin de Jong’s glossary. Through the particle the stem-final *p* of Du. *lopen* ‘walk’, which usually drops in NH (yielding *lō*), is preserved.

8 *Der*: English creole *der* ‘there’ instead of NH *di*. 

---

*Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal*
Der has seteris, an nē sene a di fort. There has policeman.PL and take 3PL NA DET fort

As nē wet wāt sēn sa dü me sendū.11
1PL NEG know what 3PL FUT do with 3PL

Morok(?) ōns sā wēt.
tomorrow- 1PL FUT know

Translation12

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. I don't know what they will do with them. Tomorrow we will know.

1 Fandé nā gro Sunda
today BE great sunday

Wātō mī, laren, wātō m[e+]<i> water 1SG *** water 1SG

Wātō mī, na mī köp shi
water 1SG NA 1SG head side

Wātō mī, laren, wātō mī
water 1SG *** water 1SG

5 Han mī dī guava berri
hand 1SG DET guava berry

Wātō mī, laren, wātō mī.
water 1SG *** water 1SG

9 Der has: English creole.
11 sendu: 3PL pronoun with the original d of sender.
10 As: English creole us 'we'.
12 Translation by Frank Nelson.
Translation

Today is Christmas
Water me, laren, water me,
Water me to my head side,
Water me, laren, water me,
Hand me the guava-berry,
Water me, laren, water me.

Three Blind Mice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>Tri</th>
<th>three</th>
<th>mishi(^{16})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>blain</td>
<td>blind</td>
<td>mouse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ki hoso sen kürri
see how 3PL run

Sen kūrrisenhoso Ki
3PL run away with DET farmer 3POS wife

Sen snī āf sens stet\(^{17}\) wit a gebrāta mes,
3PL cut off 3POS tail with a roast knife

5 Mī noit no ka ki so en göt a mī lef
1SG never NEG PRF see such one thing NA 1SG life

Leke dřī blain mishi.
like three blind mouse

Translation

Three blind mice. See how they run. They run away with the farmer's wife. They cut off their tail with a carving knife. I never have seen such a thing in my life, like three blind mice.

---

13 Translation by Frank Nelson.
14 The meaning of *water me* is 'give rum'.
15 *Guavaberry* is a kind of wine.
16 *mishi* 'mouse': In de Josselin de Jong's version of this song we find muši. Both muši and miši can be found in his glossary.
17 *sens stet*: should be *sen stet*.
The horse pulls the cart. The woman is going to market. I'm going to buy a pound 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 [a+]outside the house. I cannot think of more now.

6.3 The last stage of Negerhollands

In 1977 Graves published The present state of Dutch creole of the Virgin Islands (Ann Arbor, Michigan). For this description of Negerhollands she worked with six informants, probably the last six native speakers of the language. One of these informants was Mrs. Alice Stevens, born in St. John in 1898. She died in 1987. Two other scholars who worked closely together with Mrs. Stevens are Gilbert A. Sprauve
and Robin Sabino. The following two text samples are translations of English texts by Mrs. Stevens under the supervision of Gilbert Sprauve and conversations between Mrs. Stevens and Robin Sabino.

Negerhollands, as used in this section, represents the creole language in its final phase. This does not mean that Mrs. Stevens did not speak the language well. See Sabino (1989) for more information about issues of competence, and the publications of Sprauve and Sabino in our bibliography for more information about recent Negerhollands and texts in this language.

Information about the orthography used by Sprauve and Sabino can be found in each section.

18. Neu Herrnhut on St. Thomas

6.3.1 Active translations

The following texts are transcribed from a tape recording made during a visit of the late Mrs. Alice Stevens to the Dutch Creole class at the University of the Virgin Islands on the 18th of June, 1985. 19

The following practices are adhered to in the following transcription:

I = low high front vowel as in English ‘bit’
U = low high back vowel as in English ‘butt’, ‘put’
E = front mid open vowel as in English ‘bed’

19 Transcription completed on 1 November 1994 by Gilbert A. Sprauve, University of the Virgin Islands.
Otherwise, the text is broadly phonemic in nature. The basic methodology employed in eliciting Dutch Creole speech from Mrs. Stevens was to translate orally and then paraphrase in English Creole or English for her some of the stories of de Josselin de Jong and permit enough time for her to render the material in Dutch Creole. Mrs. Stevens was never exposed to written Dutch Creole and was thus translating on the spot and from scratch when she worked with the class at the University.

Prompt (by student or Sprauve)
(From story #12 in de Josselin de Jong (1926))

1. Jack had to give a man some money

Now, when the man come to Jack

Jack know the day when the man was coming

Jack put his mother on the road

5. He had his coalpot in the house

with the pot on the fire to cook

By the time the man reach to the door

his mother bring the pot come put it before the door

Alice Stevens response

Jack ha to gi en nom stibu

wEnE dl nom a kô a JAck fo suk fo di stibu

Jack a wet dl dak wEnE dl nom a lo kô

Jack a du shi ma abo dl pat

‘He had?’ aN a ha dl ‘coalpot’ abEnE dl huS
dl pot abo dl fi fo kok
dl tit dl man rak a dl do. ‘say’, a dl hus

‘OK?’ dl tit dl man a rak a dl hus
Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
with two, three stone
10 She make the pot cook there
   on the three stone
   ‘wit three’ ... dri sten

   Where she put the pot
   the pot don’t have any
   fire under it
   ‘she’a ma dl pot kok abo
dl dri sten
   ‘where’ am a ‘putt’ di pot
dl pot no a ha entlN fi
   ondu di

   But as she take it off
   the fire
   ‘but as’ aN ka ne dl fran
dl fi
   so dl pot a we...a lo kok
dl nom a ‘tell....’ se
   dl fi
   Jack

   so the pot cooking
15 The man tell Jack
   dl pot awe...alokoksothepotcooking
   dlnoma’tell....’se
   Jack

   Jack, you have a pot cooking
   without fire
   Jack, yu a ha en pot lo
   kok ‘without’ fi, yu no
   ha en fi ondu di

   (from story # 60 in de Josselin de Jong)
   He eat his bellyful
   She call One-Eye
   She say:
   aN ka yet shi pa...blkfu
   rUp en ogo
   ‘she say? or she think?’

   20 Left to you
   all de goat dem
   woulda go wild
   gone wild
   bli ayu
   alma...
   ‘what?’
   ‘de goat?’

   [Here Sprauve offers a
   reminder that one girl has been left to
   tend goats.]
25 She say: ‘left to you de goat woulda gone wild
she don't know anything about it
Come, let's go home
Then she went home
Three-eye ask who gave...

30 Who gave her food
She don't want to eat the food
One-eye say
She ain' see anybody
She say: Yeh, yeh, somebody

35 Tomorrow I go go
The day after, three-eye went

am manke hau di kabrita slnu? am a fln Slnu lo slap?
‘Let She speak clear, that I could understand!'
am ase: llista a yu dl kabrita slnu saN a lo wEI
aN no wet IntlN gut boU...van Slnu
kô lista ons dra a hus wEn am a lo a hus
dri hogo a fra am... ‘What?'
a wi a gi slnu yet wEnE am a lo a hus dri-hogo a fra am wi gi slnu yet
an no manke ylt di yet
en-hogo a se en-hogo a se aN no a ki IntlN fo...
am a se: ya, ya, sʌm folUk a gi am yet
mOrUk mi lo lo dl ‘day’ astu dri-hogo a lo

[Sprauve prompts:] the day after, Miss Alice?
[Sprauve:] How do you say three days?
dri dak...dl dag astu
‘the day after’
He chase the goat inside
the high grass
am a yak dl kabrita
abini dl...gras
grot ‘High is big!’
40 High grass
grot gras

[After Miss Alice complains that her eyes had bothered her recently, and no one from the class came to check on her, Sprauve asks her to say that much in Creole.

mi a fra yu no fo badu mi
yu no fU ho wa mi a sE
yu...‘Wha’ I tell him?
yu lo slap
[mi, kuri watu
[mi, kuri watu
[mi, kuri watu
[to students ‘You must talk hard, please!
(Cause me eye sick
make me ear sick.)

am a se

yuloslap Yougo sleep
...yu wak

[Sprauve:] yU hogo a wes ro

[Sprauve:] Shall we go ahead?

He say

45 Three-eye, Three-eye
dri-hogo, dri-hogo
You go sleep
yu lo slap
...you wake

[Sprauve:] Shall we go ahead?

So he say, bleat the small
great, bleat

[Sprauve:] Shall we go ahead?

[Sprauve:] Shall we go ahead?

Small table come, full o’
blit, di klen kabrita
Food
blit
dl klen tabke a kô fUL
ml yet

He eat till he can’t
am a ylt tl aN no kan
eat no more
ylt InttN mo

20 This is not confirmed by de Josselin de Jong’s glossary, which distinguishes grôt ‘big’ and hôk ‘high’.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
All the time Three eye
Two eye...

