

# Loanwords in the World's Languages A Comparative Handbook

Edited by  
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## Chapter 12

### Loanwords in Dutch\*

*Nicoline van der Sijs*

#### 1. The language and its speakers

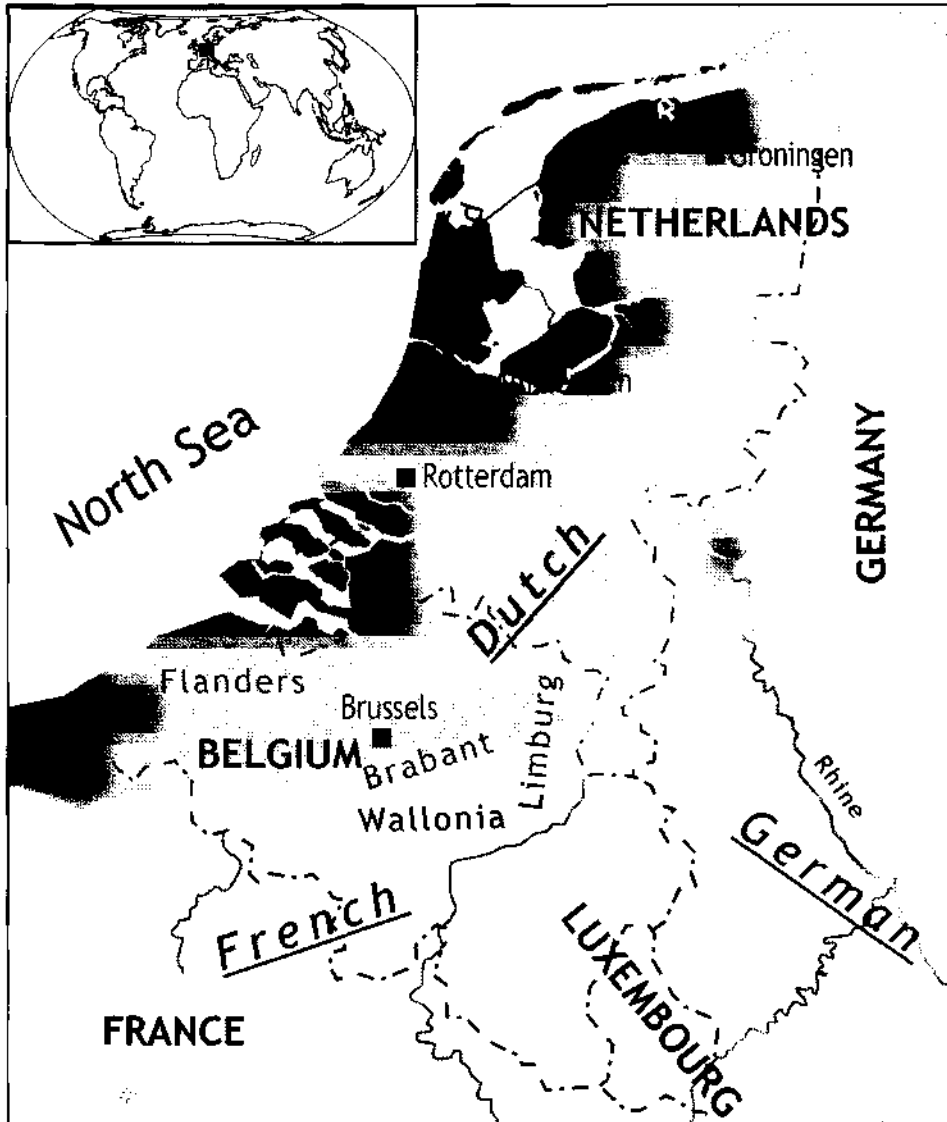
##### 1.1. The history of Dutch

Dutch is a West Germanic language, related to English, High German, Low German and Frisian, and, less directly, to the North Germanic languages Danish, Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish. Germanic belongs to the Indo-European language family, to which most of the languages belong that are currently spoken in Europe, as well as many languages of southwestern and southern Asia.

The Dutch language originated after the Germanic migrations of the fifth century. The language boundary between Germanic and Romance, which in the northwest runs straight across Belgium, originated in the eighth century – it has witnessed a few modifications in the course of time, but has not been drastically changed since the fourteenth century. Around this boundary we find bilingualism.

