Words from Dutch Creole in Virgin Islands Creole English

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Abstract

This article presents a list of (Creole) Dutch-origin words, or supposedly Dutch-origin words, in Virgin Islands Creole English, including an etymological analysis. Three of the Caribbean Virgin Islands were colonized by the Danish, but a Dutch-lexifier creole language was widely used on the islands, later replaced with English or an English-lexifier creole. The article deals specifically with the varieties traditional to the islands St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John, US Virgin Islands (formerly known as the Danish West Indies). The words to be discussed here are inspired by the work of a local amateur lexicographer, Rafael "Lito" Valls. The words came into Virgin Islands Creole English via the local Dutch-lexifier creole, deriving primarily from Zealandic and West Flemish sources. The article also provides a broad overview of the state of lexicographical work on the Virgin Islands creoles, placing this in the general historical and linguistic background of the Virgin Islands.

1. Introduction[1]

This article compiles and presents an etymological analysis of a list of (Creole) Dutch-origin words, or supposedly Dutch-origin words, in Virgin Islands Creole English (henceforth CE; ISO 639-3: vic). We deal specifically with the CE varieties traditional to the three present-day United States Virgin Islands (USVI) of St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix. Formerly known as the Danish West Indies (DWI), these three northeastern Caribbean islands were originally colonized by the Danish, but as a result of strong early Dutch demographic influence, a Dutch-lexifier creole language, Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (henceforth DC; ISO 639-3: dcr), emerged and came to be widely spoken there in the colonial period. The words to be discussed in this article are inspired by the work of a local amateur lexicographer, Rafael "Lito" Valls (1927–1994). Active as an author and local historian and culture bearer between the 1970s and 1990s, Valls compiled a popular Virgin Islands CE dictionary, first published in 1981, and with a supplement from 1990, which remains the most comprehensive published resource for the lexicon of Virgin Islands CE to the extent that it deviates from more standard forms of English. As we will show, the Dutch-origin words came into Virgin Islands CE via the DC, deriving primarily from Zealandic and West Flemish sources. We also provide a broad overview of the state of lexicographical work on the Virgin Islands creoles, placing this in the general historical and linguistic background of the Virgin Islands. A major secondary source is Van der Sijs (2010), a reference book containing all words borrowed from Dutch into the languages of the world, which contains 276 words from Dutch documented as (formerly) used in Virgin Islands CE, and a few dozen more found in other varieties of Caribbean English (and Caribbean French Creole). This article has some overlap with that book, but the organization is quite different, and we have been able to add more words. Van der Sijs' work is written in Dutch and organized on the basis of the Dutch source words. The present article takes the creole words as a point of departure. In addition, it also includes non-Dutch words borrowed from DC into Virgin Islands CE. Furthermore, we sometimes provide alternative etymologies, different from those proposed in Van der Sijs (2010). Finally, this article is written in English so that it is also accessible to readers in the English-speaking Caribbean.

The article is structured as follows. Section 2 offers a broad overview of the historical and linguistic background of the DWI and later USVI. Section 3 surveys the state of lexicographical work on

[1] We appreciate the help from Joost Robbe who checked the West Flemish origin of non-standard Dutch words discussed in this article. We thank Cefas van Rossem who pointed us to some Zealandic and West Flemish dialect sources. We are also grateful to Mikael Parkvall for sharing his unpublished *Afrolex* with us.

the Virgin Islands creoles. Section 4 presents the list of Dutch-origin words and our etymological analysis. Section 5 offers some notes for contextualization about Valls as a lexicographer. Section 6, finally, presents our conclusion.

2. The Virgin Islands: historical and linguistic background

2.1 Historical background

The Virgin Islands are located in the Leeward Islands of the Lesser Antilles. The archipelago consists of some 90 islands, rocks, and cays with a combined land area of about 505 km^2, situated 65 to 80 km east of Puerto Rico. The land mass is thus smaller than the Isle of Man, but bigger than Malta. The first European sighting of the Virgin Islands was by Christopher Columbus in 1493 on his second voyage to the Americas, who named the islands primarily after Christian symbols and European saints, ignoring the existing Amerindian names. Then, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, following a period of short-lived settlements, European colonial powers divided the Virgin Islands into the two geopolitical units that continue to this day: the British Virgin Islands and the DWI (now the USVI). The former unit consists of four main islands – Tortola, Anegada, Virgin Gorda, and Jost Van Dyke – and many smaller ones, most of them uninhabited. The latter unit, which became part of the USA as the USVI in 1917, consists of the three main islands St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix. They comprise a so-called "unincorporated and organized US territory" (*World Factbook*, CIA 2021).

This geopolitical unit has undergone dramatic changes over the course of its history. From a plantation society cultivating export crops for the benefit of European interests in the Danish period, it was transformed in the twentieth century into a tourism society and a service economy developed with capital primarily from the USA (see, e.g., Olsen 2017 for an in-depth treatment of the social history of the DWI and USVI). The primary economic activities of the USVI today are tourism, trade, and rum production. These activities account for most of the territory's GDP and employment. As of 2021, ca. 106,000 people live in the USVI, ca. 50,000 of them on St. Croix (CIA 2021). In addition, the territory receives two to three million tourists every year, though most only visit St. Thomas.

The Virgin Islands have historically been characterized as plural societies dominated numerically by people of diverse African ancestry who were imported via the trans-Atlantic and intra-Caribbean slave trade (for an in-depth treatment of the DWI as an exploitation colony and trade-based economy, see Gøbel 2016). On the islands, the Africans were made to serve as laborers on large rural holdings, for the most part sugar plantations, or provide auxiliary services in the towns (for an examination of the slave society, see Hall 1992; see also Jensen & Simonsen 2016 for a recent survey of the literature on slavery in the DWI). St. Thomas (settled permanently in 1672) and St. John (settled 1718) were the initial sites of the Danish colonial endeavor in the Caribbean. The aim was to follow the example set by other expansionist European nations that had established plantation colonies overseas in order to gain a part of the wealth associated with the trans-Atlantic trade and colonization. St. Thomas and St. John were not geophysically suited for large-scale sugar production, however, hence the expansion of the colony with the 1733 purchase from France of the more distant St. Croix (settled 1734). St. Croix (< Spanish *Santa Cruz* "holy cross"), with its comparatively flat topography and fertile soil, offered the best prospects for sugar cultivation, and the most significant plantation interests soon concentrated on that island. For a contemporary account from the perspective of the colonizing power with a focus on such matters, see, for example, Høst (1791), accessible in English translation in Highfield & Bøegh (2018).

The islands from then on developed along different trajectories – the trade-based economy of St. Thomas (and that of its economically marginal neighbor St. John) relying much less on plantation agriculture than that of St. Croix. These different developments are reflected in the size of the islands' non-European populations during slavery. When the enslaved population of the islands reached its

maximum, in 1802, it amounted to 35,235 persons, of whom 77% lived on St. Croix, 16% on St. Thomas, and 7% on St. John (Gøbel 2016: 54). When slavery finally ended in the DWI, in 1848, there had evolved Crucian ("of St. Croix"), St. Johnian, and St. Thomian African-Caribbean cultures, and speech communities, shaped by partly similar, partly different developments (for discussion, see, e.g., Hall 1992; Sebro 2010; Sabino 2012).

The sociocultural matrix of the USVI today remains far from homogeneous. That said, an important difference between the islands today and in the nineteenth century is that a continuous (voluntary) in- and out-migration has transformed the territory's demographic profile (see De Albuquerque & McElroy 1982; Capetillo-Ponce & Galanes 2013). The 1917 sale of the DWI to the USA created new ties with the North American mainland, which eventually brought about a tendency toward relative economic advantage in the USVI. This then began to encourage waves of immigration from within the Caribbean. After World War II, when the USVI began to be developed as a tourist destination, immigration grew massive. As Capetillo-Ponce & Galanes (2013: 206) report, tourism in the USVI increased from 16,000 annual guests in 1949 to more than one million in 1967.

Today, people from all over the Caribbean, and beyond, are represented in USVI society. Only around half of the population is native-born. For a broad overview of the origins of the current population, see the last University of the Virgin Islands-produced USVI *Community Survey* (2016), based on data from 2013. The continuous migration has generated much local debate about the (shifting) meanings of terms used in discussions about belonging, such as "Virgin Islander," "native," and so on, and there has been a growing confusion, compounded by the effects of sustained US cultural influence, about how to define a common USVI social identity (for discussion, see Capetillo-Ponce & Galanes 2013). A further aspect relevant to this debate is that USVI cultural traditions (see Highfield 2018 for a comprehensive guide) have been increasingly channeled in the direction of the larger Caribbean and North American mainstreams. This can also be seen reflected in the linguistic situation, which we will now turn to discussing.

2.2 Linguistic background

The USVI today are widely advertised as an "American Paradise," yet the islands are considerably more storied than this tagline would appear to suggest. The same can be said about the language situation. The territory's official tourism website (https://www.visitusvi.com/travel-tips-faq/, accessed 24 March 2021) informs potential visitors about this as follows:

> English is the official language, but you can definitely detect the sound of colorful dialects and expressions that may take time to get accustomed to. Spanish is also commonly spoken.

As this quote hints, the islands' sociolinguistic development has been and remains a complex affair. This becomes apparent when considering that the many languages spoken on the islands during colonial times, following the disappearance of the indigenous Amerindian populations, included Spanish, French, Dutch, Danish, German, English, various contact languages based on European colonial languages, at least 25 African Niger-Congo languages, and more (Highfield 2009: 387–412; Sabino 2012; Bøegh, *in press*). Nash et al. (2020) highlight the Virgin Islands – and St. Croix in particular – in a global sample of islands with notable language situations precisely for their history of shifting linguistic influences in the post-Columbian era.

Today, according to the *World Factbook* (CIA 2021), the main languages spoken in the USVI are "English" (used by 71.6% of the population), "Spanish or Spanish Creole" (17.2%), "French or French Creole" (8.6%), and "other" (2.5%). "English" in this context may refer to a number of varieties. The USVI have long been recognized to be characterized by a range of English(-derived) speech

forms with different functional and situational specializations (Di Pietro 1968). However, there was a shift in numerical proportions between distinct groups of language users over the course of the twentieth century (cf. the societal developments outlined above), and thus a situation has come about where the USVI are associated mainly with US-English-oriented speech norms when the islands are mentioned in research on the Anglophone Caribbean (along the lines of the discussion in Hackert 2016: 99–100).

That the linguistic situation characterizing the USVI has changed considerably since the 1917 US transfer can be gleaned from metalinguistic commentaries from contemporary observers. For instance, the American linguist Frank G. Nelson who visited St. Croix and St. Thomas in 1936 later wrote the following about his visit: "I was surprised to discover that everyone there except the French-speaking 'Chachas' of St. Thomas spoke *some kind of English* – ranging from Standard to *a thick local dialect*" (quote adapted from Van Rossem 2017: 258, our emphasis). Similarly, a Danish geographer, Holger Lassen, who visited the DWI four decades earlier, in 1892, reported English to be the common language. Still, however, the speech of the African-Caribbean population was, he argued, "gibberish with mixed words and scraps from all sorts of languages, with its own grammar" (quote adapted from Børgesen & Uldall 1900: 47, our translation). Earlier yet, a missionary writing in 1820 characterized the language situation on St. Croix by stating that the local African-Caribbean population "ha[d] got[ten] into the habit of speaking what they call[ed] English," a vernacular "made up of English, [Dutch] Creole, and a variety of words taken from different languages of Guinea [i.e., Africa], most unintelligibly mixed, but considered by them as good English" (Anon. 1820: 68). These reports provide a sense of the distinctiveness of the traditional "thick local dialect" – i.e., the varieties of Virgin Islands CE. One aspect of this distinctiveness has to do with contact influence from Virgin Islands DC.

There is a long tradition, going back to the eighteenth century, for contact linguistic research focusing on the Virgin Islands. Most previous research relating to these islands has concentrated on Virgin Islands DC, one of the most extensively documented and researched creole languages which grew out of European colonialism in the Caribbean. Virgin Islands DC emerged on St. Thomas around 1700. It functioned as a lingua franca in the DWI between, roughly speaking, the 1730s and 1830s. It declined as varieties of English, including Virgin Islands CE, overtook its role as the dominant contact language in the nineteenth century. Its immanent disappearance had been announced since around the 1850s, but it became extinct as recently as 1987. For in-depth studies of Virgin Islands DC, see, for instance, Sabino (2012), Van Rossem (2017), and Van Sluijs (2017). For an anthology of Virgin Islands DC texts from a 250-year period, see Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996).

From the perspective of English contact linguistics, conversely, the Virgin Islands have traditionally figured among the least researched Caribbean locations (Aceto 2002: 99–100), though this characterization has to be reassessed in light of more recent and ongoing research efforts (e.g., Sabino 2012, Avram 2014; Bøegh 2018, *under assessment*). We find the foundations of an endemic English-derived creole on St. Croix in the eighteenth century. In contrast, the development of a CE variety on St. Thomas and St. John is associated primarily with the nineteenth century, reflecting that the shift from DC to CE was completed faster on St. Croix than on the other two islands, where there was a significant Dutch demographic element. The presence of speakers of (creolized) English on St. Croix when the Danes took over the island may have contributed to this. Both on St. Croix and on St. Thomas and St. John, Virgin Islands CE (which is closely related to other varieties of what is known as Caribbean English Creole, see Winford 1993) became subject to local contact influences. Elements were added from Virgin Islands DC (now extinct), African Niger-Congo languages (no longer in use), English (in increasingly US-oriented form), Caribbean Spanish (spoken through continuous migrations), Danish (now defunct), among other sources. We will now turn to discussing lexicographical work on the Virgin Islands creoles.

3. Lexicography and contact language documentation in the Virgin Islands

In this section, we discuss lexicography in the Virgin Islands and the documentation of the Virgin Islands creoles. The main emphasis will be on work focusing on Virgin Islands CE. We begin by discussing selected works on the islands' DC.