Go sleep

The one in front of his head
didn't sleep

[Students inquire about
correspondence between 'lo'
and -ing]

...it seeing everything
what he doing

When he finished
He say
...let's go home
You didn't help me take care
of the goat dem

Get up, let us go

Them go in the house. They
went in the house

[Sprauve: They went in the
house, or they went...]}
They went home
They ask Three-eye: where
Two-eye get food
He put two of his eyes to sleep

65 [Sprauve:] He put two of his eyes to sleep. He got three of dem
two a a-am hogo

[Sprauve:] Say the whole thing for me, please
am a du twee ham hogo fo slap

The one in front of his head wasn’t sleeping
dl en hogo… ‘Wa a must say? Me don’t know!’
‘afo’? in front?
dl en hogo af a fo am no a slap
In front she head
afo shi kop

70 wasn’t sleeping
di en hogo afo shi kop
am a lo ki eke gut
He was watching everything.
wa sln a lo du
what she was doing
am a se
Then he say
He can’t have it better
Then he say
than us

75 Because he terrible
Then he say
and like other people
an no kan ha di mo frai dan ons
Because he terrible
am ml IIIUk
and like other people
am ml IIEk andu folUk
‘a en frau’
a en lelUk kln, o ‘a man’
a en frau?
a en frau?
So the mother say
Go kill the goat
80 Go kill the goat
He sit down
He start to cry
The woman come again
She ask him
85 what he doing
[Sprauve:] What do him?
She Says to her: she mother
mother done kill de goat

dl ma a se am
lo ‘kill’ dl kabrita
‘Go kill it? lo mata dl kabrita
Am a sEt a gr^N
am a skrau
dl frau a kô weran
am a fra am
wa yo lo du
wa a du am
dl ma ka mata [‘not “lo”;
“lo” is going to ‘ka
mata’ is done do it
already’], ka mata dl kabrita

6.3.2 Short stories

The following stories were told by Mrs. Alice Stevens to Dr. Robin Sabino. English words used by Mrs. Stevens are placed between brackets.

I. Hoso ju ma coconut oli.

1 lista di kokonət senu sen drok.
leT DET coconut 3PL 3PL dry

ju a ne di abiti di ŝel.
2SG HAB take it out DET shell

ju dra senu
2SG carry 3PL

Notice that earlieron abiti meant ‘NA.outside’ and iltut was used for ‘out’.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
Translation

How to make coconut oil.

Let the coconuts dry. You take it out of the shell. You take them, then you throw water on it and you squeeze them out. Then you take the milk from the coconut. You put it on the fire. Cook it until you see that the oil comes up\textsuperscript{22}, you see? Then you take a spoon and skim the oil. Put it in something and you cool it. And you put it in the bottle.

\textbf{II. Hoso ju dov fles.}\textsuperscript{23}

\begin{tabular}{lll}
1 & ju & šini \text{cut} \
  & 2SG & DET \\
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{22} The milk is cooked until the oil comes out and floats to the top. Mrs. Stevens would probably have translated this word in English Creole with \textit{out}. We used \textit{up}, because of the more general meaning of \textit{abobo}.

\textsuperscript{23} According to Valls (1981) \textit{dov}, or \textit{douve} as he writes it, is roast in a pot with spices and herbs. He attributes it to Sp. \textit{adobar} or Fr. \textit{daube}. In this context \textit{dov} is a verb.
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ju du saut mi pepu - swat pepu abɛnɛ di. 2SG put salt and pepper black pepper in it

dan ju ne ju ncf. then 2SG take 2SG knife

ju šini ju [onion] abo di en ju [tomato an] 2SG cut 2SG onion on it and 2SG tomato and

5 den ju lista di bli klen bichi. then 2SG let it stay little bit

ju du ju put abo di fi. 2SG put 2SG pot on DET fire

wɛnɛ di pɛt a hɛt, when DET pot PRF hot

ju [throw] di oli əbɛni di. 2SG throw DET oil in it

dan ju drai di, then 2SG turn it

10 ju drai di, 2SG turn it

ju drai di, 2SG turn it

en ju drai di, and 2SG turn it

en ka drai, ka kuk. and PRF turn PRF cook

[after] di ka kuk frai, after it PRF cook good

15 ju du di [onion] mi di {...} 2SG put DET onion with it -

ju wit? 2SG know
Translation

How to roast meat.
You cut it. You put salt and pepper, black pepper, on it. Then you take your knife. You cut your onion over it and your tomato and then you let it stand a little while. You put your pot on the fire. When the pot gets hot, you throw the oil in it. Then you turn it, you turn it, you turn it, and when you are finished turning it, it’s finished cooking. After it has completely finished cooking, you put the onion with it {...}. You know? Throw a small amount of water into it, then you close and cover it. You let it stay like that. Then it simmers, and it simmers, and it simmers, you know, and it simmers, and it comes out just how you want it to.

III. Werewolf.

1. mi  grotna  3SG  grandmother  3POS  hasbə  a  se  mi
   1SG  say  PST  husband  say  1SG

   wena,  [I  know  I  were]  klenci.
   when  1SG  know  1SG  were  little.DIM

   a  [grow]  gungu  [slavery].
   3SG  grow  big  slavery

   in  duŋku,  an  a  lo  wandu.
   one  night  3SG  PST  ASP  walk

5. an  a  ki  en  hen.
   3SG  PST  see  a  dog
 Werewolf.

My grandmother's husband told me when, [I know I was] small. He grew up during slavery times. One night, he went walking. He saw a dog. The dog wanted to stop him from walking. He put aside his stick, and the dog sat by him. He said to him: 'Two, two, two, two.' [That's two]. He said to the dog, 'Two.' The dog said, 'One, one, one.' He said, 'Two, two, two, two, two, two.' The dog said, 'One, one, one, one.' He took his stick. He beat him. That was a werewolf.

Translation

Werewolf.

My grandmother's husband told me when, [I know I was] small. He grew up during slavery times. One night, he went walking. He saw a dog. The dog wanted to stop him from walking. He put aside his stick, and the dog sat by him. He said to him: 'Two, two, two, two.' [That's two]. He said to the dog, 'Two.' The dog said, 'One, one, one.' He said, 'Two, two, two, two, two, two.' The dog said, 'One, one, one, one.' He took his stick. He beat him. That was a werewolf.

24 At this moment Mrs. Stevens makes a striking motion.
IV. Alice lo a skol.

1    RS: How old you was when you begin to go to school?

    AS: {...} fɛəv.
        five
        five

        mi      a      lo      a      skol
        1SG    PST     go      NA     school

I went to school

te mi a [make thirteen]
until 1SG PST make thirteen

until I was thirteen.

5    mi a lo a [school]
1SG PST go NA school

I went to school

wɛnɛ mi [were five years],
when 1SG BE five years

When I was five years,

    mi  grotma  a  sti  mi  a  skol.
    1SG grandmother PST send 1SG NA school.

my grandmother sent me to school.

    RS: ja
    ja

    AS: ja. a ha en kapəto.
    Yes EMP have a dress

Yes. There was a dress.

10   RS: ja

    AS: [you know what is] kapəto?
    2SG know what is dress

Do you know what ‘kapəto’ means?

    RS: [a dress]?
    a dress

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
I had a dress.

I wanted to wear the dress at home.

She wouldn't let me wear it.

I screamed.

I screamed.

I screamed.

I said, 'I want to go to school.'

She sent me to school.

Did you wear the dress?

Yes!

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, *Die Creol taal*
She put the dress on me.
and I went.

and I went.

went to school.

Who took you (to school) - who took you (to school)?

one of my cousins.
III Negerhollands bibliography
1 Introduction

Comprehensive bibliography of texts in or about the Negerhollands language

In works about the Virgin Islands, a paragraph or a chapter is frequently devoted to Negerhollands and its written sources. However, the authors did not always have the chance to see these sources themselves as they have been kept in libraries or archives inaccessible to them. This has led to minor and major mistakes in the references, which were often copied and passed on in later publications by others. None of the previous works, bibliographical or not, are complete in this sense. As we had the chance to check references to most existing sources of Negerhollands first-hand, we were able to uncover many of the mistakes and, in some cases, reveal hitherto unknown sources. Though probably no bibliography will ever be complete, we have attempted here to compose as exhaustive and correct a bibliography as possible. Even though we do not hesitate to point out mistakes in other bibliographies, we acknowledge wholeheartedly the fact that we stand on the shoulders of our predecessors. These fundamental works guided us and gave us the opportunity to connect loose ends and trace the correct references. At some future time the Moravian materials in the archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania (USA), and possibly other collections as well should be studied in more detail.

The following bibliographies are, where applicable, quoted consistently with the systematic codes used in them:

Hesseling, Dirk Christiaan.

Chapter II of this work on the Negerhollands language contains a richly annotated bibliography of a number of sources in Negerhollands found in Herrnhut and in Copenhagen.

Reinecke, John E. et al.

Chapter 58 contains an annotated bibliography of sources in and about Negerhollands. It is frequently based on information from Larsen (1950) and Hesseling (1905).