In the sixth century the first written texts appear in the Low Countries (i.e. the area of present-day Belgium and the Netherlands). In the Middle Ages various Dutch dialects were spoken here, which can be subdivided into the following groups: Hollands, Zealands, Flemish, Brabants, Limburgs and (Low) Saxon. The Low Saxon dialects were and are spoken in the north-east of the Netherlands – they are closely related to the Low German dialects spoken in the neighboring parts of Germany. There is, therefore, no language boundary – the dialects shaded off into each other gradually. However, there has been, since 1648, a political boundary between the Netherlands and Germany. In the course of the twentieth century, especially since the period between the two World Wars, the state boundary between Germany and the Netherlands has more and more come to be regarded as a culture boundary and a language boundary; the transitional nature of the border dialects has gradually been lost under the ever-increasing influence of the standard languages Dutch and German.

\* The subdatabase of the World Loanword Database that accompanies this chapter is available online at <http://wold.livingsources.org>. It is a separate electronic publication that should be cited as: van der Sijs, Nicoline. 2009. Dutch vocabulary. In Haspelmath, Martin & Tadmor, Uri (eds.) *World Loanword Database*. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library, 1513 entries. <<http://wold.livingsources.org/vocabulary/12>>



Map 1: Dutch and neighboring languages

In the northern part of the Netherlands, another language, Frisian, has from the days of yore been spoken as well. During the Middle Ages, Frisian was spoken in large areas outside the modern province of Friesland: Frisians were to be found in North Holland, Groningen and Northern Germany, even in Zealand and Flanders. But already after about 700, Frisian was pushed back farther and farther, and after the Middle Ages, the area and the political power of the Frisians were ever more reduced. In our days, Frisian is spoken only in a small part of the Northern Netherlands and North-West Germany.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there began to be felt, as a result of the great social, political, economic and religious changes that took place in the Renaissance (among other things, the introduction of Protestantism), a need for a standard language with which the inhabitants of the entire Dutch-speaking area could more easily communicate with each other and in which bibles and other Dutch books could be printed. It is therefore in this period that the foundation was laid for a Standard Dutch. The standard language was formed in the Republic of the United Provinces, more specifically in Holland. Standard Dutch is thus founded on the (cultivated) dialect of Holland (cf. van der Sijs (2004) on the origins of Standard Dutch).

While the citizens of the Republic had enjoyed political freedom since the 17<sup>th</sup> century (officially since 1648), those of the Southern Netherlands (i.e. more or less present-day Belgium) had foreign rulers: they came under Spanish, Austrian or French governments. Because of this foreign domination, there was in the South hardly any freedom for people to develop their own language. Latin, the language of scholars and of reviving Catholicism, and French, the language of government and culture, were dominant in the South. What was preserved, though, was the awareness of cultural ties and linguistic links with the Northern Netherlands (i.e. the present-day Netherlands) – Dutch remained in Flanders and Brabant as the language of lower-level government, and the vernacular was dialectal Dutch. Not before 1750 do we encounter large-scale frenchification, although the higher classes kept using Dutch side by side with French. From that moment on, however, the social pressure to use French was very great.

This reached its culmination point in the French Period (1792–1813), when – unlike what we find in the Netherlands – legislation, jurisdiction and government administration could be conducted only in French, and Dutch newspapers were banned or had to be provided with a French translation (cf. Willemyns 2003). The number of French loanwords and gallicisms, constructions translated literally from French, has therefore always been larger in the Southern Netherlands than in the North – and that is still the case nowadays.

After the expulsion of the French, the Northern and Southern Netherlands were combined in 1815 to form the Kingdom of the Netherlands under William I. He proclaimed Dutch the national language and the administrative language of the kingdom, with the motto: one country, one language. In the South, there was a good deal of opposition against Dutch among the French-speaking aristocracy, and among the Roman Catholic clergy who regarded Dutch as ‘the devil’s language’, i.e. the language of Protestantism. In 1830, Belgium seceded from the Netherlands, and that was partly due to William’s language regulations.