The first students of local words and grammar in the Virgin Islands were the Moravian Brethren, a group of pietistic missionaries operating from Herrnhut, Germany. The Moravians established their first overseas mission on St. Thomas in 1732, expanding their activities to St. Croix as early as 1734. Rather than imposing their German language, the missionaries focused on using the local contact language, and adjusted to the main language of the local enslaved Africans, i.e., the DC. The Moravian mission inspector C. G. A. Oldendorp worked as a historian and scientist in the DWI in the late 1760s. His work resulted in a massive report and ethnographic study, first published in an abbreviated form in 1777. Oldendorp's full 3,000-page manuscript was published much later (2000–2002). It contains much information about the life and cultural affinities of the enslaved population in the DWI, including their heritage languages (Bøegh, *in press*). During his stay, Oldendorp also compiled a Virgin Islands DC glossary, which appeared as one of two parts of the publication *Criolisches Wörterbuch* (1996), edited by Peter Stein and Hein van der Voort. This publication consists of two DC word lists. The first list, the one made by Oldendorp in the 1760s, is a German-DC glossary of some 3,400 entries (pp. 1–158). The second list (pp. 159–93) was produced by the Danish missionary J. C. Kingo between 1757 and 1782. It is much more modest, with 338 entries. Kingo belonged to the islands' Danish Lutheran mission, founded in 1755.

In the early 1920s, the Dutch archaeologist and anthropologist J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong participated in a Danish-Dutch archaeological expedition to St. Thomas and St. John. De Josselin de Jong became interested in the local DC, and he began collecting spoken texts and words from DC speakers whom he interviewed in his spare time (see Effert 1992). The main result of this effort was De Josselin de Jong's 1926 book *Het Huidige Negerhollandsch: Teksten en Woordenlijst* ("The Present-day 'Negro Hollandic': Texts and Word List"). In addition to 103 brief spoken texts collected from a variety of informants from St. Thomas and St. John, the book also contains a glossary of DC terms with Dutch glosses. This glossary contains close to 1,400 entries.

A glossary of variable Virgin Islands DC word forms compiling selected information from the above-mentioned sources, as well as from some other sources not touched upon in our discussion here, including fieldwork, can be found in Sabino (2012: 233–92).

There are occasional references to (contact) English in the Virgin Islands DC literature, but modern linguistic research on the Virgin Islands CE varieties began in the 1960s. This can be seen in the very solid *A Bibliography of Pidgin and Creole Languages* by Reinecke et al. (1975: 413–14), which provides a list of only 10 sources on and in Virgin Islands CE published up to that point in time. Next, in 1980, Sabino published *A selected bibliography of materials on language varieties spoken in the Virgin Islands*. It contains ca. 30 Virgin Islands CE sources, including a number of unpublished manuscripts and locally distributed materials no longer in circulation. Sabino's (1980) bibliography also covers Virgin Islands DC and the French dialect of Frenchtown, St. Thomas (described in Highfield 1979). A comprehensive Virgin Islands DC bibliography has since become available in Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996: 281–317). Cefas van Rossem keeps this bibliography up to date on his website (https://diecreoltaal.com/, accessed 24 March 2021). The bibliography was last updated June 2020. For a general overview of the research on the Virgin Islands CE varieties carried out to the present day, see Bøegh (*under assessment*).

As it occurred with other Caribbean varieties that had been traditionally stigmatized (English- and French-based creoles, etc.), the interest in Virgin Islands CE coincided with the rise of postcolonial consciousness in the 1960s. This meant a shift in which linguistic research became more locally rooted. The strand of research that has received the most attention since then, from professional and

amateur Virgin Islands linguists alike, is lexicography. In the following, we present the main sources in Anglophone Virgin Islands lexicography.

Probably the earliest attempt at lexicography in a Virgin Islands CE context is an anthropological study with the title *Aspects of Folk Culture in the Virgin Islands* (Trevor 1950). It contains a "Glossary of Vernacular Terms" (pp. 417–26), based on folk stories collected in 1936 from people from St. Thomas-St. John and the British Virgin Islands. The Trevor (1950) glossary contains ca. 100 entries. The first attempt at an actual dictionary (at least insofar as concerns the title) came from the St. Croix-born naturalist George A. Seaman. His small *Virgin Islands Dictionary* (1968) comprises approximately 400 entries, most of which contain only a definition with no pronunciation guide, no example, and no etymology. It was followed by an academic study by Emmanuel (1970), *Surviving Africanisms in Virgin Islands English Creole*, which focused more narrowly on the African element in the lexicon. Next came an edited volume, *A Brief Description and Dictionary of the Language Used in the Virgin Islands* (Roy 1975), commissioned by the USVI Department of Education. It contains a glossary (pp. 55–91) of 550-odd entries supplied by a variety of local contributors.

What came next was the popular dictionary *What a Pistarckle! A Dictionary of Virgin Islands English Creole* prepared by the St. John-based, St. Croix-born amateur lexicographer and local historian Rafael "Lito" Valls (1927–1994). Valls' work was distributed locally in the USVI, in the form of two short volumes (Valls 1981, 1990), totaling about 5,000 entries. Valls had also been one of the main contributors to the glossary in Roy (1975). Valls' work has been consulted widely as a key source for Virgin Islands CE, including for the authoritative *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* (Allsopp 1996), which includes a number of Virgin Islands-specific words. Also Van der Sijs (2010) drew on Valls' books to extract Dutch words borrowed into Virgin Islands CE (via DC). Valls' work remains the most comprehensive published resource for the lexicon of Virgin Islands CE (cf. also our analysis in the following section). In addition to his dictionary, Valls published collections of local proverbs and sayings in Virgin Islands CE (Valls 1983, 1993). He also published a collection of traditional riddles, with answers, likewise in CE, under the pen name "Jan Kallaloo" (1986). *Callaloo* is the name of a mixed vegetable dish widespread in the Anglophone Caribbean. Valls also published under this name in local media. We discuss Valls' work as a lexicographer further in section 5.

Others have followed in the footsteps of Valls. The most recent example of a Valls-style glossary can be found in the 2018 book *Meet Meh Undah deh Bongolo & Tark Like We No* by St. Thomian author Clement White. However, a scholarly, in-depth treatment on the level of such works as Cassidy & LePage (1967) for Jamaica, Holm & Shilling (1982) for the Bahamas, and Allsopp (1996) for the Anglophone Caribbean overall, has yet to appear. The St. Croix-based American historian and linguist Arnold R. Highfield (1940–2019) began laying the groundwork for such a definitive Anglophone Virgin Islands dictionary in the 1970s (see Highfield 1982 for an early project description), but this long-term project remains to be completed. Highfield's efforts resulted in a valuable database containing some 19,000 citations from local and historical sources, including the material published in the aforementioned lexicographical works, compiled between the 1970s and 2000s. Highfield, who remained active as a researcher until his death in 2019, kindly made his database available to the first author, in connection with a planned collaborative publication. One thing this database reveals is that it confirms that the primary source for Dutch-origin words in Virgin Islands CE is the work by Valls (1981, 1990).

Van der Sijs (2010) should also be mentioned here for her work on Caribbean lexicography. While limited to the Dutch borrowings in Virgin Islands CE and DC (and some other Caribbean languages), it provides an excellent survey of the Dutch-origin words of the languages of the Virgin Islands, and some more general discussion (e.g., Van der Sijs 2010: 29, 56, 58, 99–101).

For a recent general overview of lexicography in the context of world Englishes, including Caribbean varieties, see also Lambert (2020).

4. The list: presentation and etymological analysis

A list of Virgin Islands CE words for which a DC source has been proposed in the literature, will be presented below. The items in the list are almost all drawn from Valls (1981, 1990). The original orthography is retained. These words form a sizable part (roughly 6%) of the total lexicon as documented by Valls, which indicates that the DC influence on Virgin Islands CE was considerable. By comparison, around 1% of the lexical items documented by Valls have a Danish etymology (Bøegh 2018; see also Bakker 2004 for Danish borrowings into Virgin Islands DC). Valls characterized the majority of the words considered below as "obsolete," i.e., archaic. It is our impression, too, based on the first author's fieldwork in 2018, that most of the words are no longer used in the USVI. Valls indicated in his text when a given word was only found on one or the other island (as reflecting a "St. Thomas voice," a "St. John voice," or a "St. Croix voice").

In addition to Valls (1981, 1990), we also make use of De Josselin de Jong (1926) in order to confirm the words' presence in DC, as reflected at least in this source. It is clear that Valls was familiar with De Josselin de Jong's work (1926), as the spelling is often the same, except for diacritic signs, present in De Josselin de Jong, but absent in Valls. The book is not mentioned in Valls' work, however. The Virgin Islands DC glossary is based on De Josselin De Jong's fieldwork conducted on St. Thomas and St. John in the 1920s, when he visited the islands for archaeological work. For an in-depth discussion of De Josselin de Jong's fieldwork, including his informants, see, for instance, Van Sluijs (2017) and Van Rossem (2017). For a biography, including his stay on the islands, see Effert (1992). The list below contains the words that were borrowed, or supposed to be borrowed, from Virgin Islands DC into Virgin Islands CE. The etymological origin suggested by Valls is not always correct, however. In a number of cases, the DC word was not from Dutch, but from an African, Spanish, or Portuguese source, often via the Spanish-lexifier creole Papiamentu, the main language of the Dutch Antilles.

The words in our list are presented in alphabetical order and spelled as in our sources. We would like to point out that there is no systematic spelling system used by Valls. Sometimes he uses an English-based spelling, sometimes he copies spelling from De Josselin De Jong (1926), which is more phonetic, but without diacritics and replacing letters that are not present on an ordinary keyboard. Therefore, it is often unclear how the words were pronounced. For a word like *hukkut* "cane knife," for instance, we do not know whether the <u> represent a phoneme /u/, /ə/, /a/, or /ʌ/. In addition, there is no indication of stress. If it represents a pronunciation /hakət/, the etymology is most likely Dutch *hakkert*, but if both vowels are /u/, we would assume it is Danish *huggert* "tool for chopping." In such cases, we chose the most likely pronunciation in order to assess its origin. As Dutch, Danish, and English are all Germanic languages and thus share many roots, it is not always possible to establish the etymological source. For all words, we provide the most likely etymological source(s).

Most of the Dutch words present in Virgin Islands CE can also be found in the monumental book on Dutch words borrowed into the languages of the world by Van der Sijs (2010), which includes Virgin Islands DC and Caribbean English (Creole). Our list is longer, as it contains all words that Valls relates to DC, not only the words of Dutch origin. Thus, Spanish borrowings into Virgin Islands DC are listed here, but their Spanish origin is indicated. It should also be pointed out that there are already a number of English loans in Virgin Islands DC as documented in the 1760s (Stein et al. 1996: 24–25; Den Besten & Van der Voort 1999: 388). In addition, we have been able to add a number of Dutch words not present in Van der Sijs (2010). Van der Sijs (2010) is abbreviated in the list as VDSU.

We have added the DC sources from De Josselin de Jong (1926, abbreviated in the list below as JdJ 1926), as they are given there, to the extent that they are present there. We followed the original orthography, with one exception, a mechanical substitution in the spelling. Where De Josselin De Jong (1926) uses an <n> with a dot <n̊>, we replace this systematically with the IPA symbol <ŋ>, as

it is this sound it symbolizes. We also indicate it if the Dutch-origin word or DC-origin word in Virgin Island CE, is not present in De Josselin De Jong (1926).

We have also indicated where the Virgin Island CE words can be found in Van der Sijs' *Nederlandse woorden wereldwijd* (2010), listing Dutch words borrowed into the languages of the world. This is abbreviated as VDSU-X, where X refers to the page number in the book. It is also indicated when the word is not listed in Van der Sijs (2010).

We have not only listed all the words recognized by Valls as being from DC, but also Dutch words that he did not recognize as such. Van der Sijs (2010) was a valuable source for these, but in a modest number of cases, we prefer alternative etymologies.

4.1 The format of the list

The format of the entries is as follows. First, in bold, the CE word from Valls is given. In rare cases, it is preceded by an asterisk, and that means that a form is not found in Valls, but a Dutch or DC origin is likely. For all the African words that entered Virgin Islands CE, we checked Mikael Parkvall's manuscript *Afrolex* (version December 2019), which contains etymological information about all words of African origin in the creoles of the Caribbean, including Virgin Islands CE. After the source word, an English translation is given between citation signs. This is the translation given by Valls, but in some cases abbreviated in that cultural information is not given in our list. Third, the most likely etymological source is given, with an indication of the language and the source word in that language followed by a translation into English. This is followed by information on this word in De Josselin De Jong (1926). Either its absence is indicated as "not in JdJ," or the entry is copied as "JdJ 1926:" followed by a page number. If a word is not found in De Josselin De Jong, we routinely checked whether it could be found in the two eighteenth-century lexicographic works of 1767–1768 by Oldendorp and Kingo (before 1782), as printed in Stein et al. (1996). The form and meaning from JdJ are copied (sometimes in abbreviated form), and followed by an English translation if deemed necessary. This is followed by a reference to Van der Sijs, including the page number, including comments if needed. Finally, the reference to Valls (1981 or 1990) is given, with the relevant page numbers.

4.2 List of words from Dutch and Dutch Creole in Virgin Islands Creole English

Abidi "outside." Dutch *buiten* "outside." JdJ 1926: 70: *abidi* (*abiti, abit, nabitiši*) "buiten, naarbuiten." VDSU-246. Valls (1981: 1).

Abini "inside." Dutch *binnen* "inside." See *bini*. JdJ 1926: *in* (eng. *into*), *binnen, naarbinnen.* VDSU-218. Valls (1981: 1).

Above "east. *[From nautical terminology.]*" Dutch *boven* "on top, above." VDSU-236 derives it from *boven* "east." Also found in Island Englishes (Nash et al. 2020). Not in JdJ with this meaning. VDSU-236. Valls (1981: 1). Not recognized as Dutch by Valls.

Adameck "that's why." Probably from Dutch *dat die maak.* Alternatively from Southern Dutch *en da(t) maak(t)* "and that makes," with drop of final *-t*. Many creoles combine "what" and "make" to express "why." JdJ 1926: 71: *awama* "waarom [ouder *da(na)watmaak*]." VDSU-266 relates it to Dutch *dat is wat het maakt*. Valls relates it to Virgin Islands DC *dadimaak*. Cf. JdJ 1926: 70: *adima* "daardoor, daarom." Valls (1981: 1).

Adio “goodbye.” Ultimately from Spanish *adios* “goodbye.” JdJ 1926: 70: *adió* “adieu” “goodbye.” VDSU-172 relates it to Dutch *adieu*, borrowed from French into Dutch. Valls (1981: 2).

Altit “always.” From Dutch *altijd*, Zealandic *altit.* JdJ 1926: 70: *altit* “altijd.” VDSU-178. Valls (1981: 2).