Stein, Peter.

This bibliography contains nearly all documents in and on Negerhollands found in the archives of the Moravian Brethren in Herrnhut. Their coding derives from the original signatures. Because these codings reveal the relationships of the documents with each other, we have also included them in our bibliography.

Vibaek, Jens.


Bibliographical information is also found in the following works, which are sometimes quoted in the present bibliography:

Ehrencron-Müller, H.

1924 Forfatterlexicon omfattende Danmark, Norge og Island indtil 1814, Bind I-XII, København: H. Aschehoug & Co.

Koch, L.


Larsen, Jens [P.M.].

1950 Virgin Islands Story; a History of The Lutheran State Church, Other Churches, Slavery, Education, and Culture in the Danish West Indies, now the Virgin Islands. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press.

Lose, Emil Valdemar.


Schuchardt, Hugo.


As far as our information goes, sound recordings of Negerhollands have been made only since 1970. We feel that a bibliography of audiovisual sources of Negerhollands, and even a library of such, would be welcome now. As the language has been reported extinct since 1987, one could aim to be exhaustive. The present bibliography, however, only concerns written sources and consists of two parts: sources that exist only in manuscript form, and printed sources.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
This bibliography is alphabetically ordered by author's name or, if no indication of the author exists, by the first content word of the title page. Titles are in italics, and articles or chapters are enclosed in quotation marks. When the author is known, but an explicit indication in the work itself is absent, or if he or she is part of the title, or when, for the lack of author and title, a description of the work had to be used to represent

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, *Die Creol taal*
the entry, this information is put between [square brackets]. Bibliographical information on the original title page that is not part of the author reference or the title itself is bracketed and in italics.

Different entries are separated from one another by a white space. When different references are found in the same entry, they are subparts included in the same publication (e.g. Wold).

For certain rare works, we have, like our predecessors, tried to give the correct signature, if possible, of the places where they can be found today.

Note that in Reinecke (1975), the little circle in e.g. ‘1798’ indicates that the writers have not personally seen the work (entry number 28 in their bibliography). We have preserved this information by putting a ‘o’ in front of their entry number code, so now ‘28’ means that they have not seen this work (from 1789) themselves. Works which we did not have the chance to see first-hand or in photocopied or microfilmed form are marked with an asterisk between braces, {‘*’}, at the end of the pertinent entry, but before the bibliographical comments.

Abbreviations

BUH Universitets Bibliotek København (University Library of Copenhagen, since 1992 incorporated in DKB)
DKB Det Kongelige Bibliotek (The Royal Library in Copenhagen)
EN short English characterization of the title
ms. manuscript
n.d. not dated
RA Rigsarkivet (State Archives in Copenhagen)
UA Archiv der Brüder-Unität (Archives of the Moravian Brethren at Herrnhut)
UBA Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam (Amsterdam University Library)
UBL Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden (Leyden University Library)
unkn.aut. unknown author
unkn.pub. unknown publisher
unkn.pl. unknown place

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
2 Manuscripts

[Alling, Niels Olufsen. Psalms of David].
> According to Lose (1891:23), Alling, teacher-missionary on St. Thomas, had translated 100 of David's psalms into Negerhollands by 1777. They were finished and sent to Denmark. The General Church Inspection College received them in 1778, but they were never printed, and the manuscript has since disappeared.

Auerbach, Joh. Christoph. [Letter from Niesky in St. Thomas, 10 March 1774 to Friedrich Neisser, Barby, Germany.] 3 pp.
> UA: R15 Ba 21a. 70
> The letter contains a passage in Negerhollands that was cited in the introduction to the present work. The 18th-century correspondence, which has not yet been fully examined, between the Virgin Islands and Moravian Brethren in Germany often contains pieces in Negerhollands, or remarks about the language.

Beylage zum Diario von St. Thomas vom Monat August 1755 -a) Etliche Cariolishe Lieder. 1755. 6 pp.
> EN: Annex to a diary part A. Creole hymns.
> Part B of this ms. is a list in German of 48 'widows in St Thomas who have enrolled at our sister Benigna, to be with her in a special choir-community, and who for this reason were [together] today the 31st of August 1755'.
> Stein (1986b:30, nr. 3.3.4).
> UA: R15 Bb Nr.6-2m.

> EN: History of our Lord.
> Stein (1986b:29, nr. 3.2.1).
> UA: NBVII R3, 6g.

[Böhner, Johann] Die Handelingen of Geskiedenis van ons HEER en Heiland JEsus Christus ut die Vier Evangelisten na een tesamenhang gefoegt. Before 1780. 16,1 × 20,1 cm, 4 + 528 pp.
> EN: History of our Lord.
> Stein (1986b:29, nr. 3.2.2).
> UA: NBVII R3, 6f.

Böhner, Johann. [Letter from Neuhernhut in St. Thomas, 10 March 1780 to Bruder Joseph [Spangenberg], Barby, Germany]. 2 pp.
> UA: R15 Bb 26 b 113.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
The letter reports on his translation activities into Negerhollands, through which several manuscripts can be located in time, and in which he mentions other Negerhollands translations, e.g. the Psalms of David, certain Apocrypha, etc. of which we do not know the current whereabouts.

Böhner, Johann. Korte Begrieb van die Christlike Leer, nabin die evangelische Broedergemeenten daer geleeg van August Gottlieb Spangenberg. 1780. 2 volumes, 15,5 × 19,3 cm, 650 pp.

> EN: Short summary of the Christian doctrine.
> Stein (1986b:30, nr. 3.2.6).
> UA: NBVII R3, 6i1/6i2.

> Negerhollands translation of the Idea Fidei Fratrum. The German original of this doctrine of the Moravian Brethren was written by August Gottlieb Spangenberg (Bruder Joseph) in 1778 and printed in 1779.


> UA: R15 Bb 26 b 218.

> The letter reports on his translation activities into Negerhollands, remarks on the prerequisites for the acquisition of Negerhollands and on the quality of Magens’ translation of the New Testament.


> Stein (1986b:29, nr. 3.2.4).
> UA: NBVII R3, 6h.

[Böhner, J.] Ein abermaliger Versuch, Etwas aus den Büchern der heiligen Schrift Alten Testaments in die Creol (oder Neger) Sprache zu übersetzen, und in eine harmonische Zeitordnung gebracht, und in den dunklen Stellen aus dem deutlichen Vortrag und Zusammenhang Des Grundtextes erläeutert .... End 18th century. 3 volumes, 15,4 × 20,0 cm, 1038 pp.

> EN: Old Testament in Creole.
> Stein (1986b:29-30, nr. 3.2.5).
> UA: NBVII R3, 6e1/6e2/6e3.

Catalogus unserer Neger-Geschwister in S. Thomas, Crux, Jan, von 1736-1753.

> EN: Catalogue of our Negro brethren and sisters.
> Stein (1986b:23, nr. 1.2.8).
> UA: R15Bb, 24.

[Diaries, Reports, Letters, quite regularly written by the missionaries]. 18th century.

> Stein (1986b:22, nr. 1.2.3).
> UA.
> Some texts from this entry have been published in the Büdingische Sammlung (see Zinzendorf).
[Four Creole sermons from 1796/97]. In: [A number of diverse texts, partially dated]. 46 pp.

> Stein (1986b:30, nr. 3.3.1.5). One of these sermons, called ‘Eine Rede an die Kinder’ has been published in Stein (1986c).

Stein (1986b:30, nr. 3.3.1.3).

Stein (1986b:30, nr. 3.3.1.3).

Geskiednis na die Martel= Week en tee na die Hemelvaart van ons Heere en Heiland Jesus Christus. 132 pp. {*}

EN: History of the Passion week to the Ascension.

In Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in box: ‘Ms. Translations into Danish (Creolan). 2.) The Passion Week-Ascension’.

Die Geskiedenis van ons Heere en Heiland Jesus Christus, opgeskreeven van die vier Evangelisten Mattheus, Marcus, Lucas en Johannes; Die Geskiedenis van ons Heere en Heiland Jesus Christus, soo as die vier Evangelist sender ka skrie die op. In: [A number of diverse texts, partially dated]. Late 18th or early 19th century. 15,5 × 19,8 cm., respectively 107 pp. and 97 pp.

EN: History of our Lord.

Two Negerhollands translations of respectively § 1-43 and § 1-36 of the Evangelienharmonie.

Stein (1986b:29, nr 3.2.3., also 3.3.1.2) (We have referred to the two parts respectively as 3.2.3.1 and 3.2.3.2.).


EN: Church book of the St. Thomas community.


