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## The Dialectal Origins of New Netherland Dutch

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'k Ben een Na-Nicht van de Goden  
Die an d'Amstel haar geboden  
Stellen, tot een vaste baak:  
Tot een huel, en tot een wraak.<sup>1</sup>

**1. Introduction.** From the perspective of the Low Countries, the Dutch colonial experience in North America appears to have been of both limited duration and relatively minor significance.<sup>2</sup> From an American perspective, however, the role played by the New Netherland colony and its descendants under English rule, the provinces of East Jersey, West Jersey, and New York, was of central importance. Fortunately, the place of the Dutch colonial presence in the social, political, and economic development of colonial North America has, in recent years, increasingly become a topic of concern for American historians who have perceived a need to revise the essentially Anglocentric perspective of the bulk of the historical literature on the period.

In historical studies on the gradual Anglicization of the former New Netherland territories, scholars have often made reference to the linguistic aspect of the process, focusing for example on the rapidity of language shift from Dutch to English in New York City and the contrasting tenacious preservation of Dutch speech in rural districts such as Bergen County in New Jersey and the Mohawk valley in New York, where the last speakers of the dialect died out only in the

<sup>1</sup> From the poem "Klagt van Nieuw-Nederland" (Complaint of New Netherland) by Jacob Steendam, New Netherland's first poet, published in 1659 in Holland (Murphy 1865: 28). Murphy (37) translates these lines: "I'm a grandchild of the Gods / Who on th'Amstel have abodes; / Whence their orders forth are sent / Swift for aid and punishment."

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first half of this century. The New Netherland Dutch dialect has, however, received remarkably little attention from linguists. Indeed, with the notable exception of Gehring (esp. 1973), few Netherlandicists have studied the dialect and, for the most part, their studies have been marred by an insufficient knowledge either of continental Dutch dialectology or of the colonial dialect itself. The latter problem has been exacerbated by the fact that some of the best-known and most regularly cited sources on the dialect cannot be considered reliable.<sup>3</sup>

Despite the difficulties involved in obtaining reliable information on New Netherland Dutch, the effort is well worth making. First, as an essential element of the social development of the Middle Atlantic states, the process of attrition of New Netherland Dutch culture forms an important part of the region's history, as historians have increasingly recognized. I believe, however, that New Netherland Dutch can also be of significance to the study of the history of the Dutch language as a whole. Specifically, I believe that New Netherland Dutch, along with its sister dialect, Cape Dutch, can shed new light on an otherwise poorly attested variety of 17th century Dutch in the northern Netherlands.

In this paper I present an overview of the sociohistorical background to the development of New Netherland Dutch. I then focus on the question of the early formation of the dialect and in particular analyze the features of the dialect in relation to features of the European dialects of Dutch. This analysis is based on data which I have recently gathered from archival sources as well as from previously published sources. A central finding of this research is that the opinions hitherto expressed on the dialectal origins of New Netherland Dutch are largely wrong: while almost all writers on the subject have perceived a strong southern Dutch element in the colonial dialect, the actual dialectal evidence points consistently to an essentially north-central dialect area, more specifically, to the area around Amsterdam and the western part of the province of Utrecht.

This finding has several important implications. First, in light of the demographic data available to us for the European origins of the colonists, it is striking that the colonists from the Amsterdam/Utrecht area, though numerous, were very much in the minority. From this fact it follows that in the colony itself and perhaps already in the northern Dutch cities whence the colonists were recruited, a strong process of dialect "levelling" or restructuring was taking place in the 17th century in favor of the dialect of the north-central region. Second, given that the number of southern Netherlanders in the colony was negligible, the process of dialect restructuring in New Netherland may shed light on the longstanding controversy of the role of Brabants influence in the development of the spoken standard variety of Dutch in 17th century Holland. More specifically, I

<sup>3</sup> The sources in question are those either written by or obtained from Dr. L. G. van Loon, M.D. One of the most often cited works on New Netherland Dutch is his book *Crumbs from an old Dutch closet* (1938), in which he purports to describe the Mohawk Dutch dialect which he had heard in his youth. In light of the evidence that links L. van Loon to forged historical documents (Gehring & Starna 1985, Gehring et al. 1987), the value of documents pertaining to the dialect which are associated with him must also be questioned. My own preliminary evaluation of these documents, based on purely linguistic criteria, is that their authenticity is highly dubious.

feel that the New Netherland evidence lends strong support to the view for which Howell (1991, 1992) has convincingly argued, namely, that the diphthongization of *i* and *u* was an autochthonous northern development and not a "borrowing" from the speech of southern Dutch refugees in the north. I would, however, further suggest that the feature is an essentially central Dutch feature (Brabants and Utrechts) and that its early development in the dialects of central Holland may reflect an old and far-reaching process of dialectal "expansion" which reaches back into the Middle Ages (cf. Heeroma's (1935, 1938) theory of an "Utrechts expansie"). Finally, I believe that a proper dialectological analysis of the New Netherland Dutch data allows us to undertake a revision of the received views on the dialectal origins of Afrikaans, where scholars have similarly been excessively inclined to find southern (and coastal) Dutch influences (e.g. Kloeke 1950).<sup>4</sup> I will argue instead that the evidence of the colonial dialects provides us with a new perspective on the spoken language of the urban middle and lower classes of central Holland during the Golden Age.

**2. An overview of the history of New Netherland.** Before discussing the linguistic evidence of New Netherland Dutch, it will be necessary to give an overview of the historical and social background of the dialect's development, which, in the context of this article, must be limited to basic facts and points which are relevant to the linguistic questions at hand. There are now a number of scholarly works available which one can consult for detailed treatments of the history of New Netherland (e.g. Condon 1968, Rink 1986) and colonial New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and eastern Pennsylvania.<sup>5</sup>

Dutch claims to lands in North America were based on the explorations carried out by Henry Hudson in 1609, who, while sailing under the flag of the United Provinces, visited the coasts of present-day New York and New Jersey and explored the lower reaches of the river that now bears his name. When reports of Hudson's findings in North America reached the Netherlands, they roused the interest of wealthy merchants, who in the course of the next decade or so formed various investment partnerships in order to finance expeditions to the region. The goal of these expeditions was first and foremost to procure valuable furs, especially beaver furs, to be sold for a handsome profit in Europe. The early trading ventures were sufficiently successful to convince the Dutch that the enterprise was worth pursuing further.

An important development in Dutch dealings with New Netherland and the New World in general came with the formation of the West India Company (WIC) in 1621, a large joint-stock company organized along very similar lines to its highly successful eastern counterpart, the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (United East India Company). The WIC received exclusive Dutch rights to trade with the New World and the west coast of Africa north of the Cape of Good Hope. Thus, in addition to the North American fur trade, the WIC looked

<sup>4</sup> The Afrikaans evidence, which due to space restrictions I cannot treat here, will be discussed in a forthcoming article (Buccini forthcoming).

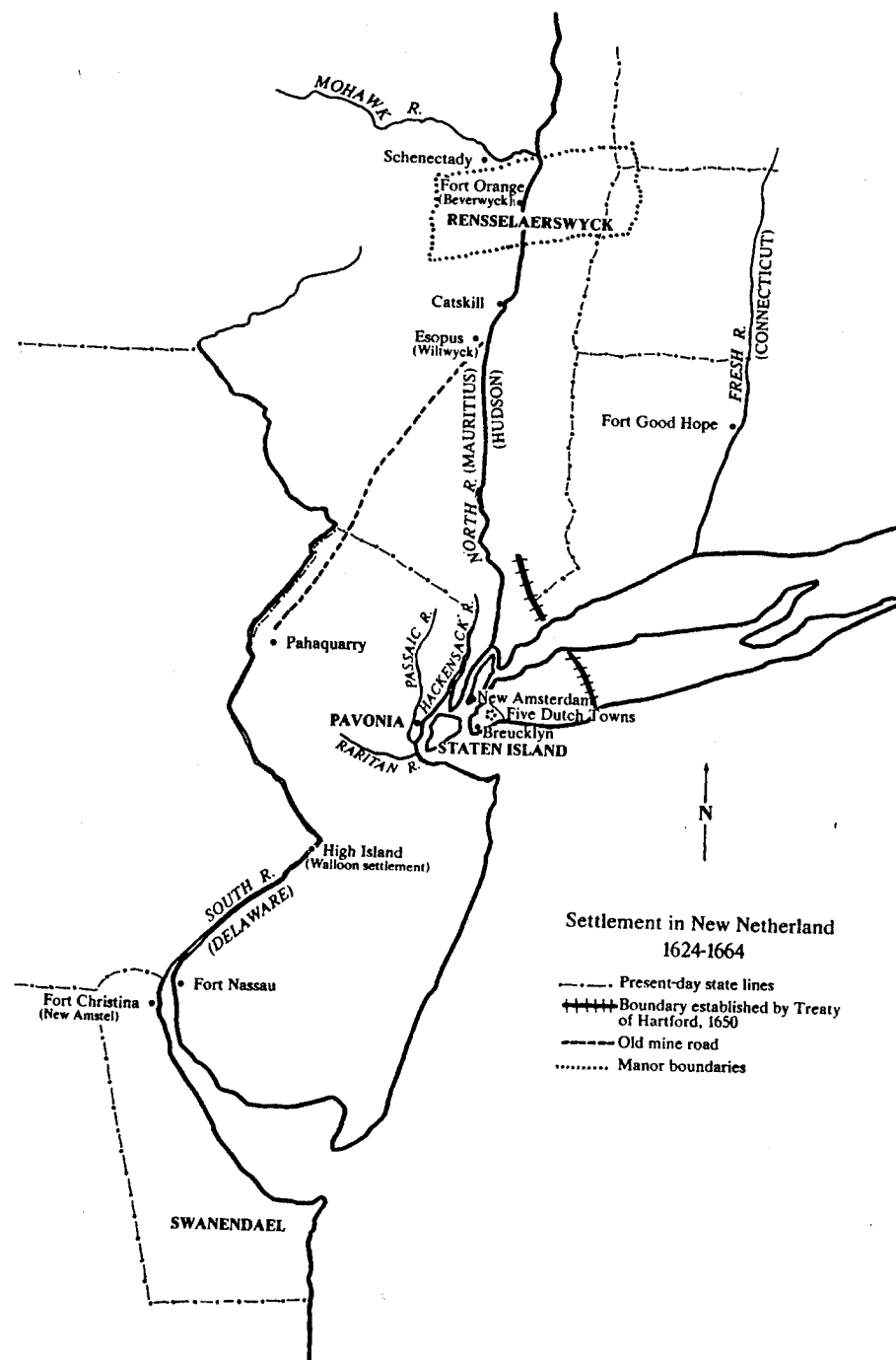
<sup>5</sup> For further bibliographical information, see Goodfriend (1988) and Gehring (1988).

to take hold of territories in the Caribbean and Brazil for sugar plantations, to profit from the West African trade in gold, ivory, and slaves, and to pirate home-bound Spanish shipping. In the overall scheme of operations, establishment of a major settlement in New Netherland was not an especially high priority for the Company in its early years (Condon 1968: 66ff., Rink 1986: 60-1).

The North American territory which the WIC took control of was bounded in the north by New France, i.e. French Canada, in the east by the New England colonies, in the west by lands still controlled by Iroquoian and Algonquian peoples, and in the south at first by the lands of the Algonquian peoples of the Chesapeake area and eventually by the English Maryland colony. In terms of the modern States, then, New Netherland included a large part of western Connecticut, much of New York State, New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware. Trading activities in New Netherland centered on the territory's three major rivers, which gave access to the interior regions, where, at least for a time, furs were easily obtained. These rivers were the South River, now the Delaware, the North River, now the Hudson, and the Fresh River, now the Connecticut (see map 1). Consequently, when the first large group of colonists arrived in New Netherland, they were split up and sent to establish small settlements on each of the three rivers to support the trapping and trading operations as well as to give substance to Dutch claims to the region. The most sizeable group was settled near present-day Albany (Weslager 1961: 50-1). After some initial hesitation, the Dutch decided to make the North River region, and in particular the island of Manhattan, the administrative and economic center of the colony rather than the South River and, with that decision, the settlement at the southern tip of Manhattan, New Amsterdam, soon became the largest town of New Netherland.

The first large group of settlers arrived in 1624 and was comprised of thirty families, most of which were apparently Walloon; they joined a smaller group, also probably Walloon, which had arrived the year before (Rink 1986: 74ff.). The following year, another even larger group of colonists, together with livestock and agricultural supplies was brought over on a squadron of Company ships. According to Rink (1986: 91), these expeditions brought the number of colonists up to about 300, of which a significant proportion, perhaps even a majority, were French-speaking. Thus, by the mid-1620s the WIC had succeeded in establishing a colony in New Netherland, but it was neither a large one nor one which was linguistically and ethnically purely Dutch in character.

Over the next 25 to 30 years, population growth was steady but gradual and, though the relative size of the non-Dutch population from French-speaking lands decreased considerably, the overall numbers of non-Dutch immigrants remained high, with many colonists coming from Germany, Scandinavia, and Britain (see section 3.4, table 2). Settlement remained concentrated in New Amsterdam and small villages scattered throughout the area of modern-day New York City east of the Hudson. Fledgling settlements on Staten Island and in the Bergen County area of New Jersey had been founded already in the 1630s but were twice destroyed in wars with the local Indians, first in 1643 and again in 1655, a fate that had already befallen a Dutch settlement on the South River in 1631. An important event during this early period was the establishment of Kiliaan van Rens-



Map 1: *New Netherlands Dutch* (from Kenney 1975)  
Courtesy of Syracuse University Press

selaer's large patroonship (Rensselaerswijck) around the Company's trading post, Fort Orange, near the confluence of the Hudson and Mohawk rivers. Though other patroonships had been planned, Rensselaerswijck was the only one that was successful, bringing about the permanent establishment of a European agricultural settlement in the area around modern Albany. Meanwhile, on the South River, the Swedes, together with renegade Dutchmen, took over the area of southern New Jersey, Delaware, and southeastern Pennsylvania, founding the small New Sweden colony in 1638 with a mixed population of Swedes, Dutchmen, Finns, and the increasingly omnipresent Englishmen. New Sweden was recaptured and annexed back to New Netherland in 1655 under the leadership of Pieter Stuyvesant, at the very time when the Indians were ravaging the Dutch settlements west of the lower Hudson.

Though threatened with invasion from New England during the first Anglo-Dutch War in 1652-4, New Netherland survived the threat and entered its last decade under WIC control with a population of between 3,000 and 3,500 colonists.<sup>6</sup> During these last ten years of Dutch rule, the colony's population increased dramatically to between 9,000 and 10,000 (Smith 1973: 139) at the time of the English conquest in 1664. The increase can be attributed primarily to more intensive immigration from the United Provinces but also to the large-scale infiltration of English settlers from New England into eastern and central Long Island. Also during this period, settlements on the west side of the lower Hudson (Bergen County, New Jersey) were reestablished (1658).

With the arrival of British colonial administration, immigration from the United Provinces to the former New Netherland soon dropped to a trickle (Goodfriend 1992: 42ff.), while the influx of New Englanders and Englishmen increased greatly. French Huguenots also came in significant numbers to New York City during the early decades of English rule. The city's population grew by leaps and bounds, from ca. 1,500 in 1664, to ca. 3,500 in 1685, and to 4,937 in 1698, and, as it did, the proportion of the Dutch element of the population dropped from just less than 90% at the time of the British conquest, to an estimated 75% in 1685, to just over 50% in 1703 (Goodfriend 1992: 61-2). Dutch economic supremacy in New York City also declined, as the most wealthy class became increasingly dominated by members of the city's other two major ethnic groups, the English and the French (Fabend 1991: 9; Goodfriend 1992: 70).

The colonial Dutch did not take their political, economic, and demographic displacement lying down, though the reaction to English domination was not single-minded. Indeed, the Dutch community divided into two basic camps vis-à-vis the English, camps which, for convenience's sake, might be called "collaborators" and "resisters". The split can be traced all the way back to the time of the English attack on New Amsterdam in 1664, when a group of wealthy merchants and Reformed Church ministers prevailed upon Stuyvesant, the director general of New Netherland, to spare the city the ravages of war and to surrender without a fight: regardless of how people had actually felt when staring

<sup>6</sup> The most conservative population estimate for this time is, however, 2,000 (Rink 1986: 164-5).

into the barrels of British navy cannon, many later regarded those wealthy merchants and ministers as collaborators who had sold out common Dutch interests for their own personal security (Balmer 1989: 5ff.). The division between the two camps may well have become much clearer with the recapture of the colony by the Dutch in 1673, which was met with enthusiasm by most of the Dutch and some English colonists as well, and then with the definitive return of the English fifteen months later, which came as a relief to the wealthier Dutch merchants and the majority of the English. In order to consolidate their position, the restored British colonial authorities took new steps to Anglicize the colony more thoroughly and the rift continued to grow between the English and Anglicizing Dutch collaborators on the one hand and the Dutch resisters and Batavianizing English on the other (Murrin 1989: 64).

One of the most significant events for the history of the Dutch language in North America after the English conquest was Leisler's Rebellion in 1689. This rebellion came about in connection with the Glorious Revolution in Britain, when a group of predominantly Dutch New Yorkers declared their support for William of Orange and rebelled against King James' colonial administration, which was, in their eyes, run by a dangerous clique of English papists. For Jacob Leisler, the leader of the rebellion, and some of the other prominent rebels, the primary motivation seems to have been religious: to save the Protestant and more specifically Calvinist population from the clutches of popery. Yet, as Murrin (1989: 77) argues, for many of the Dutch who took part in the rebellion, the religious question was bound up with economic and ethnic tensions, and as time went by, the conflict became increasingly a struggle between pro-English and pro-Dutch camps. Of particular importance for the history of the Dutch language, however, is the fact that the aforementioned split in the colony's Dutch community was again brought to the fore, since the wealthier Dutch merchants of New York and Albany, together with a number of the Dutch Reformed ministers, cast their lot with the pro-English, Anti-Leislerian cause. In addition to all else, the tensions in the Dutch community involved a split within the Reformed Church between the Anti-Leislerian ministers, who represented the orthodox party, very much loyal to the Classis of Amsterdam, and the Leislerians, who were increasingly leaning toward Pietism and abandoning the orthodox congregations (see Balmer 1989, esp. chap. 2).