Apelsina “orange.” From Zealandic Dutch *appelsien*. JdJ 1926: 71: *apəlsina* “sinaasappel.” VDSU-182. Valls (1981: 2).

Ard “earth.” From Dutch *aarde*. JdJ 1926: 70: *adu* “aarde.” VDSU-167. Valls (1990: 1).

Arrak “sweet rum beverage.” Not in JdJ. VDSU-183 Dutch *arak* “rice brandy.” Valls (1981: 3).

Asta “after.” Dutch *achter*, specifically West Flemish *aster*. It is not clear where the /s/ comes from. JdJ 1926: 71: “*astə, astər astəʳ, astu*”; “achter; later; achteraan; nadat (invloed van eng. *after*).” De Bo’s *Westvlaamsch Idioticon* discusses the form *aster* (1873: 56) for Flemish. VDSU-169. Valls (1981: 3).

Astewot “afterward.” Probably a blend between Dutch *achter* “behind” and English *afterward*. It is not clear where the /s/ comes from. Another possibility could be Dutch *achterwaarts*, as suggested in Van der Sijs (2010: 170). JdJ 1926: 71: “*astəwot, astuwud, astuwod*.” VDSU-170. Valls (1981: 3).

Baba “mud, clay.” JdJ 1926: 71: *baba, boba buba* “modder, klei.” Etymology unknown. Possibly African. Possibly Dutch *blubber* “mud.” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 4).

Baba “child, grandchild.” Possibly from Twi (Kwa) *ba* “child” (*Afrolex*). Not in JdJ with this meaning. Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 4).

Babun “ape, baboon.” JdJ 1926: 71: *babún* “aap.” VDSU-190. Valls (1981: 4).

Bacalao “salt fish.” Dutch *bakeljauw* (also *kabeljauw*) “cod fish,” cf. also Portuguese *bacalhao*, Basque *bakalau*. Not in JdJ. VDSU-192. Valls (1981: 4).

Bacuba “finger bananas.” Unknown etymology. Dutch *bacove*. Also found in other creole languages in the Dutch sphere of influence. JdJ 1926: 72: *bakoba, bakuba* “banaan (een fijnere soort nl.; de grovere soort heet banana, eng. *horse-banana*).” VDSU-190. Not in *Afrolex*. Valls (1981: 4).

Bad “beard, whiskers.” Dutch *baard* “beard.” JdJ 1926: 71: *bād* “beard.” VDSU-189. Valls (1981: 4).

Bagasse. See *megas, mogas*. Valls (1981: 5).

***Bagoon** “cart used in sugar industry.” Probably from Dutch *wagon*, with stress on final syllable. Not in JdJ. Not in VDSU. Not in Valls. Thurland (2014: 223).

Bak ”basin, bowl, plate.” Dutch *bak* ” basin, bowl.” JdJ 1926: 71: *bak* “kom, bord.” VDSU-191. Valls (1981: 6).

Bakawal “something separate from the rest.” Uncertain etymology. Possibly related to Danish *bakkedal* “hills and valleys” (Bøegh 2018: 28). Possibly African. Possibly English *back of all*. JdJ 1926: 72: “‘Something that is separate from the rest’; ook: een zekere straat in de hoofdplaats van St. Thomas.” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 6).

Baks “box.” Probably from English *box*. Not in JdJ; *baks* there only occurs with the meaning “fist.” According to VDSU-247 derived from Dutch *bus* “box, tin, box-shaped object.” Valls (1981: 6).

Bal “dance.” Dutch *bal* “dance party.” JdJ 1926: 70: *bal* “danspartij.” VDSU-193. Valls (1981: 6).

Bambai “1. By and by. 2. Bye-bye.” 1. From CE, ultimately from English *by and by*. Possibly with Virgin Islands DC as intermediary language. It also found in other Caribbean/Atlantic (and Pacific) creoles, in any case Krio, Nigeria, Gullah in the USA, Jamaica, St. Kitts, Sranan (Huber 1999: 374). It is already present in Virgin Islands DC in Oldendorp’s dictionary from ca. 1767 as *be en be* and *bambei* (Stein et al. 1996: 24, 49, 93). Schuchardt (1914b: 133–134) does not doubt its English origin. JdJ 1926: 72. Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 6).

Banana fig “banana.” Dutch *banaan*, from Portuguese, from African languages. JdJ 1926: 72: *banana* “big type of banana.” VDSU-194. Valls (1981: 6).

Barikat “fence, bulwark.” Dutch *barricade* “barricade, barrier.” JdJ 1926: 70: *barikāt* “bolwerk.” VDSU-197. Valls (1990: 4).

Bastaard “said of certain wild flora resembling a given species.” Dutch *bastaard* “bastard.” JdJ 1926: 72: *bastərd* “bastaard.” VDSU-197. Valls (1990: 7).

Bat “bath” (Valls: “bad”). Dutch *bad* “bath.” JdJ 1926: 72: *bat* “bad.” Not in VDSU, only as a DC word. VDSU-190. Valls (1981: 7).

Bata “potato.” Dutch *bataat* “sweet potato.” First attested in Dutch in ca. 1565. Borrowed from Spanish, ultimately from Taino (Island Arawak). JdJ 1926: 72: *bata, batata, batita* “een knolgewas” “root vegetable.” VDSU-197. Valls (1981: 7).

Batitastik “provision grounds.” Dutch *bataat* “root vegetable, sweet potato,” Dutch *stuk* “piece.” JdJ 1926: 72: *batitastik* “een stuk grond waarop b. geteeld worden.” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 8).

Batri “cane juice.” Etymology unknown. Vercoulliee (1919: 303) suggests Dutch *materie* as its source, with a West Flemish /m/ > /b/ change. JdJ 1926: 72: *batri* “suikerrietsap (zoolang het nog niet door koken is omgezet in suiker en strooperige afval: malasi; vgl. Oldendorp II 162–163).” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 8).

Bedi “bed.” Dutch or English *bed* “bed.” JdJ 1926: 72: *bede, bedi* “bed.” The word is only used for more luxurious beds, and the word *zamba* for ordinary beds (C. van Rossem, p.c.). VDSU-198. Valls (1981: 8).

Bedstead “bed. Specifically a four-poster mahogany bed (...).” Dutch *bedstede* “bed, especially with posters.” Not in JdJ. VDSU-201. Valls (1981: 8).

Berg “hill.” Dutch *berg* “mountain, hill.” JdJ 1926: 72: *bergi* “berg.” VDSU-207. Valls (1981: 9).

Bergi “hill, mountain.” Dutch *berg* “mountain, hill.” JdJ 1926: 72: *bergi* “berg.” VDSU-207. Valls (1981: 9).

Bini “inside.” Dutch *binnen* “inside.” JdJ 1926: 73: *bini = abini*. JdJ 1926: 70: *abin, nabini* “in (eng. *into*), binnen, naarbinnen [ouder: na (da) binne].” It is also used for requesting to enter a house, instead of knocking (Valls 1981: 10, 61). Also *abini*, *nabinisi* from Dutch *naar* “to” *binnen* “inside” *zijde* “side.” VDSU-218. Valls (1981: 10).

Biti “little bit.” Dutch *beetje*, dialectal *bietje*, Zealandic *bitje* (Ghijsen 1959–1965: 95). JdJ 1926: 73: *bitji, bitsi, biti* “betji.” VDSU-201. Valls (1981: 10).

Bitters “any alcoholic beverage.” Dutch *bitter* “(specific) alcoholic beverage, with bitter taste.” Not in JdJ. VDSU-219. Valls (1981: 11).

Bla “grass, leaf.” Dutch *blad* “leaf.” JdJ 1926: 72: *blā* “bladeren, gebladerte, struik, struikgewas.” VDSU-220. Valls (1990: 5).

Blanco “white person.” Dutch *blanke* “white person.” The Dutch final schwa may have been opened to /o/, or it reflects its Spanish origin. Borrowed from Spanish *blanco* “white.” JdJ 1926: 72: *blaŋku* “blanke.” VDSU-220. Valls (1990: 6).

Blanku “white.” Dutch *blank* “white” (mostly skin color). Borrowed from Spanish *blanco* “white.” Not in JdJ with the meaning of the color, only for a white person (JdJ 1926: 73). VDSU-220. Valls (1981: 12).

Blof “promise.” Dutch *beloven* “to promise.” JdJ 1926: 72: *blōf* “beloven.” VDSU-205. Valls (1981: 12).

Bluminstji “blossom.” Dutch *bloemetje* “small flower, bouquet of flowers.” JdJ 1926: 74: *bluminstji* “bloesem.” VDSU-222–223. Valls (1990: 7).

Bokoto “bucket.” English *bucket*, with an epenthetic <o>. JdJ 1926: 74: *bokoto* “emmer.” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 10).

Bom “tree.” Dutch *boom* “tree.” JdJ 1926: 72: *bōm* “boom.” VDSU-231. Valls (1981: 13).

Bomancoo “hydrocele.” Etymology unknown. Also called *bamacoo, babancoo*. *Baŋbaŋku* in Virgin Islands DC. VDSU relates it to Dutch *balbreuk*, but it is more likely from CE, perhaps from St. Kitts CE. JdJ 1926: 72: *baŋbaŋku* “penis erectus.” VDSU-193. *Afrolex*: etymology unknown. Valls (1981: 13).

Bomba “overseer.” African according to Valls. Possibly from Fon (Kwa) *bumba* “strong.” Also in Papiamentu (*Afrolex*). JdJ 1926: 74: *bomba, bumba* “opzichter over het werkvolk” “overseer.” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 13).

Bontsi “pea, bean.” Dutch *boontje* “bean.” JdJ 1926: 74: *bontši* “boon.” VDSU-232. Valls (1990: 7).

Bootsman “person in charge of the grinding mill on a sugar plantation.” Dutch *bootsman* “petty officer on ship.” VDSU-233. Valls (1990: 7).

Borika “donkey.” Spanish *burrica* “(female) donkey.” JdJ 1926: 74: *burika* “muilezel.” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 14).

Braideri “embroidery.” Dutch *breien* “to knit” or English *embroidery,* or a blend. JdJ 1926: 74: *braideri* “borduurwerk [vgl. eng. *embroidery*].” VDSU-231, where it is related to Dutch *breien* “to knit.” Valls (1981: 14).

Brambi “ants.” Dutch *brandmier* “stinging ant.” JdJ 1926: 74: *brambi* “mier.” VDSU-240. Valls (1990: 8). Not identified as Dutch (Creole) by Valls.

Bran “burn, sting, fire.” Dutch *brand*. JdJ 1926: 74: *bran* “heet, brandend; branden, bakken, braden.” “hot, burning, to bake, to roast.” VDSU-238. Valls (1990: 8). Not identified as Dutch (Creole) by Valls.

Brand nettle “a fire nettle (*Tragia volubilis*) believed to give luck in marketing.” Dutch *brandnetel* “stinging nettle.” Not in JdJ. Not in VDSU. Valls (1990: 8).

Bro “brother.” Also *bru*. Dutch *broer* “brother.” JdJ 1926: 74: *bru* “broeder; geen individueele verwantschapsbenaming maar classificeerende aanspreekterm, vgl. *butji*.” VDSU-243. Valls (1981: 16).

Broki “piece, little.” Dutch *brok* “piece.” JdJ 1926: 74: *broki* “brok.” VDSU-243. Valls (1981: 16).

Bru “brother.” Also *bro*. Dutch *broer* “brother.” JdJ 1926: 74: *bru* “broeder; geen individueele verwantschapsbenaming maar classificeerende aanspreekterm, vgl. *butji*.” VDSU-243. Valls (1981: 16).

Buddy “friend.” Its Dutch or DC origin is unlikely. Schuchardt (1914b) relates *buddy* to DC *butje* (see above *bru*), i.e., Dutch *broertje* “little brother.” First found in Crucian CE in an 1848 song as *buddy* (Bøegh & Bakker, *fc.*), and in eighteenth-century DC as *boedje* in Oldendorp 1767–1768 (Stein et al. 1996: 56). Ghijsen (1959–1965: 119) has Zealandic *boetje* “boy,” also used in West Flemish (cf. Van Rossem 2000: 53). C. van Rossem (p.c.) mentions its existence also in Afrikaans, as does Vercoullie (1919: 304). Also attested in St. Kitts CE (1785), Antigua CE (1840), Guyana CE (1840s). Not in JdJ. Not in VDSU. Not in Valls.

Bull calf “calf.” Dutch *kalf* or English *calf*. Not in JdJ. VDSU-376. Valls (1981: 17).

Bull-an-bread “a victory party usually kept by politicians at which ‘bull an’ bread’ are copious. The November 1st Liberty Day celebration at Grove Place, St. Croix, is still so called.” First part possibly Dutch *boel* “plenty.” VDSU-227. Valls (1981: 17).

Bull-pooping “anal intercourse.” Flemish Dutch *poepen* “sexual intercourse.” Not in JdJ. Not in VDSU. Valls (1991: 9). Not recognized as Dutch by Valls.

Burger brief “merchant’s license. *[Rare.]* Hold over from Danish regime. There were also Planter Briefs.” Dutch *burgerbrief*. Not in JdJ. VDSU-247. Valls (1981: 17). Not identified as Dutch (Creole) by Valls.

Camisole “1. Waistcoat. 2. Nightgown.” Ultimately from Spanish *camisola* “little shirt.” Not in JdJ. Schuchardt (1914b: 128) has *kamsol* in a text from 1883. According to VSDU-377 from Dutch *camisole*. Valls (1981: 17).

Caneel “a small tree, wild cinnamon.” Dutch *kaneel* “cinnamon.” JdJ 1926: 87: *kanēl* “kaneel.” VDSU-380. Valls (1981: 20). Not identified as Dutch (Creole) by Valls.

Capmesser “a sugar cane knife about 22 cm long with a hook at the end. It was mounted on a small wooden handle.” Cf. also Thurland (2014: 224). See *kapmes.* Valls (1990: 10).

Carbe “goat.” Spanish *cabra* “goat.” DC according to Valls. Not in JdJ. VDSU-374. Valls (1981: 20).

Catapult tree “name given to the Ginger Thomas *(Tecoma starts)* or Yellow Cedar as it as a favorite tree for boys to make catapults or bean shooters from.” Dutch *katapult* or English *catapult*. Not in JdJ. VDSU-384. Valls (1990: 11).

Cents “money.” Dutch *centen* “money.” Not in JdJ. VDSU-251. Valls (1981: 22). Not recognized as Dutch by Valls.

