

*Crumbs from
an old Dutch closet*

THE DUTCH DIALECT
OF OLD NEW YORK

BY

L. G. VAN LOON, M.D.



SPRINGER-SCIENCE+BUSINESS MEDIA, B.V.

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.	1
ORTHOGRAPHY	5
PARTS OF SPEECH	8
GLOSSARY	25
ADDENDA.	33
<i>Johnny dog; enookierat; raccoon</i>	33
<i>Jingles and rhymes.</i>	36
<i>De v'lorene zön — The prodigal son</i>	44

INTRODUCTION

Evidences of a strong feeling of nationalism appear at different times, and the people of the United States despite their heterogenous derivations, are apparently not averse to showing the manifestations of a spirit which is probably endemic at all times rising to epidemic proportions with or following upon economic and social changes of any moment which affect a whole people. The dealer in antiques reaps a harvest thereby. Who is not familiar with colonial furniture, Americana, and slices from the apple tree under which General Washington ate his lunch upon the occasion of his visit to Communipaw? Whole societies are founded upon the memories cherished by the descendents of the original signers of the Declaration of Independence, or to the memory of those who made the first voyage to the Americas in the stout vessel Mayflower.

The early furniture, manuscripts, and other realities are in some cases priceless. One may feel them, hold them at arm's length and admire them, or one may possess them. In the following resumé we have tried to present something which has remained over out of the past of many of our citizens, but remained only in memory. It is hard to conceive of a dealer in old nouns, or to imagine the exhibit of antique adjectives to the wealthy dowager who is about to start her own gallery. Old nouns taken into our speech from another tongue represent in a manner of speaking, a paradox, inasmuch as they are scarce and yet worth nothing (that is, as a commodity), and further, they belong to whosoever chooses to use them.

Remnants of the Dutch language used in parts of New York and New Jersey during the XVIIth century are, needless to say, scarce and with difficulty accessible. It has been recorded that an American dialect of the old

Dutch does not exist, and that it has not existed for a long time. This is not quite true, and came about probably only thru the fact that those knowing something of it or using it were buried in rural sections and had little to do with things of an academic nature.

It may be safely said that no material has ever been gathered or recorded in this field, certainly none that has ever been published, with the possible exception of Professor J. Dyneley Prince's work on the 'Jersey Dutch Dialect', found in 'Dialect Notes' vol. III. part VI, 1910, and it was stated therein that the Jersey Dutch Dialect consisted of the Flemish or South Holland dialect in use in what was at that time (ca. 1650) a combined Flanders and Holland. This conclusion is possibly drawn from a study of the word list, since pronunciation at this late date, with its natural changes and impurities could scarcely have been used as a guide. In any event it would be difficult to ascertain just which part of the Netherlands produced the greater number of immigrants arriving in the colonies at that time. Many of the old records, highly incomplete and inaccurate at their best, are destroyed, or spread out in private hands and thus unavailable. However one may draw an hypothetical conclusion and assume that the same rules applied then regarding emigration that prevail today. There is certainly no invariable rule which governs this. Suffice it to say here that the Jersey Dutch Dialect, reported by Professor Prince, is not what one would choose to call a true Flemish or Brabantish, but resembles more the dialect heard occasionally in Rotterdam, in particular with regards to the use of the pronoun 'hullie' and the absence of the pronoun 'gy', the latter so characteristic in Brabant.

Another thing to be taken into consideration is a reflection upon the types of people emigrating at the time, and which is in preponderance. The American colonies at that time were in their infancy for the most part, and only the most rugged survived. Poets, men of letters, etcetera most decidedly did not leave a comfortable family hearth in Holland to struggle along on the new frontier among the

wild beasts and the discomforts, and the Indians. Doubtless many tall stories were returned to Holland about the terror of life in 'Nova Belgica' and this might have deterred any who had entertained notions about going there; so that one is faced with the fact that most of the new settlers were workers, farmers, artisans who would be useful in building a new empire. Certainly a good woodchopper or stone mason was of infinitely more value in Nieuw Amsterdam than a person who had no manual trade with which to hew his place in the forest. But, by the same token, a stone mason does not as a rule use a dialect heard in the drawing rooms, and the stone masons of Nieuw Amsterdam never had to change for at that time there were no drawing rooms in all of 'Menihaniton', the first Vanderbilts were seeking the wherewithal to buy a small farm, and everybody was using the broadest kind of Dutch. Thus, if only by numbers alone the dialect of the Stone mason (for example) survived and what few members of the cultured class who found themselves on the new frontier gave up their own speech in favor of that of the aforementioned stone mason for fear of being laughed at, possibly, or in favor of English.

The influence of this Dutch on the modern American dialect of these regions is apparent in numbers of words borrowed and at present considered in good use locally. These have been noted in other works on American dialects, and, indeed we are not interested at present in this aspect. It might be better to speak of it conversely. The influence of American on the remaining Dutch dialect is more apparent by the many Americanisms found, and what is more pronounced the Dutch equivalent of the American idiom. Briefly this latter might be expressed by saying that we are dealing with an American idiom fitted to Dutch words, and bent to meet what rules of syntax that still existed. This was due to the influence of the school upon children, and American speaking neighbors upon the older generations. Just how long it may take to extinguish a dialect entirely is hard to determine, and must perforce depend upon education, segregation, nature

of people and strength of idiom in the original tongue. The same process is taking place among the descendents of the original inhabitant of parts of the United States, such as certain tribes of Indians and the native inhabitants of the Hawaiian group, modified by segregation and 'idiom weakness' of the mother tongue. For example the writer is familiar with individuals of both the above named groups, who know and use American as their mother tongue, and have retained only a vague smattering of the dialect used by their immediate ancestors. Another generation or two at most will see a complete loss of the original tongue, except for such word as may have been borrowed for convenience, as for example 'tomahawk' from the Indian, and 'tattoo' from the Polynesian.

The influence of the German of that period from the German immigrants who settled in the lower Mohawk Valley is hard to determine. It is questionable if this also might not be stated conversely. We think that the 'Pennsylvania Dutch', an almost pure German dialect, contains some expressions which might be traced to a Holland, or low Dutch origin, acquired possibly during the years that these German immigrants remained in New York. We are not prepared to defend this contention. In any event, the later emigration of these settlers from New York to Pennsylvania to form a part of the 'Pennsylvania Dutch', took the German dialect out of the Dutch sphere of influence, or at least diminished the numbers to such an extent that they no longer played an important role.

The influence of the Indian dialects upon the Dutch of that period is also hard to determine, chiefly because of the greatly diminished vocabulary with which we have to work. Professor Prince located a few words of Algonkian origin, and these naturally since the early settlers of Jersey came into contact with members of tribes of this derivation. These words do not exist in Hudson River or Mohawk Dutch, so far as is known, and perhaps they never existed. This is also natural since the early settlers around Fort Orange and the upper Hudson River came into contact for the most part with members of the Iro-

quois tribe. This borrowing of words which might be traced to an Amerind source probably came about thru trade with the aboriginals for objects which had to have a common name understood by both parties. We believe that we have identified three or four of these words as Iroquoian. Originally there may have been more, for the early settlers of the Mohawk valley and upper Hudson were in active contact with Iroquois for at least one hundred years!

ORTHOGRAPHY

Some difficulty has been experienced in deciding upon a system of orthography. It is hard to hit upon any system which is to all intents and purposes perfect. A system of phonetics has been found objectionable, and is useful only to those versed in reading them. For purposes of comparison between the Dutch of today and this dialect remnant, the original Dutch orthography has been used. The changes in vowel and consonant values are in this way indicated by changes in spelling. For convenience a simplified form of the sound annotation as found in Valette's grammar has been used. Any reputable source is just as good.

A- both short and long originally. Here universally as the 'a' in 'father', e.g. 'dagh', 'draghe'.

D- finally, always as 't', e.g. 'land', 'hond'. Elsewhere as the 'd' in 'deer'.

E- long, sounds nearly like the 'a' in 'pale', e.g. 'gheve', 'leve'; also as a doubled vowel with the same value, e.g. 'beetse'. Short 'e' is found as the final element in verb forms and some forms of the plural number, etc. This always has the value of the exclamation 'eh!', as, 'gheve', and 'leve', (pronounced: 'ghay-veh' and 'lay-veh' respectively).

A short 'e' is also found in words of one syllable and ending in a consonant, which has the value of the 'e' element found in the word 'chest', e.g. 'met', 'weg'.

F- as the 'f' in 'fee', or 'if', e.g. 'feertugh', 'kerkhof'. The

'f' seems to have replaced any 'v' values which ever existed as the beginning element of a word. See further under 'V'.

- G- is articulated between the back of the tongue and the end of the soft palate, and is nearly the same sound as found in the Scotch 'loch'. In many words this soft sound has been lost and is replaced by the hard 'g', or even 'k'. The 'G' as here described is everywhere written in this treatise as 'gh' to differentiate it from the hard 'g' which is written as such. In Prince's orthography, this sound has been written as 'gy'.
- H- an aspirate, and generally considered as a consonent.
- I- long, as the 'ee' in 'seen', e.g. 'sien', 'riep', (pronounced: 'seen', and 'reap' respectively).
Short 'i', as in 'thin', e.g. 'kind', 'sitte', 'ik'.
- J- like the 'y' in 'year', e.g. 'jaar', 'ja'.
- L, M, N- equivalent to the American value for these letters except perhaps the 'l' which is pronounced with the tip of the tongue pointed.
- O- long, like the 'oa' element of the word 'boat', e.g. 'over', and also the doubled form 'oo' as 'loope' 'nooit'.
Short, is almost like the short 'u' in 'nut', e.g. 'kop', 'pot'.
- R- never the sharp 'r' heard sometimes in the word 'dealer'. Always pronounced with the sides of the tongue in apposition with the teeth rather than the tip of the tongue. In many words the original 'r' has been lost or is scarcely heard, as in 'swaat' for 'zwart', and 'paad' for 'paard'. This probably varied greatly with individual speakers. Wherever heard at all the words have here been spelled with the 'r' included.
- U- the original sound of the 'u' has been lost, and in many places it has been replaced by a short, flat 'i', as in 'skild' 'onghelik'. Where 'u' occurs usually medially and as a component of end syllables it has the value of the 'u' in the exclamation 'uh!', as, 'put', 'lught', 'meghtugh', 'suiventugh'.
- V- is in many cases, especially as the beginning of a word, the same sound as 'f' described in the foregoing.