The significance of Leisler's rebellion for the linguistic history of the Middle Colonies was that it played an important role in internal migration within the region. In particular, in the wake of the ultimate failure of the Leislerian movement in New York, many Leislerians chose to leave the city and settle along the frontier region west of the Hudson in central and northeastern New Jersey and southern New York (Balmer 1989: 58). Thus, the Dutch presence in New York City was probably reduced while that of the Raritan valley and Bergen County in New Jersey and the Esopus region in New York was strengthened. Two other factors contributed to the reinforcement of Dutch enclaves in New Jersey and along the middle Hudson in New York. First, an increasing shortage of land on Manhattan and in western Long Island encouraged emigration to regions across the Hudson, especially to the rich farmland of New Jersey (Balmer 1989: 56;



Goodfriend 1992: 45). Second, the precarious situation of the settlements in the Albany region during King William's War with France in the 1690s led to large-scale emigration to points south, including Dutch areas in New Jersey and New York City (Kenney 1975: 74). Until further research can be carried out on the question, one can only wonder whether the Albany area's Leislerians and Anti-Leislerians preferred to move to New Jersey and New York City respectively (cf. Murrin 1989: 77).

The subsequent history of the Dutch in New York, New Jersey, and the neighboring colonies cannot be discussed in detail here. It will suffice to say that the processes of Anglicization and integration of the Dutch into Anglo-American society would begin to affect all of the areas of Dutch settlement in the course of the 18th century, but the speed with which these processes took place varied markedly from area to area. Evidence for the ultimate demise of Dutch in each area is limited to anecdotal observations of travellers, the date of the switch from Dutch to English in local churches, and the existence of documents written in Dutch (e.g. wills, deeds, receipts, personal letters, etc.). From this evidence we can say that by the time of the American revolution, Dutch was already moribund, or at best on the verge of being so, in New York City but still widely spoken in the Dutch enclaves west of the Hudson: the Raritan valley (around New Brunswick in central New Jersey); Bergen County, New Jersey; the Esopus (Wiltwijck) area (around Kingston, New York); the Albany-Mohawk Valley area. Smaller Dutch enclaves (e.g. on the Delaware River, the Navesink area in Monmouth County, New Jersey) were probably well on their way toward becoming monolingual English areas in the mid-18th century. In at least some communities on western Long Island, Dutch appears to have been maintained into the early 19th century. The last strongholds for the language, however, were the rural areas of the Albany-Mohawk Valley region and of northern Bergen County, where the language died out in the second half of the 19th century, at least in the sense of there being a Dutch language community. We know of elderly individual speakers in these two areas who survived into the 20th century, especially in Bergen County.

**3. A dialectological analysis of New Netherland Dutch.** Before commenting further on the relationship of the social history of the New Netherland region to the development of New Netherland Dutch, I will first present some of the views advanced by other scholars concerning the dialectal origins of New Netherland Dutch and thereafter some of the linguistic evidence relevant to the discussion.

**3.1. Previous views on the origins of New Netherland Dutch.** Almost all of the scholars who have written on New Netherland Dutch have detected a strong southern and coastal Dutch element in its structure, though, as mentioned above, most of these scholars were poorly informed either about the colonial dialect or about the European Dutch dialects. In recent years, with the growing interest in pidgin and creole studies, this now received view has been taken up uncritically in a new body of literature and it is time that it be subjected to examination.

The identification of southern and coastal Dutch dialects as the sources of New Netherland varieties was first proposed by Prince, who in the introduction to his description of the Jersey Dutch of Bergen County states (1910: 459) that it was "originally the South Holland or Flemish language" and that "an intelligent Fleming or South Hollander with a knowledge of English" would be able to follow a conversation in the dialect. A few years later, van Ginneken, who himself wrote extensively on the European Dutch dialects, also saw in the New Netherland Dutch evidence striking southern and coastal dialect affinities: in his discussion of the topic he points to features such as the nasalization of vowels before checked nasals and the rounded reflex of *ā* (5), which he traces back to Brabants, Flemish, and Zeeuws (1913: 288). More recently, in an analysis of the phonology of Jersey Dutch, the Netherlandicist William Shetter (1958) discusses three features which may point to a southern Dutch basis of the dialect: 1) the rounded reflex of *ā* (5), which he associates with the dialects "south of Amsterdam" in the 17th century (247); 2) the bilabial realization of *w*, which he sees as "possibly continuing the bilabial heard today in Flemish, but more likely the American [w]" (249); 3) the palatal realization of original [y-] (as [xj-]), which he takes to be "fairly unambiguous evidence for a southern origin of the dialect(s) spoken by the first settlers" (249). In discussing the reflex of *ā*, he mentions in passing (247) that "a number of [Jersey Dutch] features point to a southern origin."

While the above studies are all primarily based on Jersey or Bergen Dutch (BD) evidence, Gehring's (1973) study focuses on evidence from the Albany-Mohawk Valley area.<sup>7</sup> The focus of that work is not specifically the dialectal origins of Mohawk Dutch, but in the course of discussing various dialectal features, Gehring does consider possible European Dutch sources. Mohawk Dutch similarities to southern and coastal Dutch dialects are mentioned a number of times here (e.g. Flemish: 29, 30, 34, 44-5; Zeeuws: 29, 34; Brabants: 27, 43), though he does not explicitly claim that the Mohawk features were necessarily direct imports from these southern dialects. The one direct connection he makes is, interestingly, not with a southern dialect but rather with a north-central dialect, namely that of 't Gooi, a small region in the province of North Holland on the south coast of the Zuider Zee, due east of Amsterdam and due north of Utrecht (1973: 54). This dialect shares features with both the Hollands and Utrechts dialects. Adding credence to his linguistic interpretation is the fact that many of the settlers of the patroonship, Rensselaerswijk, were from this area (1973: 26, 54). Since two of the features of Mohawk Dutch which Gehring connects with the dialect of 't Gooi were perhaps realized differently in

<sup>7</sup> The Dutch dialect of Bergen County, traditionally called "Jersey Dutch", will be called "Bergen Dutch" here for the reason that the term "Jersey Dutch" should logically apply to all varieties of Dutch formerly spoken in the state. There were, however, Dutch areas in New Jersey which were geographically separated from the Bergen area, to wit, in the Raritan valley, in the Navesink area, in the Minisink area, and along the Delaware. It cannot be assumed that the dialects of these areas were identical to the one spoken in Bergen County. Note too that the Bergen Dutch dialect area extended into Rockland County in southern New York. The Dutch spoken in and around Albany and along the Mohawk valley, called "New York Dutch" by Gehring (1973), is called "Mohawk Dutch" here.

Bergen Dutch, the possibility exists that the two colonial dialects had, to a degree, different continental dialectal origins, in the sense of Mohawk Dutch having favored regional variants which were not favored or conceivably not present in the area where Bergen Dutch was formed (1973: 23–4, 54); in that case, Gehring's judgments might not necessarily be in conflict with the claims of the aforementioned scholars. We will return to this question below.

The most recent statements concerning the dialectal origins of New Netherland Dutch occur in the context of studies which are largely concerned with the development of the creole varieties of the Caribbean region. Stolz (1987) offers a stammbaum treatment of the colonial varieties in which Mohawk and Jersey Dutch are traced back to a common North American variety. This and a common Caribbean variety are in turn traced back to an "Amerikanische Ausgleichsform, Koloniale Umgangssprache"; this stage is then traced back to a "Niederländisch 17. Jahrhundert Diasystem, Flämisches/Seeländisch" (306). Finally, Holm, in his discussion of Dutch-based creoles, states (1989: 324) that "it is important to bear in mind that the European source of all the overseas varieties of Dutch was not the modern standard but rather seventeenth-century Dutch, particularly the South Hollandic and Zealandic dialects spoken around the mouth of the Rhine."

**3.2. Dialectal features of the Late Bergen Dutch vocalic system.** This discussion will be based on the evidence for the final stage of the Dutch spoken in Bergen County, the primary sources for which are publications by Prince (1910, 1913) and materials associated with a native speaker, James Storms (b. 1860–†1949). These sources have become especially valuable now that the sources for late Mohawk Dutch appear to be untrustworthy (fn. 3). Their value lies in part in their extent, which is sufficient to give us a good knowledge of the dialect's phonology and at least some interesting morphological and lexical information. The Bergen Dutch materials, unlike their late Mohawk counterparts, also seem to be quite reliable: I base this judgement on a comparison of the evidence gathered by Prince from several speakers with Storms' (1964) own vocabulary list and the field notes of an interview with Storms conducted by Guy Lowman for the Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States in 1941.<sup>8</sup> Further corroboration can be seen in the fact that the late Bergen Dutch data show features absent from the problematic Mohawk Dutch materials associated with L. van Loon but present in the important evidence gleaned from older written documents from New York State by Gehring (1973).<sup>9</sup>

In analyzing the late Bergen Dutch materials, it is important to bear in mind that before the attestations in the 20th-century, the dialect had stood in a diglossic relation with American English for a long time. Though our knowledge of the range of use of Bergen Dutch is quite incomplete, anecdotal evidence indicates that the mid-19th century may have been an important turning point in its

<sup>8</sup> Storms is listed (anonymously) as informant NJ20A in the *Atlas Handbook* (Kretzschmar et al. 1994: 225).

<sup>9</sup> I have begun research on Dutch documents in New Jersey modelled on that done by Gehring in New York and preliminary findings are in line with the late Bergen data.

history. Storms informs us that in the northern part of Bergen County during his childhood in the 1860s, Bergen Dutch was still "the prevailing and natural form of speech in many homes of the older residents when there were no strangers present"; he further remarks (1964: 3) that "English ... was a labored and difficult form of expression for them, and only used when they mixed with the outer world." Storms' own parents, however, did not encourage his use of Dutch and were eager to see him acquire English (1964: 3). This he obviously did and there is no doubt that, at least in his adult life, English was his linguistically dominant language.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, he clearly also acquired Bergen Dutch during his childhood and did so to a high degree. It seems likely, however, that most members of Storms' generation did not fully acquire the ancestral language and that the next generation after Storms', like the second generation of many foreign immigrant groups in the United States, acquired nothing more than a few isolated vocabulary items.

English-Dutch bilingualism was surely a fact of life for the Dutchmen of Bergen County from the middle of the 18th century, but as long as the linguistically dominant language of the majority of Dutch speakers was Dutch, influence from English was presumably limited for the most part to the acceptance of secondary vocabulary items.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, what we do not know is whether in the generations preceding Storms' there were many inhabitants of the area whose linguistically dominant language was English who also regularly spoke Bergen Dutch. Such dialect speakers would have imposed features from English onto the dialect and thus potentially served as the path by which structurally important, contact-induced change could have entered the usage of the broader Bergen Dutch speech community. The dialect, as attested in the 20th century, shows some obvious and other possible signs of English influence, including some in its more stable subdomains, but late Bergen Dutch is by no means the English-Dutch mishmash that many scholars, as well as laymen, have thought it to be.<sup>12</sup> Rather, what is most striking about late Bergen Dutch is its relative conservatism, particularly in its phonology, morphology, and core vocabulary (cf.

<sup>10</sup> I use the term "linguistic dominance" following van Coetsem's use (1988: 10ff.).

<sup>11</sup> Here I use van Coetsem's (1988) typology of transfer types in language contact with its basic distinction between IMPOSITION and BORROWING and its emphasis on the role of the stability gradient in transfer (see esp. chap. 1). The elaborate borrowing scale presented by Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 74–6) ignores any basic distinction of transfer types like van Coetsem's, despite the fact that elsewhere in the book (37ff.) they argue convincingly for the importance of just such a distinction: if "borrowing" is to be a useful term in contact studies, the notion of "heavy structural borrowing" (91) is an oxymoron.

<sup>12</sup> Romig (1959: 154), in discussing negative Anglophone attitudes toward the dialect, includes the following: "Unlike such derivative languages as Afrikaans or even dialects like Pennsylvania German, this uneuphonious lingo represents progressive deterioration of speech, the result of unacquaintance with either good English or good Dutch." Storms himself calls the dialect "a mixture of both Dutch and English" and a "jargon" (1964: 2–3). Historian David Cohen writes (1992: 151) of the "blending of the two languages" having led to "the formation of a creole dialect."

Gehring 1973: 94–5 on Mohawk Dutch). In the speech of Storms and Prince's informants, this conservatism may be a reflection of their having acquired the dialect as children from speakers whose dominant language was Bergen Dutch (cf. Storms' remarks cited above). In the case of Storms, it is clear that he had good command of two different phonological systems which probably merged only at the level of the articulatory basis and the phonetic realization of certain analogous phones present in the two systems. Possible effects on Storms' Dutch stemming from the imposition of an American English articulatory basis are: 1) the deautomaticization of the final devoicing and sandhi assimilation rules (common to all European Dutch varieties); 2) the aspiration of voiceless stops (absent in all European varieties); 3) use of the AmEng. frictionless *r*; 4) use of the AmEng. bilabial *w* (though this could also be a retention from 17th century Dutch); 5) disruption of the inherited distribution of vocalic length.<sup>13</sup> I will discuss some of these points further below.

We now turn to the analysis of the dialect's vocalic system in relation to its European relatives and likely forebears. Rather than treating this question with the purely atomistic approach usually employed in such discussions, I will instead begin with a structural analysis of the vocalic system of Late Bergen Dutch. Note, however, that the following discussion does not present a precise phonemic analysis of the dialect. The nature of the transmission, in particular with regard to the reflexes of short vowels, prevents a straight-forward analysis of that kind (cf. Shetter 1958: 247–8) and a detailed study cannot be included here. Our focus will be on the diachronic relationship of specific elements of the Bergen Dutch system to those of their possible European Dutch antecedents.

In general, Prince's (1910, 1913) data and the Storms data (1964 and the Lowman transcription) give the same picture for the structure of the Late Bergen Dutch long vowel system, though there are some minor differences to be discussed below. In order to relate the dialect's system to those of other Dutch dialects it is useful to identify the individual phones by their MD sources:

Figure 1

Late Bergen Dutch long vowels and their primary Middle Dutch sources

ī < iȳ	ȳ < yȳ	ū < uȳ
ē < ē, ē		ō < ô, ô
	œ < œ ē+C; ô*	
æ < ǣ]		ō < â, â
	ā < ǣ]	

<sup>13</sup> The notion of the "articulatory basis" has largely fallen out of favor but remains a useful concept, especially in considering phonological transfer in language contact (for discussion, see Buccini 1992a: 356ff.). In considering a phonological merger between Bergen Dutch and English, one ought to look also at the English spoken in the contact area. The old American English accent of Bergen Co. (now largely supplanted by the New York City/Hudson Co. accent and a blanched Middle Atlantic accent), at least as I know it from my lifetime, has certain peculiarities worthy of investigation.

The following items will serve as examples; P = Prince, S(V, L) = Storms (Vocabulary, Lowman transcription):<sup>14</sup>

- ī < iȳ, MD <ie> (WGmc. \*ē<sup>2</sup>, \*eȳ etc.): P *wīx* 'wieg/cradle', P *vriint* 'vriend/friend', P *hīr*, S *hīr* 'hier/here', S *riep* 'riep/called', P S *nīt* 'niet/not'.
- ȳ < yȳ, MD <ue> (WGmc. \*ū, WGmc. \*iȳ): P *bȳr*, S *bȳr* 'buur/neighbor', P *vȳr*, S *vȳr* 'vuur/fire', S *sxȳr* 'schuur/barn'. (See also figure 3 below.)
- ū < uȳ, MD <oe> (WGmc. \*ō): P *rūr* 'roer/gun', P S *hūt* 'hoed/hat', P S *sxūn* 'schoen/shoe', P *kūk* 'koek/cake', P *hūk* 'hoek/corner', P S *stūl* 'stoel/chair'.
- ē < ē, MD <ee, e> (WGmc. \*aj); (see fig. 3); ē, MD <e> (WGmc. \*ē, \*ī, & \*ā + i-umlaut + lengthened in open syllable): P S *xēvā* 'geven/give', P S *nēxā* 'negen/nine', P S *lēpāl*.
- ô < ô, MD <o, oe> etc. (WGmc. \*au): P S *hōx* 'hoog/high', P S *bōn* 'boon/bean', P S *bōm* 'boom/tree', P S *ōx* 'oog/eye'; ô < ô, MD <o, oe> etc. (WGmc. \*ū, \*ō lengthened in open syllable): P S *ōvār* 'over/over', P S *kōkā* 'koken/cook', P *hōpā* 'hopen/hope', SV <ghesopeh> 'gezopen/drank'.
- œ < œ, ē+C; ô\*: œ < œ P S *dēer* 'deur/door'; œ < ē+C (certain cons. environments): P S *dēzē* (dāzē) 'deze/this', P S *vōel* 'veel/much'; œ for ô\* (dialectal development diverging from the development leading to standard Dutch): P S *zōen* 'zoon/son', P S *dēer* 'door/through', P *sxēetāl* 'schotel/plate', S *zoemār* or *zoemār* 'zomer/summer'.
- æ < ǣ], MD <e> in closed syllable: P *wæx* 'weg/way', *mæs* 'mes/knife', *xælt* 'geld/money', *æmār* 'emmer/pail', *ræxt* 'recht/right', *zēxā* 'zeggen/say', P SL *zæs* 'zes/six', (strō-)bæsā 'bessen/berries', SL *wæt* 'wet/law', *amtrænt* 'omtrent/about'. (See discussion below.)
- ô < â, ā, MD <a, ae> etc.; ô < â (WGmc. \*ē<sup>1</sup>): P S *sxōp* 'schaap/sheep', *jōr* 'jaar/year', *mōn* 'maan/moon'; ô < ā (WGmc. \*ā lengthened in open syllable): P S *vandōx* 'vandaag/today', *mōkā* 'maken/make', *nōm* 'naam/name'.
- ā < ǣ], MD <a> in closed syllable: P *zwāk* 'zwak/weak', *ālās* (also *ōlās*) 'alles/everything', *āxtār* 'achter/behind', P SL *āpāl* 'appel/apple', SL *āt* 'at/ate', *kāst* 'kast/chest', *bāq* 'bang/afraid', *kālf* 'kalf/calf'. (See discussion below.)