Clumpies “small dumplings of flour and cornmeal.” Dutch *klompjes*, *klompies* “chunks.” Not in JdJ. Not in VDSU. Also in Thurland (2014: 224) with this meaning. Valls (1981: 26).

Coal “charcoal.” More likely from Dutch *kool* “charcoal” than from English. JdJ 1926: 89: *kōl* “houtskool” “charcoal.” VDSU-406. Valls (1981: 26).

Coal pot “a small portable metal or clay stove, resembling a pot on a stand, that holds burning coal for cooking.” Possibly Dutch *koolpot*. Not in JdJ. VDSU-408. Valls (1981: 26).

Compay “a male salutation used among close friends. Spanish, *compadre* “buddy” or Dutch *kompaan* “friend.” Also said, *compadu* or *cumpado*.” Also *komadu*. JdJ 1926: 89: *kompadu*. VDSU-405 relates it to Dutch *kompaan* “friend.” Valls (1981: 28).

Da “that, that one.” Dutch *dat* “that” or English *that*. JdJ 1926: 75: *dā, da, tā*. VDSU-266. Valls (1981: 33). Not recognized as Dutch by Valls.

Dacta dul-dul “a cactus (*Cephalocereus royenii*).” Etymology unknown. The first word may be Dutch *dokter* “physician.” JdJ 1926: 75: *daktaduldul* “een plant die dienst deed bij het opsporen van een dief.” Only *dacta* is registered in VDSU-277. Valls (1990: 15).

Dak “day.” Dutch *dag* “day.” JdJ 1926: 75: *dag*, *dak* “dag.” VDSU-264. Valls (1981: 34).

Danki “thanks.” Dutch *dank, dankje* “thanks.” JdJ 1926: 75: *daŋki* “dank, dank je”; *muši danki* “dank je wel (veel dank).” VDSU-265–266. Valls (1981: 34).

Desbi “close by, near.” Zealandic Dutch *bi*, Dutch *dichtbij* “near.” JdJ 1926: 76: *desbi* “dichtbij.” The adjustment of Dutch /x/ to /s/ is also observed in *aster*, possibly a reflex of Southern Dutch /ɣ/ (Ghijsen 1959–1965: 172). VDSU-272. Valls (1981: 35).

Dif “thief.” Dutch *dief* “thief.” In Dutch and English, the root only refers to a person; in Dutch-lexifier and English-lexifier creole languages, the word is also used for “to steal.” JdJ 1926: 76: *dif* “stelen” “to steal,” *difman* “thief.” VDSU-272. Valls (1981: 36).

Dik “fat.” Dutch *dik* “fat” (of a person). JdJ 1926: 76: *dik* “dik.” VDSU-273. Valls (1981: 36).

Doktufegal “doctor bird.” Dutch *dokter* “physician,” *vogel* “bird.” JdJ 1926: 76: *doktufēgəl* “kolibri” “hummingbird”; “als eng. namen gaf men op ‘doctor-bird’ en ‘humming-bird’ (...).” VDSU-277 for *doktu* part. Valls (1981: 36).

Dondo “sweetheart, dear.” From French according to Valls: *doux-doux* “sweet-sweet.” Alternatively from Twi *dondo* “stupid” or Wolof *ndondi* “idiot” (*Afrolex*). JdJ 1926: 76: *dondo* “lieveling.” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 36).

Dondosla “hard crystalized sugar and peanut candy. Notice *sla* is Dutch for salad.” Probably Dutch *donderslag* “thunderclap.” Not in JdJ. VDSU-278. Valls (1981: 36).

Dondu “thunder.” Dutch *donder* “thunder.” JdJ 1926: 76: *dondu* “donder.” VDSU-278. Valls (1981: 36).

Dos, durst “thirsty.” Dutch *dorst* ”thirst.” JdJ 1926: 77: *dos* “dorst hebben, dorstig.” The Dutch noun *dorst* is used as a verbal predicate in Virgin Islands DC, as in *Ham a wēs dos* “he was thirsty.” VDSU-282. Valls (1981: 37).

Drom “dream.” Dutch *droom* “dream,” *dromen* “to dream.” JdJ 1926: 77: *drom* “droomen, doen droomen” “to dream, to make dream.” VDSU-285. Valls (1981: 37).

Dromakakalaka “drummer cockroach (*Blaberus discoidalis*).” English (or Dutch) *drummer*, Dutch *kakkerlak* “cockroach.” JdJ 1926: 77: *dromәkakalaka* “een soort kakkerlak [eng. *Drummer-cock-roach*].” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 37).

Dunku “night, evening, darkness.” JdJ 1926: 77: *duŋku, duŋki* “avond, nacht, duisternis.” VDSU-278. Valls (1981: 38).

Dzankol “a plant, tanier.” *Dzan (džan)* from Dutch *Indiaan* “Amerindian,” *kol* from Dutch *kool* “cabbage.” JdJ 1926: 77: *džankōl* “een gewas dat verbouwd wordt (...).” Not in VDSU. Valls (1990: 17).

Dzonk “a big piece.” Flemish Dutch *djonk* “truncated tree; piece of wood.” Alternatively from English *chunk*. JdJ 1926: 77: *džoŋk* “a good, big piece.” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 38).

Fam “from.” Perhaps a blend between Dutch *van* /fan/ and English *from* /frʌm/. JdJ 1926: 79: *fam* “van”; “vermoedelijk een verbastering van eng. *from*.” VDSU-652. Valls (1981: 41).

Fanda “today.” Dutch *vandaag* “today.” JdJ 1926: 79: *fandá, fandā* “vandaag.” VDSU-652. Valls (1981: 41, 1990: 19).

Fanduku “last night, tonight.” Dutch *van* “of” *donker* “dark,” where Dutch *donker* has the meaning of “evening, night” in Virgin Islands DC. Thus influenced by Dutch *vanavond, vannacht*. JdJ 1926: 79: *fanaduŋku* “vanavond.” Not in VDSU. Valls (1990: 19).

Fanja “cornmeal.” Portuguese *farinha* “flour.” JdJ 1926: 79: *fanja, faria* “maïsmeel.” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 41).

Fik “fish trap.” Dutch *fuik* “fish trap.” JdJ 1926: 80: *fik* “fuik.” VDSU-308. Valls (1981: 41).

Fikiti “fight.” Dutch *vechten* “to fight.” JdJ 1926: 79, 80. VDSU-653. Valls (1981: 41). Not recognized as Dutch (Creole) by Valls.

Fikopdibol “five pig-headed devils.” Dutch *vijf* “five,” *kop* “head” *duivel* “devil.” JdJ 1926: 80: *fikopdibal* “vijf koppige duivel.” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 41).

Fis “fish.” Dutch *vis* “fish,” *vissen* “to fish.” Flemish *ves*. JdJ 1926: 79: *fes, fis* “visch; visschen (verb.).” VDSU-674. Valls (1981: 42).

Flambouw “torch for ‘torchin’’ lobsters, crabs, etc.” Dutch *flambouw* “torch.” Not in JdJ. VDSU-302. Valls (1981: 43). Not recognized as Dutch (Creole) by Valls.

Fligi “to fly.” Dutch *vlieg* “fly” (insect), *vliegen* “to fly.” JdJ 1926: 80: *flig* “vliegen” “to fly,” *fligi* “vlieg” “a fly” (insect). VDSU-677. Valls (1981: 43).

For true “decidedly. Really. Without question. Indeed.” Valls links it with DC *fortrou* meaning “to become engaged,” but that link is incorrect. *For tru(e)* is used in many English-derived creoles for “truly.” VSDU-684 follows Valls with *voortrouw* “engagement, litt. pre-marriage.” Valls (1981: 41).

Frai dankie “fine, thank you.” Dutch (from French *vrai* “true”) *fraai* “fine, good” and *dankie* “dank je”; cf. also dialectal *dankie*. JdJ 1926: 81: *frāi* “goed, mooi.” VDSU-266, *fraai*. VDSU-306. Valls (1990: 21).

Frakstet “skirt-tails.” Dutch *frakstaart*. Dutch *frak* (more common in Flemish), Dutch *staart*, dialectal *steert, stirt*. JdJ 1926: 81: *frakstet* “rokpand (= sajastet).” VDSU-306. Valls (1981: 45).

Frot “to rot, putrify, perish.” Dutch *verrotten* “to rot, to perish.” JdJ 1926: 81: *frot* “verrotten, vergaan.” VDSU-666. Valls (1981: 46).

Froufulek “women folk.” Dutch *vrouwvolk, vrouw* “woman,” *volk* “people.” JdJ 1926: 81: *froufulək* “vrouwvolk.” VDSU-689. Valls (1981: 46).

Frouple “vulva (‘woman’s place’).” Dutch *vrouw* “woman,” *plek* “place.” The compound is not used in Dutch. JdJ 1926: 81: *frouple* “vulva.” VDSU-689. Valls (1990: 22).

Fru “woman.” Most likely Danish *fru(e)* “lady” (form of address) rather than Dutch *vrouw* “woman” (*frou* in DC). JdJ 1926: 81: *fru* “frou.” VDSU-688. Valls (1981: 46).

Frumple-up "(to) wrinkle." Dutch *(ver)frommelen* "to wrinkle," English or CE *up*. Not in JdJ. VDSU-307. Valls (1981: 46).

Fru fruko "market." Dutch *vroeg* "early," *koop* "to buy." Van der Sijs (2010: 688) suggests an origin in Dutch *vroegkost* "breakfast," cf. also Virgin Islands DC *frufru* "morning" (JdJ 1926: 81). JdJ 1926: 81: *frufruko* "markt" and *frokós* "ontbijt" "breakfast." VDSU-688. Valls (1990: 22).

Fruko "to sell." Dutch *verkopen* "to sell." Perhaps folk-etymological influence from *fru* "morning." JdJ 1926: 79, 81: *frukó, frokó, fərkó* "verkoopen." VDSU-661. Valls (1981: 46).

Funtji "fungee" (food item). Of African origin, widespread in the Caribbean. Possibly Twi (Kwa) *fudʒi*, Kimbundu (Bantu) *funʒi*, Kikongo (bantu) *fùndi* (*Afrolex*), all referring to "soft, mushy food." JdJ 1926: 81: *funtji* "gerecht uit maïsmeel; onder den naam *funtsi* ook elders in den Antillischen Archipel bekend" "meal made with cornmeal." Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 47).

Galdry "gallery." Dutch *galerij* "gallery," Zealandic Dutch *galderie* (with specific meaning; Ghijsen 1959–1965: 248). JdJ 1926: 81: *galdri* "galerei." VDSU-311. Valls (1981: 47).

Genn [SIC; probably typo for ***genu***] "enough." Dutch *genoeg* "enough." JdJ 1926: 82: *gənu* "genoeg." VDSU-317. Valls (1981: 48).

Gioubeie "guavaberry." Dutch *guave*, from Spanish/Portuguese, ultimately from Tupi (Tupian) and dialectal Dutch *bei* "berry," Zealandic *beier* (Ghijsen 1959–1965: 69). JdJ 1926: 82: *gioubeie* "guavabes [vgl. ndl. beiers]." VDSU-331. Valls (1981: 49).

Gistu "yesterday." Dutch *gisteren*, dialectal *gister* "yesterday." JdJ 1926: 82: *gistu* "gisteren." VDSU-321. Valls (1981: 49).

Gongolo "millipede." Kikongo *ngongolo* "millipede." Similar forms are documented in other, neighboring African Bantu languages (*Afrolex*). Also in other English-lexifier and French-lexifier creoles of the Caribbean. Not in JdJ. VDSU-349 links it with Dutch *honderdpoot*, but this is unlikely. Valls (1981:50).

Good "very." Dutch *goed* "good, very," Oldendorp [1767–1768] in Stein et al. (1999: 108). See also Den Besten & Van der Voort (1999: 388 n. 5). Not in JdJ. Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 51).

Goro-goro "Adam's apple." Possibly from Dutch *gorgelen* "to gargle" (via the DC). Possibly from French *gorge* "throat." JdJ 1926: 82: *gorogoro* "gorgelen." According to VDSU-325 from "gorgel." Valls (1981: 51).

Goudif "pilferer." Dutch *gauwdief*, from *gauw* "quick" and *dief* "thief." JdJ 1926: 82: *goudif* "gauwdief." VDSU-313. Valls (1981: 51).

Gravplek "graveyard." Dutch *graf* "grave" and *plek* "place." Probably influenced by Danish *gravsted* "burial site," litt. "grave place." JdJ 1926: 82: *grafple, grafplek* "graf; begraafplaats" "grave, cemetery." VDSU-326. Valls (1981: 51).

Grof “rough, coarse.” Dutch *grof* “rough, coarse.” JdJ 1926: 83: *grof* “grof.” VDSU-328. Valls (1981: 52).

Gropupa “grandfather.” Dutch *grootpapa, groot* “big,” *papa* “father,” more commonly *grootvader*. JdJ 1926: 83: *grōpupā* “grootvader.” VDSU-330. Valls (1981: 52).

Grossondag “Christmas (‘Great Sunday’).” Dutch *groot* “big,” *zondag* “Sunday,” but the expression *grootzondag* is not used in Dutch. C. van Rossem (p.c.) points out that the word was introduced by the Moravian missionaries. JdJ 1926: 83: *grosondag* “Kerstmis” “Christmas.” VDSU-717. Valls (1981: 52).

Guck [SIC] “luck.” Probably typo for ***glick*** (it appears between *glassies* and *glorified fungee*). Dutch *geluk* “happiness.” JdJ 1926: 82: *glik* “geluk” “happiness.” VDSU-316. Valls (1981: 49).

Gungu “large.” Dutch *groot* “big, large” according to Van der Sijs (2010: 329). This is not likely, as Virgin Islands DC also has other reflexes of *groot*: *groot, grooto, grōt, grōtō* (JdJ 1926: 83). Alternatively African, possibly Kikongo/Kimbundu/Umbundu (Bantu) *nguna* “master, Lord” (*Afrolex*). Also used in Brazil. JdJ 1926: 83: *guŋgu* “groot.” VDSU-329. Valls (1981: 54).

***Gut** “gutter.” Dutch *goot* “gutter, drain.” Alternatively from English. Found in Parsons’ Virgin Islands CE text collection (1936: 441). Not in JDJ with this meaning. VDSU-324. Not in Valls with this meaning (but cf. Valls 1981: 54).