Medially, it has the value of the 'v' in 'leave', e.g. 'frouw', 'feertugh', 'blyve'.

W- as the American 'w', except that in pronouncing, the lips are *not* rounded.

A series of lengthened diphthongs are found, as:

Ooi- pronounced 'oy', e.g. 'mooi'.

Eei- modern Dutch 'eeu', pronounced 'ay' (as in 'they', plus the short, flat 'i' described above as having replaced the 'u' in many places, e.g. 'sneeiwe'.

Iei- (modern Dutch 'ieu'), pronounced 'ee' (as in 'seen' plus the short, flat 'i' as described above under 'U') e.g. 'nieiw'. These last two lengthened diphthongs are followed always by 'w', which of course changes the value of the whole somewhat. They possess the same value as the modern Dutch 'eeu' and 'ieu' except that the value of the 'u' has degenerated as described to the short, flat 'i' sound.

The common diphthongs are:

Ui- a unique sound, which to say the least is difficult to describe. Let us take the sound of the 'ow' in the word 'how'. Now let the first element, ('ah'?) of the 'ow' be replaced by the short sound of the 'e' in the word 'let'. Using the word 'huis' and following the suggestions set forth here, one pronounces it at first with a suggestion of two syllables, slowly one should approximate something like 'He-' (a short 'e' as in 'let')- oose', this latter now approaching the sound as heard in 'loose'. Acquiring these two sounds, and then using them in one syllable with one breath, will approximate the real sound of the 'ui'. Upon only one occasion was another pronunciation heard for the diphthong originally spelled 'ui', and this was procured from an aged man residing in Coxsackie, N.Y. who used it in the phrase: 'me sien feel syippe en boote hier famme huis' pronouncing the latter word as tho spelled 'hoys'. He stated that he had always used it that way. He was tried on other words, as 'buite', 'tuis', and 'druive', and persisted in pronouncing them as tho written 'boyte', 'toys', and 'droyve'.

Ou- pronounced 'ow' as in 'how', e.g. 'frouw'.

Ei- pronounced exactly as the pronoun 'I', e.g. 'ei'.

There is also another spelling for this diphthong, found in other words as 'fyf', 'kyke', and 'al tyt'.

Oe- properly speaking is perhaps not so much a diphthong as a 'u'-vowel. Always pronounced 'oo' as in the word 'book', e.g. 'boek', 'hoek'.

PARTS OF SPEECH

Articles: These are definite and indefinite. They do not have the power of expressing gender, and are uninflected except in some expressions, as 'smorghens'- in the morning, and 'savens'- in the evening, both of which the use is as one single word. The definite article 'de' and the indefinite 'een', stressed when necessary or in the case of the primary cardinal number. In a few cases an old neuter article remains, such as is found in the expression 'aan't karne'- churning, where it is the component of a preposition to form a progressive participle. Also, again, 'fan 't pard'- from, or of the horse, but otherwise, the word 'pard' bears the article 'de'.

'de bruin pard beghint 'n beetse ghroot te sien'.

'the brown horse begins to look big', i.e. 'is getting bigger'.

'hy kwam froegh smorgens'.

'he came early in the morning'.

'savens ben ik al tyt tuis'.

'in the evening I am always at home'.

The article is frequently dropped in expressions demanding its use in American, as in the following constructions with a prop-word:

'myn fader se huis is ghoed'.

'my fathers house is a good *one*'.

Or one may use also, —

'myn fader se huis is 'n ghoeje', to express the same thought.

It has been stated that gender was not expressed by the definite article. This is true altho as exhibited above, a

neuter article of sorts existed. In use however, it approached the meaning of the American 'it', as, —

'Ik sou het niet doen'.

'I should not do *it*'.

'Ik hev 'et skoon ghesien', or 'ik hev 'et al ghesien'.

'I have already seen *it*'.

The indefinite article, 'een', was in common speech usually shortened to an 'n' sound, as shown above. Stressed, it was always 'een'.

X *Verbs*: Here again, one is struck by the changes of simplification which have taken place, namely in the loss of endings and some changes in form. Briefly one may make a division as follows: Finite forms- in which the ending is added to what may be considered the stem, for the past tense, for the third person singular of the present tense and for the plural of both the present and the past. Thus:

Ghlove- to believe, stem- ghloov, or ghloof.

Present.	Ik ghloof	wy ghlove
	je ghloof	jullie ghloof
	hy ghlooft	hullie ghlove.
Past.	ik ghlooft	wy ghloofte
	je ghlooft	jullie ghloofte
	hy ghloofte	hullie ghloofte.

A verb whose stem ended in 'd' doubtless had no particular ending. Thus, brande — to burn, stem, brand.

Present.	Ik brand	wy brande
	je brand	jullie brand
	hy brand	hullie brande
Past.	Ik brande	wy brande
	je brande	jullie brande
	hy brande	hullie brande.

As a rule then, we may consider that the third person (always?), and the 2d. person occasionally, of the present tense bore a 't' which in verbs ending with a 'd' is completely assimilated.

The imperative was formed by the stem alone, as in, 'waght for my' — 'wait for me'.

The imperative of the auxiliary 'syn' — to be, is 'wees',

as in 'wees stil' — be quiet! Non finite forms of a verb are the infinitive and the past participle. The infinitive ending is 'e' and the verb usually takes 'te' before it.

'kwam je for dat *te* seghghe?' — 'did you come to tell that?' (unfortunately, the occurrence of a double 'g' anywhere gives one a preponderance of letters with the orthography we have chosen. It is impossible to do otherwise. An 'e' preceding any double consonant is always short).

There is no present participle, and the only construction which permits of a participial translation is the prepositional form mentioned, namely the neuter article used with the preposition and followed by the infinitive, as, 'hy is aan't maaje' — 'he is *mowing*'.

The past participial has the usual prefix 'ghe' and the ending 't' as in '(op)weeke' — '(op)ghewekt'.

Compound verbs have no prefix 'ghe', thus, 'ghlove' — 'ghlooft'. 'vrandere' — 'vrandert'.

Some verbs fall outside this class, and seem to be irregular, and a number of these had survived with changes in the past tense and in the past participles, as,

Starve, to die	sterf	ghestarve.
kyke, to look, see,	keek	ghekeke.
nyme, to take, get,	nam	ghenome.
stele, to steal,	stool	ghestole.
kome, to come,	kwam	ghekome.
drinke, to drink,	drank	ghedronke.
beghinne, to begin, start,	beghon	beghon. (1)
sluite, to shut,	sloot	gheslote.
swemme, to swim,	swam	gheswomme.
lese, to read,	las	ghelese.
breke, to break,	brak	ghebroke.
spreke, to speak,	sprak	ghesproke.
veghte, to fight,	voght	ghevoght. (2)
sitte, to sit,	sat	gheset. (3)

Note 1, 2 and 3, the loss of the ending in the compound participial form.

draghe, to carry,	droogh	ghedraghe.
staane, } to stand,	stong	ghestonge (1)
stinge, }		

late, to allow, let,	liet	ghelate, or ghlate
ghaane, to go,	ghing	gheghaan. (2)
loope, to run,	liep	ghlope.
roepe, to call,	riep	ghroepe.

Note 1, and 2, in which the infinitive bears an added 'e'.

Some auxiliaries are found but they too are changed and perhaps were much limited in their use.

Hebbe, to have *had* *ghehad*.

Ik hev wy hebbe.

je hep jullie hebbe.

hy hee, or ee. hullie hebbe.

The third person singular in the interrogative form retains part of its old form with the ending 't' which has been changed to a softer 'd' after dropping the 'f', as,

'ee-d-ie de dur gheslote?' — 'has he shut the door?'

The past tense retains the simple form, 'had' in all persons, as,

Ik had	wy had
je had	jullie had
hy had	hullie had.

The verb 'syn' — to be.

Syn *was* *gheweest*.

Ik ben wy benne

je ben jullie sy

hy is hullie benne

Past tense:

Ik was wy were

je was jullie were

hy was hullie were.

The plural form is to be noticed. This is very likely the American 'were', altho it might be a change from the original Dutch form 'waren'.

'wy were alle dagh da gheweest' — 'we had been there all day.'

But a commoner form for this statement was,

'wy *hebbe* alle dagh da gheweest' — 'we have been there all day'.

As a matter of fact, this latter form was used almost exclusively, the use of the auxiliary 'syn' being just as

unusual as the use of 'hebben' in present days among speakers of modern Dutch. 'Wille' was used only as an auxiliary to form a future tense. It no longer bore its former idea of 'to want to'.

'ik wil ghaane as ik af kan kryghe' — 'I shall go if I can get the free time' (American: get off?).

'ik wil 'et doen' — 'I shall do it'.

In these cases it was presumably just as correct to say:

'ik sal 'et doen' — 'I shall do it',

and, 'ik sal ghaane', etc.

The past forms of both 'wille' and 'sulle' are found in the forms 'sou', and 'wou'.

'ik sou dat niet doen' — 'I shouldn't do that'

'hy wou met se moeder ghaane', — 'he would go with his mother'.

Compound verbal forms as the perfect tense, were made up of the auxiliaries 'hebbe' and 'syn' with the past participle, as,

'ik hev je dinner al klaghemaakt' — 'I have prepared your dinner'.

'wy benne dese dinge ast kwytgherakt' — 'we have almost lost these things'.

Originally doubtless, there was much in the way of regulation for the verb, and even at present one might try and formulate a set of rules which would govern them with their probable exceptions. This however, would be very hypothetical, and a better plan possibly, is to quote the rule used in modern Dutch, that,

'transitive verbs always take *hebben*, and intransitives take *hebben* when they express a continuation of action, and *syn* when they denote a passing from one position or state, to another'. This is a thing of which the speakers of Mohawk Dutch themselves had no knowledge of an academic nature, and thus there were probably many infractions of the rule, so that finally the use became more a series of exceptions rather than a fast regulation. However, one *never* said.

'de koe ee vledede week ghestarve', — 'the cow *died* last week'.

The correct form was:

'de koe *is* vledede week ghestarve'.

The passive voice of verb forms was greatly degenerated. The original auxiliary 'worden' was lost, and we find little evidence of present or past forms of the passive voice. This was perhaps in many cases paraphrased, ungrammatically constructed, or what is more likely, left unsaid. The perfect form of the passive voice was heard, since it was a compound of the verb 'syn' and the verb participle. Thus,

Present tense: 'hy is me aan't skoppe' — 'I am kicked'.