As mentioned above, it is difficult to assess the distribution and phonological significance of vocalic length in the available data. In general, one can say that etymologically long vowels seem to have been recorded as phonetically long both by Prince and Lowman with a high degree of consistency, though there are individual items which occur with an unexpected short vowel, especial-

<sup>14</sup> On MD spellings and dialectal developments, see Van Loey (1976). The MD vowels to which I refer here are essentially those represented in Goossens' "reference system" (1980: 10ff., 48–9, 61). Deviant dialectal developments relevant to the subject at hand will be discussed below. Note that "J" indicates the environment of a closed syllable, "[ ]" an open syllable. I have adapted to phonetic script forms from the spelling systems used by Prince and Storms. The interpretation of the orthography of Storms' *Vocabulary* is difficult, but through comparison with Lowman's transcriptions, one can interpret Storms' spellings reasonably well. I have omitted some phonetic details from Lowman's forms. Glosses are given in Dutch and English. In a few cases I have backformed basic forms from morphologically derived forms.

ly in the case of the reflexes of MD <oe>. More problematic are the short vowels, especially in the two cases included in figure 1. In the words from Prince's article listed for the vowel  $\bar{a}$ , he uses the spelling <ä> and he explicitly states that this spelling represents a long vowel (1910: 461). It should be further noted that he also uses the spelling <ä>, which occurs consistently as the representative of etymological  $\bar{i}$ . In the data from Lowman, there are unfortunately not many words with unambiguous etymological  $\bar{e}$ . Of those that do occur, a number show lengthening while a few do not, e.g. *xəhæpt* (\*gehelt) 'geholpen/ helped' (possibly an adapted English form), *ræxtə* 'rechte/right' (inflected attributive adj.), *æft* 'elf/eleven'. In the case of the vowel  $\bar{a}$ , Prince does not state explicitly what the length is of the vowels he represents with <ä>, the majority of which are etymologically  $\bar{a}$ . In the Lowman transcription of Storms' speech, this vowel is regularly indicated as long with some exceptions, e.g. *tant* 'tand/ tooth', *trap* 'trap/stairs'. In any event, there appears to have been a strong tendency to render the reflexes of D  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{a}$  as long vowels in late Bergen Dutch.

Alongside the long vowels of late Bergen Dutch, we also need to consider the following diphthongs:

Figure 2

Late Bergen Dutch diphthongs corresponding to Standard Dutch *ei/ij*, *ui*, *ou*

$\bar{a}\bar{i}$  ( $\bar{a}\bar{i}$ ) <  $\bar{i}$ ,  $e\bar{i}$        $e\bar{u}$  ( $\bar{e}\bar{u}$ ) <  $\bar{y}$ , ( $\bar{e}\bar{y}$  =  $ui^2$ ?)       $\bar{a}\bar{u}$  <  $\bar{u}$ ,  $ou$  etc.<sup>15</sup>

- $\bar{a}\bar{i}$  ( $\bar{a}\bar{i}$ ) <  $\bar{i}$  (StD *ei*, *ij*): P *rajdə* 'rijden/ride', *kraixə* 'krijgen/get', P *blajt* SL *blæjt* 'blij/happy', SL *hæj* 'hij/he', *kæjk* 'kijk/look' (but also P *æjzə* 'ijzer/iron', S *strajk* 'strijk(en)/to iron');  $\bar{a}\bar{i}$  ( $\bar{a}\bar{i}$ ) <  $e\bar{i}$  (see figure 4).
- $e\bar{u}$ ,  $\bar{a}\bar{u}$ ,  $\bar{e}\bar{u}$  <  $\bar{y}$ , (StD *ui*): P *baɪtə* 'buiten/outside', *dræɪvə* 'druiven/grapes', *daɪts* 'Duits/Dutch', SL *ræɪk* 'ruik/smell', *hæɪzn* 'huizen/houses', *æɪt* 'uit/out', *væɪl* 'vuil/angry'. No clear examples for  $\bar{e}\bar{y}$  =  $ui^2$ .
- $\bar{a}\bar{u}$  <  $\bar{u}$ ,  $ou$  (StD *ou*, *au*): P *nāu* 'nu, nou/now', P *bāuə* 'bouwen/build', P *āut* 'oud/old', SL <zāut>, SV <zowt> *zāut* 'zout/salt', SL *kāu* 'kauw/chew', SL *tāuə* 'touwen/reins'.

Since the length of Prince's < $\bar{a}$ > is uncertain, I have followed the (few) examples from Lowman, who indicates a long first element only for the third of these diphthongs (three times out of a total of three occurrences). With regard to the quality of the first element of the Bergen Dutch analogues to StD *ei/ij* and *ui*, both data sets show some variation between [a] and [æ].

It should be noted that in the data for the long vowel  $\bar{y}$  in figure 1, whereas Prince gives  $\bar{y}$ , Lowman's transcription of Storms' speech gives a lower vowel ( $\bar{ø}$ ,  $\bar{ø}^2$ ,  $\bar{ø}$ ). This  $\bar{ø}$  vowel partially overlaps with the front mid rounded vowel that goes back to a short vowel lengthened in open syllable, given as  $\bar{e}$  in figure 1.

<sup>15</sup> Here I refer to the diphthongization of the (non-Flemish) nonfronted  $\bar{u}$  finally and before w (*nu* vs. *nou*, *duwen* vs. *douwen*, etc.) and its merger with  $ou$  <  $all/ol$  + dental stop (*oud*, *koud*, etc.).

The latter vowel, however, sometimes occurs as a diphthong which overlaps with the reflexes of MD  $\bar{y}$ . The following chart illustrates these developments:

Figure 3

Reflexes of MD  $\bar{y}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{y}$  in Late Bergen Dutch

MD	Prince	Storms
$\bar{y}$	$\bar{y}$	$\bar{ø}$ , $\bar{ø}^2$
$\bar{e}$ (< $\bar{v}$ )	$\bar{e}$ , $\bar{e}\bar{y}$	$\bar{ø}$ , $e\bar{y}$ , $\bar{e}\bar{y}$
$\bar{y}$ (& $ui^2$ )	$\bar{a}\bar{y}$	$\bar{e}\bar{y}$ , $e\bar{y}$ , $\bar{a}\bar{y}$

Examples of the Bergen Dutch treatment of  $\bar{e}$ , are: P *zēvə* 'zeven/seven', *vāxəl* 'veel/much', *væɪxəl* 'vogel/bird', P *nœɪt* 'noot/nut'; SL *beyzəm* 'bezem/broom', SL *zəvə*, SV <zēouveh> 'zeven/seven', SV <vēoul> 'veel/much', <nēut> 'noot/nut', <bēuter> 'boter/butter', <meuling> 'molen/mill', *-ey-*, *-æy-*, *-ø-* (?).<sup>16</sup> On the basis of Prince's data, we can assume that these three vocalic units were maintained as distinct phonemes in Bergen Dutch. In Storms' speech, original  $\bar{e}$  has split (with an as yet undetermined conditioning, if any), merging in part with the reflexes of  $\bar{y}$  and in part with those of  $\bar{y}$ . Judging from Prince's data, the merger of  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{y}$  seems to be an idiosyncrasy of Storms' speech, perhaps representing a simplification in the course of the atrophy of his linguistic competence in Bergen Dutch during later life. A sporadic development of  $\bar{e}$  to  $\bar{e}\bar{y}$  or  $\bar{e}\bar{y}$ , however, was reflected in the speech of the wider Bergen Dutch speech community.

One of the more interesting aspects of the historical background to the Bergen Dutch vowel system is the three-way split of reflexes of Gmc.  $*a\bar{i}$ . From a structural standpoint, two of the developments are the same as those reflected in Standard Dutch, namely, merger with the reflexes of MD  $\bar{i}$  on the one hand (figure 2) and merger with the reflexes of short front vowels lengthened in open syllable (MD  $\bar{e}$ ) on the other (figure 1). The third Bergen Dutch development, however, has no analogue in Standard Dutch. In Storms' speech this development is to [ $\bar{i}$ ] or [ $\bar{i}\bar{a}$ ] and thus merger with the reflexes of MD <*ie*> (WGmc.  $*ē^2$  and  $*eo$ ). Apparently in the same lexical items, Prince also indicates a third reflex of  $*a\bar{i}$  but with variable realization either as [ $\bar{i}$ ] or as a diphthong which he spells as < $e\bar{i}$ >. In the first case, we see the same development attested in the Storms data, namely merger with the reflexes of MD <*ie*>, while in the second we have what appears to be a phonemically distinct diphthong, the pronunciation of which he describes as being "like Holl. *ee*, but followed by  $\bar{i}$ , upon which the main stress is laid; a very difficult diphthong, often merging into pure  $\bar{i}$ " (1910: 461). Unfortunately, the parameters of the variation between < $e\bar{i}$ > and < $\bar{i}$ > which he reports are unrecoverable, but it is clear that the data sets from Storms and Prince agree on the basic lexical distribution of this third treatment of Gmc.  $*a\bar{i}$ .

<sup>16</sup> Again, space restrictions make it impossible to discuss all the possible implications of Storms' various spellings in the context of this article.

Figure 4  
Reflexes of Gmc. \**a*<sub>1</sub> in Late Bergen Dutch

Prince data		Storms data	
1) merger with Gmc. * <i>i</i> as <i>ä</i> <sub>1</sub>		1) merger with Gmc. * <i>i</i> as <i>ä</i> <sub>1</sub>	
'klein/small'	<kläin>	SV <klein>, SL [kläem]	
'zeik/piss'	—	SV <zaik>	
'eik/oak'	<äike>	SV —, SL —	
'reis/(BD) occasion'	—	SV <rais>	
'eigen/own'	<äixe>	SV <aighen>	
		cf. SL [æixənt] 'owns'	
'vlees/meat'	<vläis> (also <vlēs>)	SV <vleis>	
		cf. SL [vlæisər] 'butcher'	
2) merger with <i>ē</i> , <i>ī</i> , <i>ā</i> +uml as <i>ē</i>		2) merger with <i>ē</i> , <i>ī</i> , <i>ā</i> +uml as <i>ē</i>	
'meer/more'	<mēr>	SV <mare>	
'heel/whole'	<hēi>	SV <hāle>, SL [hēʔt]	
'kleed/cloth'	—	SV <klate>	
'zeer/sore'	<zēr>	SV <zare>	
3) rising diphthong <i>ēi</i> ( <i>ī</i> ?) variably also <i>ī</i>		3) merger with Gmc. * <i>e</i> <sup>2</sup> as <i>ī</i>	
'been/leg'	<beīn>, <bīn>	SV <bien>	
'steen/stone'	<stiīn>	SV <steen>, SL [stiīn]	
'geen/none'	—	SV <gheen>	
'een/one'	<ēn> but also <ei ntse> (eentje)	SV <een>SL [īn]	
'enig/any, some'	<ei ntse> 'some'	SV <eenigh>	
'teen/rod'	—	SL [tiīn]	
'heet/hot'	<heīt>	SV <heet>	
'heet/is called'	—	SV <heet>	
'twee/two'	<twēi>, <twī>	SV <twee>, SL [twī]	

In addition to the three-way development of Gmc. \**a*<sub>1</sub>, Bergen Dutch also had at least a few forms which clearly reflect the operation of secondary umlaut. Specifically, we find two instances of WGmc. \**ō* in the Storms data and three instances of WGmc. \**ē*<sup>1</sup> (Old Low Franconian *ā*) in both sets of data which have fronted vocalisms deviating from the neutral treatment. These forms are shown in figure 5.

Figure 5  
Late Bergen Dutch reflexes of secondary umlaut

MD <i>u</i> <sub>2</sub> + uml (WGmc. * <i>ō</i> ):	SL <i>xrōn</i> (-ə) 'groen/green'; SL <i>zōt</i> (-ə) 'zoet/sweet'
MD <i>ā</i> (WGmc. * <i>ē</i> <sup>1</sup> ):	P <kääs>, SL <i>kē</i> <sup>2</sup> s 'kaas/cheese'; P <lēx>, SV <laghe> 'laag/low', cf. SL <i>lēx</i> ər 'lager/lower'; P <sxjēre>, SV <scharē> 'schaar/scissors'

It is also possible that a number of the Bergen Dutch words with *ē* may reflect secondary umlaut of *ū*. We will return to this question in the next section.

As mentioned earlier, the difficulties involved in interpreting the evidence for the reflexes of original short vowels in late Bergen Dutch make it impossible to include a full discussion of their development here. The following general observations can, however, be offered. From comparison with Goossens' Middle

Dutch reference system, it is clear that at some time prior to the dialect's last stage, all nonlow short vowels were subject to a general lowering process. This development is most transparently seen in the reflexes of original *i* and *ē*, which consistently have the qualities of *ɛ* and *æ* respectively in the two sets of data. Exceptions to the lowering of *i* in the Storms data seem to be lacking and in the Prince data are extremely few in number: e.g. *bəxīnə* 'beginnen/begin', *sprīnə* but also *spreŋə* 'springen/to spring', and *spreŋhōn* 'sprinkhaan/grasshopper'. Given that the Dutch words in these cases have close cognates in English, the exceptional treatment of the stressed vowels may be a result of hybridization of the English and Dutch forms. Similarly, in Storms' Dutch the vowel [ɪ] occurs rarely and then probably for the most part only in words borrowed from English or in possible English/Dutch hybrids such as SVL <zwip> (perhaps a cross of D *zweep* and Eng. *whip*, though possibly also a Dutch dialectal form).<sup>17</sup> The lowering of *ē* to *æ* is also highly regular, though there do occur a number of apparent exceptions such as *ben* 'ben/am' and *met* 'met/with', for which we would expect \**bæn* and \**mæt*. I believe, however, that these are in fact *lautgesetzlich* continuations of the dialectal forms *bin* and *mit*. It should also be noted that both *i* and its rounded counterpart *u* occur relatively infrequently.

The original short rounded vowels offer a less simple picture. Corresponding to the two rounded vowels in the MD reference system we find in the data from Prince three reflexes: *œ*, *ʌ*, *ɔ*. Of these, *œ* and *ɔ* are reasonably well attested while *ʌ* is found, at least in the data set, in only a few items; both *œ* and *ɔ* occur with lengthening in some words. In general, Prince's *ɔ* corresponds to *ɔ* in the reference system, while his *œ* corresponds to both *y* and *ɔ*. In the Storms data, almost all words with original short round vowels have *ʌ*.

The basic form of the short vowel systems in the two data sets are presented in figure 6 below (parentheses indicate that the vowel is attested in few forms). Note that the status of the length of *æ* and *a* is not clear, as discussed above.

Figure 6  
Late Bergen Dutch short vowels in the two sets of data

Prince data				Storms data			
(i)		(u)		(i)		(u)	
ɛ	œ	(ʌ)	ɔ	ɛ	ʌ	(ɔ)	
	æ	a		æ	a		

<sup>17</sup> Cf. two derivatives of D *kil* 'creek': one in English: VL [kɪlɪz], i.e. 'killies' (pl. of the local Eng. word for 'minnow', formed on the basis of the originally Dutch hydronymic element *-kill* which occurs throughout the region), the other in Bergen Dutch: VL [oʊvər'keʔt] ('Overkill', local toponym, perhaps preserving Dutch accentuation). Note that the form [zwip] 'whip' is well attested in Hollands dialects (Heeroma 1935: 100–1; cf. in Amsterdams dialect in Bredero's *Spaanse Brabander*, l. 289) and in Afrikaans.

MD ref. system &  
StD examples

ī: ik 'I'  
 ē: weg 'way'  
 ā: pad 'path'  
 ō: rollen 'roll'  
   rok 'skirt'  
   klok 'bell'  
   stront 'crap'  
 ŷ: lucht 'air'  
   plukken 'pluck'

## Prince data

e: ek  
 æ: wæx (usu. long)  
 α: pāt (usu. long?)  
 ɔ: rōlə  
 ɔ: rōk  
 ɔ: klōek  
 ʌ: strant (rare)  
 ɔ: lœxt (usu. long)  
 ɔ: plœkə

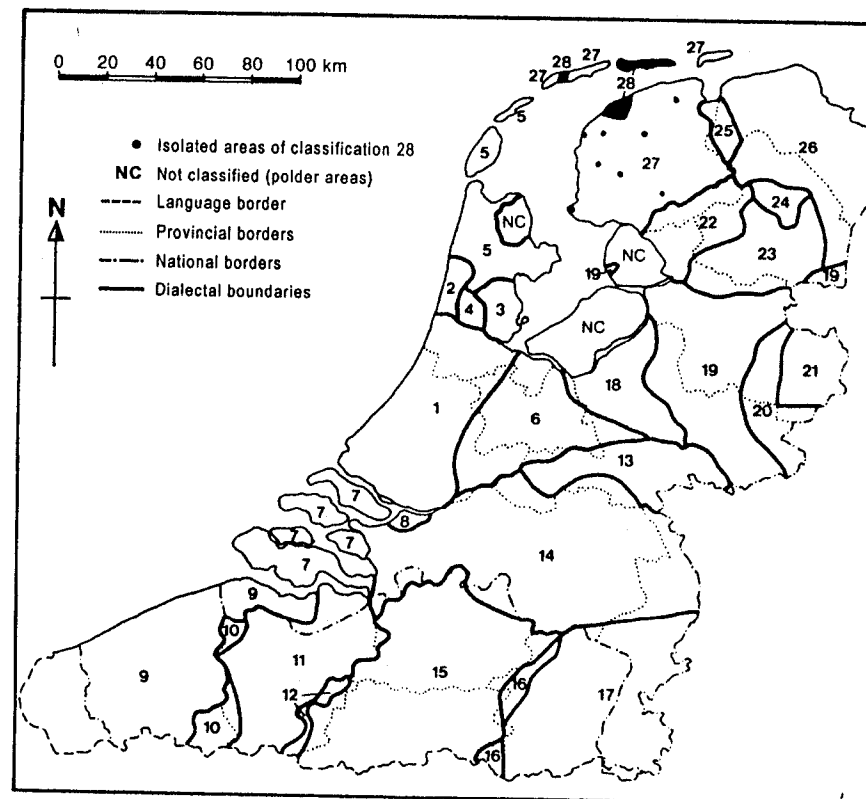
## Storms data

e: ek  
 æ: wæx (but often long)  
 α: pāt (usu. long)  
 ɔ: (rɔlitʃəz 'sausages')  
 ʌ: rāk  
 ʌ: pāt 'pot'  
 ʌ: strant  
 ʌ: (\*laxt)  
 ʌ: plāk (-ə)

As in the case of the long vowels, the two systems are essentially the same, with the one difference that Storms' system is slightly simpler than the one reflected in the data recorded by Prince. Here too, the difference is a question of Storms having a reduced inventory of front rounded phones. The explanation of such reduction proposed above (discussion of figure 3) seems equally applicable in this case. Of course, an important question is the degree to which the two sets of data are accurate representations of the actual sounds of the dialect. The transcriptions by Lowman can, I believe, be taken as accurate,<sup>18</sup> and the high degree to which they are in agreement with Prince's offerings is striking.