Hai “shark.” Dutch *haai* “shark.” JdJ 1926: 83: *hāi* “haai.” VDSU-332. Valls (1990: 26). Not recognized as Dutch (Creole) by Valls.

Han “hand, arm.” Dutch *hand* “hand,” Zealandic *han, an* (Ghijsen 1959–1965: 311–313) or from English. The extension in meaning is typical for creoles. JdJ 1926: 83: *han* “hand.” VDSU-336. Valls (1981: 56).

Helum “helm.” Dutch *helm*, colloquial *hellem* “helmet.” Not in JdJ. VDSU-342. Valls (1981: 57). Not recognized as Dutch (Creole) by Valls.

Hemel “heaven.” Dutch *hemel* “heaven.” JdJ 1926: 84: *himun, himul* “hemel.” VDSU-342–343. Valls (1990: 26).

Hiso “here.” Colloquial Dutch *hierzo* “hier.” JdJ 1926: 84: *hiso* “hier (met nadruk)” “here (emphatic).” VDSU-345. Valls (1981: 58).

Hoeso “how.” Colloquial Dutch *hoezo* “why.” JdJ 1926: 85: *huso* “hoe” “how.” VDSU-347. Valls (1990: 26).

Hogo “1. Eye. 2. Strong alcoholic content.” Dutch *oog* “eye.” JdJ 1926: 84: *hogo* “oog” “eye.” VDSU-490. Valls (1981: 58).

Holosi “clock, watch.” Dutch *horloge*, colloquial *horlosi* “clock, watch.” JdJ 1926: 84: *holosi* “klok, horloge.” VDSU-353. Valls (1981: 58).

Hont “dog.” Dutch *hond* “dog.” JdJ 1926: 84: *hon, hont* “hond.” VDSU-349. Valls (1981: 59).

Hunklut “tree species (*Andira inermis*).” Dutch *hondekloot* “dog testicle,” from *hond* “dog” and *kloot* “testicle.” Not in JdJ. VDSU-349. Valls (1981: 60).

Hoor “to hear.” Dutch *oor* “ear,” *horen* “to hear.” JdJ 1926: 84, 85: *hōr, hō* “oor; hooren; voor het verbum is ook *hōr* nog in gebruik.” VDSU-352. Valls (1990: 27).

Hopo “1. To stand up. 2. To open.” From Dutch *op* “up” and Dutch *open* “open,” *openen* “to open.” JdJ 1926: 84: *hōpō, hopo* “open, openen, opengaan”; “opstaan, opstijgen.” VDSU-492–493. Valls (1981: 59).

Houtlus “woodlice, termite.” Dutch *hout* “wood” and *luis*, dialectal *luus* “louse.” JdJ 1926: 85: *hou-tulus* “houtluis (‘wood-lice’).” VDSU-354. Valls (1981: 59).

Hukkut “cave knive [SIC, probably intended: cane knife].” Perhaps from Dutch *hakker,* dialectal *hakkert* “chopper” or from Danish *huggert* “tool for chopping” (Bøegh 2018: 28). Not in JdJ. Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 59).

Hulkan “hurricane.” Dutch *orkaan*, English *hurricane*. An origin in Dutch *vulkaan* “volcano” is also possible. That is the etymology preferred by Van der Sijs (2010: 689). JdJ 1926: 85: *hulkán* “orkaan.” VDSU-689. Valls (1981: 60).

Hundu “fowl, hen.” Dutch *hoender* “hen, chicken.” JdJ 1926: 85: *hundu* “hoen, hen” “chicken.” VDSU-347. Valls (1981: 60).

Hunduhan “cock.” Dutch *hoender* “chicken” and *haan* “rooster.” Jdj 1926: 85: *hunduhān* “haan.” VDSU-347. Valls (1981: 60).

Hus “house.” Dutch *huis*, Zealandic *huus* /hys/, or Danish *hus* “house.” JdJ 1926: 85: *hus* “huis.” VDSU-354. Valls (1981: 60).

I, di ”it.” Dutch *die* “that,” Dutch *hij* “he.” JdJ 1926: 85: *i = di* “bijv. *alma i tit* ‘den geheelen tijd’”; *i stek* “het stuk, per stuk”; *i na ha* “er is niet.” Cf. VDSU-272 for Virgin Islands DC. Valls (1981: 60).

I “hour.” Dutch *uur* “hour” (/yr/; /y/ > /i/ is a recurring sound change). JdJ 1926: 85: *i* “hour.” VDSU-649. Valls (1981: 60).

Ingis “English.” Dutch *Engels* “English.” JdJ 1926: 85: *Ingis* “English.” VDSU-294. Valls (1981: 61).

Ini “in, into.” Dutch *in* “in, into” and/or West Flemish *inne* and/or Danish *ind i* “in, into.” JdJ 1926: 85: *in* “in: komt alleen nog voor in de uitdrukking *no, (na, nit) in gəhēl* ‘in ’t geheel niet.’”; *ini* “in (met de bet. v. eng. ‘into’).” VDSU-358–359. Valls (1981: 61).

Islik “horrible, terrible.” Dutch *ijselijk* “horrible, terrible.” JdJ 1926: 85: *islik* “afschuwelijk, ijselijk.” VDSU-357. Valls (1981: 61).

Jaia “red.” Probably African. Also in Saramaccan *njáè* “red” (Schuchardt 1914a: 92). JdJ 1926: 85: *jaia, joia* “rood (kromme spraak. vgl. *hei*).” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 62).

Jekke “Guinea fowl.” Probably African, cf. seventeenth-century Saramaccan *tokkro*, Sranan *tokè* (Schuchardt 1914a: 110). JdJ 1926: 105: *tšèke* “guinea bird.” Not in VDSU. Valls (1990: 28).

Jelassie “jalousie windows or doors.” Dutch *jaloezie* “type of curtain,” or English *jalousie*. Also found in Danish as *jalousi*. Not in JdJ. VDSU-366. Valls (1981: 62).

Jet “to eat.” Dutch *eten* “to eat.” JdJ 1926: 86: *jēt, jit* “eten (verb. en subst.).” VDSU-297. Valls (1981: 63).

Jun “boy, lad, young.” Dutch *jong* “young,” *jongen* “boy.” In West Flemish, *jun* is also used for girls. JdJ 1926: 86: *juŋ* “boy, young.” VDSU-370. Valls (1981: 64).

***Ka** “completive aspect marker.” From Virgin Islands DC *kaba*, abbreviated form *kā*, from Portuguese *acabar* “to finish,” and present in several other creoles as well, including Surinamese creoles and Papiamentu – but seemingly not in other varieties of Caribbean English Creole (Bøegh, *under assessment*). JdJ 1926: 86: *kā* “verbale perfectische partikel” “verbal perfective particle.” Not in VDSU. Not in Valls.

Kabrita “goat.” Spanish *cabra* “goat,” *cabrita* “little goat.” The form *kabriet* is also known from the Dutch Caribbean in the seventeenth century and in Flanders (C. van Rossem, p.c.). JdJ 1926: 86: *kabrita* “geit.” VDSU-374. Valls (1981: 65).

Kaduk “to die.” Colloquial Dutch *kaduuk* “broken,” from Middle French. Zealandic *kadukelik* “sickly” (Ghijsen 1959–1965: 390). Not in JdJ. VDSU-375. Valls (1981: 65).

Kak “jaw, cheek.” Dutch *kaak* “jaw.” JdJ 1926: 86: *kāk, kak* “kaak, wang.” VDSU-372. Valls (1981: 65).

Kaka “1. Excrement. 2. Defecate 3. Nasty.” Dutch *kak* “excrement.” JdJ 1926: 86: *kaka, koka* “drek, zich ontlasten.” Not in VSDU, but mentioned for DC (VSDU-375). See also Den Besten & Van der Voort (1999: 394). Valls (1981: 65).

Kakalaka “1. Cockroach. 2. A shrub (*Solanum polygamum*) and its fruit. 3. Small edible yellow fruit.” Dutch *kakkerlak* “cockroach,” from a Cariban Amerindian language (Den Besten 1992), via Portuguese. Only the first meaning is found in JdJ 1926: 86: *kakəlaka* “kakkerlak.” VDSU-376. Valls (1981: 65).

Kakates “lizard.” Dutch *hagedis* “lizard.” West Flemish *hakketis* (Van Rossem 2000: 53). JdJ 1926: 86: *kakatés* “hagedis.” VDSU-334. Valls (1981: 65).

Kalabas “calabash.” Dutch *kalebas*, from French *calebasse*. JdJ 1926: 86: *kaləbás, kalbás* “kalebas; penis erectus”; *kaləbasdarum* ”kalebasvleesch (wordt op een wond gelegd)”; *kalbás fan di kop* “schedel”; *am ha ši kaləbas* “zij is geen maagd meer.” VDSU-376. Valls (1981: 65).

Kalara “cholera.” Dutch *cholera,* colloquial *kolere,* Middle Dutch *colere,* from Greek *kholérā*. JdJ 1926: 86: *kálara* “cholera.” VDSU-252. Valls (1981: 65).

Kalk “lime, mortar.” Dutch *kalk* “chalk, mortar.” JdJ 1926: 87: *kalk* “kalk.” VDSU-376. Valls (1990: 30).

Kalkun “turkey.” Dutch *kalkoen* “turkey.” JdJ 1926: 87: *kalkún* “kalkoen.” VDSU-377. Valls (1990: 30).

Kalkun snook “a plant *(Heliotropium inundatum Sw.).*” The second part could be from Dutch *snuit* “snout.” Not in JdJ. VDSU-377. Valls (1990: 30).

Kambu “room.” Dutch *kamer* “room.” JdJ 1926: 87: *kāmbu* “kamer.” VDSU-378. Valls (1981: 65).

Kamina “a piece of land, plantation slaves.” JdJ 1926: 87: *kamina* “veld, akker; de menschen die op den akker aan het werk zijn.” Not in VDSU. Valls (1990: 30).

Kaninsti “plates and dishes, casks and tubs, pots and pans.” Dutch *kannetje* “small jug.” JdJ 1926: 87: *kanintsi* “vaatwerk [vgl. ndl. *kannelje*].” VSDU-380. Valls (1981: 65). Not recognized as Dutch (Creole) by Valls.

Kantenkla “cut and dried.” Dutch *kant en klaar* “finished.” JdJ 1926: 87: *kantenkla* “kant en klaar.” VDSU-381. Valls (1981: 66).

Kapmes “bill, cane knife.” Dutch *kapmes* “cutting knife.” Zealandic *kapmes* (Ghijsen 1959–1965: 406). JdJ 1926: 87: *kapmes* “een werktuig”; “de moderne eng. benaming is ‘cane-bill’.” VDSU-382. Still used in the sugar industry in the twentieth century as *capmesser* (Thurland 2014: 224). See also *capmesser*. Valls (1981: 66).

Kapoto “apron.” Dutch *kapot, kapotjas* “soldier coat,” from French *capote*. Zealandic *kappe* “long black coat for men” (Ghijsen 1959–1965: 407). Cf. also Zealandic Dutch *kapote* “hoofddeksel voor kleine boerenmeisjes” (Debrabandere 2007) (Ghijsen 1959–1965: 407). JdJ 1926: 87: *kapoto* “schort” “apron.” VDSU-382. Valls (1981: 66).

Karosi “wagon, coach.” Dutch *karos,* Zealandic *kros* “four-wheeled cart, small car” (Debrabandere 2007) (Ghijsen 1959–1965: 502). JdJ 1926: 87: *karoši, kaloši* “wagen, rijtuig.” VDSU-384. Valls (1981: 66).

Kasaw “cassave (*Jatropha manihot*).” Dutch *cassave,* from French cassava, ultimately from Taino Arawakan. JdJ 1926: 87: *kasáw* “cassava (*Jatropha manihot*).” VDSU-249. Valls (1981: 66).

Kasi “box, chest, case.” Dutch *kas* “box for money” (cf. also Danish *kasse*) and *kast* “cupboard.” JdJ 1926: 87: *kaši* “kist” (“chest”), *kas* “kast.” VDSU-385. Valls (1981: 66).

Katun “cotton.” Dutch *katoen* “cotton,” from French and ultimately Arabic. JdJ 1926: 87: *katún* “katoen”; *merkin katun* “american cotton”; *sēkatun* “silk-cotton”; *witkatun (= kreolkattin)* “white cotton.” VDSU-385. Valls (1981: 66).

Kerek “church.” Dutch *kerk* “church.” Zealandic/West Flemish *kèrək(e)* (Ghijsen 1959–1965: 421). JdJ 1926: 87: *kerk, kerək* “kerk.” VDSU-387. Valls (1981: 67).

Kiambo “ochra.” African, for example from Ciluba (Bantu) *ʧiŋgombo* or Umbundu (Bantu) *otʃingɔmbo* “ochra” (*Afrolex*). JdJ 1926: 88: *kiambo, giambo, kingamba, kinkambo* “‘ochra’: een peulvrucht.” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 67).

Kik “to see.” Dutch *kijken,* Zealandic *kieken* “to see” (Ghijsen 1959–1965: 432-432). JdJ 1926: 88: *ki, kik, ke* “zien, kijken” “to look, to see.” VSDU-389. Valls (1981: 30).

Kin “1. Can. 2. Child, baby. 3. Skin.” JdJ 1926: 88: *kin* “kind.” VDSU-390. Valls (1981: 67).

Kinkindief “chicken hawk.” Dutch *kiekendief* “chicken hawk.” JdJ 1926: 88: *kikindif* “kuikendief, eng. ‘chicken-hawk.’” VDSU-389. Valls (1981: 67).

Kinkinsti “chicken.” Dutch *kuikentje* “young chicken.” JdJ 1926: 88: *kikintsi* “kuiken.” VDSU-422. Valls (1981: 68).

Klemm “lockjaw (spasm of the jaw muscles).” Dutch *klem* “clip, stuck.” Not in JdJ. VDSU-395. Valls (1990: 30).

Klen “little, small.” Dutch *klein* “little, small,” dialectal and archaic *kleen*. West Flemish *klene*. JdJ 1926: 88: *klēn, klēntji* “klein.” VDSU-394. Valls (1981: 68).

Klip “rock, reef.” Dutch *klip* “rock, reef” or Danish *klippe* “rock.” JdJ 1926: 88: *klip* “klip.” VSDU-396. Valls (1981: 68).