Past tense: often compounded by the past tense of the verb 'syn' and the participle forms, as:

'ik was gheskopt' — 'I was kicked'.

Perfect tense: peculiarly enough was formed by the use of the present tense of the verb 'syn', and the participle, as,

'ik ben gheskopt' — 'I have been kicked'.

With this system a future perfect was also possible, as, 'je sal ghestraft wese' — 'you shall be punished'.

and, 'je sou ghestraft wese'.

Paraphrasing in the active voice was the most common method of voicing a thought in the passive.

The auxiliary 'moete' should also be mentioned. Its chief use seemed to be in expressing the idea of necessity either present, past, or future, or completing the expression of such an idea.

Present: 'ik moet wegh' — 'I must go'.

Past: 'hy moest twee dollars betale' — 'he had to pay two dollars'.

Future: 'ik sal me hemp moete skoonmake' — 'I'll have to clean my shirt'.

Other forms also, as,

'ik had de ghreeskappe niet mee moete nyme' — 'I shouldn't have taken the tools with me'.

The form 'kunnen' was also found, but only in the present tense, —

'ik kan 'et niet doen' — 'I can't do it'.

'ik kan 'et niet sien' — 'I can't see it'.

The original past tense 'kon' was apparently not known. To express a past tense where 'kon' might have been used, we find:

'hy was niet ebel de blikkie op te hyse', — 'he could not lift the bucket'.

(the 'ebel' is obviously the American 'able').

The past form of the auxiliary 'sulle' was much used in varied constructions especially as a present tense.

'ik sou dat niet doen' — 'I shouldn't do that.'

'ik sou een dief nooit ghlove' — 'I never would believe a thief'.

And also regularly in the past sense, as,

'hy sou me dat hebbe gheseghd' — 'he should have told me that'.

The past participle of verbs was also much used in constructions in which the present participle was used in American, as,

'aanghesien dat 'et Sondagh is' — 'considering that it is Sunday'.

Past participles were also found as attributives in which case they preceded the word that they modified, as,

'ghesnede hooi' — 'cut hay' or, 'hay that is cut'.

'n ghestarve koe' — 'a dead cow'.

The American present participle which is found neither in the dialect that we are considering or in modern Dutch may occasionally be expressed by the use of the Mohawk Dutch infinitive without 'te', as,

'moeder is aan't skoonmake' — 'mother is cleaning'.

'hy is aan 't karne' — 'he is churning'.

✕ *Nouns*: Originally doubtless the list of nouns was complete. The plural of most nouns was formed by adding 'e' to the singular.

'paard', horse, — 'parde' 'hond', dog, — 'honde'.

'boom', tree, — 'boome'. 'schoen', shoe, — 'schoene'.

'huis', house, — 'huize'.

Nouns ending in 's' in the singular, changed the final 's' to a 'z' before adding the 'e' of the plural, as is seen above in the word 'huis'.

Nouns ending in 'f' in the singular changed this final 'f' to a 'v' sound before adding the 'e' of the plural, as, 'wyf', woman, wife, — 'wyve'.

A few nouns formed their plurals by adding 's' directly to the singular, as,

'kok', cook, — 'koks'.

'hoender', chicken, — 'hoenders'.

The original Dutch singular 'hoen' was lost, and a portion of the plural, 'hoender' took its place probably due to the influence of the plural sign 's' found in 'hoenders'. Originally also, 'hoen' was a neuter noun.

Nouns ending in '-skap' had a plural ending formed by doubling the final, 'p' and adding an 'e', as,

'ghreeskap' — tool, 'ghreeskappe'.

Nouns ending in 'heid' probably formed their plurals by dropping the 'i' of the last syllable and adding an 'e', — 'legeheid' — opportunity, 'legehede'.

The original Dutch word here was 'gelegenheid'. It is an interesting conjecture as to whether the first syllable 'ge', was lost thru some form of assimilation, or whether it was due to the idea that it was a portion of an active participial form which might be dropped when the word was used as a noun.

The plural of all nouns which were originally diminutives ending in '-je', or its equivalent '-ie' or '-ke', was formed by adding 's' to the singular, as,

'hokkie' — coop, pen, 'hokkies'. 'meisie' — girl, 'meisies'
'jonkie' — boy, 'jonkies'. 'weepie' — wasp, 'weepies'.

The use of the nouns is comparable to the use of the same class of words in American speech. A notable variation however was found in the case of measurement, either of time, weight, or distance, etc. The American plural found in the phrase:

'I sat for two hours' is rendered in this dialect by a singular noun, as, 'ik sat for twee *ur*', or 'ik bleef twee *ur* sitte'.

In measurement, the same thing,

'de hoender woogh twee *pond*' — 'the chicken weighed two *pounds*'.

Nouns of course showed no case endings, being uninflected except in the use of the genitive case which has been quoted in respect to the inflection in articles, i.e., 'smorgens' — mornings, and 'savens' — evenings.

The class of genitives which are found in American, in which the separation of the two words is practically impossible, such as 'horse's hoofs' (or 'hooves'), and 'men's hats', are rendered by the adjectival equivalents (a compound naturally), 'pardehoeve', and 'mannehoede' respectively.

The genitive case seems to be possible for almost any proper noun by adding the ending 's', as,

'dat is John's huis' — 'that is John's house'.

'ik hev vader's skoen niet ghesien' — 'I haven't seen father's shoe'.

This however was not the rule with common nouns. The genitive was formed in these cases by the use of the ending 'se' with the singular of the noun. This was simply the original pronoun 'syn' as in the modern Dutch phrase:

'vaderzynschoenen' — 'father's shoes', which would be rendered in Mohawk Dutch by, 'fader se skoene'. The pronunciation colloquially of both is the same. Further examples of this construction are appended here.

'de man se farm' — 'the man's farm.'

'de boom se takkies' — 'the branches of the tree'.

For nouns which (by the rule) are feminine, the construction is the same except that another pronoun is used in place of the 'syn' (which is, as we have seen, abbreviated to 'se'). In these cases the possessive 'haar' is used, abbreviated to 'er', or 'der', as,

'moeder der foet doet seer' — 'mother's foot hurts her'.

'dat meisie der kamiso is fuil' — 'that girl's dress is dirty'.

For nouns, the gender of which were definitely neuter, or at least unknown to the speaker, thus throwing them into the neuter class, the form was often as for the masculine forms, as

'de huis se fensters benne ghebroke' — 'the windows of the house are broken'.

This however should possibly be classed as an exception, or at least an unusual expression, since one heard more regularly:

'de fensters fan de huis benne ghebroke'.

In Jersey Dutch, according to Professor Prince, a neuter possessive 'het', was noted with which we are not familiar. It is an interesting phenomenon.

Another method of forming the genitive was by the use of 'fan', which might be likened in such cases to the American 'of',

'hee-die de harnass fan't paard ghehad?' — 'has he had the horse's harnass?'

'ik ghing de bed fan moeder brenge' — 'I went to bring mother's bed'.

Another group genitive was found utilizing the third person singular feminine pronoun 'allehaar'. Whether this was ever distinctive as to gender intended, is not known. Its easiest translation would be always as third person plural, as,

'hullie ghing allehaar na de kerk' — 'they all went to church', or better,

'they went all of them, to church', altho this latter seems a bit cumbersome for ordinary American speech.

'hullie benne allehaar 'n kerkelik mels' — 'all of them are religious people'.

Adjectives: This class of words had been deprived of most of its inflection, which it at one time may have had. An 'e' is added however, where the noun was definitely feminine, as in,

'de kleine meisie' — 'the little girl'.

Note here that 'meisie' was originally a neuter noun (het meisje), but that it is here feminine, being so determined by the American rule for determining gender, and being such, it thus takes the article 'de'.

'de vronghelikt man' — 'the injured man'.

'de swart pard liep by' — 'the black horse ran past'.

When used plurally, there were no changes noted.

Adjectives denoting nationality probably were considered simply as names with the ending 's', as in,

'engels' — 'english' 'americans' — 'american'
'indians' — 'indian'.

Comparison of adjectives: the comparative was invariably formed by adding 'er' to the adjective. The superlative was formed by adding 's' or 'st' to the positive form.

<i>Positive.</i>	<i>Comparative.</i>	<i>Superlative.</i>
Erdigh, nice.	erdigher	erdighs.
swart, black.	swarter	swartest.
verveelent, tiresome,	verveelender	verveelendst.
ghroot, big	ghrooter	ghrootse.

Note here the variation in the superlative form of 'swart' and 'ghroot'. The former may be an Americanism. Adjectives ending in 'r' take 'der' in the comparative, as, swaar, heavy swarder swaarst.

Some forms were irregular, as,
ghoed, good, beter, best.
kwad, bad, errie kwadst.
veel, much, meer meest.

Note the pronunciation in the comparative of 'kwaad'. The final 'ger' has become a 'y' or 'ie'. It is not known whether this was a colloquialism or not. The assimilation of the 'g' was also found in 'eyenlik' for 'eigenlik'. 'Gelegenheid' has already been mentioned.

Pronouns: Personal pronouns have nearly all survived as would be expected.

<i>Singular Nominative Case.</i>	<i>Singular Oblique Cases.</i>
I, — ik	me — myn.
you, — je	jou, juwes.
he, — hy, ie	hem, hem, (se).
she, — sy	Haar, haar, er, der.
it, — et, or het	het, se.
<i>Plural Nominative</i>	<i>Plural Oblique.</i>
We, — wy	ons, onse.
you, — jullie	jullie .
they, — hullie, rarely ze.	hullie, se.

The use of these pronouns varies so little from the use of the same class of words in ordinary American speech, that only a few need be mentioned here.

The weaker forms of the third person singular nominative and the third person singular oblique, both masculine and feminine were used only enclitically, as,

'hee-d-ie dat paard ghekoght?' — 'has he bought that horse?'

'ik hev er skoene niet ghehad' — 'I haven't had her shoes'.

The oblique forms of these pronouns in both the first and the second, and often in the third person, were used reflexively with the suffix 'self'. For the third person 'sigh' was still retained for many expressions.

'ik hev meself juist ghesnede' — 'I've just cut myself'.

'je kan jeself aankleye' — 'you can dress yourself'.

'hy eed 'emself seer ghedaan' — 'he hurt himself'.

'hullie ghing selve na de kerk' — 'they went themselves to church'.