The first 68 pages of this ‘church-book’ are in Negerhollands. This is a Danish mission parish register of ‘the coloured community’ on St Thomas, containing a kind of diary of baptisms, marriages and deaths and now and then a list of those (slaves or freemen, grown-ups or children) that passed ‘confirmation’ or had their first ‘communion’ (heilig Avontmael Sacrament). It is by Gomez, who owned a plantation on St. Thomas and was Degn ‘deacon’ there. After January 9th, 1817, the register is in Danish. The original can be found in the church archives of Landsarkivet for Sjaelland, Lolland-Falster og Bornholm in Copenhagen, Jagtvej 10. It is accessible in a photocopy format from 1989. Only this part of one of the West Indies parish registers in the Landsarkiv is in Negerhollands, whereas nearly all the others are in Danish, and some are in Dutch. In all registers, fraktur handwriting is used for Danish, and Latin handwriting for Dutch, Latin, Negerhollands and personal names.

Grammatik der Creol-Sprache in West-Indiën. Shortly after 1802. 96 pp., unkn. pl.

EN: Grammar of the Creole language.
Hesseling (1905:45): ‘14. G.H.’ Hesseling writes that he obtained a copy of this manuscript from Mr. A. Gletsch in Herrnhut. That manuscript/copy (from the beginning of this century) is found in the Hesseling archive in the library of the State University of Leiden. Hesseling, and with him Reinecke, claim the Herrnhut copy has 104 pages.


Stein (1986b:24, nr. 2.1.4): ‘[anon.] Grammatik der Creol-Sprache. s.l., s.d., 15,5 × 19,2 cm, 96 pp.’

UA: NBVII R3, 6b2.
Erroneously mentioned in Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1993:109) as written in 1805

Grammatik der Creol-Sprache in West-Indien. Shortly after 1900. 112 pp., small 4°, unkn. pl.

EN: Grammar of the creole language.
UBL: 163 C 33 (formerly 559 H 28).

Hesseling (1905) writes that he obtained a copy of the original manuscript from 1802 with the same title from Mr. A. Glitsch in Herrnhut. This manuscript/copy (from the beginning of this century) cannot now be found in the Hesseling archive in the library of Leyden University nor in the manuscript collection, but is in the collection of printed works. On the inside cover is written that it is a gift of 1941 from Hesseling's widow, A.H. Hesseling-Salverda de Grave. The back of the cover bears the title ‘Het Negerhollands der Deense Antillen’.

> Reinecke (1975:319, nr. 0 19, n.d.), from Hesseling.

Die Helfer und Diener unter den Mohren in Thomas, Crux und Jan aus diesen selbst. Was von ihnen, aus ihrem Kirchen=Buche und aus dem Munde ihres 27jährigen Kirchen-Dieners Bruder Georg Weber aus gefasst worden, Jm Nov. 1760. (*)

EN: The helpers and servants under the Moors.

Stein (1986b:23, nr. 1.2.7).
UBL: R15Ba, 27-11.


EN: Creolization in language.
UBL: BPL 2408.

Hesseling, Dirk Christiaan. Studiemateriaal voor het Creoolsch.

EN: Study material for Creole.

A few folders of which three directly refer to Negerhollands: two notebooks and a portfolio with the lecture Creolisering in de taal.
UBL: BPL 2408.


Stein (1986b:30, nr. 3.3.3).
also in Stein (1982b:106-112).
UBL: R15Bb Nr.6-2h.


EN: Creole hymnal.

In Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in box: 'Ms. Translations into Danish (Creolan). 1.) Hymn book for the Negroes of St. Thomas & St. Croix (Transl. by Sam Isles & Geo Weber, (1747-1753).'}
[Kingo, Johan Christopher. The Gospel of St. Matthew]. 1765. unkn. pl. (*)
   > Mentioned in Lose (1891:18) as never printed. This information was passed on in Koch, Larsen and Reinecke (1975:320, in a note under nr. 0°24 and 0°25).

[Kingo, Johan Christopher. Translation of Martin Luther's Small catechism]. 1770. (*)
   > Reinecke (1975:320, nr. 0°25). According to Reinecke the work has been printed (his 'Kingo 1770b'), but according to Ehrencron-Müller (1924), this is not the case. Reinecke et al. have not seen the work, but probably got the information from Larsen (1950). Larsen writes on page 114 that by 1770, both Kingo and Wold had published a Negerhollands primer, Wold furthermore a hymnal, and Kingo this catechism. This might be in accord with facts but real proof is still lacking (see section 3 Kingo). Lose (1891:18-21) writes that Magens and Wold worked on a draft version of Kingo's catechism from 1764 on, but nowhere does it become explicit that it was ever printed (see section 3 Wold).

Kirchenbuch [covering the time from the beginning of the mission in 1732 up to November 11, 1759.] (*)
   > EN: Parish Register.
   > Stein (1986b:22, nr. 1.2.5).
   > UA: R15 Ba, nr. 11-187.

Die kleentje Catechismus van Docter Mart*in Luther*. In: [A number of diverse texts, partially dated]. 28 pp.
   > EN: The small Catechism.
   > In Stein (1986b:30, nr. 3.3.1.1) as Luthers Kleiner Katechismus.
   > UA: NBVII R3, 6d.

[A letter to Brother Nathanael from 1772, written in German, but the last four lines are Negerhollands and show a different handwriting.] (*)

   > EN: Sketch of a short instruction for baptized and married people.
   > Stein (1986b:31, nr. 3.3.6), see also Visitationsberichte.
   > UA: R15Ba Nr.27-12.

Lund, T(h)orkild. [Letter from Lund in Tommerup, Denmark, 3 June 1823, to J.P. Hiorthøÿ, secretary of the The Danish Mission Society].
   > In this letter Lund expresses his gratitude for including in the Creol Psalm-Buk of 1823 the 30 extra hymns that he wrote 26 years ago. He makes some corrections and adds the remaining verses of hymn 17, that were inserted in the reprint of 1827 with minor spelling differences.


Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
According to Lose (1891:23), before 1770 a manuscript version of the New Testament translated by Magens and given to Wold circulated among the Danish missionaries. For the printed New Testament Magens made an entirely new translation.
According to Larsen (1950:115), it is possible that besides his work on the New Testament between 1772 and 1777, Magens also started to translate the Old Testament. It is reported in Lose (1891:23-4) that the translation was finished and sent to Copenhagen in 1781, but never published. The introduction to the New Testament of 1781 refers to Magens' work on the Old Testament, and that the General Church Inspection College had received David's Psalms (see Alling) and the Books of the Prophets. Like others this ms. was never found, and may have been destroyed in the Orphanage fire of 1795, the Castle fire of 1884 or some other fire in Copenhagen.


- EN: Grammar of the Creole language.
- UBL: 1483 D 47.
- This is a bound handwritten copy of the printed work, apparently from the collection of D.C. Hesseling as on the inside cover is written that it is a gift of 1941 from his widow, A.H. Hesseling-Salverda de Grave. It may have been copied by D.C. Hesseling himself. Spelling errors are also copied, and commented ‘sic’ in faint dotted characters. The copy is in purple ink, and only the right-hand pages are used. The original page numbers are mentioned in the right margin.


- EN: Memorabilia.
- Stein (1986b:30, nr. 3.3.1.7).
- UA: NBVII R3 6d.


- The present anthology contains parts of this material, which was revised by Professor Nelson himself, in his correspondence of 1994 with Hans den Besten.

[A number of diverse texts, partially dated]; format: c. 15.5 × 19.8 cm.

- Stein (1986b:30, nr. 3.3.1, subdivided in seven entries).


- EN: Creole dictionary.
- Stein (1986b:25, nr. 2.2.1).
- UA: NBVII R3, 6b1.
- An edition is being prepared for publication in 1996 by Peter Stein.

Oldendorp, C.G.A. Missionsgeschichte, 3 vols. 3273 pp. {"}

- EN: Mission history.
- Stein (1986b:21, nr. 1.2.1).
> The rough copy UA: R28-63.II, ± 3000 pp., 3 Vols. and the fair copy: UA:
> Oldendorp gives a long and critical description of Negerhollands. The nearly 60 pages of grammar in the manuscript have been shortened to 11 pages in the 1777 edition. A small section of the grammatical part of this ms. was translated in Gilbert (1986). The full grammar will be published together with Magens’ and the Herrnhut grammar in Stein & Eroms (forthcoming).
An edition of the complete manuscripts is now in progress at the Staatliches Völkerkundemuseum in Dresden.

Oldendorp, C.G.A. [Replies and critical remarks concerning the printed version of his Missionsgeschichte prepared by Bossart].

> Stein (1986b:22, nr. 1.2.2).
> UA: R15Ba 25.

Plicht van Een helper Broeder en Süster. 4 pp.

> EN: Duty of a helper brother and sister.
> Stein (1986b:30, nr. 3.3.5).
> UA: R15Ba Nr.27-12.

Politi(rets)protokoller, Landfogeden på St. Jan.

> EN: Police (court) protocols, St. John's country bailiff.
> RA, Vestindske Lokalarkiver, Landfogeden på St. Jan, Politi retsprotokoller nr. 39-57, 1818-1904.
> These are the reports of the interrogation of suspects and prosecutors at the St. Jan police court. They are almost wholly written in Danish, fraktur script, yet in some of them, words and short sentences in Negerhollands and English are found in Latin script, when direct speech is quoted untranslated. Brought to our attention by Poul Olsen.