**3.3. The relationship of Bergen Dutch to the European Dutch dialects.** We turn now to the question of the relationship of the Bergen Dutch vocalic system to those of European varieties of Dutch and to the question of the dialect's sources. In doing so, we must bear in mind the fact that the settlement of Dutch-speaking colonists in New Netherland was largely confined to the 17th century and that contacts between New Netherlanders and the fatherland were quite limited thereafter. We must therefore consider the state of development of possible European source varieties in the 17th century. Given that the late Bergen Dutch evidence discussed in the previous section provides us only a view of the dialect toward the end of the 19th century or beginning of the 20th century, we must also consider the degree to which the dialect's vocalic system had been restructured through internally and externally motivated change during the previous 150–200 years. Until ongoing research into written records from the Bergen

<sup>18</sup> Shetter seems to mistrust Lowman's various transcriptions of the diphthong corresponding to Dutch *ui* (1958: 246). His doubts in this regard are to me incomprehensible, since Prince clearly describes the BD sound in a way that is in agreement with Lowman's transcriptions with an unrounded first element; note that Prince was capable of hearing a diphthong *œy* which he records as a reflex of *œ* (see figure 3). On the other hand, Shetter readily accepts the variation in Lowman's indications of vocalic length as significant and concludes with certainty that length was phonologically irrelevant in the dialect. This conclusion may very well be correct for the idiolect of Storms at the age of 80 and possibly so for late Bergen Dutch as a whole (cf. Daan 1950: 190), but we cannot be quite so certain on the basis of the data. In any event, Prince's data include a few minimal pairs, one of which is explicitly pointed out as being distinguished by vocalic length: <tut> 'until' vs. <tût> 'when'; cf. also <mäs> 'mistake' vs. <määs> 'knife' (1910: 483).



**Map 2: Overview of the Dutch Dialects** (from Donaldson 1983)  
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## Legend

South Hollands	15	Brabants
Kennemerlands	16	Dialect area between Brabants & Limburgs
Waterlands	17	Limburgs
Zaans	18	Veluws
West Frisian – North Holland	19	Gelders-Overijssels
Utrechts	20	Twents (former county)
Zeeuws	21	Twents
Westhooeks	22	Stellingwerfs
West Flemish & Zeeuws Flemish	23	South Drents
Dialect area between West & East Flemish	24	Central Drents
East Flemish	25	Kollumerlands
Dialect area between East Flemish & Brabants	26	Gronings & North Drents
South Gelders	27	Frisian
North Brabants & North Limburgs	28	Bildts, Town Frisian, Midlands, Amelands

Dutch area is concluded, however, evidence for earlier stages of the dialect will have to be largely indirect in nature. Finally, in analyzing the BD vowel system in relation to the systems of other Dutch dialects it will be necessary not only to look at the qualities of specific phones but also to look at the structural relationships in the dialects' systems, that is, to look at the patterns of phonemic mergers and splits. I choose to approach the question of the dialectal origins of the colonial dialect through the structure of the vocalic system rather than through the morpholexical evidence for several reasons, the most important of which is that in the context of intensive dialect contact, which may be presumed likely in a colonial situation, the process of selection may result in the general favoring of forms which originally were used by a relatively small part of the speech community.<sup>19</sup> Though such evidence is obviously very important, it should be considered in the context of broader structural characteristics.

There are several mergers involving long vowels and diphthongs which are reflected in the late BD vocalic system. Of these the merger of the reflexes of *ā* (Gmc. \**ē*') and *ā* (\**ā* lengthened in open syllable) is one that has a wide distribution in the Dutch dialects. Already in the Middle Dutch period, this merger seems to have occurred through most of the coastal and central dialect areas (Goossens 1980: 61; van Bree 1987: 86, 115),<sup>20</sup> though in North Holland north of the IJ and in two areas along the southern coast of the Zuider Zee ('t Gooi and part of the Veluwe) this merger did not take place (see the map in Kloeke 1950: 58). The merger is reflected in the standard variety of Dutch.

With a more limited distribution in the Dutch dialects are the mergers of the long mid vowels *ē* and *ō* (from the monophthongization of \**aj* and \**au* respectively) with their counterparts *ē* and *ō* (from short vowels with open syllable lengthening). These mergers have not occurred in the southern coastal dialects of Flanders, Zeeland, and southern South Holland (see, e.g., van Weel 1904: 19ff., 31ff.) nor in the south central dialect area (Brabants). From the comments by grammarians writing in the late 16th, 17th, and early 18th centuries, it seems that these mergers were in progress during this period and further that the core area

<sup>19</sup> SELECTION is a transfer process in a situation in which there is no clear linguistic dominance of one lect over the other for the agent of transfer. In such a situation, the stability gradient and consequently the distinction between borrowing and imposition (van Coetsem 1988) are less or not at all applicable. See further Buccini (1992b: 16ff.).

<sup>20</sup> In this discussion I follow Goossens' (1980, 1988) dialect groupings, which divide the Dutch language area into three subareas: 1) a coastal dialect group, including Flemish, Zeeuws, and Hollands; 2) a central group, including Brabants, Utrechts, and western Gelders; 3) an eastern group, including Limburgs, northeastern Brabants, and eastern Gelders. These groupings reflect the distribution of the oldest and structurally most significant isoglosses, namely, those involving the development of *i*-umlaut: 1) coastal dialects with no reflexes of secondary umlaut; 2) central dialects with clear reflexes of secondary umlaut but no morphological umlaut alternations; 3) eastern dialects with morphological umlaut alternations. Across the coastal and central areas a secondary division can be made between northern dialects (Hollands, Utrechts) and southern dialects (Flemish, Brabants) with Zeeuws representing a transitional area between Hollands and Flemish.

for the development was the central part of the Hollands dialect area, that is, northern South Holland and southern North Holland (Hellings 1968: 254–7; cf. van Bree 1987: 103, 106–8). These mergers are also reflected in standard Dutch.

From the late Bergen Dutch data presented above it can be seen that Bergen Dutch reflects the operation of the general diphthongization of the long high vowels *ī*, *ȳ*, *ū*. It is generally agreed among Netherlandicists that the diphthongization first developed in the Brabants dialect area in the late Middle Ages, but the dating and the nature of the development in other dialect areas, in particular in the Hollands dialects, have been controversial points. Specifically at issue here is whether the diphthongization in Holland was, in effect, the result of borrowing from the culturally prestigious Brabants dialect in the wake of a large-scale immigration of southern Netherlanders to the cities of Holland in the late 16th century, as argued by Kloeke (1927) and others, or if it was an autochthonous development in Holland that was already well developed before the arrival of the refugees from the south, as argued by Hellings (1968 [1938]) and more recently by Howell (1991, 1992). An important difference between the Brabants diphthongization and the Hollands diphthongization is that in Brabant it led early on (i.e. well before the 17th century) to a merger of the reflexes of *ī* and *eī* in *ai* while, at least in many North Hollands dialects, the two vowels remained distinct into the 20th century (Heeroma 1935: 76; Howell 1992: 43). Late Bergen Dutch stood then, from a structural standpoint, on the side of Brabants, but so too the contemporary dialects of South Holland, a large part of North Holland (including Amsterdam), and western Utrecht, as well as the standard. There is evidence that the North Holland distinction between diphthongized *ij* and *ei* existed in the dialect of Amsterdam and generally in Holland in the 17th century, but according to Ten Kate by the beginning of the 18th century it had been given up in Amsterdam and the Amstelland and Rijnland districts, that is, the areas to the east and south of the old Haarlemmermeer in central Holland (Ten Kate cited by Hellings 1968: 199; cf. Howell 1992: 43).<sup>21</sup> In parts of southern South Holland (e.g. Rotterdam), along the Holland coast (e.g. Katwijk), in 't Gooi, and generally north of the IJ, the distinction was maintained with varying local phonetic realizations at this time.

Thus, at the point when New Netherland became largely isolated from the Netherlands (ca. 1700), we find an area in central Holland including Amsterdam with a pattern of far-reaching vocalic mergers which corresponds to the pattern in the modern standard variety of Dutch and to the one attested in late Bergen Dutch. At this same time, the Flemish and Zeeuws dialects shared only one of these mergers, that of *ā* and *ā*, a merger also shared by the central dialects, Utrechts and Brabants. As noted above, Brabants had already carried out the mergers resulting from the diphthongization of the long high vowels but to this day has not merged *ē/ē* and *ō/ō*. For Utrechts the evidence is limited and ques-

<sup>21</sup> For the extent of these areas, see the map in Kloeke (1950: 62). Note that Vangassen places the merger of *ij* and *ei* in Amsterdam already in the 16th century (Ryckboer 1983: 121). The process was surely gradual and its spread from one sociolect to another within the city could have extended from the 16th century into the 17th century.



tions remain. Nevertheless, in two poems dating from the 1640s in which the poets explicitly indicate that they intend to render "plat Utrechts" and "plat Stichts" dialect, we find clear evidence of the diphthongization and of the merger of *ij* and *ei*.<sup>22</sup> At least with regard to the diphthongization then, western Utrecht—or at least some part thereof—seems to have agreed with the adjacent central Hollands area. Finally, we should note that the cultivated and literary form of Dutch in the 17th and early 18th century as described by a number of grammarians of the time rejected all these mergers except that of *ā* and *ā* (Hellings 1968).

Dating of the mergers in Bergen Dutch is yet to be determined with certainty, but with luck the investigation of 18th and early 19th Dutch documents from Bergen County will provide some answers. In the meanwhile, we can look to Gehring's research into written documents from the Mohawk Valley/Albany area for possible parallel evidence from the colonial sister dialect of Bergen Dutch. The textual evidence from the 18th century discussed by Gehring (1973: 21ff.) seems to indicate no attempt on the part of the writers to distinguish *ij* from *ei* graphically and in the specimen 18th century texts he provides (125ff.) the same graphemes are used indiscriminately for the reflexes of both sounds. In a legal text from Albany dating to 1715/16 (125), the form <getryt> occurs, a form which is obviously a loan word from English ('to try [a case in court]'), indicating that already at this early date, <y> could be used to indicate a diphthong [ai] or [æi]. Further evidence that the reflex of *ij* was generally realized in New Netherland as a strongly dissimilated diphthong comes from a schoolbook for teaching English to American Dutch-speakers written by a resident of the Dutch enclave in the Raritan area in central New Jersey (Harrison 1730). In explaining how to pronounce English words such as *time* and *fire*, Harrison (5) renders them according to Dutch orthographical practices as <tijm> and <fijr> respectively.<sup>23</sup> For the status of the oppositions *ē/ē* and *ō/ō*, graphemic evidence from little-schooled writers on its own would be unlikely to yield any clear indications and it is therefore not surprising that Gehring does not discuss the matter. My preliminary research into the Dutch texts from New Jersey thus far looks to yield the same results found by Gehring in New York: namely that diphthongization of the old long high vowels and merger with the

<sup>22</sup> For the relevant parts of these poems see de Vooy (1921: 79, 1922: 48). Beets (1927: 215) questions the authenticity of these dialect representations but others (Muller 1929: 214; Hellings 1968: 184) have accepted them. An indication of the merger of *ij* and *ei* is the rhyming of <keycken> 'kijken' and <reycken> 'reiken' (note also <meyn> 'mijn', <veyf> 'vijf' etc.). Diphthongization of *y* is indicated in such spellings as <scheuyt> 'schuit', <leuy-lecker> 'lui-lekker', <heuyzen> 'huizen' etc. Diphthongized *ū* and *ou* have also fallen together: <nauw> 'nu', <zauw> 'zou', <hauwen> 'houden'.

<sup>23</sup> To my knowledge there is little biographical information available on Harrison (cf. Romig 1959). The fact that his name is English does not necessarily mean that he was not a Jersey Dutchman, given that many New Netherlanders bore non-Dutch family names, e.g. Demarest (French), Leisler (German), Fonda (Italian), Zabriskie (Polish). In any event, Harrison seems to have been both a bilingual and well-educated "Raritaner".

old diphthongs was general and that there is no clear evidence for the status of the oppositions *ē/ē* and *ō/ō*.<sup>24</sup>

In table 1 the dialectal patterns of long vowel/diphthong mergers at the beginning of the 18th century are presented. The following abbreviations are used: mSt. = modern Standard Dutch; 17cSt. = cultivated and literary Dutch of the 17th and early 18th century; NND = New Netherland Dutch; SH = southern Hollands; NH = northern Hollands; CH = central Hollands (Rijnlands & Amstel-lands including Amsterdams; wUt. = western Utrechts; Zw. = Zeeuws; WF = West Flemish; Br. = Brabants. "+" indicates that the merger had occurred, "-" that it had not, "±" that the merger had possibly occurred in part(s) of the area.<sup>25</sup>

Table 1

Vocalic mergers in Dutch dialects in the early 18th century

merger	mSt.	17cSt.	NND	SH	NH	CH	wUt.	Zw.	WF	Br.
-ā/ā	+	+	+	+	±	+	+	+	+	+
-ē/ē	+	-	?	±	±	+	±?	-	-	-
-ō/ō	+	-	?	±	±	+	±?	-	-	-
-ī/ei	+	-	+	±	±	+	+	-	-	+
-ū (y)/œy (ui <sup>2</sup> )	+	-	+	±	±	+	+	-	-	+
-ū (ū)/ou	+	-	+	±	±	+	+	-	-	+

From this table it appears that in the early 18th century the vocalic system of New Netherland Dutch resembled most closely those of the dialects of Central Holland, western Utrecht, and possibly Brabant, at least from a structural standpoint. This structural resemblance alone, though highly suggestive, is not sufficient to establish a particularly close relationship between the colonial dialect(s) and those European dialects and to exclude the possibility of a strong Flemish or Zeeuws element in the formation of Bergen Dutch or New Netherland Dutch as a whole. To assess the role of the more southerly coastal dialects, which have so often been invoked as the sources for the colonial variety, we must consider more closely some of the specific developments of Flemish and Zeeuws which predate the establishment of New Netherland.

One of the most striking differences between New Netherland Dutch on the one hand and the southern coastal dialects on the other is that the former appar-

<sup>24</sup> It is interesting to note the evidence of rhymes in the poetry of two early residents of New Netherland (see Murphy 1865). The first of these was Jacob Steendam, a practiced poet who was probably born in Enkhuizen in 1616 but raised in Amsterdam. He resided in New Netherland from ca. 1651–1663. The other was the Reformed minister Henricus Selyns (1636–1701), who was born and raised in Amsterdam and moved to New Netherland in 1660, residing in Breuckelen and New Amsterdam (with a short intervening period back in Utrecht province). He died in 1701. Steendam seems not to have used rhymes of *ij/ei* or of *ē/ē* and *ō/ō*. In Selyns' poems, however, a number of such rhymes appear (e.g. *quyt/weggeleyd*, *breyn/syn*, *-heyt/tydt*, *gheest/geweest*, *nieuwichheden/seden* etc.).

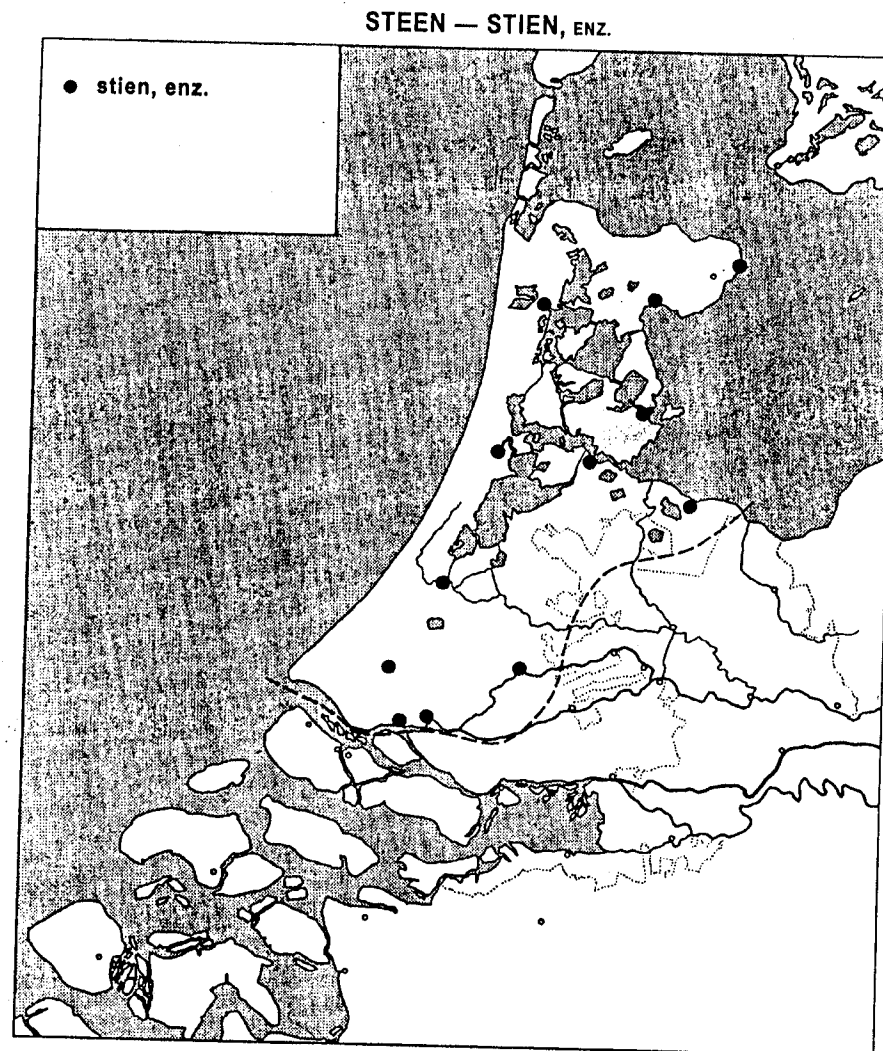
<sup>25</sup> East Flemish has not been included for reasons of space. East Flemish was originally very similar to West Flemish but has been partially Brabantized. For details, see Taeldeman (1985, part 3). The diphthongization of the long high vowels spread through the area during the 17th and 18th centuries, in part under Brabants influence (194).



ently had diphthongal reflexes of older *i* and *y* in the early 18th century while the latter generally did not. But in light of the fact that during this period the diphthongization was beginning to make inroads in the dialects of East Flanders, the diphthongization may not be a reliable gauge of dialectal affiliations. The question is then whether any of the well-known characteristic features of medieval Flemish and Zeeuws are reflected in New Netherland Dutch. The answer to this question is consistently an emphatic "no".