This use of the 'self' approximates the American, as may be seen. Where a reflexive idea is contained in the expression, but the word 'self' is not permitted by the construction, the third person uses 'sigh', as,

'hullie hebbe sighselve in de skilt gherakt' — 'they have got themselves into debt'.

Finally, it may be said that the use of these forms evolved from the idea of a reflexive thought which involves either the person of the object, or the conditions surrounding it. One thing is certain, namely,

'hullie ghing sighselve na de kerk', was never heard, and the idea here is certainly a transposition involving the persons of the objects, and thus justifying the use of 'self' alone.

Possessive Pronouns:

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1st. person: myn, me, — mine.	ons, onse.
2d. person: jou, je, — yours.	jullie, juwes.
3d. person: syn, se, hem, — his.	hullies.
haar, er, — hers.	
syn, se, — its.	

Originally as in modern Dutch, 'onse' was likely used before nouns of common gender, and 'ons' before nouns

of neuter gender. The third person singular masculine 'hem' was apparently used as much as 'syn', or 'se'. For example, —

'dat is hem farm da links' — 'that is his farm there on the left'.

As a matter of fact, in ordinary speech, 'syn' was seldom heard, except as it became necessary to use a stressed form for some reason or other. Ordinarily one heard something like the following, using either 'hem' or 'se'.

'dat is se paard' — 'that is his horse'.

Often an 'n' was inserted, when the following word began with a vowel, thus giving the pronunciation as a shortened 'syn', thus,

'dat is se-n-eige skilt' — 'that is his own fault'.

'die man is een bur, en dit is 'em soon' — 'that man is a neighbor and this is his son'.

The form 'juwes' in the second person plural admits of explanation, but none is forthcoming. A form exists in modern Dutch 'jouwes' which is evidently a genitive, and *only* used in the singular, and then only under the most familiar of colloquial speech. Perhaps one might theorize for a moment, and imagine an older individual of some previous generation, with perhaps an imperfect knowledge of American pronunciation, trying to imitate the possessive 'yours' using it at times in his or her own dialectal speech, with the result that his or her hearers assumed that it was a Dutch plural pronoun. This is perhaps not so fantastic as may appear at first blush, for the only Hudson-Mohawk Dutch learned after the first few decades of the early colonization, was that heard from the mouths of the older individuals. Certainly one is justified in assuming that changes in any dialect anywhere never take place following set rules. It would be interesting to be able to draw from a wider knowledge.

'Hullie', that old third personal pronoun had remained in use, just as it had in South Africa, also. It took a final 's' when used possessively.

'hullies huis is de laast lang die wegh' — 'their house is the last along that road'.

'da hep je de spoor van hullies foete' — 'there you have the tracks of their feet'.

Demonstrative pronouns:

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Dese — this (masculine and feminine)	dese.
dit — this (neuter)	dese.
die — that (masculine and feminine)	die.
die, dat, — that (neuter)	die.

It will be seen that the demonstrative pronoun 'this' is differentiated for neuter nouns. (neuter, that is, as described), thus retaining some of the original respect for gender. However, it will be seen that 'meisie' is treated as a feminine noun (since by the rule 'meisie' being a female, is feminine) whereas the original gender of 'meisie' was neuter and one would expect a neuter demonstrative. The demonstrative 'that' is the same for all words. The Mohawk Dutch demonstrative 'dat' was heard mostly independently in expressions as,

'is dat so?' — 'is that so?' and,

'dat is niet myn skilt' — 'that is not my fault'.

Relative pronouns: These are the same as the demonstratives 'die', 'dat', and the interrogative 'wie'.

'Dat' was used anaphorically much as in the modern Dutch but 'die' and 'wie' were both used anaphorically and independently, thus,

'de wyf dat ik ghesien hev' — 'the woman whom I saw'.

'de onghelik die ons huis dee brande' — 'the accident that caused our house to burn'.

'dat' is again a neuter here, but also to repeat only for nouns or pronouns which are by the rule neuter.

'ik hev 'em de skoene ghegheve dat onder de bed were' — 'I have given him the shoes that were under the bed'.

In prepositional adjuncts, 'wie' is used when referring to persons.

'hep je de man ghesien met wie fader ghing?' — 'did you see the man with whom father went?'

Relative adverbs much in use at one time were completely lost. When the antecedent denotes a person, a genitive relation may be expressed by 'wie se', as,

'ik sagh de man wie se paard ghestarve is' — 'I saw the man whose horse died'.

This relative may also be used in other than relative clauses, as for example,

'wie se paard vloere ee, moet nander kryghe' — 'who has lost his horse must procure another'.

Note here that the use of the 'wie se' determines the ownership of the lost horse, namely the person who lost the horse! In other words this expression could not be used except concerning the owner of the horse.

Indefinite Pronouns: These had decreased in number being replaced by the forms 'alle' and 'alles' used universally; 'iemelt' (a perverted pronunciation for 'iemand'); 'wat'; and the form 'allemant' — 'everybody', or 'everyone'.

'alle huis is fan hout' — 'every house is made of wood'.

'ik hev al de wark ghedaan' — 'I did all the work'.

'hep je iemelt ghesien' — 'have you seen anyone?'

'allemant sagh dat je niet in de kerk was' — 'everybody (one) saw that you were not in church'.

Reciprocal pronouns were also lost, their places where needed, being taken by the factitious 'eenander' — 'one another'.

'jullie moet niet met eenander feghte' — 'you shouldn't fight with one another'.

It will be noticed in the above quoted example, the form 'een ander' is obviously a compound of 'een' and 'ander'. The latter word so far as might be determined was always definitely 'nander', and considered as one word, and frequently used alone.

'nander dagh krygh je meer gheld' — 'another day you will get more money'.

This is without question a contraction of 'eenander'.

As an indefinite pronoun, the word 'wat' may be translated as meaning 'something', and nothing else. For example,

'nym wat mee' — 'take something along'.

'hep je wat for me ghebraght?' — 'have you brought something for me?'

Another pair of words should be mentioned here, which have the function of indefinite pronouns. They are 'eense' — 'some' and 'enkelde' — 'a few'.

'wy ghaane eense dagh of nander na S.' — 'we will go to S. some day or other'.

'eense tyt of nander' — 'some time or other'.

'tuis benne enkelde hoenders' — 'at home there are a few chickens'.

'enkelde manne benne nogh te finde' — 'there are still a few men to be found'.

Numerals:

These were almost the same as are to be found in Modern Dutch.

1. een	11. elf	30. dertugh.
2. twee	12. twaalf	40. feertugh.
3. drie	13. dertien	50. fyftugh.
4. fier	14. fiertien	60. sestugh.
5. fyf	15. fyftien	70. suiventugh.
6. ses	16. sestien	80. taghentugh.
7. suive	17. suiventien	90. neghentugh.
8. acht	18. achtien	100. hondert.
9. neghe (a single consonent!)	19. neghentien	1000. duisent.
	20. twantugh	

The ordinal numbers:

First. eerst	11th. elfde.
2d. tweede	12th. twaalfde.
3d. derde	13th. dertiende.
4th. fierde	14th. fiertiende.
5th. fyfde	15th. fyftiende.
6th. sesde	16th. sestende.
7th. suivende	17th. suiventiende.
8th. achtteste	18th. achtiende.
9th. neghende	19th. neghentiende.
10th. tiende	20th. twantigst.

etc.

Two examples are appended here, which examination will reveal as being of moderately pure variety of Hudson Mohawk Dutch so far as intermixture with American words are concerned. They are from quotations by Mr. and Mrs. Dewitt Link.

'dit studie moet niet te *serious* gheprakkiseerd wese, *be-cause der* benne te veel dinge *already* in de werelt dat 'houe ons breins fast. Een mels moet eyenlik hem eige *'business examine*, na de kerk ghaan op Sondagh, en 'ghoed for 'em burman doen, en da sit er ghenoech in for 'een mels altyt besugh te houe.'

Mr. Link.

'me *husban* ee veel meer met duits ghedaan dan ikke. 'Je sou me ghrootmoeder hoore de ouwe taal prate. Sy 'wist alles for te seghghe, en ook had sy wat fan de ouwe *'sayings* for siektes en karts los fan de kinderkies te kryghe. Froegher benne *der people* hier die ghing allehaar na 'de kerk for de dominee te hoore spreke, maar dat is altyt 'in Engels'.

Mrs. Link.

In both the above quotations the obvious Americanisms have been italicized. In the second line of the first example, and the fifth line of the second, one sees the italicized '*der*'. This is probably a contraction of the American 'there are', in the first case; the second would be hard to determine. Perhaps the 'd' of the second '*der*' is merely inserted for euphony, the 'er' being a form of indefinite pronoun. Note also the peculiarity of the pronunciation 'mels' for the original Dutch 'mensch'. This change very likely came about thru the same means as the 'iemelt' 'someone', for 'iemand'.

For the benefit of those who may be unfamiliar with Dutch syntax, a translation of the two foregoing is also added.

'this study must not be taken too seriously, because there are already too many things in the world which occupy our attention. One must really look after one's own business, go to church on Sunday, and do good for his fellow man, and that is enough to keep one busy always'.

'my husband has done much more with Dutch than I have. You should have heard my grandmother speak the old language. She knew how to say everything, and also had many old sayings for sickness and to treat fevers in

children. In early days there were people here who went, all of them, to church to hear the preacher speak, but that was always in English'.

It is to be understood that many examples of such nature might be quoted, all of them along the same lines, which would accomplish little or nothing here. Some speakers of Hudson-Mohawk Dutch really knew so little 'Dutch' that they spoke a jargon of mispronounced American with a hybrid syntax and no more than a fair sprinkling of words of a real Dutch origin, with the result that such expressions as,

'weet je dat joe was where je gheen business had?' — 'do you know that you were where you had no business?' were fairly common. Under such circumstances, words of a definite and real American origin would be unrecognizable because of their perverted pronunciation, so that the whole would be quite unintelligible to one not versed therein.

GLOSSARY

This is not intended to be complete, since such would be impossible, the great majority of the words having been lost or distorted by many years of perverted use. The spelling that has been used will make apparent to the students of Germanics one fact that hardly needs pointing out and that is, the Dutch origin of this dialect. In this glossary we have included only words which might be considered as original and not those words, usually compound, which were built of other words to indicate something else. Indeed, the spelling itself has not always been consistent, for under the circumstances this would be difficult. For anyone familiar with Dutch pronunciation, reading of these words should be easy. Professor Prince's word list for the most part is included — that is to say, the words are alike, and where his word is unknown in Hudson-Mohawk Dutch, a letter 'P' follows in parenthesis.