After the secession, it was stipulated in the Belgian constitution of 1831 that the use of French and Dutch was free – in actual practice this implied that French was favored, in spite of the fact that there was a Dutch-speaking majority of 2.300,000 as compared with 1.200,000 speakers of French. Most of the inhabitants did speak a Dutch dialect, but not Standard Dutch, while the upper classes spoke French. Government and jurisdiction were conducted in French, and the Government favored

French, among others by appointing French-speaking civil servants exclusively. There then followed a long period in which the position of Dutch was gradually strengthened. After the secession a discussion was started in Belgium as to whether a separate Flemish standard should be developed, or whether a connection should be sought with the standard language of the Netherlands. From the middle of the nineteenth century, most of the Belgians preferred the latter option.

In the nineteenth century, the first official spelling guides and grammars of Dutch began to appear. In the Netherlands, more and more people wrote in the standard language. The spoken language, however, kept showing differences from region to region. In the first half of the twentieth century, everybody received basic schooling – in 1900, compulsory education was introduced in the Netherlands, in 1914 in Belgium – and many pupils followed some form of secondary education. Thanks to increased mobility, industrialization and new means of communication such as telephone, radio and television, the written and spoken standard language came to be widely used. In Belgium, this spread started later, from the sixties of the twentieth century. Whereas in the early years of the twentieth century only the upper classes spoke Standard Dutch, three per cent of the Dutch population at most, in our days at least eighty per cent of the population of the Netherlands uses the standard language, and as much as fifty per cent in Belgium.

## 12. The current position of Dutch

In a language survey conducted in 2005 by the Dutch Taalunie, the findings were: Dutch is the native language of over 22 million people, mainly in the Netherlands (16 million) and in Belgium (a good 6 million). In the Netherlands, Sranan (with ca. 200,000 speakers), Turkish (192,000), Moroccan Arabic (100,000), Papiamentu (80,000), and Indonesian (45,000) are the main minority languages. In Belgium, people with an Italian background form the largest group (280,000) among the speakers of the languages of immigrants. In addition, there are about 105,000 people with a Moroccan Arabic background, about 80,000 Portuguese and around 63,000 Turkish speakers. Of the territories outside Europe where Dutch used to be spoken, such as Indonesia, only Suriname and the Dutch Antilles and Aruba have remained. On the Dutch Antilles and Aruba, with about 300,000 inhabitants, Dutch is the official language. On the islands of Aruba, Bonaire, and Curacao, Papiamentu is the colloquial language, while on the small islands of St. Eustace, Saba and St. Martin it is creole English. Since 2007, the two colloquial languages, Papiamentu and English, have been recognized as official languages on the Antilles, next to Dutch. In Suriname, more than 20 languages are spoken; the official language is Dutch. Sranan functions as the contact language between population groups.

Standard Dutch at this moment shows a high degree of homogeneity. However, since the seventies of the twentieth century the norm for the standard language has been widened: in the seventies the language use was democratized, along with



society. Language phenomena that till then were used only by the lower classes became widely accepted, the tolerance for differences in pronunciation, wording and dialectal variation increased, and the language became more informal.

Standard Dutch nowadays knows regional differences. Thus, there are differences between Dutch-Dutch and Belgian-Dutch – these arose because standardization was started so much later in Belgium. These differences become smaller, however, except in the pronunciation – there the two forms of the language are growing more and more apart. Language variation is much greater in Belgium than in the Netherlands. In Belgium, the standard language is used by fewer people than in the Netherlands, and it is more difficult for them to attain it. As a result, an inter-language was created between the dialects and the standard language, functioning as an informal, supra-regional colloquial language. This inter-language contains, among others, all kinds of French loanwords, and constructions that have been translated literally from French, gallicisms, which are not recognized in Standard Dutch. The distance between the inter-language and the standard language in Belgium is much greater than that between informal Dutch and the standard language in the Netherlands. The result is that the informal varieties in the Netherlands and Belgium show considerable differences. They keep, moreover, growing apart because the use of the inter-language in Belgium is on the increase, and an autonomous standardization is taking place among the inter-language variants. In the nineties of the twentieth century, more appreciation began to be shown for the individual characteristics of refined Dutch, with the realization that standard languages can have ‘national varieties’: languages may be used as standard language in several countries and still to a certain degree be different – compare German in Austria, Switzerland and Germany.