1) *Development of Gmc. \*ai*. With respect to the early development (pre-Middle Dutch) of *\*ai* in the Dutch language area, there were three basic regional treatments (Goossens 1980: 68–9; J. van Loon 1986: 49–51). In the southeast (eastern Limburg) we find the monophthongal reflex *ē* before WGmc. *x*, *r*, *w* and word-finally and the diphthongal reflex *ei* elsewhere. In a large central area (including Brabant, Utrecht, Gelderland, Zeeland, and Holland) we generally find the monophthongal reflex *ē* in the same environments as in the southeast but also generally elsewhere when there followed no *i*-umlaut factor; in words with an *i*-umlaut factor we generally find the diphthongal reflex *ei*. The distribution of the central area reigns grosso modo in the standard variety of Dutch. Finally, in the southwest (West Flanders) we find generally only *ē*, without regard to the following consonantism or the presence of an umlaut factor. East Flanders forms a transitional zone in which the central area's umlaut-conditioned treatment occurs in some lexical items. To this basic tripartite division we should add a fourth area, which is a subdivision of the large central area: in most of South and North Holland and perhaps a small part of westernmost Utrecht we find in addition to the basic umlaut-conditioned split a further split of the monophthongal treatment between *ē* generally and <ie> in a group of words in most, but not all, of which the vowel stands before *n* (e.g. *stien*, *ien*, *gien*, *bien*, *twie*, *hieten*) (see map 3 and Heeroma 1935: 90–2). This typically Hollands distribution is well attested in the dialectally colored speech of characters in 17th century farces (*D kluchten*). If we look back to the Bergen Dutch forms cited in figure 4, it is clear that the monolithic West Flemish treatment of *\*ai* (e.g. *kleen*, *vlees*, *EEK*) did not reign but rather the central area's largely umlaut-conditioned split, but this then in its specifically northwestern form, with a three-way split. In this instance then, the dialectal affiliation of Bergen Dutch points away not only from Flemish but also from Brabants and probably Zeeuws and specifically toward Hollands and westernmost Utrechts.<sup>26</sup>

2) *Development of Gmc. \*eu*. As in the case of the development of Gmc. *\*ai*, the southwest showed a strong tendency to develop Gmc. *\*eu* unconditionally, but the geographical distribution of developments is rather different. On the one hand, we find in Flemish, Zeeuws, and a large part of the Brabants area a general development of *\*eu* via *\*io* to a vowel that merged with the reflexes of Gmc. *\*ē*<sup>2</sup> (<ie>) (J. van Loon 1986: 54–8; van Bree 1987: 112–3). In northern Brabant, Utrecht, and most of Holland we find an umlaut-condi-



**Map 3: Development of Gmc. \*ai**  
Distribution of *stien* in the Northern Netherlands in late Middle Dutch  
(from Heeroma 1935)

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<sup>26</sup> For a discussion of the Hollands development, see Daan & Franken (1977: 54ff.).

tioned split, with a front rounded vocalism  $\bar{y}$  (or later  $\text{œy}$  with diphthongization) from earlier  $*iu$  generally under  $i$ -umlaut conditions and  $\bar{i}$  <ie> elsewhere. This dialectal divergence is the source of the well-known doublets *diets/duits* 'Dutch, German', *kieken/kuiken* 'chicken', *stieren/sturen* 'to steer', *dier/duur* 'costly, dear', *vier/vuur* 'fire'. Each of these words is attested in Bergen Dutch with a clear reflex of an earlier front rounded vocalism.<sup>27</sup> Again, Bergen Dutch stands apart from Flemish, Zeeuws, and southern Brabants and on the side of Hollands and Utrechts.

- 3) *Apocope of schwa*. In the course of the Middle Dutch period, final schwa, except in various inflectional and derivational suffixes, was lost throughout most of the Dutch language area. The two dialect areas which did not participate in this development were Flanders and Zeeland (see J. van Loon 1986: 97–100, with map). The relevant forms attested in Bergen Dutch consistently show this apocope, such as P <rôx> 'rogge/rye', SV <agh> 'eg, egge/harrow', <tarf> 'tarwe/wheat', <bleit> (SL [blæit], P <blāit>) 'blij(de)/happy'. It is interesting to note the geographical distribution of forms analogous to BD *tarf* and *blajt* in early 20th century Dutch dialects. In the first case, such forms seem to have been concentrated in the central Hollands area (Amstelland), parts of northern Holland (north of the IJ), and in a limited area in South Holland around the town of Gorinchem (Klooke 1950: 122). In the second case, such forms with maintenance of final  $-t$  from earlier  $-de$  are common in central and north Holland, whereas South Holland generally shows loss of the consonant (Weijnen 1966: 435).

- 4) *Loss of h-*. Though we have been considering primarily vocalic developments here, we should note that loss of original  $h-$  was a characteristic feature of the Flemish dialects already in the Middle Dutch period. This loss is also a feature of the dialects of Zeeland and southern Brabant in later times (see the map in Wijnen 1966). In Bergen Dutch, however,  $h-$  regularly appears in its correct etymological distribution.

One could add here a number of other features of Flemish and/or Zeeuws which are wholly absent from Bergen Dutch (e.g. maintenance of final  $-(ə)n$ , development of  $al, ol$  + dental stop to  $û$ , rounding of  $i$  in labial environments etc.), but I believe the above discussion has been sufficient at least to show that at its core, Bergen Dutch (and probably New Netherland Dutch generally) was clearly not Flemish or Zeeuws in character.

It remains for us to consider the possible extent of influence in the formation of Bergen Dutch from the other southern dialect which has been mentioned in this connection by scholars, namely Brabants. There are three particular features of Bergen Dutch which seem to have led scholars to have looked generally to the south and specifically to Brabant for European dialectal influences. These are: 1) the realization of  $\hat{a}/\bar{a}$  as BD  $\bar{a}$ ; 2) the palatal character of the reflexes of

<sup>27</sup> The word for 'fire' is attested as *vîr* for the so-called "Negro-Dutch" dialect, formerly spoken by a racially mixed population in the Ramapo area around the New York/New Jersey border in Bergen and Rockland Counties. The possible significance of this feature is difficult to assess and cannot be discussed here; I will do so in a future publication.

MD  $\gamma$ , that is, the infamous "zachte  $g$ " (soft  $g$ ) of the south, which was explicitly noted by Prince (1910: 462); 3) the bilabial pronunciation of  $w$ . The latter two features can be quickly dismissed from this discussion, while the first will require a more detailed treatment.

The bilabial realization of  $w$  is today considered one of the distinctive characteristics of southern Dutch, but the situation in the 17th century, when the New Netherland colony was settled, was probably quite different. Hellinga (1943) finds evidence in grammatical writings that a shift in the north from a bilabial to a labiodental pronunciation was in progress during the 17th century but also evidence that the new pronunciation gained ground only gradually. The dialectal progress of the sound change is not known, but it is interesting to note that in this century the  $w$  in the coastal Hollands dialect of Katwijk was described by Overdiep as "de bilabiale 'Engelsche'  $w$ " (1940: 96) and bilabial  $w$  has been recorded in other Hollands dialects (Weijnen 1966: 257). For late Bergen Dutch, the possibility of American English influence cannot be ruled out, but there is no compelling reason to think that the bilabial pronunciation of  $w$  is not an inherited Dutch trait, and one that can be traced back either to the southern or northern Dutch dialects.<sup>28</sup> A similar line of reasoning can be used with regard to the palatal quality of BD  $x/\gamma$  in so far as the dialectal realizations in the 17th century are not well known. The fact that palatal  $g$  and  $ch$  (also in the cluster *sch-*) is a characteristic of Utrechts and of Dutch as spoken in Utrecht (Beets 1927: 219; van Veen 1964: 21) greatly mitigates the need to look specifically to Brabant and the south for the origins of this feature.

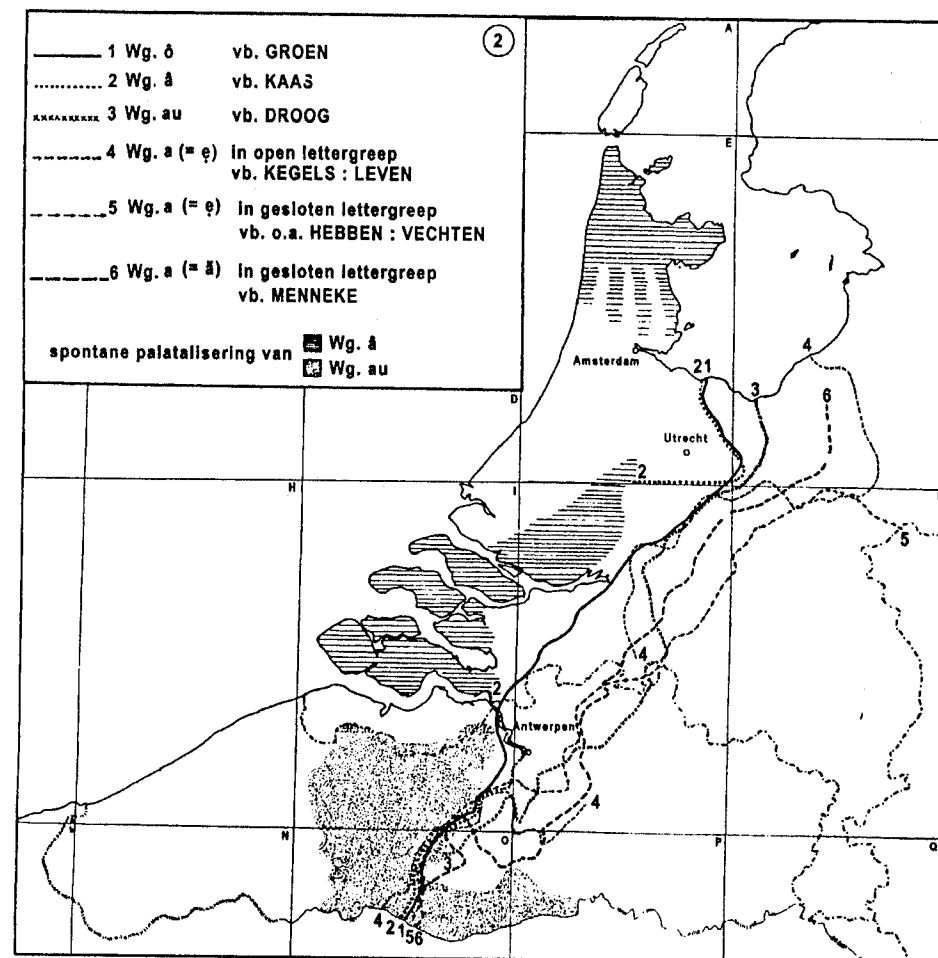
More interesting is the question of the development of BD  $\bar{a}$  and its dialectal sources. Spellings indicating the backing and rounding of  $\hat{a}$  (< $*\bar{a}'$ >) occur already in Middle Dutch texts from Limburg in the late 13th century and from southern Brabant in the late 14th century (van Loey 1976: 34), and it is clear that the development was widespread in the Brabants area well before the beginning of the 17th century. By that time, the feature came to be used by playwrights in Holland as a marker of the speech of characters from Antwerp.<sup>29</sup> Presumably the

<sup>28</sup> The form *tārf* 'tarwe/wheat', with  $-f$  from final devoicing of what originally was  $w$ , would seem to support the view that the BD bilabial  $w$  is secondary and imposed from English. In Brabants dialects with a bilabial  $w$ , however, we also find instances of a shift to  $f$  where  $w$  has come to stand in word final position, e.g. Antwerps *nîf* 'nieuw/new', *tārf* 'tarwe'. The shift to  $f$  or  $v$  in southern Brabants dialects is limited to certain positions and I think it likely that the shift in the north also occurred in stages. I am therefore inclined to see the treatment of  $w$  in Bergen Dutch as a genuinely Dutch one, especially since it is illogical to assume that Dutch-speaking Jersey men with a labiodental  $w$  would not have identified it with English  $v$ . Influence from Dutch and English spelling practices seems to be out of the question, since Jersey Dutch was not written and literary Dutch was little known after the 18th century. It is, moreover, doubtful, that many of the Dutch-speaking farmers were very familiar with written English.

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, the speech of Jerolimo in Bredero's *Spaansche Brabander* (e.g. <moor> for 'maar', <stoeltje> for 'staaltje' etc.) and the even more convincing Antwerps that Huygens offers in *Trijntje Cornelis* (e.g. <moôr> 'maar', <joôr> 'jaar', <Wôterland> 'Waterland', etc.).

5 pronunciation was a salient and widely recognized characteristic of Brabants, especially since it often corresponded to a markedly front low vowel ( $\bar{a}$  or  $\bar{e}$ ) in much of the Hollands dialect area. A fact that scholars writing on New Netherland Dutch have failed to mention, however, is that the Amsterdams dialect in the 19th and 20th century also has 5 for  $\bar{a}/\bar{a}$ . The first overt reference to its use in the city dates to the mid-18th century (Hellings 1968: 306). Also overlooked is the fact that the dialects of Utrecht have this backed and rounded variant, and, judging from the spellings with <oo> in a literary representation of Utrechts, the feature was already characteristic for the dialect in the mid-17th century (e.g. <joor> 'jaar/year', <loot> 'laat/let', de Vooy 1922: 48). Indeed, by the 17th century the feature was probably a general characteristic of most or all of the central and, at least for the reflexes of Gmc. \* $\bar{e}$ l, eastern Dutch dialects as well (cf. van Veen 1964: 101–2).<sup>30</sup> Thus, there is nothing exclusively southern or Brabants about 5 for  $\bar{a}/\bar{a}$ , though its appearance in Bergen Dutch would appear to point away from Zeeland and all of Holland except perhaps Amsterdam and the region between that city and Utrecht. We will consider this question again in more detail in section 4.

One last Bergen Dutch feature which could have been mentioned by those looking to make a case for a strong Brabants element in the colonial dialect is the occurrence of forms which reflect the operation of secondary umlaut, as shown above in figure 5. The various relevant umlaut isoglosses now form a bundle running from the IJsselmeer (Zuider Zee) through the middle of the Netherlands and into Belgium where they ultimately converge along the valley of the Dender (see the map 4, from Goossens 1980). This bundle marks the border zone between the coastal and central dialect areas. In the current century the westernmost of the isoglosses runs just west of 't Gooi and into the province of Utrecht, making a wide arch eastward around the city of Utrecht and thence back toward the west to run roughly parallel with the borders between South Holland, Zeeland, and East Flanders on the west and North Brabant, Antwerp, and (Vlaams) Brabant on the east. While the southern half of the division between the coastal and central Dutch dialects seems to have been fairly stable since the late Middle Ages, the isoglosses running through Utrecht province have clearly been gradually shifting eastward, in light of toponymic and earlier textual evidence (Muller 1929: 220; Meertens 1950: 140; van Veen 1964: 18–9). The city of Utrecht, where umlauted forms were known in earlier times, seems to have come to serve as the focal point for the radiation of standard Dutch influence throughout much of the province (cf. Goossens 1980: 36).



Map 4: Secondary Umlaut Isoglosses and Areas  
with Unconditioned Frontings  
(from Goossens 1980)

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Dutch Language and Literature, Gent

<sup>30</sup> Note that  $\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{a}$  did not generally merge in the east (e.g. Gelders *schaop* vs. *water*). In the northeastern dialect area in the MD period, however, <a> was often used as a spelling for reflexes of short *o* lengthened in open syllable (e.g. <baven> 'boven/above') as well as for the reflexes of \* $\bar{e}$ l. In much of this area, the modern dialects show a merger of the two as  $\bar{o}$  or  $\bar{d}\bar{o}$  (Goossens 1980: 70–1).