[17 pages of Dutch verses with Creole influence, where members of the slave community are named]. In: [A number of diverse texts, partially dated].

> Stein (1986b:30, nr. 3.3.1.6).
> UA: NBVII R3 6d.

[Slave letters]. Ca. 150 letters from 1737-1768.

> Stein (1986b:31, nr. 3.3.7).
> An edition is being prepared for publication by Peter Stein and Hartmut Beck.
> UA: R15Ba Nr.27-12.


> Stein (1986b:30, nr. 3.3.1.4).
> UA: NBVII R3, 6d.

Vestindisk Glossarium.

> EN: West Indian glossary.
> Danish - Negerhollands word list containing 338 entries, seven pages 4⅓, divided into three columns per page. The list is ordered alphabetically on basis of the initial only, each initial occupying its own column. On the title page between brackets: 'Fra Chr.IV.s Hvaeling 1906, Sager der formentlig er bragte i Uorden ved Slotsbranden 1884. [From Christian the fourth's vaulted cellar 1906, Documents that probably have been disordered through the Castle fire 1884]'. Brought to our attention by Poul Olsen.
> Said by Koch (1905) to be written by J.C. Kingo before 1765. Repeated in Ehrencron-Müller (1924).
Vibaek (1953:554) has an old signature: ‘rigsarkivet, MS. Andre Videnskaber nr. 66’, and he quotes Koch about Kingo's authorship. On page 269 he claims, however, that it is by Magens.

The General Church Inspection College wrote in the introduction to Magens' New Testament (1781): ‘..., en byttendien ha lastaen skriev een van die Mission Catecheten, die hem na deese Oogmerk ha giev Plaes na sie Hus, een Woord-Buk, die bin volstandig genug, maer leg ongedrykt nogal,... [and furthermore let one of the missionaries, whom he [referring to Magens] for this reason lodged in his house, write a dictionary, which is complete enough, but lies still unprinted,...]’. This
points to a different author or ms. because as far as we know, Kingo never lived in Magens' house and as of yet no information has been found on their collaboration.

> An edition by Hein van der Voort will appear as an appendix in Peter Stein's edition of the Oldendorp dictionary.

***Visitationsberichte.***

> EN: Visitation reports.

> Stein (1986b:22, nr. 1.2.4): ‘Of particular interest [...] is that [the account] of Johann Loretz in 1784, -UA: R15Ba-24.1a-, because it reports from a discussion on the use of the Creole language, criticizes translations and translators, and makes projects for further translating and preparing Creole texts.’

**[Volkersen, A.W. Old Testament].***

> This ms. is mentioned in a letter of 19 June 1815 (RA, Koloniernes Centralbestyrelse, Kolonialkontoret, Gruppesager II-922, Salmebogssagen). A ‘considerable’ part of the ms. had been sent to the signatories to the document, members of the English Bible Society in London, who had not been able to judge whether it was useful to print it. The undersigners' advice is to leave the ms. and use Magens' New Testament and print only a few ‘important’ books of the Old Testament at the most.

> The ms. is also mentioned in a letter from 3 March 1817 (RA, Koloniernes Centralbestyrelse, Kolonialkontoret, Gruppesager II-922, Salmebogssagen) where it is said that Lund and Mackeprang advised not to print it. Instead, Magens' New Testament should be reprinted in 1200 copies as the 1781 edition was no longer available on the Virgin Islands.

Wied, H. *Lieder, confirmationsunterricht u.a.m., teils in kreolischer, teils in englischer Sprache*. 1842-1847. 10,6 × 16,0 cm, 83 pp.

> EN: Hymns, confirmation lessons.

> The first part from 1842/1843 is in Negerhollands and consists of 60 pages. The remaining 23 pages, from 1847, are in English. On the front page the author remarks: ‘In den 40er Jahren des 19. Jahrh. verschwand auf den Westindischen Inseln die kreolische Sprache und wurde durch die englische verdrängt. [In the 40s of the 19th century the creole language disappeared on the West-Indian Islands and was superseded by the English one.]’

> Stein (1986b:30, nr. 3.3.2).

> UA: NBVII R3, 6k.


> EN: Testimonies of the communicants.

> Stein (1986b:23, nr. 1.2.6).

> UA: R15Ba, 18-1,2.
3 Printed work

> EN: ABC booklet for the Negro children.
> Reinecke (1975:318, nr. 2) gives a partially incorrect title: Instead of ‘Neger-Kinders’, he has ‘negerkinderen’.
> American Philosophical Society library.
> Stein (1986b:25, nr. 2.3.1): ‘[anon.] ABC-boekje voor de Neger-Kinders na St. Thomas, St. Croix en St. Jan. Barby 1800, 10,5 × 17,6 cm, 12 pp.’
> UA: NBVII R3, 4a.

> EN: ABC booklet for the Negro children.
> This title is from Reinecke (1975:318, nr. 2), which is almost identical to the above work from 1800. Considering his rendering of that title, however, the 1800 and 1825 version may have been confused.
> University of California library, Berkeley.

> EN: Mithridates: general linguistics.
> This work contains the Lord’s Prayer in all languages known to the author, including Negerhollands. Adelung contrasts the version from Magens (1781) with a Moravian translation from 1802. His remark, made in a footnote, that Negerhollands is a corrupted form of Dutch, is criticized by Rask (1932-3:123, see Rask after 1806).

> EN: History of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church in America.
> Reinecke (1975:318, nr. 3): ‘Includes history of its activities in V.I.’

> EN: Something about Negerhollands.
> This is the first source of the name ‘Negerhollands’.
> van den Bergh cites Adelung (1809) with both of the versions of the Lord’s Prayer.

EN: Creole hymn book.
> DKB: DA.Box, 4-419, 07268, 12°. 90 pages containing 79 hymns, an appendix with the Litany, 2 1/2 pages register, and 1 1/2 pages Dryk-Vouten ‘printing errors’.
> In view of the correspondence in the RA, Brandt, pastor of the Lutheran church in Christiansted, St. Croix, from 1792-1802, seems to be the author (RA, Koloniernes Centralbestyrelse, Kolonialkontoret, Gruppesager II-922, Salmebogssagen). Also the DKB catalogue mentions him. Deddens (1967, III) has also seen indications of this on the second page in a copy kept on St. Thomas.
> Lose (1891:36) mentions Brandt as the author of this and of following editions, probably meaning 1823 (but see there) and 1827. Although 1823 contains many more hymns, those that it has in common with 1799 are almost perfectly identical. Probably not even the 1799 list of corrections on pages 93-4 was consulted. The contents of 1827 also are identical to 1823, but the spelling is sometimes a bit modernized and applied more consistently. Sometimes, a word is substituted. There are also many resemblances between these three editions and the anonymous 1770 hymnal (see the 1823 hymnal).
> Reinecke (1975:319, nr. 11) from Larsen (1950:119): ‘Andreas Yoachim Brandt, Creole hymnal with litany, superseded Wold’s 1770 hymnal.’
> Mentioned by Schuchardt (1914).
> Vibaek (1953:554).

[Creol altar book] n.d. {*}
> EN: Creole altar book.

> EN: Creole hymn book.
> Numbering from pp. 4-134; pp. 3-130 contains 109 hymns (of which no. 17 is incomplete); pp. 131-134 appendix with the Litany; six pages register.
> DKB: DA.Box, 4-419, 07269, 8°. From the handwritten name on the first page it appears that this copy must have been in the possession of Oxholm. The incomplete hymn no. 17 of this copy has a handwritten reference to the end of the book: ‘vid:fin:lib: [see end of book]’. The first empty page at the end of the book contains the rest of hymn 17 in handwriting.
> According to Lund’s correspondence with the Danish Missionary Society kept in RA (RA, Privatinstituter. Det Danske Missions Selskab. Privatarkiv nr. 10.162. Pk. 324.), this hymnal is a re-edition of the 1770 one, enlarged with 30 hymns written by him in 1797. Quite remarkably, Lund says in a letter of 12 December 1822 that he does not know of any other hymnal than the 1770 edition (see Wold). Yet the 1823 one corresponds in several ways to the 1799 one by Brandt. In an 1827 edition, hymn 17 is completed in accord, except for minor spelling differences, with the text supplied in a letter by Lund of 3 June 1823.
> The contents are identical to the 1827 edition except for small orthographic differences; the title page is a bit different and the size is smaller, and therefore contains more pages than 1827.

> In Newberry Library.

> Larsen (150:120) says it replaced Brandt’s hymnal.

> In Vibaek mentioned with same title as (Brandt 1799).