In Suriname and to a lesser degree on the Antilles, special varieties of Dutch have come into being, Suriname and Antillian Dutch. These ethnolects show deviations from Standard Dutch in pronunciation, word formation, vocabulary and grammar.

There are also sociolinguistic differences. The dialects in the Netherlands, which are losing ever more ground, count mostly as sociolects, being spoken only by certain classes. In Belgium and in the southern Dutch regions of Brabant and Limburg, the dialects are stronger, being spoken by a large part of the population: these, then, are not the sociolect of a certain class – but the use of this dialect does tend to decrease.

In the Netherlands and Belgium, new language varieties have arisen due to post-war immigration – so-called ethnic Dutch, the Dutch spoken by people with a different ethnic background and another or a second native language, such as Turkish, Moroccan Arabic, Berber, Papiamentu, Kurdish or a language from Suriname (cf. van der Sijs ed. 2005). The varieties show some phonological, grammatical and lexical differences in which they deviate from Standard Dutch. Some of the elements of this ethnic Dutch are adopted by speakers of Dutch (only) as their native language, notable by young people. This has promoted the rise of the so-called street language, the group lingo of young people with mixed backgrounds in

the larger cities, a mixed language with Dutch as its basis, with an admixture of more or less adapted or modified words from other languages (English, Turkish, Arabic, Papiamentu etc.) and new, made-up words. In Belgium, this young people's lingo is called *General Cités*, it shows influences of especially Italian, Greek, Spanish, Moroccan Arabic and Turkish. The phenomenon is transient, as appears from recent investigations, and for the time being, ethnic varieties have no influence on Standard Dutch, apart from the odd loanword.

Thanks to globalization, English, the internationally used language of communication, is making its influence on Dutch felt, in two ways. In the first place, English loanwords are adopted, secondly, English is replacing Dutch in some domains as the language of communication, notably in higher education and in internationally oriented industrial circles. This is regarded as a threat to the position of Dutch by some, fearing that their language might disappear in the near or distant future, but this fear is as yet not very realistic. While the Dutch government is stimulating the use of English in higher education, the Flemish government is trying to curtail it by restricting the number of English courses available to twenty per cent of the curriculum.

Until recently, there were no provisions in the constitution about Dutch in the Netherlands. A number of agreements were recorded about the use of Frisian (spoken in the province of Friesland) in public government, jurisdiction and in schools. The Fourth Cabinet of Premier Balkenende, however, published a coalition agreement early 2007, in which for the first time the use of Dutch was regulated: "The Government promotes the simple and careful use of Dutch as language of government, culture, and conversation, embedding it as such in the Constitution, without detriment to the recognition by law of (the use of) the Frisian language." In Belgium, thanks to the long-standing language conflict between Dutch and French, there have long since been agreements about the use of languages. From 1993, it has been ordained in the Constitution that Belgium is a federal state, comprising a Flemish, a French and a German-speaking Community, a Flemish, a Walloon and a Brussels region, and four language districts. The Constitution stipulates that in Flanders, Standard Dutch is to be used in three domains of social life: education, government and jurisdiction; the use of language in all other situations is part of the private sector and is free. Around sixty per cent of the Belgian population speaks Dutch in everyday life.

In 1980, the Dutch and Belgian governments founded the Dutch Language Union (*Nederlandse Taalunie*), with as its aim "the integration of the Netherlands and the Dutch community in Belgium with regard to language and literature in the widest sense". Surinam joined in 2003 as associate member.

## 2. Sources of data

The Dutch vocabulary and the etymology of its words have been adequately described. The most important descriptive historical dictionaries are the

*Oudnederlands Woordenboek* (ONW, since 2009 on the internet: [inl.onw.nl](http://inl.onw.nl)), dealing with the Dutch vocabulary up to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the *Vroegmiddelnederlands Woordenboek* (VMNW), dealing with the Dutch vocabulary of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek* (MNW), containing, roughly, a description of Dutch up to 1500, and the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (WNT), dealing, together with 3 volumes of *Aanvullingen* [Supplements], with Dutch from circa 1500 to 1976. Since 2007, this dictionary can be consulted on-line. Another valuable aid is the *Cd-rom Middelnederlands*, which contains not only the MNW, but also most of the Old Dutch and Early Middle Dutch texts, i.e. texts from before 1300.