A

A, an, — een; 'n.
 abash, — skame.
 another, — nander.
 abdomen, — buik.
 above, — bove.
 accident, — onghelik.
 to have an, — vronghe-
 likke.
 across, — dwars; dwas.
 afraid, — bang, verskrokke.
 after, — achter.
 after a while, — achter 'n
 beetse.
 afternoon, — namiddagh; ach-
 termiddagh.
 again, — weer.
 against, — teghe.
 ago, — ghelede or ghlede.
 air, — lught.
 all, — alles; al.
 allow, — toelate.
 almost, — ast.
 alone, — alleen.
 along, — lang; met.
 alongside, — nast.
 already, — skoon; al; a.
 also, — ook.
 always, — altyt.
 ancient, — oud; ouwe.
 and, — en.
 any, — eense.
 anyone, — iemelt.
 anything, — eenseding.
 apple, — appel.
 apron, — boesler.
 arise, — opstaane.
 arm, — arm.
 around, — rond.
 arrive, — aankome.
 ashtree, — esseboom.
 asleep, — aan slaap.
 awake, — wakker.
 awaken, to, — wakker rake.
 away, — wegh.
 axe, — byl.

axe handle, — bylsteel.

B

Baby, — wighie.
 back, — rugh.
 bad, — sleght.
 bake, — bakke.
 bald, — blootkop.
 baptize, — doope.
 bare, — bloot.
 bark, to, — kaffe.
 barley, — kerst; gerst.
 barn, — skur.
 bat, — vlfremuisie.
 beans, — boontse.
 bear, — beer.
 beast, — beest.
 beautiful, — mooi.
 beaver, — bever; johnny dog.
 bed, — bed.
 been, — gheweest.
 beetree, — byeboom.
 beets, — bietse.
 begin, — beghinne.
 belief, — ghloof.
 believe, — ghlove.
 bell, — bel.
 berries, — bessies.
 big, — ghroot.
 bird, — foghel.
 black, — swart; swaat.
 blackberries, — brambesse.
 blue, — blauw.
 born, — ghebore.
 both, — beide.
 bottle, — bottel.
 boy, — jonkie.
 brains, — breins.
 branch, — takkie.
 bread, — brood.
 brother, — broer.
 buckwheat, — boekwait.
 build, — bouwe.
 burial, — begrafenis.
 burn, — brande.
 bury, — begrave.

bushel, — skippel.
 busy, — besugh;
 to be,, — te ghang met.
 but, — maar.
 butter, — boter.
 buy, — koope.
 by, — by, forby.

C

Cabbage, — kool.
 cake, — koek.
 calf, — kalf.
 call, — roepe.
 came, — kwam.
 can, — kan. (verb).
 blikkie, (noun).
 cap, — muts.
 carry-all, — kerryboo.
 carry, — mee bringe; meenymie; draghe.
 cat, — kat.
 cedar tree, — siederboom.
 chain, — ketting.
 chair, — stoel.
 cheap, — ghoedkoop.
 change, — vrandere.
 checkered, — bont.
 cheese, — kas.
 cherries, — kersentses.
 chestnut, — kastanie.
 chew, — kauwe.
 chicken, — kuiker; hoender.
 chickenhawk, — kuikerdief.
 child, — kind.
 chimney, — skorstin.
 chipmunk, — klein weseltse;
 ard eekhorntse.
 church, — kerk, (pron: kerrek).
 churchyard, — kerkhof.
 churn, — karne.
 cider, — appelsap.
 city, — stad.
 clean, — skoon.
 clock, — klok
 cloth, — doek.

clothed, — aanghetrokke.
 clover, — klaver.
 coat, — rok.
 cock, — haan.
 coffin, — doodkis.
 cold, — koud.
 come, — kome.
 completely, — alendigh.
 consider, — prakkiseere.
 cook, — koke.
 cookstove, — kokstoof.
 cough, — hoeste.
 could, — kan.
 count, — rekene.
 cord, — snar.
 cow, — koe.
 corner, — hoek.
 cradle, — wieghie.
 crazy, — swak; swakkies.
 creek, — kil.
 cricket, — sprinkhaantse.
 crow, — ka, plur: kaie.
 cup, — koppie.
 curds and whey, — lobberdiemelk.
 cut, — sneie, (pron: snei-je).
 cure, — nese.

D

Damp, — damp.
 dangerous, — varlik.
 daughter, — doghter.
 dark, — donker.
 day, — dagh.
 day before yesterday, — eergister.
 dead, — dood; ghestarve.
 dentist, — tanddokter.
 die, — starve.
 differant, — anders.
 difficult, — hard.
 difficulty, — troebel.
 dig, — ghrave.
 dirt, — gront.
 dirty, — vuil.
 dish, — skotel; bord.

do, — doen.
 dog, — hond.
 done, — ghedaan.
 door, — dur.
 doubt, — twille.
 doubtful, — seftigh (P.)
 doughnut, — oliekoek.
 down, — neer.
 draw, — trekke; draghe.
 dream, — droome.
 dress, a, — kamiso.
 dressed, — aanghetrokke.
 drill, — boore.
 drink, — drinke.
 drive, — ryde.
 duck, — eentse.
 Dutch, — duits.
 dwell, — woone.

E

Ear, — oor.
 earache, — ooreek.
 early, — vroegh.
 earth, — ard.
 eat, — ete.
 egg, — ei, Plur: eijes.
 Egyptian, — jipte (P).
 eight, — acht.
 eighty, — taghentugh.
 elevate, — ophyse.
 eleven, — elf.
 elm, — ieperboom.
 empty, — leegh.
 English, — enghels (this word
 also indicates the American
 speech).
 enough, — ghenoegh.
 error, — mis.
 evening, — avend.; this even-
 ing, — fan aven.
 ever, — ooit.
 everything, — alles.
 evil, — kwad.
 external, — buite.
 extinct, — uitghestarve.
 eye, — oogh.

eyeglass, — bril.

F

Farewell, — farwel.
 farm, — plek (P), farm.
 farmer, — boer.
 fat, — fet.
 fast, — gauw; hard.
 fasten, — binde, bond, ghebon-
 de.
 fault, — skilt.
 February, — Februari.
 feed, — vawdere.
 fellow, — keerel.
 fever, — karts.
 few, — weinugh; beetse.
 field, — felt; akker.
 fifteen, — fyftien.
 fifty, — fyftugh.
 fight, — feghte.
 find, — finde.
 fine, — mooi.
 fire, — fier.
 first, — eerst.
 fish, — fesse.
 five, — fyf.
 fly, — fliegh; flieghe (verb).
 foot, — foet.
 for, — for.
 forget, — verghete.
 fork, — gaffel (hay); fork
 (table).
 forty, — feertugh.
 forwards, — forwards.
 four, — fier.
 fourteen, — feertien.
 fox, — vossie.
 Friday, — Frydagh.
 friend, — vrint.
 frightened, — verskrokke;
 bang.
 from, — fan.
 front, — voorsyd; verder.
 fruit, — frught.
 full, — fol.
 funeral, — beghrafenis.

funny, — wonnelik; wonlik (P).
fur, — bont.

G

Garden, — tuin.
gay-colored, — bont.
get, — kryghe.
ghost, — spook.
ginger, — jemver.
gingercake, — jemverkoek.
girl, — meisie.
give, — gheve.
glad, — blyt.
gladly, — gharn.
go, — ghaane.
go about, — rondloope.
go along, — rolle (P).
God, — Heer.
gone, — gheghaan.
good, — goed.
good-morning, — ghoedmorge.
good evening, — navend.
good bye, — atyeh.
goose, — ghans.
grandchild, — ghrootkind.
grandmother, — ghrootmoeder;
ghroomoe.
grapes, — druive.
grass, — gras.
grasshopper, — sprinkhaantse.
grave, — graft.
gravedigger, — doodghraver.
gray, — grauw.
green, — groen.
ground, — gront.
gruel, — pap.
gun, — roer.

H

Had, — had
hail, — hegele.
hand, — hand.
handkerchief, — doek.
hang, — hange.

hard, — hard.
harness, — harnas.
has, — had.
hat, — hoed.
have, — hebbe.
hay, — hooi.
he, — hy.
head, — kop.
healthy, — ghesont.
hear, — hoore; haore.
heart, — hart.
heartly, — hartugh.
height, — hoogheid.
help, — helpe.
hen, — hoender.
her, — haar.
here, — hier.
hickory tree, — noteboom.
high, — hoogh.
high-toned, — een beetse bo-
venmaat.
him, — hem.
his, — hem; se.
hitch up, — spanne.
hoe, — skof; skop (P).
hog, — vark.
Holland, — Holland.
home, — tuis.
hook, — hoek.
hope, — hoope.
horse, — paard.
hot, — heet.
house, — huis.
how, — hoe.
huckleberries, — blauwbesse.
hundred, — hondert.
hunt, — ghaan skiete. (note
absent 'e').
hurry up, — wees gauw.
hurt, — seer doen.

I

I, — ik; ikke.
ice, — eis, (ys, or ijs).
idle, — eidel, (ijdel).
if, — als; as; of.

ill, — siek; (a certain illness of horses — aanwasse).
 in, — in.
 ink, — ink.
 inkstand, — inkstaan.
 inside, — binne.
 internal, — binne.
 interested, — inghenome.
 iron, — eise.
 is, — is.
 it, — het; 'et.

J

January, — Januari.
 joke, — jokkie.
 journey, — reis.
 jug, — krok.
 juice, — sap.
 July, — Juli.
 jump, — springe.
 just, — juist.

K

Kettle, — ketel.
 key, — slautel.
 kick, — skoppe.
 kind, — soort.
 kiss, — soene; busse (P).
 knee, — knie.
 knife, — mes.
 knock, — kloppe.
 know, — wete.

L

Lamp, — lamp.
 language, — taal.
 lantern, — lantarn (pronounced: 'lan-tar-en').
 lard, — spekfet.
 last, — laast; vledede.
 late, — laat.
 laugh, — laghe.
 law, — wet.
 lay, — legghe.

leaf, — blad, Plural: blare.
 lean, — magher.
 learn, — lere.
 leather, — leer.
 leg, — been.
 let, — late.
 lie, — fals spreke; lieghe.
 lift, — ophyse.
 light, — light; lighte.
 lightning, — bliksem; weerleghte.
 lilac bush, — sjinggeringeboom, (P).
 little, — klein; beetse.
 live, to, — leve.
 long, — lang.
 look, — kyke.
 look like, to, — lyke.
 loose, — los.
 lose, — vliese; vloer; vloere also, kwitrake, or kwytrake.
 loud, — luid.
 low, — laagh.
 lungs, — longe.