> In DKB catalogue mentioned as same book as Brandt (1799) but as written by Praetorius.
> EN: Creole hymn book.
> Numbering from pp. 4-121; pp. 3-117 contains 109 hymns; pp. 118-121 appendix with the Litany; six pages register.
> The contents are identical to 1823 except for small orthographic differences, the title page is a bit different and the size is larger, allowing for fewer pages than 1823. Hymn 17 is completed (except for minor spelling differences) in accordance with the text supplied in a letter by Lund of 3 June 1823.
> DKB: DA.Box, 4-419, 07270, 8°.
> According to Vibaek (1953:554) same title as 1799, but with J.J. Praetorius as author. There is nothing that points to this author, however.
> In DKB catalogue this one is mentioned as same book as Brandt (1799) and written by Praetorius.

> EN: Creole hymn book.
> Schuchardt (1914:124) also mentions this edition. This must then be the fourth edition or the fifth (when Brandt 1799 is included) of 1770. This is an exact copy of 1827. Note that likewise, Praetorius' catechism-and-textbook of 1834 is identical to the one from 1827. Furthermore, both works from 1827, then printed at C. Graebe, were reprinted in 1834 at P.T. Brünnich, and each in an issue of 1000 copies (as appears from an account of 10 November 1834 in RA, Koloniernes Centralbestyrelse, Kolonialkontoret, Gruppesager II. 922 Salmebogssagen).
> According to Vibaek the third edition of 1799 must be from 1827 but no reference is made to a 1834 edition. [also Deddens III, p. 281].
> According to Reinecke (1975:319, nr. 7), this is a second edition but he does not indicate which one is the first (probably 1827).
> DKB: DA.Box, 4-419, 07271, 8°.
> In Newberry Library.

Creool Psalm-buk voor die Deen Missiooon na Westindien. 1770. 1770. unkn. aut.
> EN: Creole hymn book.
> DKB: DA.Box, 4-419, 07264, 8°, is also found as the third part of Wold.
> Numbering from pp. 4-68: pp. 3-5 is the Litany; pp. 6-68 contain hymns; two pages register.
> The orthography sometimes looks old-fashioned in comparison to that of the other hymnals, and the size is much smaller. Still there are so many resemblances between this hymnal and the 1799, 1823 and 1827/34 ones that one should probably speak of a sequence of re-editions that is ultimately based on the 1770 hymnal. See under Wold for further details about authorship.

> EN: 150 years of Brethren Mission.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal

- EN: Beginnings of the Brethren Mission.
- Reinecke (1975:319, nr. 16).
> EN: Luther's Smaller Catechism.
> This work was only encountered as the second part of Wold (1770, see there).

[Evangelienharmonie. This is Samuel Lieberkühn's (Stein 1991) Die Geschichte unsers Herrn und Heilandes Jesu Christi aus den vier Evangelien zusammen gezogen. (The history of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, drawn together from the four gospels.) Gnadau: Buchhandlung der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität, Chr. Ernst Genft, 1820 (preface is dated 1768).
> This is the Moravian Harmony of Gospels, a compilation of everything written by the four evangelists on the life of Christ combined into one story. This entry as such has nothing to do with Negerhollands, but it was the basis for many translations into Negerhollands, notably Johann Böhner's.

Fortryk af Matthaeus Evangeliums første Ark. Copenhagen. (*)
> EN: Preprint of the first sheet of Matthew.
> Vibaek (1953:554): 'Med følgende paategning idet kgl. bibl.s eksemplar: “de første ark af det nye testamentes oversaettelse i det creolske for de kgl. danske øer i Vestindien; men da den beflagdes at vaere mere hollandsk, blev ej videre deraf trykt”. [With the following note on the DKB copy: “the first sheet(s) of the translation of the New Testament; but because it was considered too Dutch, no more of it was printed”.]
> From Hesseling (1905:38) it appears that this preprint, and the one from 1779, may be located under no. 4626 in the Thottean Collection (Bibliothecae Tottianae/Thottske Samling) of the DKB.

Fortryk af Matthaeus Evangeliums første Ark. Copenhagen: 1779. (*)
> EN: Preprint of the first sheet of Matthew.
> Vibaek (1953:554): ‘de første ark af det creolske nye testamente, trykt 1779, hvoraf intet videre udkom, siden oversaettelsen var mest hollandsk [the first sheet(s) of the New Testament, printed 1779, of which nothing more was issued, as the translation was too Dutch].'

> EN: Prayers and Hymns.
> Reinecke (1975:319, nr. 917), as in Hesseling.
> Stein (1986b:27, nr. 3.1.3).
> UA: NBVII R3, 5a. is an incomplete copy of 40 pages.
> DKB, Copenhagen: DA Box, 4-419, 07262, 8*. Contains Danish handwritten remarks about the melodies to be used. Page numbering from pp. 4-71. This is a complete copy containing 71 pages.

> EN: History of our Lord.
Stein (1986b:28, nr. 3.1.10): ‘Böhner, Johann’.
Reinecke (1975:319, nr. 18): “1333” must be “1833”.
In Library of Congress.
UA: R3, 6c.
   > EN: Handbook of Dutch, Sociological structure.

   > EN: Negerhollands of the Danish Antilles.

   > EN: Negerhollands of the Danish Antilles.
   > Reinecke (1975:319, nr. 20).

   > EN: Postscript.
   > This appendix to Schuchardt's (1914) article contains the Dutch translation of the Negerhollands letter A. Magens wrote to Schuchardt.

   > EN: Notes.
   > Reinecke (1975:319, nr. 21): 'Comments on Schuchardt (1914).'

   > EN: Papiamentu and Negerhollands.
   > Reinecke (1975:320, nr. 22).


*Die Hoofd-inhoud van die leerling van Jesus Christus, tot gebruik voor die neger-gemeenten, van die Evangelische Broeder-Kerk.* Barby: 1785. 78 pp. (*)
   > EN: Main contents of the teachings of Jesus Christ.
   > Reinecke (1975:320, nr. 23).
   > In Newberry Library.
   > Hesseling (1905:45): ‘12. Die Hoofd-Inhoud van die Leering van Jesus Christus voor die Negergemeente van die Broeerkerk, Barby, 1785.’
   > Stein (1986:28, nr. 3.1.7): '[anon.] die Hoofd-Inhoud van die Leering van Jesus Christus tot gebruik voor die NegerGemeenten van die Evangelische Broer-Kerk. Barby: 1785, 78 pp.'

> EN: Negerhollands.
> Reinecke (1975:319, nr. 13): ‘Contains much sociolinguistic material.’


> EN: Present-day Negerhollands.


> EN: Creole AB book.
> A language primer, containing also fragments from Luther’s Smaller Cathechism, and two small fragments from the New Testament.
> Hesseling (1905:34) never saw this work and doubts its existence: ‘... en verder een, mij onbekend gebleven, A.B.boekje dat in 1770 op S. Croix(!) verschenen zou zijn. [...] and furthermore an A.B.booklet that is supposed to have been issued in 1770 on St. Croix (!), with which I have remained unacquainted.]
> Vibaek suggests Christianssted as place of issue, as in 1769 Daniel Thibou founded the first print-shop on the Virgin Islands there. In his richly illustrated work Vibaek has also reprinted the title page and page 15. He has clearly used the copy from the royal library in Copenhagen.

> Reinecke (1975:320, nr. 0°24).
> DKB: København: Hj:2244a DA Box.


> EN: The Danish Mission in West India.
> History of the Danish Lutheran Mission on the Virgin Islands, draws on information from Lose (1891), Lawaetz (1902) and archival documents. Gives bibliographic information on Negerhollands sources. Mentions the Orphanage fire in Copenhagen of 1795, that destroyed a great number of unpublished documents of the ‘Missionskollegium’ and the ‘Kirkeinspektion’.


> EN: The Moravian Mission in Danish West India.
> Lawaetz was minister in Christianssted in the 1890s. Chapter 5 and 16 deal with the issue English (creole) against (Dutch) creole.

Lituraigie, de formulieren van doop en avondmaal en sommige liederen. 1761. {*}
> EN: Liturgy, formulary of baptism and communion and some hymns.
> Hesseling (1905:43): ‘7. Een in 1761 gedrukt boekje, bevattende de liturgie, de formulieren van doop en avondmaal en sommige liederen.’
Reinecke (1975:320, nr. 27): ‘Translated by the Moravians; the first book printed in Negerhollands. Several times revised.’

Stein (1986b:26, nr. 3.1.2): ‘[anon.] Liturgie, die formulieren van doop en avondmaal en sommige liederen. unk.pl., 1761.’

We originally know this work only from Oldendorp (1777:914). Vibæk (1953:554) and Hesseling (1905:43) claim that the works ‘Liturgie’ (1761) and ‘Gebeden’ (1765) are sometimes confused by Oldendorp. In Stein (1986b) you can find two arguments against the possibility of a confusion: first, Oldendorp elsewhere (1777:971) gives the correct title of the work from 1765, which is different from the 1761 work; second, in Oldendorp’s ‘Critical remarks’ on the edition by Bossart of his ‘Missionsgeschichte’ the passage mentioning the 1761 work is not criticized. The 1761 publication was never found, however.


EN: Short view of the Danish Lutheran mission history.