In the historical dictionaries of Dutch, brief etymologies are given for most words, but sometimes this information is now obsolete. However, there are quite a few etymological dictionaries of Dutch. In 1892, the German linguist Franck edited an *Etymologisch woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal*, which was, more than anything else, an adaptation of the German etymological dictionary by Kluge, which had come out nine years before. Franck's dictionary acquired its value through the revision by Slavist van Wijk in 1912 and the supplement, added in 1936, by Netherlandist van Haeringen. In 1958, a concise *Etymologisch Woordenboek* by Jan de Vries was published in the Prisma paperback series – of which new editions appear regularly; the last set of editions have been edited by former WNT editor De Tollenaere. 1971 saw the publication of Jan de Vries' *Nederlands Etymologisch Woordenboek*. In 1989, van Veen and van der Sijs published their *Etymologisch Woordenboek* (EWB) with van Dale – a second edition of this appeared in 1997; in this dictionary, containing many more entries than all its predecessors, attention is paid for the first time to more recent loanwords – the earlier etymological dictionaries all concentrate mainly on original native words and early loans. Since 2003, a new etymological dictionary has been appearing, in which the most recent views on etymology are being incorporated, the *Etymologisch woordenboek van het Nederlands* (EWN); the fourth and last volume has been planned for the end of 2009.

In the past, a number of scholarly books and articles appeared on Dutch loanwords borrowed from specific languages, such as the Dutch loanwords from French (by Salverda de Grave, 1906), from German (by Theisse, 1975, and de Vooy, 1946), English (de Vooy, 1951) and Latin (van der Sijs & Engelsman 2000). In 1996, a survey of the influence of all other languages on Dutch, appeared: the *Leenwoordenboek* (van der Sijs) – a revised second edition was published in 2005.

Attention has been paid for some decades to the dating of first appearances of Dutch words. In his revisions of the Prisma pocket dictionary de Tollenaere started systematically adding more or less exact dates, but the number of words that were dated remained limited to a few thousand. In van Dale's *Etymologisch Woordenboek* (1997), for the first time, all entries (over 30,000) were provided with a date for their first occurrence in a written document. An elaboration of the datings is to be found in the *Chronologisch woordenboek* (van der Sijs 2001). In the EWN, of which three volumes have appeared in the middle of 2009, the datings are further elaborated. The datings of the words in the subdatabase are based largely on the

information from the EWB and van der Sijs (2001). Most of the dates supplied in these works come from quotations in the three great historical dictionaries of Dutch, the WNT, MNW and VMNW. Few documents exist from the period up to the thirteenth century, and dates from that period invariably represent lucky finds. In the case of many native words we know that they must have existed at the time, but it is only from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards that we have an adequate number of documents. Even so, dates found in other periods, too, are always more or less relative and accidental. No date can be said to be absolute, and every year given is to be regarded as an indication for a period. And it is 'work in progress': these days, ever more sources become available digitally, enabling us to find ever more accurate and earlier locations of words. Nevertheless, the data supplied give an indication of the period since when, roughly, a word has been found in Dutch.

### 3. Contact situations

There is at this moment a discussion going on about the extent and the nature of substratum influence on Germanic. Since there is no consensus on this subject yet, I have not taken it into account. This has meant that I have counted Germanic words, including those that may come from a substratum language, among the native words. It has, for example, been suggested that the words *avond* 'evening', *baas* 'boss', *bast* 'bark', *been* 'leg' and *beuk* 'beech' go back to a substratum language.

The loanwords can be divided into two groups: first, the words that were borrowed in the Germanic period and from there turned up in Dutch, and secondly, the words that were borrowed after the breakup of the West Germanic unity, i.e. from about the sixth century CE. I will describe the contact situations for both groups in roughly chronological order.

#### 3.1. Loanwords in Germanic

##### 3.1.1. Akkadian influence on Germanic

The earliest known influence on Germanic concerns the trade term *zilver* 'silver' from Akkadian.