Kokelus “whelk (a mollusk).” Dutch *kokkel* “mollusk.” There is a difference between *kokkel* “cockle” and *wulk* “whelk” in Dutch as well as English. JdJ 1926: 89: *kokəlus* “een schelpdier (eng. ‘whilk’).” VDSU-403. Valls (1981: 68).

Komadu “comadu.” From Spanish *comadre* “godmother.” JdJ 1926: 89: *komadu* “peetmoeder” “godmother.” Valls (1981: 68). See *compay*.

Konet “crafty, astute, cunning.” Probably English *cunning* rather than Dutch. Danish *konet* “plump, large; dull in appearance” from Danish *kone* “wife” is unlikely because of the stress difference. JdJ 1926: 89: *konét* “sluw.” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 68).

Kop “head.” Dutch *kop* “head” (colloquial). JdJ 1926: 89: *kop, kōp* “hoofd, kop.” VDSU-408. Valls (1990: 31).

Kopi “pestle.” Possibly from Dutch *skop, schop* “spade,” colloquial diminutive *skoppie*. JdJ 1926: 93: *montistok* “vijzel.” JdJ 1926: 89: two meanings for *kopi*: “cup” (from *kopje, koppie*) and “corn cob” (from Dutch *kolf, kolfie,* or from English *cob*). VDSU-573-574. Valls (1981: 68).

Kopman “headman.” Dutch *kop* “head” and *man* “man,” a semantic equivalent compound. JdJ 1926: 89: *kopman* “hoofdman.” VDSU-409. Valls (1981: 68).

Kot “kennel, pen, cage, stye.” Dutch *kot* “pen, residence for animals.” JdJ 1926: 89: *kot* “hok” “pen.” Valls (1981: 68).

Krabu “crab, lobster.” Dutch *krab* “crab.” JdJ 1926: 89: *krabu* “krab, kreeft.” Valls (1981: 68).

Kriol “little children.” Spanish *criollo* “locally born.” This word is the source for the word “creole,” for locally born populations and languages. JdJ 1926: 90: *kriōl* “kleine kinderen; gewoonlijk *klēn kriōl*.” Van der Sijs (2010: 416) relates it to the Dutch verb *krioelen* “to teem, to swarm,” but that link is unlikely. VDSU-416. Valls (1981: 69).

Krom “crooked, bent.” Dutch *krom* “crooked, bent.” JdJ 1926: 90: *krom* “krom.” VDSU-417. Valls (1981: 69).

Kwa kwa “cacao.” Dutch *cacao,* borrowed from Spanish, ultimately Nahuatl (Mexico). JdJ 1926: 90: *kwakwa* “cacao.” VDSU-248. Valls (1981: 69).

Kwat “bad, ill, evil.” Dutch *kwaad* “angry, evil.” JdJ 1926: 90: *kwat* “kwaad.” VDSU-423. Valls (1981: 69).

Lang “tall.” Dutch *lang* “tall.” JdJ 1926: 90: *laŋ* “lang.” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 70).

Lickpot finger “the forefinger. So called because it is the finger used to scrape leavings from a pot. Other fingers are middle finger, ring finger, lil finger and big tom.” Dutch *likkepot* (child language) “second finger.” Not in JdJ. VSDU-437. Valls (1981: 71).

Lamuntsi “lemon.” Dutch *limoentje* “small lemon.” JdJ 1926: 90: *lamuntši* “citroen.” VDSU-438. Valls (1981: 69).

Ma “but.” Dutch *maar* “but.” JdJ 1926: 91: *mā* “maar.” VDSU-446. Valls (1981: 74).

Mager “thin, emaciated.” Dutch *mager* “thin.” See also Den Besten & Van der Voort (1999: 400 n. 42). Not in JdJ. Present in Oldendorp [1767–1768] in Stein et al. (1996: 89). VSDU-448. Valls (1981: 74).

Makaku “monkey.” Dutch *makaak*. Ultimately from a Bantu language via Portuguese. See also Schuchardt (1914b: 134). Not in JdJ. VDSU-448. Valls (1990: 33).

Makutu “basket, hamper.” Probably African. Kikongo (Bantu) *nkuta, matutu, mutete* “basket” (*Af-rolex*). JdJ 1926: 91: *makutú, makút* “mand.” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 74).

Malasi “molasses.” Dutch *melasse* “molasses,” from French or Spanish. Van der Sijs (2010: 467) derives it from *molasse* “sand stone,” but that is an error. See also VDSU-457, where Sranan *malasi* is derived from *melasse*. JdJ 1926: 92: *malaši* ”molasse.” VDSU-467. Valls (1981: 75).

Man ple “male genitals (‘man place’).” Dutch *man* “man,” *plek* “place.” This compound is not used in Dutch. JdJ 1926: 92: *mánple* “mannel. geslachtsorganen.” VDSU-452. Valls (1990: 34).

Mangelboom “mangrove.” Dutch *boom* “tree,” the first part probably cognate with *mangrove*, probably from Spanish *mangle*, ultimately going back to Island Arawak. Not in JdJ. VDSU-451. Valls (1981: 76).

Man “1. A form of address or appellation of neuter gender, applied to men, women and children, at all social levels. *[Never by children to adults.]* 2. Male of flora.” Dutch or English *man.* JdJ 1926: 92: *man* “man, echtgenoot.” VSDU-451. Valls (1981: 75).

Mani “1. Old. 2. Effeminate or non-assertive male.” Dutch or English *man.* JdJ 1926: 92: *mani* “manier; aard, karakter.” JdJ 1926: 92: *man* “man, echtgenoot.” Valls (1981: 76).

Maniki show “over-dressed or ostentatious woman.” Dutch *manneke* “little man.” VSDU-452. Valls (1981: 76).

Maritsima “a type of grass (*Crocophaga ani*).” The meaning seems to be an error. The Latin name refers to a bird, not grass. Etymology unknown. JdJ 1926: 92: *maritsimāt* “een vogel” “a bird.” Not in VDSU. Valls (1990: 34).

Marro “wild.” Dutch *marron*, from Spanish or Portuguese “escaped slave.” JdJ 1926: 92: *maro* “wegloopen. vluchten; wild (adject.).” VDSU-454. Valls (1990: 35).

Medl “middle.” Dutch *midden* “middle, mid-point,” Dutch *middel*, dialectal *meddel* “waist.” JdJ 1926: 92: *medl, midl, mel* “midden (adv.).” VDSU-461. Valls (1981: 79).

Medlwif “midwife.” Loan translation based on English *midwife*. From DC *medl* “middle” and *wif* “wife” (JdJ 1926: 107). Dutch has *vroedvrouw*. JdJ 1926: 92: *medlwif* “vroedvrouw [vgl. eng. *midwife*].” Valls (1981: 79).

Megas, mogas “bagasse.” Possibly Portuguese *bagaço* “bagasse.” Bagasse is the dry material that remains after crushing sugarcane. JdJ 1926: 93: *mogas* “suikerriet in gemalen toestand” “sugar cane in a ground state.” VDSU-191. Valls (1981: 79, 81).

Men “to heal, mend.” Not from Dutch. From English “to mend.” JdJ 1926: 93: *men* “heelen [vgl. eng. *mend*].” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 80).

Meriki “America.” Dutch *Amerika*. JdJ 1926: 92: *Meriki* “Amerika.” VDSU-179. Valls (1981: 80).

Meskene “manager of an estate or plantation.” Perhaps Dutch *meester*, but the presence of /k/ and /n/ are suspicious. Perhaps from Danish *menneskene* “the people” or *menneske* “person.” Cf. DC *meester, mēstər, mēstu, mēstə* “boss, master” (JdJ 1926: 93). JdJ 1926: 93: *méskene, méskənə* “manager.” VDSU-457. Valls (1981: 80).

Mespel “sapotilla tree or its fruit.” Dutch *mispel* “medlar.” Not in JdJ. Kingo has *mespler* (Stein et al. 1996: 184). VDSU-364. Valls (1981: 80). Not identified as Dutch by Valls.

Midnat “midnight.” Dutch *middernacht* “midnight.” This is not from Dutch, but from Danish *midnat* “midnight” (Bøegh 2018: 28). The Dutch word *nacht* is not known from Virgin Islands DC. JdJ 1926: 93: *midnat, medlat* “middernacht.” VDSU-461. Valls (1981: 80).

Mil “cornmeal, meal.” Possibly from Dutch *meel* “flour” but most likely from English *meal* /miːl/, as no other Germanic language uses this vowel. Here it has the meaning “(corn) flour” rather than the more current meaning “meal.” JdJ 1926: 93: *mil* “meel.” VDSU-436. Valls (1981: 80).

Mola “windmill.” Dutch *molen* “windmill.” JdJ 1926: 93: *mulǻ, mula* “malen; molen; molenaar.” VDSU-467. Valls (1990: 37).

Mon “mouth.” Dutch *mond* “mouth.” JdJ 1926: 93: *mon, mun* “mond, bek, snuit.” VDSU-467. Valls (1981: 82).

Monti “mortar.” Dutch *mortier* “mortar.” JdJ 1926: 93: *monti* “mortier,” *montistok* “vijzel” “mortar.” VDSU-469. Valls (1981: 82).

Morek “tomorrow.” Dutch *morgen* “tomorrow, morning.” JdJ 1926: 93: *morək, moruk* “morgen (adv.).” VDSU-469. Valls (1981: 83).

Moro “to murder.” Dutch *moord* “murder.” JdJ 1926: 93: *mord* “moord.” VDSU-468. Valls (1981: 83).

Mula “to grind.” Dutch *molen* “windmill” or *malen* “to grind,” or Spanish *moler* “to grind.” JdJ 1926: 93: *mulǻ, mula* “malen; molen; molenaar.” VDSU-467. Valls (1981: 84).

Muma “mother.” Dutch *mama* “mother, mum.” JdJ 1926: 93: *mumā* “moeder.” VSDU-451. Valls (1981: 84).

Musi danki “many thanks.” JdJ 1926: 94: *muši* “veel,” from Spanish *mucho* or Caribbean French *mouche*. JdJ 1926: 75: *daŋki* “dank, dank je”; *muši danki* “dank je wel (veel dank).” VDSU-265–266. Valls (1981: 84).

Muskita “sometime pronounciation [SIC] for mosquito (*Culex quinque fasciatus*) a carrier of malaria and dengue fever.” Dutch *muskiet* “mosquito.” JdJ 1926: 93: *moskit* “muskiet.” VSDU-452. Valls (1990: 38).

Na “is not. Not.” Probably English *no*. The negator *na* is also found in other English-lexifier creoles. JdJ 1926: 94: *na, nə, no, nu* “niet” “not.” VDSU-478 suggests it comes from Dutch *niet* “not,” but that is not likely.

Na “to, on, in, up, by toward.” Dutch *naar* “to, toward.” VSDU-472. Valls (1990: 38). See also Valls (1981: 84), “in.”

Nabinisi “inside.” Dutch *naar* “to,” *binnen* “inside,” *zijde* “side.” The compound does not exist in Dutch. JdJ 1926: 94: *nabiniši* “binnen; vgl. eng (...) inside.” Not in VDSU, but the Virgin Islands DC form is discussed in VDSU-472. Valls (1981: 84).

Negar “Negro.” Dutch *neger* “Black person.” Documented as *nagur* in an 1848 song text in Crucian CE (Bøegh & Bakker, *fc.*). VSDU-475. JdJ 1926: 94: *nēgər, nēgu* “neger.” See also Den Besten & Van der Voort (1999: 400 n. 43). Valls (1981: 85). Not recognized as Dutch (Creole) by Valls.

Nen “no.” Dutch *nee, neen* “no.” JdJ 1926: 94: *nen* “neen” “no.” Valls (1981: 85).

Nen “godmother.” Uncertain etymology. Perhaps Dutch *non* “nun,” as suggested in VDSU. Not in JdJ. VDSU-479–480. Valls (1981: 85).

Noit “never.” Dutch *nooit* “never.” JdJ 1926: 95: *nōit* “nooit.” VDSU-480. Valls (1981: 87).

Nola “donkey.” Etymology unknown. JdJ 1926: 95: *noli* “ezel.” VDSU-480. Valls (1990: 39).

Nom “uncle.” Dutch *oom* “uncle.” The initial /n/ originates in collocations like *mijn oom* “my uncle.” JdJ 1926: 95: *nom* “oom; maar ook: iemand die meer is of meer kan dan anderen.” VDSU-492. Valls (1990: 39).

Noom “big shot.” Probably from DC *nom* “uncle,” from Dutch *oom*. See *nom*.

Nou “narrow.” Dutch *nauw* “narrow.” JdJ 1926: 95: *nou* “small” “narrow.” VDSU-474. Valls (1981: 87).

Obasee “overseer.” Not likely Dutch *opzichter* “overseer,” but rather English *overseer*. Possible influence from Dutch *opzichter, opzien(d)er*. JdJ 1926: 95: *obəsi* “opzichter [vgl. eng. *overseer*].” VDSU-496 suggests Dutch *opzichter* as the source word. Valls (1981: 88).

Ode “odor.” If the translation is correct, it is unlikely that it is from Dutch *odeur*, which is a borrowing from French. JdJ 1926: 95: *oʳdə* “bestellen [eng. *order*],” which is likely a borrowing from English into Virgin Islands DC. Not in VDSU, but the DC word is discussed: VDSU-497–498. Valls (1981: 88).

Otkwek “earthquake.” Not from Dutch, but from English *earthquake*, via DC. JdJ 1926: 95: *ótkwēk* “aardbeving [eng. *earthquake*].” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 89).

Ovra bla “sweet scent herb (*Pluchia odorata*).” JdJ 1926: 73: *blā* “bladeren, gebladerte, struik, struikgewas” “leaves, foliage, shrub, thickets.” The *ovra* part is unclear, possibly Dutch *over*, but Dutch *over* is *obu* in Virgin Islands DC. Not found as a compound in JdJ. VDSU-220 only mentions *bla*. The plant is used for medicinal purposes in the USVI. Valls (1990: 40).

Pa “pair.” Dutch *paar* “pair.” JdJ 1926: 95: *pa* “pair.” VDSU-501. Valls (1981: 90).

Pak “slaughter house.” Suggested to be of DC origin by Gilbert Sprauve (p.c.). Of unknown origin. Cf. Danish *pak* “animals of poor quality” in pre-1950 Danish. Cf. Zealandic *pak* “bundle of trade goods” (Ghijsen 1959–1965: 694). Perhaps connected to Dutch *(in)pakken*, Danish *pakke*, English *to pack*, and Virgin Islands CE *packhouse* “warehouse.” Not in VDSU. Not in Valls.