Overview of the history of the Danish Lutheran Mission on the Virgin Islands, draws mainly on archival documents, and gives bibliographic information on Negerhollands sources.


This is a bibliography containing references to: (Adelung) (1809), Kingo (1770), (Magens) (1770), (Magens) (1781) and Oldendorp (1777). It also mentions the hypothetical first printed work in Negerhollands from 1761 (see ‘Liturgie’).


From the correspondence kept in the RA (RA, Koloniesmes Central-bestyrelse, Kolonialkontoret, Gruppesager II-922, Salmebogssagen), Lund clearly emerges as the author. Apparently 1970 copies were printed. Lose (1891:36) mentions Lund as the author in a footnote.

Reinecke (1975:320, nr. 28), probably from Larsen (1950:119): Leerboch na die Evangeliskristelig relisie tot betryk voor die Kooninglik Deen Missionskirk sender na Amerika.

Larsen translates the title as: ‘Reader of the Evangelical Christian Religion printed for the Royal Danish Missions in America’.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
> Reinecke (1975:320, nr. 29).

Magens, J[ochum] M[elchior]. 1770. *Grammatica over det Creolske sprog, som bruges paa de trendy Danske Eilande, St. Croix, St. Thomas og St. Jans i*
> EN: Grammar of the Creole language.
> Stein (1986b:24, nr. 2.1.1).
> UA: K 94.
> DKB: 47,-540,-8°. This copy also contains a handwritten proverb in Negerhollands on p. 36. The preface by Magens is from St. John, 24 April 1769.
> The copy present in the Leyden University Library, 1483 D 47, is a handwritten copy, possibly by D.C. Hesseling himself. Printing errors are also copied and annotated by ‘sic’ in faint dotted characters.

> Translated by J.M. Magens. With a dedication to the king and a preface of 1 March 1781 by Bishop L. Harboe, E.J. Jessen-S., J. Hvid & A.P. Bartholin representing the General Church Inspection College, both in Danish and Negerhollands, and a foreword in Negerhollands by the translator. Divided into two parts: the four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles on pp. 1-672, Letters and Revelation of John on pp. 673-1166. The last page of the book contains a list of ten Dryk-Vouten ‘printing errors’.
> According to Koch (1905:161) Wold and Alling helped with the translation. According to Lose (1891:24) Alling made an effort to get the ms. printed soon, and supervised the printing process while on sick leave in Denmark by making a fair copy of the ms. and providing corrections.
> Hesseling (1905:37-39): ‘3. die Nywe Testament van ons Heer Jesus Christus ka set over in die Creols Tael en ka giev na die Ligt tot dienst van die Deen Mission in America, gedrykt in Copenhagen 1781, bei die Erfgenamen van Godiche.’
> Reinecke (1975:319, nr. 8).
> In Newberry Library.
> Stein (1986b:27, nr. 3.1.5).
> In Stolz (1986) by mistake attributed to L. Harboe and assumed to have been published in St. Thomas.
> UA: NBVII R3, 1a.
> UBL: 727 E 33.

> No Negerhollands translations of the dedication and the preface. Hesseling points out that the ten printing errors are restored in the second edition, but that a multitude of new errors was added.
> From the correspondence kept in the State Archive in Copenhagen this edition appears to comprise 1200 copies (RA, Koloniernes Centralbestyrelse, Kolonialkontoret, Gruppesager II-922, Salmebogssagen).

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, *Die Creol taal*
> In Newberry Library.
> Stein (1986b:28, nr. 3.1.9): ‘die Nywe Testament .... Copenhagen (Godiche) 1818.’
> UA: NBVII R3, 6a.
> UB: 1059 C 18.
> UBL: 2545 E 45 or 97 E 21, copy that has belonged to D.C. Hesseling.

> EN: Historical grammar of Dutch.
> Reinecke (1975:316, nr. 2).

> The last eight pages (not numbered) contain corrections of errors and misprintings, very interesting for the researcher of early orthography and the liturgical variety of Negerhollands.
> In Newberry Library.
> Stein (1986b:28, nr. 3.1.8): ‘largely based on Böhner’s translation of the Evangelienharmonie’ (see his mss. 3.1.10, 3.2.1, 3.2.2, 3.2.3 and 3.2.4).
> UA: NBVII R3, 6a.
> UBL: 2725 G 11.

> EN: History of the Moravian Mission.
> Reinecke (1975:320, nr. 32).
> In Newberry Library.
> UBA: 2452 F 5 and 1206 D 6
> Hesseling (1905:44): ‘10. Taalproeven (spreekwoorden en de apostolische geloofsbijlidenis met de verklaring van Luther) meegedeeld door Oldendorp (pp. 432, 434-436). [Language samples (proverbs and the apostolian article of faith with the explanation of Luther) mentioned by Oldendorp].’

> The publication year of the German original mentioned overleaf the title page, 1777, is incorrect.
Oxholm, J.N. 1822. *Bibel voor Kinders of Bibels Spreek met kort opmuntringen voor opmerksame Kinders set over na die Creols Tael van J.N. Oxholm Deen*
EN: Bible for children.

This is a collection of short quotations from the Testaments, each one provided with an explanation of about one page by the author.

Mentioned in Schuchardt (1914:124) as quite entbehrlich ’dispensable’ for the study of Negerhollands as it would not give a dependable picture.

DKB: 1-460-8⁰.

Reinecke (1975:320, nr. 33) mentions the size as 12⁰.

In Newberry Library.

Mentioned also in Lose (1891:37) and Larsen (1950:119).


EN: Some notes on Virgin Islands Creole.

Hesseling (1905:40-41): ’6. Taalproeven meegedeeld door Dr. E. Pontoppidan (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie XIII (1881), blz. 135-138,)’ Note that Hesseling does not give number 135 as the first page; page numbers refer to those pages he cites in his appendix. Number 135 is interpreted as a first page number, however, in Vibaek.

Reinecke (1975:320, nr. 34).

Pontoppidan includes three sources of Negerhollands; one is a copy of the 14th chapter of Matthew taken from Magens (1781), and the other two, proverbs (that were copied in Adams Graves 1977) and an informal conversation, are of great value because they were recorded from late 19th-century Negerhollands speakers of St. Thomas by Pontoppidan himself.


EN: Small Catechism.

DKB: 3-408-8⁰. 05339 (1827 edition).


DKB: 3-408-8⁰. 05338 (1834 edition, same author and same place, but ‘Ka prent bie P.T. Brünich’).

Hesseling (1905:39, nr. 4) presumes that the reference to this book in Gaidoz contains a wrong year (1829): ‘dit boekje wordt geciteerd door H. Gaidoz in de Revue Critique 1881, II, blz. 167, als verschenen in 1829: ik vermoed dat het jaartal een drukfout bevat, van een tweede druk gewaagd Gaidoz niet.’

Reinecke (1975:321, nr. 35).

Newberry Library.

Vibaek (1953:554) writes that the first edition by Praetorius is printed in Copenhagen in 1770, but he must be mistaken here, as Praetorius was not born then. Even though certain works were propagated as necessary revisions of older works, it does not mean that the revising author was also the author of the earlier work that he was expected to supply an alternative or renewed version of. Such mistakes are repeatedly found in bibliographies of Negerhollands. Often, it seems that even totally new books took the place (in
liturgic use) of other ones, being independent from their predecessors with respect to translation and authorship.
> EN: Evangelical Christian textbook.
> Published together with Praetorius’ Katechismus in one volume of 88 pp. Also reprinted with Katechismus in one volume in 1834.
> This is an extended version of Luther’s annotations with the Ten Commandments, the Articles of Faith, the Lord’s Prayer and Sacraments.
> BUH: TH bis 29970. (the 1827 edition together with Katechismus).
> Hesseling (1905:39-40, nr. 5).
> Larsen (1950:120) translates the title as: ‘Evangelical-Christian reader for the use of the catechists of the Danish Mission in America’ and remarks that this replaced Thorkild Lund’s (1798) reader.
> In Vibaek (1953), also a Creol Psalm-Buk edition of 1827 is said to be from Praetorius, but there is no indication for this.

> DKB: 3-408-8°, 05339.
> This work is identical to the 1827 edition, which has the same author, same title and same place, but ‘Ka prent bie C. Graebe’.
> Note that, likewise, the anonymous Creol Psalm-Buk of 1834 is identical to the one from 1827. Furthermore, both works from 1827, then printed at C. Graebe, were reprinted in 1834 at P.T. Brünnich, and each in an issue of 1000 copies (as appears from an account of 10 November 1834 in RA, Kolonienes Centralbestyrelse, Kolonialkontoret, Gruppesager II. 922 Salmebogssagen).

> DKB: 3-408-8°, 05339.
> This work is identical to the 1827 edition, which has the same author, same title and same place, but ‘Ka prent bie C. Graebe’.
> Published together with Praetorius’ Katechismus in one volume of 88 pp., like it was printed with Katechismus in 1 vol. in 1827.