##### 3.1.2. Celtic influence on Germanic

During the period after the disintegration of Indo-European into various subdivisions, Germanic borrowed a number of words from neighboring Celtic languages. In the case of the words *bok* 'he-goat' and *eed* 'oath', there is some discussion as to the direction in which the influence took place: from Celtic to Germanic or the other way round. The problem does not arise in the case of the words *ijzer* 'iron',

*lood* 'lead' and *rijk* 'rich', because it is certain that the Celts, earlier than the Germanic tribes, were involved in beating iron and founding empires.

### 3.1.3. *Old Slavic influence on Germanic*

Germanic borrowed one word from Old Slavic: *rogge* 'rye'. Rye is a valuable plant, which was unknown to the Germanic tribes; it spread, together with its name, from the Russian plains to the West.

### 3.1.4. *Latin influence on Germanic*

In 57 BCE, Caesar conquered Northern Gaul, and from that moment the southern part of the Low Countries was occupied by the Romans. This situation lasted till about 400 CE, when the Rhine army was called back for the defense of Italy. The Romans, then, were in the Low Countries for nearly five centuries. The Rhine was the official boundary of the Roman Empire. The Romans brought the Germanic tribes into contact with all sorts of technical novelties, for which the Germans usually took over the Latin names. Thus, the Germans learned to build brick houses, they adopted the Roman calendar, they became familiar with new foodstuffs and new ways to prepare them, and they traded with the Romans, using, for the first time, coins as currency (before that time, trade articles were bartered). From Table 3 below, it appears that the number of Latin loanwords in the semantic fields *Food and drink* and *The house* is considerable. Only the influence on the calendar does not appear from the data under category *Time* of the Loanword Typology meaning list, because we are dealing especially with loan translations here: thus, all the names of the days of the week except *zaterdag* 'Saturday' are translations of Latin names. All these Latin loans were found in Dutch in the Middle Ages – they were borrowed in oral contact with the Romans.

### 3.1.5. *Church Latin influence*

The Christianization of the Germanic peoples (with the exception of the Goths) dates from the period after the Roman Age, but it started already before West Germanic had finally fallen apart. Christianity and the knowledge of the Bible – including a number of till then unknown animals and plants mentioned there – was propagated together with Church Latin; many early religious terms can, therefore, be traced back to Latin. These words were generally adopted during the Middle Ages and they are usually dated before the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The influence of Church Latin then went on making itself felt for many centuries. The monasteries promoted the culture of writing – consequently, many words in that area, too, come from Church Latin.

3.1.6. *Religious Greek influence on Germanic*

Most of the Christian religious terms are taken from Church Latin, but one term has been borrowed direct from Greek: *kerk* 'church'.

3.1.7. *Romance influence on Germanic*

A few words – *pijp* 'pipe', *pot* 'pot', *zijde* 'silk' – were borrowed at a later time from a Romance vernacular rather than from the Latin of antiquity, i.e. in the period between the fifth and the ninth century.

3.2. **Loanwords in Dutch**

3.2.1. *Old English influence*

There is one word that may or may not have come from Old English: *boot* 'boat'.

3.2.2. *Old Frisian influence*

There is one word that, because of its form, must come from Old Frisian: *eiland* 'island', reflecting the strong position Frisian held in the Middle Ages.

3.2.3. *Old Irish influence*

Irish missionaries christianizing the Low Countries in the seventh century left one Irish loanword behind: *klok* 'clock'.

3.2.4. *Old Norse maritime influence*

Through the fishing trade, Dutch native speakers towards the end of the Middle Ages came into contact with speakers of Old Norse, and learned, among others, the words *rif* 'reef' and *haai* 'shark'.

3.2.5. *French cultural influence*

As a neighboring language of Dutch from the earliest known times until today, French has had a great influence on the Dutch language, although in the 20<sup>th</sup> century that influence has markedly decreased in favor of English. That influence was not only felt in the Netherlands: for centuries France had set the tone in most of Europe in the fields of culture, fashion, nutrition, art, music and technology. Table 3 shows in what fields France has had the greatest influence on Dutch.

### 3.2.6. *Picardic oral influence*

French influence was effectuated through spoken contacts as well as through written works. The French variety spoken in northern France, Picardic, also influenced Dutch through oral contact among speakers living along the boundary between the Dutch and French/Picardic-speaking areas.