Pampi “paper.” Dutch *papier*, colloquial *pampier*. JdJ 1926: 95: *pampi* “papier.” VDSU-506. Valls (1981: 91).

Panyad “Spaniard.” Dutch *Spanjaard*. Not in JdJ. Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 91).

Pap “porridge.” Dutch *pap* “porridge.” Not in JdJ. VSDU-506. Valls (1981: 92). Not recognized as Dutch (Creole) by Valls.

Parat “parrot.” English *parrot*, not Dutch. JdJ 1926: 95: *parat* “papegaai [vgl. eng. *parrot*].” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 92).

Pari “to give birth.” Spanish *parir* “to give birth,” rather than Dutch *baren* “to give birth.” Not in JdJ. Already found in Oldendorp [1767–1768] (Stein et al. 1999: 24, 70, relating it to Spanish). Discussed VDSU-196, with Dutch etymology *baren*. Valls (1990: 41).

Paska “Easter.” Not from Dutch. From Danish *påske* (Bøegh 2018: 28), or Spanish *pascua*. JdJ 1926: 95: *paska* “Paschen.” Valls (1981: 93).

Pati “to divide, part.” Probably not from Dutch *part* “piece, part,” but from Spanish *partir(se)* “divide, distribute.” JdJ 1926: 96: *pati* “verdeelen” “to distribute.” Discussed VDSU-507–508, with etymology Dutch *part*. Valls (1981: 93).

Pat-pat “duck.” Not from Dutch, but from Spanish/Portuguese *pato* “duck.” JdJ 1926: 96: *patpat* “eend.” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 93).

Pelikin bird “pelican (*Pelecanus occidentalis*).” Dutch *pelikaan* “pelican” or English. JdJ 1926: 96: *pelikān* “pelikaan.” Dutch according to VSDU-511. Valls (1981: 95).

Pepu “pepper.” Dutch *peper* “pepper.” JdJ 1926: 96: *pḗpu* “peper.” VDSU-512. Valls (1981: 95).

Pin “pain.” Dutch *pein*, dialectal *pien* “pain.” Zealandic *piene* “pain” (Ghijsen 1959–1965: 713). Cf. also Danish *pine* “pain; to cause pain.” JdJ 1926: 96: *pin* “pijn; pijn doen.” VDSU-515. Valls (1981: 96).

Pinabik “bellyache.” Dutch *buikpijn* “stomach ache,” *pijn in de buik* “idem.” JdJ 1926: 96: *pinabik* “buikpijn.” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 96).

Pinabikbla “belly ache bush.” Dutch *pijn in de buik* “belly ache” and Dutch *blad* “leave.” JdJ 1926: 96: *pinabikbla* “buikpijnbladeren; een aftreksel ervan neemt men in tegen buikpijn; de eng. naam (‘bitter bush’) wordt op verschillende gewassen toegepast.” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 96).

Pinakop “headache.” Colloquial Dutch *pijn in de kop* “headache.” JdJ 1926: 96: *pinakop* “hoofdpijn.” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 96).

Pinapel “pinapple.” Not from Dutch. English *pineapple*. JdJ 1926: 96: *pinapal* “ananas [eng. *pineapple*].” The translation in VDSU-515 is incorrect, where Dutch *pijnappel* “pine cone” is confused with the fruit name *pineapple*, which is called *ananas* in Dutch. Valls (1981: 96).

Pinda “peanut.” Dutch *pinda*, from Kikongo (*Afrolex*). Not in JdJ. VDSU-516 as *panda*. Valls (1981: 96).

Pinna koop “a vine (*Cissus siscyoides*).” This plant may be the one named *pinakopbla* “head ache leaves” by JdJ. JdJ 1926: 96: *pinakopbla* “hoofdpijnbladeren.” See also *pinakopbla*. Not in VDSU. Valls (1990: 42).

Pintan “toothache.” Dutch *pijn in de tand*, *tandpijn* “toothache.” JdJ 1926: 96: *pintán* “tandpijn.” VDSU-627. Valls (1981: 96).

Pipa “tobacco pipe.” Dutch *pijp* “pipe, tobacco pipe.” JdJ 1926: 96: *pipa* “tabakspijp.” VDSU-515. Valls (1981: 96).

Pissie-bed “1. Incontinent. 2. Any of various wild plants used to cure incontinence.” Probably Dutch *pissebed* “incontinent, insect species.” Zealandic *pissebèdde* “incontinent child; plant species (daffodil)” (Ghijsen 1959–1965: 719-720). Not in JdJ. VSDU-517. Valls (1981: 96).

Pistak, pistarckle “noise, din, row.” Dutch/Danish *spektakel* “spectacle, event.” JdJ 1926: 96: *pistākal* “spektakel.” VDSU-596. Valls (1990: 42).

Plantai “plantation.” Dutch *plantage* “plantation.” Den Besten & Van der Voort (1999: 393) suggest a French Creole origin. JdJ 1926: 96: *plantái* “plantage.” VDSU-520. Valls (1981: 97).

Plats, plas “place.” Dutch *plaats* “place.” JdJ 1926: 97: *plāts, plās* “plaats.” VDSU-517. Valls (1981: 97).

Plek “place.” Dutch *plek* “place.” JdJ 1926: 97: *plek*, *ple* “plaats.” VDSU-521. Valls (1990: 43).

Po “chamber pot. Applied to metal, china or clay pot.” Dutch *po* “chamber pot.” Not in JdJ. Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 97).

Poachy, poty “chamber pot.” Dutch *potje*, dialectal *potjie* “chamber pot.” Not in JdJ. VDSU-529. Valls (1981: 97, 98).

Popa “father.” Dutch *papa* “father,” dialectal *poppa*. JdJ 1926: 97: *popā, pupā* “vader.” VDSU-506. Valls (1981: 98).

Prak “food.” Dutch *prak* “food, in particular mixed and crushed.” JdJ 1926: 97: *prak* “voedsel.” VDSU-592. Valls (1990: 43).

Prat “to talk, chat.” Dutch *praten* “to speak, to talk.” JdJ 1926: 97: *prāt* “praten.” VDSU-592. Valls (1981: 99).

Pumble “elephantiasis.” Dutch *pompbeen*, *bombeen* “elephantiasis.” Also known as *big foot* or *rosfut* (see below) in Virgin Islands CE. Not in JdJ. VDSU-230. Valls (1990: 44).

Pumpelmus “citrus fruits.” Dutch *pompelmoes* “grapefruit,” probably from French. Not in JdJ. VSDU-525. Valls (1990: 44).

Pumpum “pumpkin.” Dutch *pompoen* “pumpkin,” from French. Not in JdJ. VSDU-526. Valls (1990: 44).

Renback “rain bowl.” Dutch *regenbak* “rain bowl.” JdJ 1926: 98: *rēnbak* “regenbak.” VDSU-545. Valls (1981: 76).

Rigibin “spine.” Dutch *rug* “back” and *been* “bone.” Dutch *ruggegraad*. Zealandic *rik(ke)been* (Ghijsen 1959–1965: 793). JdJ 1926: 98: *rigibēn* “ruggegraat.” VDSU-559. Valls (1981: 105).

Ro “rod.” Dutch *roede* or *roe* “stick” or English *rod*. Not in JdJ. Kingo in Stein et al. (1996: 182) has *rue* with the meaning “pistol.” VDSU-554. Valls (1981: 105).

Rosfut “elephantiasis.” Dutch *roosvoet* “elephantiasis” according to VSDU. This word cannot be found in Dutch dictionaries. See also *pumble*. JdJ 1926: 98: *rosfut* “elephantiasis.” VDSU-558. Valls (1981: 106).

Roto “rat.” Dutch *rat* or Danish *rotte* “rat” (Bøegh 2018: 28). JdJ 1926: 98: *roto* “rat.” Dutch according to VDSU-542. Valls (1981: 106).

Rui “row, scull.” Dutch *roeien* “to row.” JdJ 1926: 98: *rui* “roeiriem” “oar.” VDSU-554. Valls (1981: 106).

Rum “any and all alcoholic beverages.” Not in JdJ. Oldendorp [1767–1768] has *roem* (Stein et al. 1996: 55). VDSU-560. Valls (1981: 106).

Rutl “to wrestle.” Dutch *worstelen* “to wrestle.” Cf. also archaic and dialectal Dutch *rotelen* and West Flemish *ruttelen* “to rattle.” Not in JdJ. VDSU-706. Valls (1981: 107).

***Sa** “future marker.” Dutch *zal* “shall” rather than English *shall.* JdJ 1926: 99: *sa, sal* “zullen.” See Bøegh (*under assessment*) for argumentation for a Dutch origin. Not in Valls.

Saban “field.” Dutch *savanne* “savanna,” borrowed from French, ultimately from Island Arawak. JdJ 1926: 99: *sabán* “weide, grasvlakte.” VDSU-574. Valls (1981: 197). See also *sawaen*.

Saja “women work.” It could be that “work” is a typo, or an error of interpretation. Otherwise it is a metaphorical extension from a word for “cloth” or “female clothing.” Dutch *saai* “fabric, tissue,” borrowed from French into Dutch, or from Portuguese *saya* into Virgin Islands DC. JdJ 1926: 99: *saja* “vrouwerok [port. *saia*].” VDSU-574. Valls (1981: 108).

Saku “bag.” Dutch *zak* “bag.” Cf. also English *sack*. JdJ 1926: 99: *sak, saku* “zak.” VDSU-710. Valls (1981: 108).

Sapata “shoes.” From Spanish *zapata* “shoe,” rather than Portuguese *sapato*. JdJ 1926: 99: *sapaá* “schoen [port. *sapato*].” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 109).

Sari “sorry.” Dutch or English “sorry.” JdJ 1926: 99: *sari* “eng. ‘sorry.’” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 109).

Sawaen “pasture land.” Dutch *savanne* “savanna,” borrowed from French, ultimately from Island Arawak. JdJ 1926: 99: *sabán* “weide, grasvlakte.” VDSU-574. Valls (1990: 51). See also *saban*.

Seropi “syrup, treacle, molasses.” Dutch *siroop,* borrowed from French. JdJ 1926: 99: *səropi* “stroop.” VDSU-582. Valls (1981: 112).

Sisi “sister.” Dutch *zus, zusje* “sister.” Alternatively English *sissy*. See also Den Besten & Van der Voort (1999: 400 n. 43). JdJ 1926: 100: *sisi* “zuster.” VDSU-719. Valls (1981: 113).

Slaap “to sleep.” Dutch *slaap, slapen* “sleep, to sleep.” JdJ 1926: 101: *slāp* “slapen.” VDSU-583. Valls (1990: 55).

Sle “bad.” Dutch *slecht* “bad.” JdJ 1926: 101: *sle* “slecht.” VDSU-584. Valls (1981: 114).

Slok “to devour, gobble up.” Dutch *slokken* “to gulp.” JdJ 1926: 101: *slok* “verslinden.” VDSU-587. Valls (1981: 114).

Somgut “something.” English *some,* Dutch *goed, goederen* “good, goods.” JdJ 1926: 101: *somgut, soŋgut* “iets; eng. *something*.” VDSU-324. Valls (1981: 115).

Sopao, asopao “Creole rice-based dish of chicken, beans or fish of thick, soupy consistency.” Spanish/Portuguese *sopa*, Dutch *soep*, Danish *suppe* “soup.” Valls relates it to Puerto Rican Spanish *sopón* “a thick soup.” VDSU-593. Valls (1981: 109, 115).

Sopi “rum.” Dutch *zopie, zoopje* “beverage.” JdJ 1926: 101: *sopi, supi* “rhum [vgl. ndl. *zoopje*].” VDSU-718. Valls (1990: 56).

Sougut “salt thing, salted meat or fish.” Dutch *zout* “salt,” *goed, goederen* “good, goods.” JdJ 1926: 101: *sougut* “iets zouts, d.w.z. gezouten vleesch.” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 115).

Stal “stable.” Dutch *stal* “stable.” Cf. also Danish *stald* “stable.” JdJ 1926: 102: *stal* “stal.” Also used for a market booth, cf. Dutch *marktstal* (G. Sprauve, p.c.). VDSU-605. Valls (1981: 117).

Sten “stone.” Dutch *steen* “stone.” JdJ 1926: 102: *stēn, stin* “steen; steenigen” “stone, to stone”; *grōt stēn* “rots.” VDSU-608. Valls (1981: 118).

Stendot “stone-dead.” Belgian Dutch *steendood* “stone-dead.” JdJ 1926: 102: *stēndōt* “morsdood [vgl. eng. *stone-dead*].” VDSU-608. Valls (1981: 118).

Sterek “strong.” Dutch *sterk* “strong.” Cf. also Danish *stærk* “strong.” JdJ 1926: 102: *sterək* “geweld, sterk.” VDSU-611. Valls (1981: 118).

Stokdrum “stone drunk.” JdJ 1926: 102: *stokdruŋ* “stomdronken.” VDSU-614. Valls (1981: 119).

Stomp “short.” Dutch *stomp* “blunt, truncated.” JdJ 1926: 102: *stomp* “kort” “short.” VDSU-614. Valls (1981: 119).

Suku(t) “sugar.” Dutch *suiker* “sugar.” JdJ 1926: 103: *suku* “suiker, suikerriet.” VDSU-622. Valls (1981: 120).

Susaka “soursop (*Annona muricata*).” Dutch *zuurzak,* probably borrowed from Tamil. JdJ 1926: 103: *susaka, sizaka* “zuurzak: een vrucht (annona muricata).” VDSU-720. Valls (1981: 121).

Swampi “marsh.” Dutch *zwamp* “swamp,” or directly from English. JdJ 1926: 103: *swampi* “moeras.” VDSU-721. Valls (1981: 121).

Swatkol “charcoal.” Dutch *zwart* “black,” *kool* “coal.” Dutch *houtskool* “charcoal.” The compound *zwartkool* in Dutch is only used in technical discussions. JdJ 1926: 103: *swatkol* “houtskool.” VDSU-721. Valls (1981: 121).

Swatnis “darkness.” Dutch *zwart* “black.” Cf. Dutch *duisternis* “darkness,” with an unproductive derivational suffix *-nis*. *Zwartnis* is not a Dutch word. JdJ 1926: 103: *swatnis* “duisternis.” VDSU-721. Valls (1981: 121).