> EN: Hymnal for the Negro communities.
> DKB: DA.Box, 4-419, 07266, 8°. Introduction, hymns, index. Page numbering only from pp. 12-244.
> Reinecke (1975:318, nr. 4): ‘Based on Johan Auerbach, Gebeden en liederen.’
> In Library of Congress.
> Hesseling (1905:43-44, nr. 9): ‘Psalmboek voor die Negergemeenten van St. Thomas, St. Croix en St. Jan, Barby, 1774.’

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal
Stein (1986b:27, nr. 3.1.4): '[anon.] Psalm-Boek voor die Neger-Gemeenten na S. Thomas, S. Croix en S. Jean. Barby: 1774. 10.7 x 17, 6 cm, 256 pp.

> UA: NBVII R3, 5b.
> EN: Hymnal.
> In Newberry Library.
> UA: NBVII R3, 5c/5d.

> EN: Coloured Afrikaans, language of the Griekwas and Rehoboths.
> Contains a chapter on Creole Languages (chapter 2:29-38), illustrated with a passage in Negerhollands on p. 37, taken from de Josselin de Jong (1926).

> EN: Contemplations in connection with the Creole language.
> This is an annotated publication of Add. 4° nr. 627 k., possibly from 1806, one of the many manuscripts by the great Danish general linguist that can be found in the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

> EN: Selected papers.
> The author contradicts Adelung’s (1809) remark that Negerhollands would be a corrupted sort of Dutch, by saying ‘dass es eine eigene, neue Sprache ist, die bloss vom Holländischen abstammt, aber eine ganz verschiedene Einrichtung hat. [that it is a new language of its own, which just derives from Dutch, but which has a totally different structure]’ The same essay containing this passage is also found in R.K. Rask, Samlede tildels forhen utrykte Afhandlinger, III, København: H.K. Rask, 1838. pp. 445-466.


Mixed remarks.

DKB, Copenhagen: 60-26, 8°.

This article contains a rebellious slave song in Negerhollands on pp. 233-234, which is mentioned in Vibaek as 'Brudstykke af en oprørsang [fragments of a rebel song]'.

The rebel song on pp. 233-234 was (on some points incorrectly) reprinted in: Thorkild Hansen, Slavernes Øer, København: Gyldendal, 1971, and also in Degn (1974:83).


In this article, a letter written in 1883 by A. Magens to the author is printed. The same letter is translated in the appended 'Naschrift' and 'Aantekeningen' by Hesseling (1914:135-142).


Translation of Schuchardt (1914).


EN: Life of Zinzendorf.

Taylor, Charles Edwin. 1888. Leaflets from the Danish West Indies: descriptive of the social, political, and commercial condition of these islands. London: the author.

Chapter 5 (p. 74-108) is devoted to a comparison of NH and various types of Afrikaans, among which Bantu-based Pidgin Afrikaans. It is the first comparison of this type.


Reinecke (1975:321, nr. 42): 'p. 159-163 on Negerhollands.'


D[octor]. Martin Luther sie klein Catechismus na veif part. [1770.]; unkn. aut., unkn. pl.: unkn. publ., 1770. 32 pp.
Creool Psalm-buk voor die Deen Missioon na Westindien. [1770.]; unkn. aut., unkn. pl.: unkn. publ. 70 pp.
> BUH: Pdg. 11510.
> In the introduction to Magens (1781) these three works are mentioned: ‘Die begin a ka maek mit een A.B.Buk, en die klein Catechismus van Lutherus, en eenig Kirk-Psalmen ookal, die ha wordt gedrykt hiesoo in die Jaer 1770, ... [a beginning was made with an AB book, the small catechism of Luther, and some hymns too, which were printed here in 1770].
> Hesseling (1905:36) refers to this and adds he has not seen them himself, although he implies that they are bound together. ‘1.’
> Vibaek (1953:554) mentions only the first and the third part, and so does Larsen (1950:114). Larsen, who based his inferences on Lose (1891:18), furthermore mentions a catechism published in 1770 by Kingo, probably meaning the second part. Lose mentions a 1764 draft catechism by Kingo that was sent to Magens on which he worked together with Wold. He nowhere explicitly claims, however, that it was ever printed. A 1770 edition of the catechism is ascribed wrongfully to Praetorius by Vibaek.
> DKB: DA.Box, 4-419, 07264, 8° is an identical copy of the third part of the above: Creool Psalm-buk voor die Deen Missioon na Westindien. 1770, with no indication of author. Apparently this has gone unnoticed so far.
> It is possible that both Lose and Larsen are correct; then parts one and three are both by Wold, while the second part of this entry is ultimately by Kingo, even though it is bound together with Wold in one booklet. As no author of the second and third parts is mentioned, however, only linguistic and textual analysis may yield more conclusive information.

> Stein (1986b:20, nr. 1.1.1, 3.1.1).
4 Studies after 1945.


> EN: Demographic models in creole studies.


> EN: The snag of the etymology of colonial words in Dutch.
> Sections 1.1 and 1.2 deal with the historical phonology of NH ‘epithetic’ vowels and the etymology of the Dutch and NH words for ‘cockroach’ and ‘soursop’.

> EN: Sociolinguistic history of Negerhollands.


Bradford, William Penn. (s.a.) *Virgin Islands Dutch Creole: A Phonological Description*. Typoscript. pp. i-v, 1-38, 103-108. {*

> EN: Our old tropical colonies.
> See Vibaek.


> EN: Church books in Negerhollands.

> EN: The Schimmelmanns in the Atlantic triangle trade.
> A very thorough study of the merchant family Schimmelmann, and how they turned away from the slave trade. It contains a few text fragments of Negerhollands, and a photographic copy of a letter from 1787 in Dutch, that seems to show Negerhollands traces.


   > NH is discussed on pp. 395-396. For a reaction with some alternative etymologies see den Besten (1989).


   > EN: From primal scream to mother tongue.
   > Contains a chapter called ‘Het Negerhollands van de Deense Antillen’ on pp. 116-118.

   > A translation of Magens (1770) preceded by an interesting introduction.
   > Unfortunately, the translation of the grammar part and the proverbs section is marred by errors.

   > Hancock suggests early English influence on the lexicon of Negerhollands.

   > Hancock suggests a West African origin for Negerhollands.


> EN: The influence of Zeelandic on Negerhollands.

> EN: The Herrnhut Brethren.

> EN: Afrikaans and language disturbance.
> Section 5 is devoted to a comparison of Afrikaans with Negerhollands (p. 132-142). Reference is made to Markey (1982a). In an appendix three Negerhollands stories from de Josselin de Jong (1926) with translations into Afrikaans (p. 145-149).


> EN: Negro-Dutch, Negro-Zealandic or Negro-Flemish?


   > At least one copy exists on St. Thomas, Bureau of Libraries and Archives.


Sprauve, Gilbert A. 1985. [Press release announcing a cassette tape containing segments of Negerhollands fieldwork sessions with informant Mrs. Alice Stevens], Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas: College of the Virgin Islands. 3 pp.


   > EN: Some new data on the history of the word creole.

   > EN: Creole hymns of the Christmas service.

   > EN: The first creolists.

   > EN: The beginning of the writing of a creole language.


   > EN: The first creolists.

Stein, Peter. 1986c. ‘An Example from the Dutch Creole of St. Thomas, spoken by the Moravian Missionaries at the end of the 18th century: “Eine Rede an die Kinder” (A speech to the children) from July 11/12, 1796 (UA: NB VII R3, 6D; part of 3.3.1.5). Edited, with an introduction by, Peter Stein’, in: Hans den Besten (ed), pp. 33-42.


> EN: Codification of Negerhollands by the Moravians.


> EN: Oldendorp manuscript of a Negerhollands dictionary.

Stein, Peter, & Hartmut Beck. In preparation. [Kommentierte Ausgabe der Sklavenbriefe aus St. Thomas 1737-1768].

   > EN: Synoptic edition of the three Negerhollands grammars.


   > EN: Does the creole model of language change exist?

   > EN: Overseas Dutch-based language forms.

   > EN: Contribution to comparative grammar of Dutch-based overseas languages.


   > On pp. 250-252 of this work, a list of 100 Negerhollands words is ‘compiled from diverse unphonemicized sources’.

Cefas van Rossem en Hein van der Voort, Die Creol taal

> The subtitle on the title page has ‘glossary’, instead of ‘dictionary’.
> The dictionary contains many Negerhollands words, but sometimes they are not identified as such, for instance *pistarckle* < DU *spektakel* ‘excitement’.


> EN: Danish West India.


> EN: Nine centuries of Dutch.
> In this history of the Dutch language, Berbice Dutch and Negerhollands are also shortly dealt with, on pp. 277-279.


> EN: Away from Dutch.
> This is a diverting presentation of some thoughts concerning the relatedness and distinction between Negerhollands and Dutch, in which material from Auerbach (1774) is contrasted with that from de Josselin de Jong (1926). Non-commercial limited edition.


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