In the Bergen Dutch evidence we find the following: 1) two clear instances of umlaut of Gmc. \**ō* in *xrōn* 'groen/green' (with a derived form *xrōnig* 'green apple') and *zōt* 'zoet/sweet', but also at least two nonumlauted forms in which umlaut could be expected, namely *zūk(-ə)* 'zoeken/to seek' and *vūl(-ə)* 'voelen/to feel'; 2) possible instances of secondary umlaut of Gmc. \**ē* (*ā*) in *kēs* (also *kēs*) 'kaas/cheese', *sxēr* 'schaar/scissors', *lēx* 'laag/low' and *værklēra* 'verklaaren/declare'; 3) several instances of possible umlaut of Gmc. \**ū* with open syllable lengthening, e.g. *nōyt* (*nōt*) 'noot/nut', *mōlīn* 'molen/mill', *hōnnig* 'honing/honey', *sxētēl* 'schotel/dish'; 4) no instances of umlaut of Gmc. \**ay* where it could be expected, e.g. *drōx* 'droog/dry', *værxlōvā* 'geloven/to believe', *hōra* 'horen/to hear'. If we consider the distribution of umlaut isoglosses in the Dutch language area, the BD data shows a striking resemblance to the westernmost part of the isogloss bundle in the province of Utrecht and 't Gooi and the northwestern part of the Brabants dialect area, in that umlaut of \**ō* and \**ē* (*ā*) is coupled with an absence of umlauted reflexes of \**ay*. Two further comments must, however, be made here. First, in the case of the apparent umlaut of \**ē* (*ā*), it should be noted that the front vocalism of the cited forms could also be traced back to the coastal dialects of Zeeland and Holland in which \**ē* (*ā*) is unconditionally reflected as a front vowel. Second, the apparent instances of umlauted \**ū* in open syllable must be considered alongside various forms which show a similarly front rounded vocalism but did not ever have an umlaut conditioning factor, such as BD *zōymər* 'zomer/summer', *bōēter* 'boter/butter', *vōexəl* 'vogel/bird', *zōen* 'zoon/son', and at least one form which did have an umlaut conditioning factor but does not show fronting, namely *slōtəl* 'sleutel/key'. Thus, it cannot be said that the distribution in Bergen Dutch of fronted and nonfronted vocalisms in reflexes of \**ū* in open syllable corresponds to the operation of secondary umlaut; rather, the distribution resembles very much that which is found in the coastal dialects.<sup>31</sup>

To summarize the findings of this section, we can say that the overall structure of the Bergen Dutch vocalic system shows a particularly strong resemblance to the dialects of Holland and the standard variety of Dutch and, when viewed from the perspective of the 17th century and early 18th century, seems to find its closest analogue in the dialects of central Holland. With regard to the developments of specific phones, Bergen Dutch has no features which correspond unambiguously to features of Flemish or Zeeuws and, in the case of the treatment of the Germanic diphthongs \**aj* and \**ay*, the evidence points away from Flemish, Zeeuws, and Brabants, and specifically toward Hollands. Finally, three features which could be attributed to Brabants influence, namely the diphthongization of the long high vowels *ī* and *ȳ*, the backing and rounding of *ā*/*ā*, and the instances of secondary umlaut, were all shared by the Utrechts dialects; the diphthongization, moreover, should be viewed as an autochthonous development in at least the central part of Holland, and the backing of *ā*/*ā* is a feature which is shared by Utrecht and Amsterdam. On the basis of this evidence, it seems most

<sup>31</sup> See Goossens (1980: 33–6), with further references; for a possible explanation of the coastal distribution of fronting, see Buccini (1992a: 464–75).

reasonable to seek the origins of Bergen Dutch in the north central dialect area, that is, in the dialects of central Holland and Utrecht.

At this point, it would do well to consider briefly the morpholexical evidence for the dialectal origins of Bergen Dutch. Here I will only present a few relevant examples and summarize my general findings: a detailed discussion of this evidence will be published in the future. The BD pronominal system shows several forms which have a bearing on the question of the dialect's origins. Of these, the most striking is the form *hœlə* 'zij' as the stressed form (unstressed *zə*) of the 3rd person plural pronoun. This form, which also survives in Afrikaans, another colonial variety of Dutch, is well attested in some dialects of Zeeland (where it appears next to forms of the *zulder* type) and in many dialects in South and North Holland. The stressed oblique form of the 1st person singular, *majn* 'mij', shares a similar distribution in the European dialects. Also noteworthy is the lack of any of the typically Brabants pronominal forms. Specifically, there are no traces of 1) the reduplicated type 'kik etc.; 2) the pronouns *gij* or *gijlie* (BD *jaj-jə*, *jœlə-jə*) and the inverted form of the type *zaide* (*gai*) 'zijt gij'; 3) 3rd person masc. subject clitic *-em* or *-en* (BD *-i*).

The Bergen Dutch forms of the verbs 'zijn/to be' and 'hebben/to have' all have analogues which are widespread in the dialects of Holland (and to a lesser degree in western Utrecht) and some stand in contrast with widespread southern (Flemish, Brabants) forms. For example, the infinitive of 'to be' is always *wēzə* and the present tense forms (except for 3rd person sing. *is*) are of the *ben(-)* type, thus BD *ek ben*, *waj benə* vs. southern Brabants *ik zen*, *waj zain* 'ik ben, wij zijn/I am, we are'. The vocalism of BD *ben-* is also noteworthy for it points to earlier *bin-*, a form widely attested in the Hollands and Utrechts dialect areas (cf. also *met* < \**mit* 'met/with'; for the Middle Dutch distribution, see Berteloot 1984, map 31). The attested Bergen Dutch forms of the infinitive of 'to have', *hævə*, *hæbə*, and *hā* (cf. Afrikaans *hê*), are all attested in Hollands dialects.

There are many other high-frequency verbal forms in Bergen Dutch with Hollands analogues, some of which are: 1) merger of the verbs 'kennen/to be acquainted with' and 'kunnen/to be able to' as *kænə*, pret. *kān* (< \**kon*); 2) BD *zæl* (< \**zel*) 'zal/shall' (Prince also reports *zāl*); 3) BD *mut-most* 'moet-moest/has to-had to'; 4) BD *dēn* 'deed/did'; 5) BD *xəzajt* 'gezegd/said'; 6) BD *xəbraxt* (\**gebrocht*) 'gebracht/brought'; 7) BD *xəkəft* 'gekocht/bought'. To these verbal forms we can add the attested forms of the diminutive in Bergen Dutch, which are *-tšə* after *-l*, *-n*, *-r*, *-t*, *-d* and *-i* after labial and velar stops (e.g. BD *bōntšəs* 'boontjes/beans' but *paki* 'pakje/package'; cf. Am. Eng. *cookie* from NND \**kuki* 'koekje'). While the dialectal distribution of certain of these forms extends well beyond the Hollands (/Utrechts) area, this particular constellation of items as a whole points strongly to the area around the chief urban centers of the old Dutch Republic: indeed, the correspondence between these Bergen Dutch forms and those of, for example, the Zaans dialect of North Holland is remarkable (Boekennoogen 1971: 81ff.). Finally, the general lexicon of the dialect, at least as known from the limited attestation, is generally free of obvious southernisms or *schrijftaal* (written language) forms and contains many lexical items which, though now obsolete in northern Dutch, are well attested for

17th century Hollands and/or later, conservative Hollands dialects (e.g. *pampier* 'papier/paper', *nakend* 'naakt/naked', *EEK* '(edik) azijn/vinegar', *krokeel* 'ruzie/quarrel', *toon* 'teen/toe', *oft* '(dial.) oft, oftig/often' etc.).

Taking the morpholexical evidence into consideration, the conclusions drawn from the evidence of the vocalic system can, I believe, be stated more precisely: Bergen Dutch is a descendant of 17th century Hollands which bears some central dialect features, the origins of which should be sought in the northern central dialect area of Utrecht. Flemish appears to have played no role in the formation of the dialect and there appears to be no need to invoke any particular Zeeuws or Brabants influence: those features of Bergen Dutch which have analogues in Zeeuws and Brabants also have analogues in Hollands and Utrechts.

**3.4. The formation of New Netherland Dutch.** Records of the origins of the New Netherland colonists are scattered, incomplete, and, from a dialectological standpoint, not easy to interpret. Consequently, it seemed preferable to carry out the dialectological analysis of the Bergen Dutch materials before looking for historical studies on the colonists; in this way, any temptation to force the linguistic data to fit the incomplete and therefore potentially misleading historical data would be avoided.

Some recently published works by historians on the colonists of New Netherland provide, however, important information that can help with the further interpretation of the linguistic data. Cohen (1981) brings together data gathered from a variety of sources (e.g. ship passenger lists, genealogies, colonial documents, etc.) for the places of origin of 904 (non-English) settlers in New Netherland during the 17th century. In light of the small size of the colony's population at the time of the British conquest (ca. 9,000), this group constitutes a significant part of the total population, though the degree to which it faithfully represents the make-up of the population as a whole is difficult to say; my own feeling is that it roughly does. In any event, Cohen's findings are striking: of the 904, almost half (445) of the colonists came from outside the United Provinces. Since we are concerned with linguistic matters here, I have rearranged Cohen's (1981: 52-3) data from a listing by country and province to one by language area:

Table 2

*Origins of 904 European immigrants to New Netherland by language area  
(based on Cohen 1981)*

Language Area	Number of colonists	Percentage of group
Dutch	421	46.6%
Low German and Frisian	242	26.8%
French	95	10.5%
Scandinavian	82	9.1%
High German	42	4.6%
unidentified, Germany	13	1.4%
other	9	1.0%
Total	904	100%

Given that the 17th century was a period of great turmoil in western Europe, it by no means necessarily follows that a given individual's primary language was the language of the region from whence he immediately came. Moreover, a given individual may well have stated as his place of origin his birthplace, though for some greater or lesser number of years prior to departure for New Netherland he may have lived and worked in Holland. From a linguistic standpoint, this question is important, since it must be assumed that many of the non-Dutch colonists had already acquired Dutch to some degree before leaving for America. In the case of the colonists from Scandinavia and northern Germany, it is likely that many had served as sailors or soldiers with the Dutch merchant fleet and they too would surely have arrived in New Netherland with the ability to speak some manner of Dutch. A further consideration here is the fact that for the Low German colonists, Dutch was structurally quite close to their native language and acquisition of the colonial language would have been for them relatively easy.<sup>32</sup> Counting together the Dutch, Low Germans, and Frisians (many of whom lived in close proximity to Dutch or Low German speakers) as a quasi-linguistic group, they constitute roughly 73% (663) of Cohen's group of 904 colonists. The sociohistorical background of this mixed colonial population is fairly well known: throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, the cities of Holland attracted many religious and economic refugees from the southern Netherlands, Germany, and France. Not all of these immigrants, however, were able to find a secure place in the Dutch economy and we must assume that many and probably most of the New Netherland colonists had been recruited from the economically less well-off class of the population of the cities of Holland. The European population of the Dutch East India Company's colony in southern Africa was surely recruited in much the same manner and shows a highly similar mix of Dutch, German, and French groups (cf. Raidt 1983: 15-6).

Given the large number of non-Dutch colonists in New Netherland, it is surprising that there are no obvious German or French influences to be detected in Bergen Dutch. The lack of such influences must be attributable to several factors. First, as mentioned above, some of the non-Dutch colonists probably arrived in the colony having already acquired Dutch while in Holland. Second, the position of Dutch as the language of both the colonial administration and the one officially sanctioned Church in the colony surely encouraged non-Dutch speakers to acquire Dutch and to see that their children did so.<sup>33</sup> Third, intermarriage of non-Dutch with Dutch presumably favored the spread of Dutch. Fourth, the colonial population was very much concentrated in a few areas,

<sup>32</sup> Concerning the interaction of Hollands, Low German, and Frisian in the northeastern part of the Netherlands during the 16th and 17th centuries, see Goossens (1991: 50ff.).

<sup>33</sup> French-speaking colonists tried to maintain the use of French in church services. German colonists, so far as I know, did not. This difference of behavior is surely tied to the fact that the French had first gone to Holland as a persecuted group and had developed a strong group identity, while the Germans were more a collection of individuals looking for economic opportunity and escape from the aftermath of the Thirty Years' War. It probably also indicates, however, a difference of attitude toward Dutch.

namely, Manhattan, western Long Island, and the Fort Orange/Rensselaerswijck area, assuring that non-Dutch colonists remained in close contact with the dominant Dutch group. In any event, the vast majority of the non-Dutch New Netherlanders assimilated linguistically and culturally to the Dutch mainstream.

We turn now to the question of the Dutch dialects involved in the formation of New Netherland Dutch. Since Cohen did not organize his data for the purposes of a dialectological analysis, they present some difficulties when adapted for that use. Nevertheless, they can give us a general idea of the relative numbers of Dutch dialect speakers. I will focus here on the colonists in Cohen's group of 904 who came from the coastal and central dialect areas of the Dutch language area, including Flanders, Zeeland, Holland, Brabant, Utrecht, and western Gelderland. The total from these areas is approximately 355, that is, 39% of the group. For the provinces of North Holland, South Holland, Utrecht, and Gelderland, I have broken Cohen's provincial totals down as far as possible into more discrete dialect areas. Unfortunately, Cohen apparently only lists a specific town when it was given by two or more colonists as the place of origin. Consequently, there is a sizeable group of colonists who could not be located in one of the smaller dialect areas; the largest number of such colonists are from the province of Utrecht. The Hollands dialect area has been divided between the following subareas (cf. map 5): 1) Amsterdam; 2) 't Gooi; 3) Central Holland, i.e. the area bounded in the north by the IJ and in the south by the Oude Rijn, excluding Amsterdam (represented here only by Leiden and Haarlem); 4) Southern Holland, i.e. the province of South Holland south of the Oude Rijn. A small part of easternmost South Holland (eastern Alblasserwaard) has been counted together with southwestern Gelderland (Vijf-Heren-Land, Land van Buren en Culemborg, and Tielerswaard), a compact area between the Lek and Waal rivers from Gorinchem in the west to Tiel in the east. The colonists from eastern Utrecht (roughly the Eemland district) have been counted together with those from the western Veluwe (Gelderland). Again, the relative representations of the various areas among the New Netherland colonists are remarkably similar to those among the Cape Colony colonists (cf. Kloeke 1950: 257-8).

Table 3

*Origin of New Netherland immigrants from coastal & central Dutch areas*

Dutch dialect area	number
Zeeland	18
Southern Holland	19
Northern Holland	20
't Gooi	13
Central Holland (Leiden, Haarlem)	19
Amsterdam	90
Western Utrecht	18
Lek and Waal (Gorinchem to Tiel)	44
Eastern Utrecht & Western Gelderland	40
Brabant (not including 18 unidentified from Sp. Neth.)	24
Flanders (not including 18 unidentified from Sp. Neth.)	6



Map 5: Historical Districts of Holland and Utrecht (from Kloeke 1950)  
Reprinted with permission of E. J. Brill Publishers

The number of colonists from unidentified locations within this core area by province are: North Holland 13; South Holland 6; Utrecht 25; the 18 colonists from unidentified places in the Spanish Netherlands (Flanders, Brabant, Limburg) are also not included in table 3.

Bearing in mind the uncertainties involved in interpreting these data, I believe they show a striking correspondence to the results of the dialectological analysis presented above.<sup>34</sup> Specifically, the total absence of any unambiguously southern features in Bergen Dutch looks to be simply a function of the fact that there were relatively very few colonists from either Flanders or Brabant (even if one adds to the above figures the 18 colonists from unidentified places in the north of the Spanish Netherlands). The same can be said for the absence of Zeeuws features and the number of colonists from Zeeland. By the same token, the conclusion that Bergen Dutch represents an essentially Hollands dialect with an admixture of some important central dialect features finds support in the fact that the two provinces with the largest contribution of colonists to this core Dutch-speaking group of 355 are North Holland (142) and Utrecht (68); in addition, the western part of the province of Gelderland contributed at least 48 colonists, a number which surpasses the total for the entire province of South Holland (45) (Cohen 1981: 52). The combination of dialectal features which characterize Bergen Dutch does not, however, simply reflect the relative numbers of colonists from different Dutch dialect areas in some straight-forwardly formulaic way. Rather, I believe the restructuring process in New Netherland which produced Bergen Dutch was most probably strongly directed toward an already established "levelled" dialect, specifically that of the city of Amsterdam; in other words, I see the formation of the colonial Dutch variety as a continuation of a process which had already been long underway in the Northern Netherlands.

The reason why I am inclined to insist on a particularly close relationship between New Netherland Dutch and Amsterdams is that Amsterdams is the most likely candidate among the Dutch dialects to have had all three of the following features toward the end of the 17th century: 1) Hollandisms, such as a) the three-way distribution of reflexes of Gmc. *\*ai*; b) morpholexical features, e.g. the form of the diminutive, the pronoun *hullie*, various high-frequency verbal forms (*bin/binne*, *wezen*, *hæ*, *zel*) etc.; 2) diphthongal reflexes of MD *i* and *y* merged with the reflexes of MD *ei* and *œy* respectively; 3) merger of *â* and *ā* as *ā* or possibly *5*. These same three features are clearly reflected in late Bergen Dutch and were almost certainly present in the dialect when northern Bergen County was settled toward the end of the 17th century. It is therefore worth considering the degree to which these features were present in the original colonists' speech. To do so I will assume for the moment that the Dutch-speaking colonists all spoke the dialects of their places of origin as recorded in the documents studied by Cohen. As potential bearers of Hollandisms to New Netherland we can count those colonists from North and South Holland. As bearers of the diphthongal re-

<sup>34</sup> To the uncertainties mentioned above, we must add that the location of isoglosses and dialect boundaries in the 17th century can now be only approximately reconstructed.

flexes of the long high vowels we will include the majority of the colonists from Holland, the Brabanders, those from western Utrecht, and those from the "Lek and Waal" area. As bearers of a back or back rounded reflex of *â/ā* we will count the colonists from Amsterdam, the province of Utrecht, western Gelderland, the "Lek and Waal" area, and Brabant. Finally, as bearers of all three features, we will count only the Amsterdammers.<sup>35</sup>

Table 4  
*Colonists from dialect areas with features attested in Bergen Dutch*

Feature	# colonists	% of core group (355)	% of total (904)
Hollandisms	ca. 180	ca. 50% of core	ca. 20% of total
Diphthongs for <i>i</i> & <i>ū</i>	ca. 225	ca. 63% of core	ca. 25% of total
Back(/rounded) <i>â/ā</i>	ca. 210	ca. 60% of core	ca. 23% of total
All three features	ca. 90	ca. 25% of core	ca. 10% of total

I do not intend to claim that these figures are necessarily an accurate reflection of the linguistic realities of New Netherland. My intention is rather to show that factors other than the sheer numbers of colonists from different dialect areas must be taken into account. First, I do not believe that all the colonists arrived capable of speaking only the language or dialect of their place of birth. Having spent a period of time in Amsterdam or one of the other cities of Holland, many surely arrived with some command of an already restructured Hollands urban or specifically Amsterdams type dialect, in which case the above figures are all too low. Another factor that may have aided the spread of the Amsterdam type dialect was the presence of a large number of nonnative Dutch speakers. For these foreigners, the target form of Dutch was again presumably a Hollands urban variety. In the colonial setting, Dutchmen whose native dialect was not Hollands may well have found it easier to employ Hollands forms in place of their own dialectal forms, in part because of the difficulties non-Hollands dialectal forms could present to the nonnative Dutch speakers with whom they inevitably had dealings.