Tai, ta “father.” Perhaps North Holland Dutch *taat* “father.” Could also be influenced by English *dad*. JdJ 1926: 103: *tā* “vader,” *tai* “vader.” VDSU-624. Valls (1981: 123).

Takantin, tukuntin “turpentine tree.” Possibly from Dutch *terpentijn,* borrowed from French. JdJ 1926: 103: *takantin, tokontin, tukantin* “terpentijnboom.” VDSU-632. Valls (1981: 123). See also Valls (1990: 63).

Tan “tooth.” Dutch *tand*, West Flemish and Zealandic dialects *tan*. Cf. also Danish *tand* “tooth.” JdJ 1926: 104: *tan* “tand.” VDSU-627. Valls (1981: 123).

Tan “to stand.” Dutch *staan* “to stand.” JdJ 1926: 103: *tan = stān*. JdJ 1926: 103: *stān, tan* “staan, blijven staan, gaan staan, bestand zijn (met gēnz – eng. *against*)”; *stān op* “opstaan.” Not in VDSU, but VDSU-604 mentions the Virgin Islands DC source word. Valls (1981: 123).

Tan “aunt.” Dutch *tante* “aunt.” Not in JdJ. Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 123).

Tart “pie, pastry.” Dutch *taart* “pie.” VDSU-624. Valls (1981: 124). Not recognized as Dutch (Creole) by Valls.

Tavul “table.” Dutch *tafel* “table.” JdJ 1926: 103: *tavul, tawul, taul, taful* “tafel.” VDSU-625. Valls (1981: 124).

Tetola “Tortola.” Dutch *Tortola* (name of one of the British Virgin Islands). JdJ 1926: 104: *Tətola* “Tortola (een der Virgin Islands).” Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 125).

Titi “breast, teat.” Dutch *tiet* “breast.” English *titty*. VDSU-633. Valls (1981: 127). Not recognized as Dutch (Creole) by Valls.

Tobo “tub.” Dutch *tobbe* “tub.” JdJ 1926: 104: *tobo, tubu* “tobbe.” VDSU-635. Valls (1981: 127).

Ton “tongue.” Dutch *tong* “tongue.” JdJ 1926: 104: *toŋ* “tong.” VDSU-637. Valls (1981: 127).

Tramil “sleep net, mosquito net.” English *trammel*. Probably not from Dutch *tragel, trawl* “quay, platform; trawl net.” JdJ 1926: 105: *tramil* “sleepnet [vgl. eng. *trammel*], in beteek = *seən*.” JdJ 1926: 99: *seən* “sleepnet [vgl. ndl. zegen].” VDSU-639. Valls (1981: 129).

Tret “straight.” Dutch *recht* “straight,” *terecht* “justified.” JdJ 1926: 105: *tret* “recht [vgl. eng. *straight*].” VDSU-543. Valls (1981: 129).

Trou “tree.” Possibly Dutch *tronk* “truncated tree trunk.” Cf. also Danish *træ* “tree, wood” and English *tree*. Not in JDJ with this meaning. VDSU-643. Valls (1981: 129).

Tseke “Guinea bird.” See *Jekke*. Valls (1981: 130).

Tukuntin “turpentine tree (*Bursera simaruba*).” See *Takantin* “turpentine tree.” Valls (1990: 63).

Undersaja “petticoat, underskirt.” Dutch *onder,* Dutch *saai*. JdJ 1926: 105: *undusaja* “onderrok.” Not in VDSU. See also *saja*. Valls (1981: 131).

Vendu bontje “pidgeon peas (*Cajanus cajan*).” From DC *wandu*, from Dutch *wandel(en)* “to walk, go for a walk,” and *boontje* “bean.” JdJ 1926: 105: *wandubōnši* “een soort doperwten (‘pigeon-peas’).” Not in VDSU. Valls (1990: 65). See also Valls (1981: 132).

Voet “foot.” Dutch *voet* “foot.” JdJ 1926: 81: *fut, futu* “voet.” VDSU-639. Valls (1990: 65).

Voor “for.” Dutch *voor* “for,” or English *for*. JdJ 1926: 80: *fo, fu* “voor, om”; “veelal invloed van eng. constructies met ‘for’.” VDSU-639. Valls (1981: 132).

Wa, awa “what.” Dutch *wat* “what.” JdJ 1926: 105: *wa, wat* “wat, welke, wat voor” “what, which, what kind of.” VDSU-695. Valls (1981: 132).

Wakman “watchman.” Dutch *waken* “watch,” *man* “man.” Dutch *waakman* does not exist, but *wachtman* “watchman” does. The Virgin Islands DC verb *wak* combines meanings of *wachten* “to wait” and *waken* “to watch (over).” JdJ 1926: 106: *wakman* “waker, bewaker.” VDSU-692. Valls (1981: 132).

Wandubonsi “pigeon peas.” See above *vendu bontje*. Valls (1981: 132).

Wat plek “where.” Dutch *wat* “what,” *plek* “place.” Not in JdJ. Oldendorp [1767–1768] has *wat plek* (Stein et al. 1996: 140) and Kingo *wa plai* (Stein et al. 1996: 183). VDSU-521. Valls (1981: 133).

Weren “world.” Danish *verden* “world” rather than Dutch *wereld* “world.” JdJ 1926: 106: *werən* “wereld.” VDSU-521. Valls (1981: 134).

Weself “ourselves.” Dutch *wijzelf* “ourselves.” It could also be a CE form. VDSU-703. Valls (1990: 67).

Wod “word.” English *word*, or Dutch *woord* “word.” JdJ 1926: 107: *wôrt, wort, word* “word.” VDSU-706. Valls (1981: 136).

Wuluwuluk "wolf." Possibly from Dutch *wolf* or Zealandic *wulf*. The reduplicated form and the final /k/ are suspicious. Valls writes: "Still heard in Anansi stories," so in stylized language use only. JdJ 1926: 107: *wuluwuluk* "wolf." VDSU-706. Valls (1981: 137).

Ze "sea." Dutch *zee* "sea." JdJ 1926: 107: *ze* "zee." VDSU-711. Valls (1981: 139).

Zeil "sail." Dutch *zeil* "sail," *zeilen* "to sail." JdJ 1926: 107: *zeil, zeilə* "zeilen; varen" "to sail." Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 139).

Zekarosi "steamship." Dutch *zee* "sea," Dutch *karos* "four-wheeled cart, small car." This compound does not exist in Dutch. JdJ 1926: 107: *zekaroši* "stoomschip ('zeekaros')." Not in VDSU. Valls (1981: 139). See above, *karosi* and *zee*.

5. Valls as a lexicographer

Born in 1927 as Rafael Valls to Puerto Rican parents who had immigrated to the USVI, "Lito" Valls grew up on St. Croix, his family living in Christiansted. He attended St. Mary's School in Christiansted and Colegio Ponceño de Varones in Puerto Rico. He later attended the University of Dayton, Ohio, in the continental United States. Not many details about his life are available in print or on the internet, but Valls spent several years working on St. Thomas and eventually relocated to St. John where he found employment at the Virgin Islands National Park. In 1994, following Valls' death, Ron de Lugo, the first Delegate from the USVI to the United States House of Representatives, spoke as follows in the House about him, and his contribution to preserving Virgin Islands oral history and culture:

> [Valls] was a historian and a teacher by trade. By title he was an interpreter for the National Park Service at the Virgin Islands National Park on St. John. But perhaps most of all Lito, as he was known to his friends, was a master storyteller, a guide to the past who deftly combined his broad knowledge of history, culture, and folkways with his gift for words in ways that enthralled his audience from all over the world and made Virgin Islands history seem to come alive. (*Congressional Record Volume 140, Number 147*, n.p.)

Valls' lexicographic books were enthusiastically received in the USVI. Local reviews (e.g., Petersen 1982, Sprauve 1982) were positive, echoing the more casual laudatory remarks about the works in other contexts. Eventually, the books became a source of pride for the local population and a source of inspiration for other lexicographers (as also touched upon earlier in this article).

As for his approach to lexicography, Valls characterized his own work as follows: "Let it be said from the start that this is an amateur effort both in the sense that it is a labor of love and in the sense that it is the work of a non-professional" (Valls 1981: n.p.). In his two lexicographic books on Virgin Islands CE, Valls does not reveal anything about his methods of collection or selection. As for his linguistic ideology, we can note that he "considered English the language of our head and Creole the language of our heart" (1981: n.p.). Virgin Islander and linguist Gilbert Sprauve (1982) wrote that Valls "likes to credit himself for non-knowledge of linguistic methodology" but that he "demonstrates a strong commitment to systematic investigation and clarity of presentation." Valls wrote that his first book was inspired by the work of Seaman (1968). Even though Valls mentions only a few personal names, he acknowledges the help of many people: "Thanks also to the countless persons living and dead who contributed to this effort. They are legion" (Valls 1981: n.p.).

After his first book had come out, many of its readers contributed with additional words, and the supplement from 1990 contains mainly new items (though there are some repetitions). Valls (1990:

n.p.) described this as follows: "There are literally hundreds of people who have contributed to this effort. They yelled and screamed at me from buses, in the ferry boats, at fish-fries on the street, 'Yoh forget to put een so and so.' My thanks to all of them for their oral and written contributions."

Valls stated no more about his approach, so we have to deduct from his work what his methods were. He probably just started writing down special words, aided by earlier lexicographic work by Seaman (1968). He also played a role in the compilation of the glossary published in Roy (1975). His many contacts on the three islands secured a solid familiarity of local differences as well. His knowledge of Spanish enabled him to identify the Iberian origin of some of the words, and he also attempted to identify Danish and Dutch (Creole) words. For this endeavor, he certainly made use of De Josselin De Jong (1926) and possibly also other written sources. His main work, however, was based on his own observations and the many additions he received from the inhabitants. This can be seen as a systematic method of collecting. Unfortunately, however, Valls did not use a consistent spelling system. It seems that he checked possible presence of words that he heard used in De Josselin De Jong (1926), and copied the phonemic spelling (but without diacritics) from there, and utilizing an English-inspired orthography for other entries. It is not likely that Valls boosted the contents of his own dictionary by just copying some words from De Josselin De Jong (1926), as he often provides supplementary information about the meanings of the words, not present in the 1926 book.

In short, Valls, having lived on all three islands, was eminently fit to document the special vocabulary of the CE varieties of the USVI. He also did an effort to indicate the origin of the words, when they were from Dutch, Danish, Spanish, or African languages, by consulting lexicographic work. The island communities and the linguistic community can be grateful for his lexicographic work, despite the lack of a consistent spelling system, or an indication of the pronunciation of the words.

6. Conclusion

In this article, we have supplied the most complete list to date of words from Dutch and Virgin Islands DC that found their way into the varieties of CE heard in the USVI. The lexicographical work by Valls (1981, 1990) on Virgin Islands CE was our main inspiration. We have concentrated on the words in use during Valls' lifetime that he stated originated in DC, supplemented with words for which he had not spotted the Dutch or DC origin.

Even though the words in our list constitute only around 6% of the vocabulary items in the two books produced by Valls, the list comprises some 280 words he ascribes to DC, and most of these – but not all – are ultimately from Dutch.

This is a considerable number of borrowed words. Many of the terms in the list relate to food, flora and fauna, medical terms relating to diseases as well as terms for cultural practices, but there are also more "basic" vocabulary items, including some function words. The extent of the influence is also visible in the fact that several grammatical markers from the DC were borrowed into the Crucian variety of Virgin Island CE, such as the Tense-Mood-Aspect (TMA) markers *ka* "perfective particle" from the Spanish/Portuguese verb *acabar* "to finish" and *sa* "future particle" from Dutch *zal* "shall." More indirectly, the reduplicated form *gogo*, another aspect marker, seems to be influenced by DC *lolo*, ultimately from Dutch *lopen* "to walk," with the same function (see Bøegh, *under assessment*). The transfer of TMA particles between creoles with different lexifiers has also been observed elsewhere (e.g., Berbice Dutch Creole).

Only a small minority of the identified African words in Virgin Islands CE have been transmitted from Virgin Islands DC. A list of African-origin words in Virgin Islands CE with their suggested sources can be found in Bøegh (*under assessment*). The following African words are in our list: *banana* in *banana fig, bomba, funtji, gongolo, gungu, jaia, jekke/tjekke, kiambo, makutu.* Most of them are also present in other Caribbean creoles. Most of them come from Bantu or Kwa languages. The

following words of unknown origin may have an African etymology: *bacuba, bakawal, batri, bomancoo, dul-dul* (in *dacta dul-dul), maritsima, nola.*

Not all words in the list of words discussed above can be traced unambiguously to Dutch (Creole). For one thing, the list includes a good number of items that appear to have multiple etymologies, i.e., which derive from words that are found (perhaps with minimal differences) in Dutch, Danish, and English, whose exact derivations are unclear. Sabino (2012), in her glossary of variable Virgin Islands DC word forms (pp. 233–92), documents numerous instances of such lexical convergence, and there is little reason to assume that the Virgin Islands CE lexicon would not also be characterized by this phenomenon (on this phenomenon in other creoles, see also Baptista 2020).

A fair part of the words, even though it is evident that they derive from DC, are not found in De Josselin De Jong's (1926) vocabulary. This should be attributed to chance, in that this researcher's informants just did not happen to use the words in their narratives. For a comprehensive dictionary of Virgin Islands DC, the list presented in this article should be included, even when not documented for DC directly.

The various lexicographical resources surveyed in this paper differ from each other in assorted ways, yet they tend to have in common, often as part of the motivation stated for producing them, a sense of urgency. For example, in presenting the rationale behind compiling his short dictionary, Seaman (1968: 2) states the following:

> This little dictionary began as fun. [...] It later dawned on me that maybe [local words and phrases – KFB & PB] had cultural and historic value and signifigance [SIC]. It might be a good idea to collect and save them for posterity. Our island-world was changing so fast that tomorrow no one would remember how our fathers had spoken.

Seaman was ostensibly alluding to the changes toward a modern industrial and commercial society that the USVI faced in the twentieth century, hinting that these were accompanied by far-reaching linguistic change, in the form of a shift away from more traditional forms of local speech (for further discussion, see also Highfield 2009: 403ff). Against this backdrop, the lexicographical work by Valls and his contemporaries shed light on, among other things, substratal influence from one creole into another, grammatical borrowings, the special lexicon of Caribbean Englishes (including Caribbean English Creole), and the colonial history of the Dutch, Danish, and English languages, including the fate of the languages created by enslaved people.

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