M

Madame, — mem.
 make, — make.
 maker, — maker.
 man, — man.
 manure, — mest, stront.
 many, — veel; heel.
 maple tree, — meepelboom.
 March, — Maart.
 marry, — trouwe.
 May, — Mai.
 me, — my, me.
 meat, — beesteflees.
 milk, — melk. (pron.: mel-ek).
 mill, — mool.
 mine, — myn.
 mink, — mink.
 mistake, — mis.
 Monday, — Maandagh.
 money, — gheld.
 mouse, — muis.
 month, — maand.

moon, — maan.
 more, — meer.
 morning, — oghtent; morghe.
 mother, — moeder.
 mountains, — berghe; barghe,
 (pron: 'ber-re-ghe').
 mountains, or mountain chain,
 — gheberghte.
 mouth, — mont.
 much, — veel.
 mud, — mod.
 mushroom, — padstoel.
 muskrat, — enookierat; noo-
 kierat. (Mohawk: Anokien?).
 must, — moete.
 mutton, — skapflees.
 my, — myn.

N

Nail, — spyke.
 naked, — bloot.
 name, — naam.
 name, to, — vername.
 naturally, — naturlik.
 near, — naby.
 neck, — hals.
 negro, — negher.
 neighbor, — bur; burman.
 neighborly, — burlik.
 never, — nooit.
 new, — nieiw.
 newspaper, — nieiwspampier.
 next, — naast.
 night, — naght.
 nine, — neghe.
 nineteen, — neghetien.
 ninety, — neghentugh.
 no, — nee.
 nod, — nikke.
 none, — gheen.
 noon, — middagh.
 nose, — nuis.
 not, — niet.
 nothing, — gheending; niets.
 now, — nu.
 nut, — noot.

O

Oak, — eik; eikeboom.
 oats, — haver.
 occasion, — legeheid.
 of, — fan.
 off, — af; wegh.
 often, — dikkels.
 oil, — olie.
 ointment, — salf, (pron: sal-ef).
 old, — oud; ouwe.
 old person, — oudling.
 on, — op.
 one, — een; 'n mels.
 open, — ope.
 or, — of.
 order, in . . . to, — for te.
 other, — nander.
 our, — onse; ons.
 out, — uit.
 outside, — buite.
 oven, — ove.
 over, — over.
 owl, — uil, knapuיל (P).
 own, — eige.

P

Pail, — emmer, blikkie.
 pain, — pyn; seer.
 paint, — ferfe, (pron: fer-ef-e).
 pan, — pan.
 pancake, — pannekoek.
 paper, — pampier.
 parcel, — pakkie.
 parsnips, — pinksternage.
 part, — parte.
 partner, — maat.
 partridge, — veldhoender.
 pay, — betale.
 peaches, — pirkes.
 pear, — peer.
 peas, — ertses.
 people, — melse.
 person, — mels, keerel.
 pick, — plukke.
 pig, — varkie.

pistol, — klein roertse (P).
 place, — plek; plaats.
 plantation, — plantasi (P).
 plate, — skotel; bort.
 play, to, — spele.
 plough, — ploegh; ploeghe.
 plums, — pruime.
 pocket, — tas.
 poor, — arm.
 pork, — spek.
 potatoes, — errappels.
 poultry, — hoenders.
 preach, — preke.
 preserves, — konfait.
 pretty, — mooi.
 proceed, — rolle (P).
 professor, — hooghmeester.
 pull, — trekke.
 puller, — trekker.
 pulpit, — preekstoel.
 put, — doen.

Q

Quick, — gauw.
 quit, to be of, — kwyt.
 quiet, — stil; rust.

R

Rabbit, — haasie; kenyn.
 raccoon, — suikerdas, (Iro-
 quois: Tsugerak?).
 radishes, — radise.
 rain, — reghen; reghene.
 raspberry, — brambes (P).
 rat, — rat.
 rattlesnake, — ratelslang.
 read, — lese.
 really, — seker; eyenlik.
 red, — root; rooje.
 related, — bevrint (P); ver-
 want.
 remember, — onthoue.
 resemble, — lyke.
 ribs, — ribbe.
 ride, — ryde.

ridge, — rugh.
 right, — reghte.
 river, — rivier.
 road, — wegh; pad (P).
 robin, — rooborsie.
 rope, — tauw.
 rose, — roos.
 rump, — bil.
 rye, — roghghe.

S

Same, — deselfde (pron: 'sel-
 ef-de').
 Saviour, — Zaligmaker (P).
 sausage, — worst; 'wawst'.
 saw, — sagh.
 say, — seghghe.
 scissors, — skar.
 scrapple, — saus.
 scratch, — krabbe.
 see, — sien.
 self, — self.
 sell, — verkoope.
 seven, — suive.
 seventeen, — suivetien.
 seventy, — suiventugh.
 sew, — naje.
 shall, — sal.
 she, — sy.
 sheep, — skape.
 shirt, — hemp.
 shoes, — skoene.
 shovel, — skop.
 shoot, — skiete, skoot, ghe-
 skote.
 should, — sou.
 show, — waise; weze (P).
 sift, — seve.
 since, — sents.
 sing, — singe.
 sit, — sitte.
 six, — ses.
 sixteen, — sestien.
 sixty, — sestugh.
 skin, — fel.
 skunk, — piskat.

sky, — lucht.
 sleep, — slape.
 smoke, — smoke (P); rook.
 so, — soo.
 some, — enkelede; eense.
 someone, — iemand.
 something, — wat.
 son, — soon.
 sort, — soort.
 spareribs, — ribbetses.
 speak, — prate; spreke.
 spin, — spinne.
 squirrel, — eekortse.
 stairs, — trappe.
 stand, — staane; stinge, stong,
 ghestonge.
 stay, — blyve.
 steal, — stele.
 still, — stil; rustugh.
 strawberries, — stroobesse.
 strike, — slaan.
 sun, — son.
 Sunday, — Sondagh.
 surprise, — vrasse; vrassing.
 swallow, — swagheltse.
 swallow, to, — slikke.
 swamp, — moeras.
 sweep, — veghe.
 swing, — skoppe (P).

T

Table, — tafel.
 take, — nyme.
 take, to . . . off, — afnyme.
 teacher, — meester.
 ten, — tien.
 that, — die, dat.
 thank, — bedanke.
 their, — hullies.
 there, — daar; da.
 thief, — dief.
 thing, — ding.
 think, — denke.
 third, — derde.
 thirteen, — dertien.
 thirty, — dertugh.

Van Loon, Crumbs

this, — dese; dit.
 thither, — heen.
 those, who, — die wat (P).
 thousand, — duisent.
 three, — drie.
 thru, — door.
 Thursday, — Donderdagh.
 thunder, — donder; dondere.
 time, — tyt; keer.
 tired, — moe; meghtugh.
 too, — te.
 tobacco, — tabak.
 today, — fandagh.
 tomorrow, — morghe.
 tools, — ghreeskappe.
 tooth, — tand; plur: tanders.
 toothache, — tandpyn.
 town, — stad.
 tree, — boom.
 tripe roll with meat, — relletje;
 rolletse; 'relisher'.
 true, — reght; waar; soo.
 Tuesday, — Dinsdagh.
 turkey, — kulkoen.
 turnip, — rap.
 twelve, — twaalf.
 twenty, — twantugh.
 two, — twee.

U

Understand, — verstaane.
 unhitch, — uitspanne.
 until, — tot; toet.
 unto, — na.
 up, — op.
 urinate, — ghaan pisse; plasse.
 us, — ons.
 use, — verbruike.

V

Very, — seer; veel.
 value, — prys.
 vapor, — damp.
 vast, — ghroot.
 vest, — hemtrock (P).

vegetable, — plant.
 view, — sien.
 voice, — stem.
 voyage, — reis.

W

Wagon, — waghén.
 wait, — waghte; op waghte.
 walk, — loope; ghaane.
 waken, — wakker rake.
 want, — kere, (P); 'hebbe' with
 the past of 'wille'.
 warm, — warm.
 water, — water.
 wash, — wasse.
 way, — wegh.
 we, — wy.
 weak, — swak; wíek (P).
 wear, — draghe.
 weary, — moe; meghtugh.
 weasel, — weseltse.
 wedge, — wigh.
 Wednesday, — Woensdagh.
 week, — week.
 weigh, — weeghe.
 welcome, — welkom.
 well, — ghoed; wel.
 went, — ghing.
 wet, — nat.
 what, — wat.
 wheat, — tarrefe.
 wheel, — wiel.
 when, — wanneer.
 where, — waar.
 whiffletree, — spanhout
 (single).
 tweespan (double).
 toshout (single) (P).
 tweespan (double) (P).
 whip, — swiep.
 white, — wit.
 whither, — waarheen.
 who, — wie; wat; die.
 whole, — alle.

whose, — wie se.
 why, — waarom.
 wife, — wyf.
 wild, — wild.
 wildcat, — loskat; katelos (P).
 Wilhelmina, — Wilempie;
 Myntse.
 will, — wil; testament.
 wind, — wind.
 window, — fenster.
 wing, — vlerk; wíek.
 wise, — wys.
 wish, — vide 'want'.
 with, — met.
 without, — sonder.
 wolf, — wolf.
 woman, — wyf; frouw; vrouw-
 mens (P).
 wonder, — wonder; wondere.
 wonderful, — wonnelik; won-
 lik (P).
 wood, — hout.
 woodchuck, — eerdvark.
 woods, — bos.
 wool, — wol.
 word, — woord.
 work, — warke.
 world, — werelt.
 worm, — worm.
 write, — skryve.

Y

Year, — jaar.
 yellow, — gheel.
 yellowbird, — gheelfinkie.
 yes, — ja.
 yesterday, — ghister; ghister-
 dagh.
 day before . . . , — eerghister.
 yoke, — span.
 you, — je; jullie.
 your, — jou; jullie.
 yours, — jullies; juwes.
 young, — jong.