Another factor to consider is that of the possible influence of a "founder population" in the colony, that is, an early group of settlers who may have played the major role in establishing certain linguistic norms for the colony, to which later arriving settlers would adapt.<sup>36</sup> Unfortunately, the demographic studies which have thus far been published do not provide specific data that might allow us to analyze the linguistic situation in New Amsterdam and western Long Island during the first decades of New Netherland's existence. There are, how-

<sup>35</sup> The dialects of the western Veluwe in Gelderland have a rounded reflex of *ā* but it has not merged with *ā*, which remains *ā*. According to Kloeke (1950: 58), some dialects in northern Utrecht and Gelderland along the Zuider Zee also do not show the merger but have the opposite outcome: *5* for *ā* and *ā* for *ā*. For the Lek and Waal area, I assume that the dialects here, standing directly between Utrecht and Brabant, had undergone both the diphthongization and the development of *5* from *ā* (after merger with *ā* in at least part of the area) fairly early on.

<sup>36</sup> I refer here to the notion of the "founder principle", proposed by Mufwene (ms.).



ever, some interesting indications for the existence of such a founder population in Rensselaerswijck. As mentioned above in section 3.1, Gehring notes that the Mohawk Dutch documents of the 18th and 19th century may show some features which are reminiscent of the dialect of 't Gooi, an area from which "a considerable number" of the patroonship's colonists came (1973: 26). The specific features he notes from the graphemic evidence are the realization of the diphthong *ei* as [ai] as early as 1733 (24) and the possible occurrence of [ō] alongside [u] for D *oe* (<Gmc. \*ō> (34–7, 54). On the other hand, there are some important features which Goois (Heeroma 1935: 62–4; 1937) had which seem to be at variance with what we know of 18th and 19th century Mohawk Dutch. For example, the Goois reflex of *ā* is a front vowel (e.g. [sxæp]) whereas Mohawk Dutch, like Bergen Dutch, had [ɔ] for both *ā* and *ā* from an early date: there are indications of the rounded quality in spellings such as <dore> 'daar/there' and <more> 'maar/but' as early as 1724 (Gehring 1973: 37). Moreover, Goois had the three-way split of the reflexes of Gmc. \**ai*, while it is possible that the typically Hollands forms with *ie* ([i] or [iə]) were not common in Mohawk Dutch.<sup>37</sup>

In connection with these possible divergences from Goois, it is interesting to note Rink's (1981, 1986) findings on the origins of the early settlers of Rensselaerswijck. He finds that of the 96 early colonists whose place of origin is known, "almost 30 percent of these came from the province of Utrecht"; this Utrechts contribution was greater than the contribution from North and South Holland combined (1986: 154–5). Thus, it seems that in Rensselaerswijck the dialect areas of Holland and Utrecht appear to have both been strongly represented in the founding colonial population, though perhaps with an even greater representation from Utrecht than reigned elsewhere in New Netherland.<sup>38</sup> On the other hand, the linguistic evidence of Bergen Dutch as a whole does not differ greatly from what Gehring describes for the Mohawk Valley-Albany region, and perhaps further research into the origins of the earlier waves of colonists will show that the founder population throughout the colony had a similar mix of

<sup>37</sup> Gehring does not explicitly discuss the question, but I assume from his silence on the matter that spellings indicating reflexes of Gmc. \**ai* as [i] did not occur with much frequency in the texts that he examined. In the specimen texts appended to his dissertation, however, I find one example of the typically Hollands treatment, namely <stien> 'steen/stone' (130).

<sup>38</sup> A particularly strong Utrechts element in Rensselaerswijck could account for the apparent scarcity of the Hollands forms such as *bien*, *ien*, *twie*, etc. The question of the realisations of *oe* needs to be further investigated. The graphemic evidence from the late 18th century that Gehring finds for [ō] is strongly suggestive if not quite conclusive. In the 17th century (and also in later times), StD *oe* [u] was treated in many Hollands (and probably Utrechts) dialects differently according to the following consonantism, with dialectal variation in the specific phonetic outcomes, e.g. in Zandvoort [u] before dentals, [ou] elsewhere (Heeroma 1935: 59); in Huizen (in 't Gooi) [oə] before dentals, [ō] elsewhere (Heeroma 1937: 166). Perhaps variation between *o*-like and *u*-like realisations occurred in early stages of Bergen Dutch as well as in Mohawk Dutch. For a detailed discussion of the development of *oe*, see Hellinga (1968: 41ff.).

Dutch dialect speakers in which colonists from Holland and Utrecht were relatively more numerous than in cross-sections of the immigrant population taken from the entire period of Dutch rule in New Netherland. Finally, a particular study of the place of origin of female colonists and those colonists who immigrated with their entire nuclear families needs to be done, for these colonists may well have contributed more to the formation of a founder population than the many lone bachelors who went to the colony.

The time frame in which New Netherland Dutch formed cannot be stated with great precision, but I believe that by taking both linguistic and historical evidence into consideration we can come to some reasonable conclusions. For the date of the beginning of the process we can take the arrival of the first significant numbers of settlers in the colony in the mid-1620s. The historical indications that this very first wave of settlers was largely comprised of French-speaking Walloons, however, does not square well with the lack of any noticeable traces of French influence in the attested forms of the colonial dialect. Clearly, the founder population from a linguistic standpoint cannot have been primarily French-speaking. To account then for the lack of influence that the Walloons had, we can offer a number of possible explanations. First, it could well be that the Walloons were in fact not so numerous as most historians have hitherto believed, either in the sense that they did not form as large a percentage of the early immigrants to the colony as has been thought or in the sense that a significant number of those who arrived in the colony soon left; Rink (1986: 143) indicates that many of the Walloons did indeed return to Europe or travel on to other colonies. A second possibility is that they may have arrived having already acquired Dutch to a reasonable degree while in Holland. Third, it is possible that the colonists arriving in the 1620s did not fill the role of a founder population; that is, a later, much larger wave of colonists may have been the group to set the foundations for the colonial dialect. Perhaps we ought simply to accept all three of these possibilities as being contributing factors to the absence of French influence on New Netherland Dutch. In any event, it is clear that the population of the colony remained quite small during its first two decades and during this time many of the colonists, Walloon and Dutch, decided not to make New Netherland their permanent home. Consequently, we should perhaps look to the 1640s as the period when a founder population was established, that is, at the point when the European population numbered between two and three thousand with a stable core of permanent settlers.

As an approximate date by which New Netherland Dutch had more or less taken on its definitive form, we must look to the 1690s. The reasons for this are the following. First, since Dutch administration had effectively ended in 1664 and immigration from the Netherlands to the colony had dropped to a trickle already during the 1670s or 1680s, it is clear that, aside from contacts via the Reformed Church, the New Netherlanders had almost no access to the mainstream of Dutch culture and had either to become a largely isolated community or to join the English colonial mainstream. Second, it is during this period that a considerable amount of internal migration took place, from Manhattan and Long Island to New Jersey, Staten Island, and the Albany/Mohawk area, and from the



Albany/Mohawk area to New Jersey and southern New York. The population movements between these areas would surely have helped offset whatever tendencies there had been for dialectal divergence, and, indeed, the attestations of New Netherland Dutch point to a very homogeneous dialect throughout the region, from the Mohawk down to the South River. The homogeneous character of the dialect must have been set by this time, since there was apparently little contact between the Dutch enclaves thereafter as they gradually became encircled by Anglophone settlements. Third, it is at this point that the Dutch community in the old center of the colony, Manhattan, began to become increasingly divided, as discussed above in section 2, with the consequence that in New York City, New Netherland Dutch passed very quickly from the end of its formative stage into its period of decline. Northern Bergen County, where New Netherland Dutch survived longest, was settled in the 1690s by Dutch-speakers in large measure from Manhattan and western Long Island, and it seems that this settlement occurred just at that moment after the dialect had essentially stabilized but before it began its decline under pressure from English. Fourth, in setting the dates for the formative period of the dialect from the 1640s to the 1690s, we have a period during which at least two generations of native colonial children were born, the second of which was born after direct contacts with the Netherlands had largely ceased but before English had had a chance to infiltrate the Dutch-speaking community to any significant degree.

In the outlying and isolated Dutch enclaves, such as Bergen County and the Albany/Mohawk area, perhaps a further two or three generations of children would be born who would be raised in an overwhelmingly monolingual environment, but, judging from modern parallel situations, stabilization of the dialect could very well have taken place within the sixty year period indicated here. A possible parallel can be drawn to the development of the new dialect of Høyanger, Norway, as discussed by Trudgill (1986: 95ff.). This dialect arose as a result of the transplantation of a large number of people from various dialect areas to the town within a very short span of time. Citing Omdal's findings, Trudgill indicates that in the sixty or so years between the influx of people to the town starting in 1916 to the time of Omdal's study, a new mixed or levelled dialect had developed and stabilized. Stages in the development of the dialect seem to have been nicely reflected in the three generations present in the population in the 1970s. Specifically, the oldest generation included still many of the people who had relocated to Høyanger and whose speech still largely reflected their original dialectal background. The speech of the next generation, that is, the children of the immigrants to the town, often reflected to some degree the dialectal origins of their parents and, as a whole, was marked by considerable variation. The second generation born in the town since 1916, however, already spoke a "relatively unified and distinctive Høyanger dialect" (Trudgill 1986: 95). I see no reason to think that New Netherland Dutch had not reached a similar stage of development by the 1690s.

**4. Out Amsterdamsch en Nuw Amsterdamsch.** In this section I will examine some of the features of New Netherland Dutch more closely and attempt to show

the relationship of the restructuring process in New Netherland to the restructuring process that occurred in the cities of Holland and in particular Amsterdam during the 17th century.

The regular occurrence of diphthongal reflexes of MD  $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{y}$  in New Netherland Dutch has interesting implications for the controversial question of the development of the diphthongization in the European Dutch dialects. Stated simply, I find that Kloeke's widely accepted theory of the spread of the diphthongization to Holland under the influence of educated and wealthy Brabanders after the fall of Antwerp (1585) is not compatible with the New Netherland Dutch evidence. If the diphthongization in Holland was brought about in the way proposed by Kloeke, that is, as an imported "change from above", we must somehow account for the regularity of the diphthongization in New Netherland Dutch, a dialect that developed in a settlement with very few Brabanders and, for that matter, very few educated and wealthy Dutchmen from any part of the Low Countries. Given that so many of the colonists came from eastern Utrecht, Gelderland, and from Low German-speaking lands, where diphthongization of long high vowels had not occurred, it seems impossible to account for the presence of the diphthongs in New Netherland Dutch unless we assume that they were present in the speech of a substantial number of lower and middle class colonists from Holland and Utrecht. To maintain the theory of the Brabants expansion, one would have to have recourse to one of the following claims: 1) that this change from above had spread throughout the sociolects and dialects of Holland within about sixty years of the fall of Antwerp; 2) that the diphthongization was in progress during the time of the settlement of New Netherland and was completed in the colony; 3) that the colonial dialect originally did not have diphthongs but at some later point, under the influence of standard Dutch, accepted them.

Faced with this problem in connection with Afrikaans, Kloeke (1927: 134) hesitantly proposed the last explanation, that the influence of standard, cultivated Dutch on Afrikaans must have been much greater than was generally recognized. A study of the evidence for the development of Cape Dutch and Afrikaans makes it clear, however, that the influence of standard Dutch on Afrikaans belongs primarily to the relatively recent process of standardization and development of a literary variety of the language (late 19th and early 20th century); the diphthongs, on the other hand, were on the Cape from the foundation of the Dutch colony in the mid-17th century (Buccini forthcoming). Kloeke came to recognize this fact and in his later monograph (1950) on Afrikaans, he does not repeat the claim and clearly acknowledges that the diphthongization was general in the speech of the original settlers from Holland and Utrecht. What we know of the original Dutch colonists both in Africa and North America does not give the impression that they were people who had much contact with the social elite of the United Provinces. Both Cohen (1981: 47ff.) and Rink (1986: 150ff.) give ample evidence that the majority were farmers, soldiers, laborers, and craftsmen, groups among which illiteracy was widespread (van Dillen 1970: 301-2). If they had much contact with a form of standardized or cultivated Dutch, it was likely through the Reformed Church, but in the early decades of New Netherland, great

piety does not seem to have been one of the New Netherlanders' more conspicuous virtues, and it was not until the time around the English conquest that the Reformed Church really began to establish its place in colonial society.<sup>39</sup> Even so, Bergen County, like other outlying Dutch settlements, remained for a long time without its own formally trained minister.

As mentioned above, the early evidence from the Mohawk Dutch region indicates that the diphthongal reflexes of the long high vowels were general and had merged with the old diphthongs *ei* and *ui*.<sup>2</sup> To this we can add that the late Bergen Dutch data does not offer any examples of monophthongal relict forms with *i* for MD *i* and the two exceptional instances of nondiphthongized *y*, *dæzənt* 'duizend/thousand' and *dævəl* 'duivel/devil', are clearly the affective variants that are widely attested in all the diphthongizing dialect areas in the Low Countries. More interesting is the appearance of the diphthong *ai* in a word borrowed from a native Algonquian language, namely BD *təhajm* 'strawberries' from Munsee *wé:hi:m* or possibly Unami *ié:hi:m* (Goddard 1974: 159). The sound shape of this word could perhaps be taken as evidence for the continued progress of the diphthongization in early New Netherland Dutch as a phonological process, but in light of all the evidence that points to the diphthongization having been an autochthonous development in Holland, I think it more reasonable to see it as an instance of the overapplication of a rule for dialect adaptation, in other words, a hypercorrection. Such a hypercorrection could have come about if, when the borrowed word began to spread through the Dutch speech community, Dutch speakers, unaware of its Algonquian origin, assumed that it might be an instance of an *i* which ought to correspond to *ai*. Such a scenario would, of course, only arise if there were current among New Netherlanders a sense that monophthongal realizations of *i* in place of *ai* were, for one reason or another, to be avoided. The contact between the many eastern Dutch and Low German speakers with the diphthongizing Hollanders and Utrechters in the colony is the setting in which such a hypercorrect form could come about. This treatment of Munsee *i* also implies that when the word was borrowed, the vowel was not identified with reflexes of either MD <ie> (from \**e*<sup>2</sup> and \**eo*) or Hollands <ie> (from \**ai*) because these vowels were still generally realized as diphthongs (i.e. [iə] or [ji]).<sup>40</sup>

With regard to the diphthongization, we must conclude that its success in the colonial dialects of Dutch must have depended on its general use among the linguistic core of the population, namely the Utrechters and, even more importantly, the Hollanders. This evidence points in turn to the nature of the diphthongization in Holland being an autochthonous change from below, not an import from Brabant, and should be added to the many other objections raised against the popular "Brabants expansie" theory of Kloeke.

<sup>39</sup> It is possible that the increasing importance of the Reformed Church in Dutch colonial society during the last part of the 17th century was in part an expression of a heightened sense of ethnic identity brought about by the confrontation with the English intruders.

<sup>40</sup> It seems unlikely that the vowel in the Munsee source word was diphthongized. For a discussion of Munsee phonology, see Goddard (1982).

Another feature of New Netherland Dutch which deserves more careful consideration is the back rounded reflex of *ā/ā*. It has been noted above that this feature is by no means a general characteristic of Hollands; rather, the Hollands dialects all have (or had) a front realization of this vowel, except in Amsterdam and some of the immediately surrounding area. Amsterdam's deviation from the Hollands norm in this regard has been a point of controversy and various explanations for the development have been proposed (for a summary and discussion, see Hellinga 1968: 304–36). One theme in the discussion of this problem is whether a case can be made for Utrecht having exercised a linguistic influence on Amsterdam. Some scholars have not accepted this explanation on the grounds that from the 16th century on, the direction of cultural influence flows in the opposite direction, that is, from Amsterdam outward. Since the first evidence for a back rounded reflex of *ā/ā* in Amsterdam is from the middle of the 18th century, an "Utrechts expansie" here seems extremely improbable.

In light of the fact that New Netherland Dutch combines many features characteristic of Hollands dialects with the back rounded *ā/ā*, it is worthwhile to consider its development together with that of Amsterdams. For New Netherland Dutch, all the evidence points back to the use of a back rounded vowel already in the early 18th century. This evidence includes the spellings in Dutch texts from the Mohawk region (see above), English spellings of Dutch names (e.g. <De Baun> and <Van Zaan> for *De Baan* and *Van Zaan*, and the toponym from the South River region <Drawyer(s) kil> for *Draijers*-), and New Netherland Dutch loanwords in American English (e.g. *Santa Claus*, *boss*, *cole slaw* from D *Klaas*, *baas*, *koolsla*). From this evidence, it follows that in the period of the formation of the colonial dialect in the 17th century, "Proto-New Netherland Dutch" had either [ɔ] or at least [ā]. In the latter case, the subsequent rounding may have stood in a structural relationship with the strong tendency to lengthen *ā* to [ā] (see section 3.2, figure 6).