ADDENDA

Johnny dog; enookierat; raccoon

In the foregoing glossary will be found three forms which bear explanation. Under the heading 'B' is found the word 'johnny dog' for 'beaver'. So far as may be determined there never was an American dialect word 'johnny dog' used in this way. Further no German word approached this, and still further no dialect word such as 'jean d'eau' (which seems to resemble the 'johnnydog' somewhat) was in use among the French to designate a beaver. The only other dialect which might have influenced the Hudson-Mohawk Dutch of the period were the Indian dialects and of these the Mohawk or Iroquois probably was most influential in and around Albany (Fort Orange). Some Algonkian words have been noted in writings, it should be stated here. Anent the Iroquois, one notes with interest that a beaver was then, and still is today known by various terms among these people, all of which are slightly different spellings and pronunciations of the same word, as, 'Tsannitoh' from Hewitt's Iroquoian Cosmology; 'Tsiennito' from the *Lexique de la langue Iroquoise*; and 'janedoh' from private communications from the reservation of the Iroquois at Deseronto, Canada.

The second, found under the heading 'M' is the term 'enookierat' (and the term 'nookierat') for 'muskrat'. The remarks made above will also serve here. Among the Mohawks, the muskrat which was doubtless a new animal for the earliest settlers, was known as 'Anokien'. This derivation is therefore possible.

The third found under the heading 'R' is the word 'sui-kerdas' for 'raccoon'. This might have been two good Dutch words, 'suiker' — sugar, and 'das' — badger, or

badger-like animal. The raccoon resembles in some ways a badger (for example as to color) but in their native state they have nothing to do with sugar, and their tastes run to nothing sweeter than green corn. From a private communication from the Onondaga reservation near Syracuse, one learns that the Onondaga term for raccoon was, and is (with of course, the same variations as mentioned under the first example) known as 'Tsogerak', the first two syllables of which resemble not a little the word 'suiker'. If one adds to this the fact that the animal is a 'das', i.e. a badger-like animal, one arrives close to the word 'suikerdas'. Along with this hypothesis one must presuppose that Onondagas were moderately plentiful in the lower Mohawk valley, at least in the later years of the colony.'

Jingles and rhymes

In connection with and to a certain extent related to the foregoing grammar treatise and glossary, we have included here a selection of jingles and rymes of interest both to the professional man and the laity. The use of jingles and rymes of different sorts for the treatment of ailments both in animals and in humans, and also for the purpose of exhorting good luck, demanding revenge, etc., etc., has probably prevailed at some time or other among all peoples, certainly among all occidentals.

Their exact origin would be difficult if not impossible to ascertain, since they might be traced back to the middle ages among various peoples, where the trail would be lost in the haze of the then beginning dawn of modern culture.

Because of the few which have remained, (mostly as curiosities — but not *always* so!) and the uses to which they have been put, we know *why* they originated. It was to prevent illness, or to cure it when it occurred; to call upon good luck to attend one's efforts or vice versa; to seek revenge on enemies or to protect one from the same, etc. Indeed, not many centuries ago, they were consider-

ed the most important of all in curing disease and as a matter of fact they were part and parcel of every physician's armamentarium. Most of them doubtless had some origin in 'prayer', indeed, the 'jingle' itself might be considered a sort of prayer altho much perverted by ages of use and misuse. Much the same thing occurred among aboriginal peoples even into contemporary times, as, for example, among the polynesian peoples who were known to actually languish and die without apparant cause other than the fact that some priest was 'praying' them to death!

That physicians at one time represented a priestly profession and made use of such formulae (among other things) in treating illness, is a matter of record. That they did not relinquish the 'jingle' method of treatment long ago was due directly to the opposition they received from the general public concerning the examination and experimentation with the human body after death. A corpse had always been considered inviolate, and excluding the scientific (and scholarly!) studies made today for the advancement of medical and surgical knowledge, is still so. Today, *no* physician anywhere uses a ryme to cure an ailment, while many rural individuals who do not represent medicine, still do. The laity serves to keep alive what remains of a middle age practice. This is particularly true in south-eastern and central eastern Pennsylvania, among other places, where 'hexerei' and the so-called 'pow-wow' are active and used by practitioners of such methods.

Just what determines who shall be a 'hex' or a 'pow-wow' practitioner is hard to say. It is not a hereditary thing. Probably whoever is adept becomes in time an active member of such a class. Usually their elementary schooling and training has been negligible. They have picked up whatever they know by discreet observation, by hearsay, and by accepting whatever crumbs of information an already existant and practicing specialist may be willing to drop. To begin with they must be shrewd in order to make a success of their practice especially in the face of united efforts of medical and veterinary groups to

drive them out. Many of them with training, might have made exceptionally successful practitioners of medicine. Actually then, the fundamental characteristics of the two groups may be very much related if not exactly alike. Environment and training have thrown them far apart.

In early Colonial days, of course, physicians were few and far apart. Upon taking up residence in a rural district or in an isolated frontier tract of land, one might expect little or no medical attention when ill. The same was even more true of animals since veterinary medicine per se, was in those times unknown. Therefore, in the event of illness one suffered and one was attended by one's neighbor who in turn had been attended at some time by another who used a certain formula or formulae with great success. This was tried and as so frequently is the case, the ill one recovered. The efficacy of the 'jingle' was thus established. This same system obtained in attending sick live stock. Ultimately one individual in the community became more and more adept at using these jingles and rymes with the result that he was frequently called upon by his neighbors to render aid. Because of the tendency thus to specialize it no longer behooved everyone to remember the formulae necessary for the treatment of illness — a simpler method was to call in the community 'pow-wow' artist who in turn began to keep his formulae more secret, and to try and catalogue his proceedings, realizing of course the value in so doing, since it helped specialization and in turn improved income. In turn a like process of specialization now began to take place in the 'specialty' itself in the following manner. Some formulae were expressly for animals, and some for human use, while a third group was supposed to be useful for both. Gradually the individual who successfully used the formulae for animals, became known in his community for this reason and ultimately he remembered his formulae as for animals only, with the result that he was called upon to treat only horses, cattle, etc., whilst human ailments were left in the hands of the physician or pseudo-physician.

With this differentiation, what became of the 'jingles' which were used as incantations for good or evil? They had never assumed the cloak of professionalism, with the result that they were remembered only by a few older individuals, who could, depending upon the remuneration attempt to use them for their purpose, good or bad. In this way probably began the group known as 'hex' or 'hexerei' — the 'witches'. For some reason, public opinion has never taken the turns against 'pow-pow' (medical or veterinary) which it has on occasions taken against witches, to which attention is called in reference to their trials and executions in New England in the 17th. century. Good or harmless jingles and rymes were laughed out of the community by the clergy and the evil ones were punished severly in many cases, and they remained for the most part in the memories of persons who remembered them only as curiosities. With the result finally that the use of such jingles has disappeared almost everywhere whilst 'pow-wow' still holds its own in many rural districts.

Whether the practice of 'hexerei' or 'pow-wow' was ever prevalent to any degree among the Dutch colonists of New York is hard to say. In no case has the origin of any of the hereinafter quoted jingles been determined, and we make no attempt to trace them. Likely enough they had a common ancestry among the Germanic peoples in general.

Oddly enough also, none of these jingles or rymes have been recorded in the past with the result that many of them disappeared doubtless when the older members of families passed on. It is questionable if the hereinafter quoted jingles and rymes are in active use anywhere. A well-organized and scientifically trained medical and veterinary profession have made their use non-profitable and indeed, not a little ridiculous. We offer them herewith for the curiosities they are.

The horse being probably the most useful and valuable piece of livestock on any farm particularly on a frontier farm, his care and attention when ill would be more

devoted, to say the least. For this reason, we have been able to gather more jingles and formulae related to horses than any other. The first formula is for atrophy of the limbs, due perhaps to injury and disuse, for example.

'One takes a pound of old bacon and cuts it up into small pieces. These are laid in a pan and rendered out well. To this, one adds a handful of fish worms, a cup of oats and three spoons of salt. This is allowed to fry until it becomes black, when it is then strained thru a cloth. After this, one adds a small cup of soft soap, a half cup of brandy made from corn, a half cup of vinegar and a half cup of urine of an adolescent boy. This is all mixed together, and used as follows: On the third the sixth, and the ninth day after the new moon one rubs the mixture well into the affected limb with an oak board.'

The resemblance of this formula to many of a medical nature which have remained to us from out the middle ages is striking.

The second is a treatment designed for horses suffering from a swelling sometimes seen in gray or gray-black horses, occurring mostly in the abdomen.

'If one has a horse in the stable which is suffering from such a disease, one waits until such time as one finds an old bone somewhere in the fields or woods. One must have come across it accidentally and not have sought it out purposely. This is used to stroke over the growth, always using it in the decreasing light of late afternoon. Whilst stroking, one repeats the following phrase: 'Aanwasse in je plasse uitghewasse — aanwasse in je plasse uitghewasse'. The bone is then carefully laid in the place from which it was taken.'

Translation: 'Growths in your urine washed out — growths in your urine washed out'.

The third formula was used to drive worms from a horse. Whether any of these formulae really worked in ridding any animal of its trouble has never been said.

'One takes the horse by the nose, and says: 'Hep je de worme, soo krygh ik je by de kop. Hullie moghe wel wit, bruin, of rood, soo sulle hullie ghaane dood.' With which one shakes the horse's head three times'.

Another formula used in ridding a horse of its worms was the following:

'One takes the animal into the yard, and strokes its abdomen repeating: 'Maria demoeder's Heere, ghing over de land, se had drie worme in d'r hand, de een was wit, nander swaat, de derde was rood, soo gha je dood.' Each time that one uses this method, one strikes the horse in the back, once for each time, thus — once for the first time, twice for the second, and third for the third time, etc.'

A method of relieving a horse of the colic, in which there are so called 'heaves' present (hiccups), is the following:

'Every time the horse is used, one strokes him three times and turns him around in the sun by his head, repeating: 'De heiligh seght: Joseph ghing over 'n Akker, daar vond hy drie worme; de een swaat, nander bruin, de derde was rood — je sal starveghaan dood.' (this latter expression was probably an imperative). Because of the appearance and relationship of the reference to worms in this and the foregoing, one wonders whether the formula was not originally intended for animals with the colic, *due to the worms?* The etiology of the colic may well have been forgotten with the result that the jingle was thought of as useful for any sort of colic, per se.