For Amsterdam in the 17th century, we hear in a famous passage from the poet Vondel explicit mention of two varieties of Dutch. He draws a distinction between "out Amsterdamsch" (old Amsterdams), which he describes as "te mal" (too foolish) and the variety of Dutch which was spoken by "lieden van goede opvoedinge" (people of good breeding) not only in Amsterdam but elsewhere in Holland (cited in Kloeke 1934–5: 26). This latter variety was clearly the interregional, cultivated, increasingly standardized form of Dutch which Vondel considered appropriate for literary use. The "out Amsterdamsch" variety has, in my view, correctly been linked to the Dutch used by certain lower class characters in the popular 17th century *kluchten* who are linked to Amsterdam and the surrounding areas. Its "foolish" character surely had to do with the fact that it was the dialect of the urban lower class and, at the same time, recognizably close to the rural dialect of the area. Judging from the language of the *kluchten*, this old Amsterdams was a typical North Hollands dialect, that is, a dialect with, among other features, no merger of *ā* and *ā* and a front realization of the former (Kloeke 1934–5: 18; cf. Polomé 1985: 73). The scenario seems at first blush to warrant another invocation of Brabants influence among the city's higher social circles

(Klooke 1934-5: 26), but here too that argument fails, in large measure for reasons already discussed in connection with the diphthongization.

The most reasonable explanation of the Amsterdams *ɔ̃* for *ā/ā* lies in the formation of a restructured variety which, from a sociolinguistic standpoint, probably stood somewhere between Vondel's "out Amsterdamsch" and the cultivated, interregional variety.<sup>41</sup> While many linguists have placed emphasis on the extent and putative linguistic impact of immigration from the southern Netherlands to the northern cities, they have paid little or no attention to the evidence for immigration from the rest of the United Provinces to Holland. This distorted view is inextricably linked with the popular theory that culturally prestigious Brabanders played a central role in the development of northern Dutch in the 17th century. While it is true that immigration from the south was considerable, it was largely concentrated in the period from 1575 to 1619. Before and after this time, the largest percentage of immigrants to the cities of Holland were from the countryside of Holland and the other northern provinces. It seems that even during this period, immigrants to Amsterdam from elsewhere in the north far outnumbered those from the south (de Vries 1974: 108-9). It should also be noted that Amsterdam's remarkably rapid growth began already in the early 16th century and that by the midpoint of that century, what had been a small village came to equal in size the city of Utrecht, which had been the only major city in the north through the Middle Ages. Indeed, while all the major cities of Holland grew during the 16th and 17th century, the population of Utrecht remained essentially stable, as shown in the following table.

Table 5  
Population estimates (in thousands) for cities in central Holland and Utrecht  
in the 16th & 17th century (from de Vries 1984: 271ff.)

year	1500	1550	1600	1650	1700
Amsterdam	14	30	65	175	200
Haarlem	14	14	30	38	33
Leiden	14	12	25	67	55
Utrecht	20	25	25	30	30

<sup>41</sup> I cannot help but wonder if the three-way distinction in the population of Amsterdam made by Hooft (*Warenar*, lines 1-3) bore some correspondence to the three-way sociolinguistic distinction I claim here. Hooft's three groups were: 1) the "burgers", who possessed "poorterrechten", the privileges of citizenship; 2) the "ingeboren" or native inhabitants, that is, those born in the city but not possessing poorterrechten; 3) those who had chosen to take up residence in the city, that is, the immigrants. It is interesting to note that in Bredero's *Spaanse Brabander*, one can draw distinctions between the speech of the various Amsterdammers: the "straatjongens" (starting at l. 285) speak a decidedly more consistent or thicker North Hollands than does, for example, Robbeknol, who, though certainly not from a privileged background, is portrayed as being somewhat wider travelled and the offspring of a father who was from Friesland and a mother who was from Alkmaar. Robbeknol's speech is at once less consistently North Hollands and in some respects closer to the cultivated, interregional variety of Dutch.

The reason for Utrecht's lack of growth appears to have been economic stagnation (van Dillen 1970: 186). It therefore seems reasonable to believe that in the course of natural population increase in the province of Utrecht, Utrechters were not drawn to the local urban center but rather made their way to Holland and perhaps in particular to Amsterdam, though this claim must be considered speculation for the moment. Nevertheless, Rink (1986: 154-5) interprets the strong representation of Utrechters among the New Netherland population as a reflection of the poor economic situation in that province and the strong motivation for them to seek their fortunes elsewhere.

Returning to the question of the development of *ā* and *ā̃* in Amsterdam, we should consider the reflexes of these vowels in the dialects of southeastern North Holland and Utrecht in the 17th century. In the next chart, I present the probable situation circa 1650 for the following dialects (see map 2): Waterlands (the dialect of the district immediately to the north of Amsterdam across the IJ), Goois (the dialect of the district roughly equidistant from Amsterdam to its west and the city of Utrecht to its south), "Oud Amsterdams" (the "old", socially marked city dialect), Utrechts (the dialect of the city of Utrecht and surrounding part of the province).<sup>42</sup> In addition, I include what I will call "New Amsterdams", by which I mean the "levelled" dialect which I believe developed among the middle and lower classes of the city. Bergen Dutch and modern Standard Dutch are included for comparison. (N.B.: *ē* stands here generally for a front quality vowel (*æ*, *ē*, or *ē̃*); *ā* for a back vowel, which may or may not have been rounded; *ō* stands for a back rounded vowel.)

Figure 7  
Dialectal reflexes of *ā* and *ā̃*

Wtrlns	Goois	Old Adms	Utrechts	New Adms	BD	StD
wā̃tər	wā̃tər	wā̃tər	wā̃tər	wā̃tər	wā̃tər	wā̃tər
sxēp	sxēp	sxēp	sxōp	sxāp	sxōp	sxāp
pērt	pērt	pērt	pērt	pērt	pērt	pārt
kēs	kēs	kēs	kēs	kēs	kēs	kās

The four forms in the table illustrate the following developments: 1) the basic or neutral development of *\*ā* in open syllable; 2) the neutral development of *\*ā̃* (*ā̃*); 3) the development of *\*ā̃* before *r* plus dental stop; 4) *\*ā̃* (*ā̃*) subject to secondary umlaut in the central and eastern dialect areas. The reconstructed "New Amsterdams" distribution would be a plausible result of contact between speakers of a North Holland variety and speakers of a Utrechts variety. Needless to say, the immigrants to Amsterdam also included speakers of other dialects whose presence would have further encouraged the levelling of the local North Hollands distinction between *ā* and *ā̃*, including the Brabanders (with merger in *ō*) and those from eastern Utrecht and Gelderland with a mirror image of the North Hollands distribution, namely, *ā* or *ō* for reflexes of *\*ā̃* and *ā̃* for reflexes

<sup>42</sup> See the maps in Klooke (1950: 58, 82, 110); note, however, that Klooke's (58) material for 't Gooi stands in disagreement with Heeroma's analysis of the Goois text from the 18th century, in which he finds *ā* and *ā̃* merged as *æ̃*.

of lengthened  $\bar{a}$ . The reconstructed retention of a front vowel in words like *kees* 'kaas/cheese' and *leeg* 'laag/leeg' could be expected, since the front vocalism here was common to the North Hollands dialects and the Utrechts (also Brabants and eastern Dutch) dialects in which secondary umlaut had operated. Similarly, the agreement between Hollands and western Utrechts in the treatment of  $\bar{e}$  before *r* plus dental stop in words such as *peerd* 'paard/horse', *steert* 'staart/tail', and *weerd* 'waard/worth(y)' would result in the maintenance of such forms in the new contact dialect. In more recent times, Amsterdams seems to have given up such forms as *kees* and *peerd*, extending to these words the  $\bar{o}$  vocalism, presumably following here the distributional model of standard Dutch, but it is striking that Amsterdam, unlike all the other cities of central and southern Holland, gave up the characteristically Hollands front  $\bar{a}$ . The acceptance of this central Dutch feature thus strikes me as a case of "expansion" from Utrecht and other central or eastern areas, but not in the sense of a "change from above" involving the imitation of cultivated immigrants; rather it involved a "change from below" as Amsterdam's native nonelite population absorbed masses of economic refugees from the rest of the northern Netherlands.

As can be seen from the chart, my reconstructed "New Amsterdams" shows exactly the phonetic and distributional pattern that must have existed in the predecessor of the attested New Netherland Dutch dialect. The name applied to the reconstruction was thus chosen intentionally to stand in contrast with Vondel's "out Amsterdamsch" and to refer to its North American analogue, the dialect that developed at the southern end of Manhattan, the principle settlement of New Netherland. These two widely separated "New Amsterdams" dialects surely shared a number of common or parallel developments in addition to that of  $\bar{a}/\bar{a}$ , but a comparison of the two must be left for another time. For now, I will only briefly discuss some of the more noteworthy dialectal features of New Netherland Dutch.

In the preceding discussion, attention has been repeatedly called to the close relationship between New Netherland Dutch and the Hollands and Utrechts dialects. A number of typical and widespread Hollands and Utrechts dialect features are, however, missing in the colonial dialect. To some degree, a pattern can be detected behind the selection or rejection of such features. For example, with regard to the consonantism, it seems that those dialectal features which were not generally shared by the dialects of North Holland, South Holland, and Utrecht were not retained in the colonial dialect. Thus, the reduced form (*e-* or  $\emptyset$ -) of the prefix *ge-*, which was so widespread in the Hollands dialects, lost out to the full form of Utrecht (and possibly also the "levelled" dialects of the cities of central Holland). Another widespread consonantal feature of Hollands which New Netherland Dutch ignored is the velarized nasal, as in *hongt* 'hond/dog' (BD *hōnt*); again, this feature was not present in the dialects of Utrecht. Similarly, the apocope of *-t*, which was certainly a characteristic of Utrechts and some of the South Hollands dialects, was disfavored and the colonial dialect, like most dialects in North Holland, has maintained final *-t*. In light of these facts, it is not surprising that dialectal features with more limited geographical (and sociolectal?) distributions, such as the maintenance of *sk-* vs. the development to *sx-*,

leave no traces in New Netherland Dutch. In each of these cases, New Netherland Dutch has opted for the treatment which is found in standard Dutch. This agreement between the standard and the colonial dialect is surely not coincidental, but this does not necessarily imply that the shape of the colonial dialect was directly determined by the shape of a preexisting standard; that is, that the colonial dialect stands in a derivative, daughter-mother relationship to the developing cultivated variety of the 17th century and 18th century. I come to this conclusion on account of the number of divergences from the then emerging standard language in the dialect; judging from van den Berg's (1943) analysis of the differences between the language of the "beschaafd" (cultivated) writings of Huygens and Bredero and the language they each place in the mouths of "boers" (rustic or even boorish) characters in their plays, New Netherland Dutch would certainly not have been considered cultivated by them.

In some cases, it seems that agreement between Hollands and Utrechts was able to override any influence from a cultivated or interregional variety. For example, the Hollands and western Utrechts forms *graft* 'gracht/canal' and *kof* 'kocht/bought' survived in New Netherland Dutch, as did *brocht* 'bracht/brought', but these forms were possibly in wide use even among the highest classes in the Netherlands during the colonial period. In the end, the most striking deviations from cultivated Dutch are found in the distributions of the vowels. Here, not only specific features or forms shared by Hollands and Utrechts were selected in the colonial dialect (e.g. *kees*, *leeg*, *peerd*, *weerd*, and the numerous words with  $\bar{a}$ , such as *zeuven*, *teugen*, *deuze*, *speulen*, *veur*, *deur*, *zeumer*, *zeun*, *meuling*, *veugel*, *scheutel*, etc.) but also some that were uniquely Hollands, such as the three-way distribution of the reflexes of Gmc. *\*aj*.

As significant as the deviations of the "boers" or "plat" New Netherland Dutch dialect were from the "beschaafd" variety of Dutch, it must also be recognized that the colonial dialect was not wholly isolated from the influence of cultivated Dutch. The primary point of contact between the two, especially after the fall of the Dutch colonial administration, was the Dutch Reformed Church. Trained ministers from the Netherlands were sent to North American congregations well into the mid-18th century and we can assume that the use of standard Dutch in services and, to some degree, exposure to standard Dutch through education and the reading of the States Bible could have had some impact on the dialect. This influence may be reflected in the existence of standard Dutch forms in variation with the Hollands/Utrechts type forms, as can be seen from attested doublets in late Bergen Dutch, e.g. *dāxt* 'dacht/thought' vs. *braxt* (<\*broxt) 'bracht/brought' and presumably *\*dāxt* (<\*doxt) 'dacht/thought', *vlēs* vs. *vlajs* 'vlees/meat', *mēstər* vs. *majstər* 'meester/master', *zāl* vs. *zæl* (<\*zel) 'zal/shall'. We should also note the existence of one form in Bergen Dutch which deviates from both the northern dialect forms and the standard language form, namely, the word for 'butter': Hollands *butter* [œ], Utrechts *botter* [ɔ], standard Dutch *boter* [ō], and Bergen Dutch *beuter* [œ] (or [œy, œy]). This last form (which, in my view, only coincidentally resembles the Flemish form) might well represent a mixed or compromise form, that is, an "interdialectism", with the vocalic length of StD *boter* but the front rounded quality that so often

characterizes Hollands (and Utrechts) cognates of standard Dutch words with  $\bar{o}$  (see above).<sup>43</sup> All in all, the influence of standard Dutch on New Netherland Dutch was, however, relatively limited and probably most often manifested through the favoring of one lexical variant in the spoken dialect over another.

Finally, we should consider two aspects of the development of the short vowels in Bergen Dutch. The tendency to lower short vowels, at least in the instance of  $i > e$ , is almost certainly an early and pan-New Netherland Dutch development. Gehring (1973: 30–3) offers a great deal of graphemic evidence that shows that the lowering had taken place in the Mohawk dialect area already by the first half of the 18th century. My own research has turned up similar evidence in Dutch texts from New Jersey, of which the earliest indication thus far found is in the Reformed Church records from Schraalenburgh (now River Edge and Dumont, Bergen County) in 1762: there the spelling <in> occurs for StD *en* 'and'. Given that other colonial varieties of Dutch, Afrikaans (Raidt 1983: 93–5) and "Negerhollands" (Hesseling 1905: 78–81), often show a lowered (and in Afrikaans also centralized in some environments) reflex of  $i$ , it is all but certain that this feature was present in the speech of 17th century Dutch colonists.

With regard to the Bergen Dutch tendency to lengthen short vowels, we must consider the possibility that the development was one that belonged only to the last stage or stages of the dialect's history and that, as Shetter suggested, it was a result of English influence; more specifically, I would say the result of imposition from English in the speech of bilinguals whose linguistically dominant language was English. Yet, the lengthening of short vowels could have been an internal development of Bergen Dutch or, conceivably, New Netherland Dutch, which arose naturally within the dialect-speaking community. It is interesting to note that a similar tendency, especially with regard to the lengthening of  $\bar{a}$ , is a well-known characteristic of the dialects of Utrecht and of the "Lek and Waal" area mentioned earlier (Meertens 1950: 141; van Veen 1964: 22ff.; Weijnen 1966: 207) and that Gehring's (1973: 40) early Mohawk Dutch data include several spellings from the early 18th century that point to a lengthening of  $\bar{a}$ . Before speculating on the possible origins of the development, however, further analysis of the 18th and 19th century New Netherland Dutch texts should be carried out. Meanwhile, Gehring's (1973: 43) suggestion that the late New Netherland Dutch treatments of original short vowels reflect both early dialectal influences and later influence from English should stand.

<sup>43</sup> Such a compromise form may have arisen in the development of the colonial dialect itself or in the development of a restructured urban variety in Amsterdam or elsewhere and may have been imported to New Netherland. Similarly, variable usage of the forms cited above may already have been present in the speech of some part of the original colonial population. Usage in the 17th century theatrical works often shows such variation, even within the speech of an individual character. That variation has often been attributed to inconsistency or sloppiness on the part of the playwrights but I am increasingly convinced that Bredero and his colleagues were not so inconsistent or sloppy as they were keen observers of the linguistic behavior of the residents of Amsterdam in her Golden Age (cf. fn. 42 above).

**5. Conclusion.** In almost all of the scholarly discussions of New Netherland Dutch, emphasis has been placed on the decay and gradual death of the dialect. Language death has been in recent decades a topic of interest among linguists and, to be sure, this aspect of the history of New Netherland Dutch is well worth study, as demonstrated by Gehring's dissertation. The gradual death or, seen from a different perspective, the remarkable tenacity of New Netherland Dutch is, moreover, an important part of the cultural history of the Middle Atlantic States. But with the focus of interest primarily on the decline of the dialect, the process of the formation and stabilization of the dialect has been neglected. Perhaps the reason for this neglect is that it has been assumed by nonlinguists that there is not much to be said about or learned from the formation of a colonial dialect. One can add here that more than a few linguists seem to have shared this belief, if we consider the very superficial treatments of European dialectal influences that appear in some works on pidgin and creole varieties of colonial languages. This assumption is generally not correct and especially not correct in the case of New Netherland Dutch. Information on the development of the dialect, to the degree that the process can be analyzed, complements the historical evidence for the early social history of the European presence in the Middle Atlantic region in a number of ways. No less important, however, is what can be learned from New Netherland Dutch concerning the social and linguistic history of the colony's fatherland. I have tried to show that the formation of New Netherland Dutch sheds light on the question of the cultural and linguistic role of the southern Dutch refugees in Holland in the 17th century and calls attention to the economic and social factors behind and impact of the migrations of people within the Dutch Republic and possibly to factors which had particular relevance to the development of Amsterdam, the center of the Dutch-speaking world. These issues are not unknown to Dutch historians but the evidence discussed here brings them again into focus from a new perspective.

There is, however, yet another important application of the knowledge gained from the study of New Netherland Dutch outside the North American context. An understanding of the formation of New Netherland Dutch lays the foundation for a new assessment of the development of the other colonial Dutch language varieties and, in particular, of Afrikaans. A detailed comparison of the two will, I believe, help make clear the real nature and extent of the role played by the non-European population of the Cape Colony and lay to rest some of the prejudice-ridden mythology that has too often clouded the discussion of the development of Afrikaans from Cape Dutch. For "Negerhollands" too such a comparison may well help to define better the degree to which Zeeuws influence dominated the Dutch element in the language's formation and to help sort out which features are not to be traced back to European Dutch dialects. In any event, I hope to have shown that the "final word on Jersey Dutch" (Shetter 1958) should not yet be considered spoken.

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