Not all formulae were used specifically for ailments. Some, such as the following were supposed to be of aid where the animal would not eat, regardless of the cause, so long as this cause was not a demonstrable malady entity. To bring a horse's appetite back.:

'One takes the horse who will not eat, and opens its mouth. One then strikes him inside the mouth on the gum three times.'

This particular remedy carried with it the advice that it was useful for a horse who would not eat especially out along a country way on a trip of some sort.

Not unusually, it may be assumed, live stock wandered away from their isolated farm homes, and forgot to return, or indeed had perhaps lost the way. In a surrounding territory where few or no neighbors lived, this was a

drama to the owner, as one may well imagine. What was said to be the best remedy for this was contained in the following:

'One takes a handful of salt, and with the animal which 'will not always return, goes out into the fields to a big 'stone or a sawed-off tree. Here one leads the animal 'three times around the stone or tree, always in the same 'way so that one finishes on the same side of the stone or 'tree from which one had approached it in the first place. 'After this, one places the salt upon the stone or tree and 'allows the animal to lick it off.'

This has more than just a grain of superstition, for the liking of animals for salt is a well known fact to those acquainted with live stock. In days when deer were more prevalent than they are at present, they were known to travel long distances back to a 'salt lick', and incidentally always to the same 'lick'. The now illegal practice of placing salt where deer can get at it and then ambushing them as they come to the place is also well known. Considering this it is not at all improbable that the owner of the animal was in reality and unbeknown to himself, creating a 'salt-lick!'

Another formula for the same purpose is found in the following. It does not lend itself so easily to explanation as the one just prior.

'Tear from between and just in front of the horns of the 'animal which strays, a little piece of hair, also from out 'the middle of the back, and from the rump alongside the 'tail and in the thigh. One mixes this with bread and gives 'it to the animal to eat.'

Of course, not all formulae were expressly for horses and cattle. The following was considered a good procedure to make hens lay more eggs:

'Take some rabbit manure and mash it fine. This is 'then mixed with clay, and made wet until the whole is 'quite mushy. This is given to the chickens every day 'along with their regular food.'

It is odd how regularly fecal material and urine were called for in various formulae for internal use. The pro-

cedures which were written down from the middle ages, for use in treating human ailments were marked by the rather free use of such material. Here in the few formulae preserved, one sees two different processes which call for their use.

An odd formula which we have here preserved is one used in the treatment of hollow cow horns. Just what the particular disease may have been or is, which causes 'hollow' horns is unknown to the writer. In any event, the existence of the procedure seems to prove the fact that it was something to be considered as an evil.

'Bore a hole in the horn that is hollow, and milk a small quantity of milk from the same cow. This is in turn injected thru the hole into the hollow cavity of the horn.'

Since the animal is specifically stated to be a 'cow' this method would obviously be useless in a bull, or in a heifer which is not yet milking.

Somewhat removed from these lines, we have the following jingle which was used in assuring the planter a good crop, possibly by warding off the birds (crows) which might otherwise pull up the seeds.

'Klip klop bovenop.
'zet je hoed al aan je kop.
'Draaie, vleie, drie maal zaaie,
'pluk de veere van de kaaie'.

Closely related to the foregoing, and in reality perhaps the same jingle adapted to a different purpose, we have the following jingle considered useful in assuring one of a healthy and well preserved crop of fruit:

'Klip klop bovenop.
'Suiker stroop en appelsap,
'Appelsap en roggestroo
'In 'n ghoed klein kerryboo.'

In both the above quoted jingles, it was stated that the user must use it each morning before leaving the barn for beginning the days work. Whether they were efficacious or not is hard to say at this remote date. Hudson River apples used to be considered very fine, and any jingle will grow a good crop provided it is carefully planted in good land, and weather conditions are right!

De v'lorene z'ón—The prodigal son

The system of notation which was used is the following:

a = u in 'pull'.

ā = a in 'father'.

â = a deep close aw as in 'awful', but more constricted.

ä = a vowel commonly heard in the English of north Jersey today; between a in 'hat' and e in 'met'.

ää = a prolongation of the above; very flat.

āi = ā + i, as in 'like'.

äu = the nasalized American ou in 'house'.

ê = ay in 'may'. Not the N. ee.

e = a short indeterminate vowel, uttered with the mouth half closed.

) = the Schwund; shorter than e.

i = as in 'hit'.

î = contracted Eng. ee.

o = very short Eng. aw.

ô = long o.

ôu = as owe, with indeterminate e.

ö = German ö.

Ö = long German ö.

û = N. oe.

u = Eng. oo in 'foot'.

ü = German ü.

Û = prolonged German ü.

ǵ = the deep guttural N. g.

r = the ordinary American „burred” r.

x = a soft guttural as in German Bach.

xj = the above, palatalized.

- I. En kääd'l had twî jongers; de éne blêv täus; de
A man had two sons; the one stayed at home; the
andere xöng vört f'n häus f'r en stât.
other went abroad from home to make his fortune.
Hāi wāz nît tevrêde täus en dârkîs tû
He was not content at home and therefore then
râkni ārm. — he became poor.

¹⁾ The publisher drew my attention to an article by Prof. D. C. Hesselning in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche taal- en letterkunde*. 1913, XXXII, p. 306—312, where he reprinted and annotated the following text in Jersey Dutch edited by J. Dyneley Prince in *Dialect Notes*, 1910 Vol. X.

- II. Hāi doġti ôm dāt täus en z'n vâders plāk.
He thought about it at home and his father's place.
Tû zāide: äk zāl na häus xâne. Māin vâder hāt
Then said: I shall go home. My father has
plānti. — plenty.
- III. Ēn tû de vâder zâġ'm komme, hāi xōng äut
And when the father saw him coming, he went out
en mûten'm en boste z'n zōn en tû
and met him and kissed his son and then
broġt'm in h'm häus. -- brought him into his
house.
- IV. Tû zāide te de käd'l, de xjehúrde hānt: nāu
Then said to the man, the „hired hand”: now
xân en slāxt het käl'v en tû nâ dāt xân en
go and kill the calf and then afterwards go and
nôd de büre en komme met māin en wāi zāl
invite the neighbors and come with me and we shall
nāu en fist hābbe. — now have a feast.
- V. Māin zōn wāt v'lôre wās äs nāu ôm täus.
My son who was lost is now again at home.
Nāu zāle wāi en xûje dānbâr tāt hābbe.
Now we shall have a good thankful time.
- VI. Tû de āuster zōn zāid: je dēn nît zô för
Then the oldest son said: you did not so for
māin. Äk blēf täus bāi jāu en jāi nôut makte
me. I stayed home with you and you never made
xîn super för māin en dôze xōng vört en
any supper for me and this one went away and
spandérde al z'n xält. — wasted all his money.
- VII. Nāu kommt hāi ôm ārm. Nāu makt je en fist —
Now he comes back poor. Now you make a feast —
en x'rôte super — för hōm, dāt jāi nôut dēn
a great supper — for him, which you never did
för māin. — for me.
- VIII. Tû de vâder zāi: äk bän blāit; äk bän dānbâr
Then the father said: I am glad; I am thankful
dāt māin zon nox lêft en äz täus in xjezonthāit.
that my son still lives and is at home in
health.

The foregoing interesting example of a scripture passage in the dutch dialect that once was prevalent in northern New Jersey (Bergen County), will form a basis for comparison between it and the Mohawk-Hudson dialect hereinbefore discussed.

Both the Mohawk-Hudson dutch and the Jersey dialect sounds were an evolutionary process starting with the influences exerted by the earliest colonists who were a dutch citizenry composed of Hollanders, Frisians, Germans, Irish, English, French, Negro, and of course the omnipresent Indian each adding the peculiarities of his or her dialectal pronunciation to the very broad dutch then in use. There can be no question that these influences were powerful and lasting also, and it is thus no wonder that many bizarre qualities are to be noted in the final result. On the other hand, there can be absolutely no question as to the dutch origin of the vowel values, changed tho' they may be, and the use of the diphthongs, specially marked in the case of "ui", a difficult sound for non-speakers of dutch to acquire correctly,

The retention of the palate guttural "g", or "gh" (here "xj" is also remarkable — altho it had been lost in many words the place being taken by the hard american "g" sound. Too, the dutch "g" sound often deteriorated into a "ghy" or even "hyeh" sound, bringing to mind the archaic english-american forms "yclept", "eschew", and the commoner form, "enough".

There had been some change also in the vowel values of almost systematic nature, particularly noted in the "a" and the double form "aa" — for practical purposes here to be considered the same as the "a" sound in the word "father". They have been lengthened out to reach an "aw" sound, as in the words "gaan" (line 2, II, "xân") and "maken" (line 2, VI "mâkte"), which thus become "gawn" and "mawken". Prominent examples of the extreme lengthening to which the "a" and the "aa" were subjected are found in the words "taai" and "draai" (pron: "toy" and "droy") which I have taken the liberty of including here.

In many words in which "i" appeared originally, the sound had been changed to the short "e" as in the american "let". Such a word as "ging" (line 1, III, "xöng") pronounced as "geng" will illustrate this.

The same sort of change had apparently occurred in many or most words in which "e" appeared originally as "plek" (line 1, II, "plak") pronounced as the "a" of the first syllable of the american word "cactus". This was the rule however only where the single short dutch "e" was found. Where the long double "ee" occurred this sound was for the most part retained, as in "bleev" (line 2, VI, "blêv") pronounced as "bleeiv" which approaches the sound of the "ay" in the american form "may". That this was not invariably the case however is seen in the examples "teughe" for the properly spelled "tegen", and "beuzem" for the properly spelled "bezem" which I insert here. As a rule then, any changes which have taken place, have followed this general trend, altho one cannot always be sure that a change in any word will be as described, especially where one is unfamiliar with the word in the first place. The only real means would be to know each word independently, and this would be something of a task. Strictly speaking there were many infractions of the above, and because of the nature of the dialect and its speakers no accepted standard. The users of Jersey Dutch were not grammarians or philologists, and therefore we may assume the variations which must have taken place due to individual characteristics.

Syntax in Jersey Dutch was identical with Hudson Dutch and as may be seen (line 1, IV, "xjehürde hänt") substitution was practiced wherever needed, (see also line 4, p. 25).

In conclusion then, the most remarkable thing to be considered, is the fact that two separate dutch dialects developed here in the the same land, and within a hundred or two miles of one another, showing differences enough to be easily noted. The isolation of one from the other thru many years was complete enough to allow these deviations to take place.