### 3.2.7. *High German influence*

The position of German is comparable to that of French: As a neighboring language, German has exerted its influence on Dutch since early on and until the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, though much less strongly than French, because in the past France had a much greater cultural and political impact on the Low Countries and all of Europe than Germany.

### 3.2.8. *Low German spoken loans*

Some words were borrowed in oral contact between speakers of the, very similar, Dutch and Low German dialects.

### 3.2.9. *Italian banking terms*

During the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, Italian bankers were very influential in the Low Countries, and traces have been preserved in the language, such as the words *bank* 'bank' and *nul* 'zero'.

### 3.2.10. *Colonial contacts*

#### *Portuguese and/or Spanish contacts*

The Portuguese and the Spaniards made voyages of discovery to new continents, even before the Dutch did – they got to know new animals and plants, of which they usually took over the local names. They traded some of them to Western Europe. In addition, from about 1600, the Dutch traveled to continents where there were already Portuguese and Spanish settlers. As a result, in that period Dutch took over various Portuguese and Spanish terms which derive from non-European languages.

#### *English colonial contacts*

In the colonial period, from about 1600, there were, in the newly discovered territories and continents, contacts between English and Dutch. English had taken over a number of words from indigenous languages, and subsequently Dutch came to

know these words from the English, partly in the colonies, partly after the English had brought these words to Europe. These words were borrowed between the 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the word *banyan* even more recently, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

#### *Trade contacts in colonial times*

From 1600, Dutch colonists settled in Asian territories – they traded with countries in Asia and the Middle East. They took over terms for the products of their trade from the languages spoken there.

#### 3.2.11. *English/American global influence*

From the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Great Britain and the United States gained more and more political, cultural and technological influence on the rest of the world. During this period, Dutch, like other languages, borrowed various international terms.

#### 3.2.12. *Medical and scientific Latin influence*

During the Middle Ages and until well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in Europe Latin was the international scientific and scholarly language in which, among others, medical works were written. This Latin was a written language, it was even spoken by scholars, but it was nobody's native language. Scientific Latin differed in details from classical Latin, and a host of new words were formed in it for new discoveries and inventions. Through the contacts between scientists and doctors on the one hand and laymen on the other, many Latin terms were introduced into Dutch. In this context, we should also mention the various loan translations that have found their way into the language: because the Latin word could not be understood by everyone, literal translations into Dutch were made – hence words like *noorderlicht* 'arctic lights', *duizendpoot* 'centipede', *baarmoeder* 'womb', *ruggengraat* 'spine', *leutelbeen* 'collarbone' and *vaderland* 'native country'.

## 4. Numbers and types of loanwords

The Dutch subdatabase contains 1513 words, of which 289 are certain loans, 8 dubious loans and 28 loan translations. This means that the number of loanwords is about 20%, more exactly: the influence of foreign languages lies between 19.5% and 21.5%.

Which languages had a substantial influence on Dutch? Merely French, Latin, German and English fall into this category (and only the certain loans are counted here). The influence of French, in which I will include that of Romance (an earlier phase of French) and Picardic (a northern French dialect), can be set at 36.7% of all



loanwords. The Latin loanwords (from Roman times, from Church Latin and from medical and scientific Latin) amount to 32.2% of all loanwords, the German ones (High and Low German together) 14.2% and English loans, finally, 7.6%. None of the other languages supplied more than 3%, most of them 1% or less.

Table 1 gives a survey of the loanwords subdivided as to language and semantic word class.

Table 1:  
Loanwords in Dutch by donor language and semantic word class (percentages)

	French	Latin	High or Low German	English	Other Romance languages	Celtic languages	Other	Total loanwords	Non-loanwords
Nouns	9.5	8.4	3.2	2.2	1.7	0.3	1.0	26.3	73.7
Verbs	2.3	3.2	1.7	0.3	-	-	-	7.5	92.5
Adjectives	4.0	2.4	3.2	-	-	0.8	-	10.4	89.6
Adverbs	-	-	20.0	-	-	-	-	20.0	80.0
Function words	1.0	-	-	-	1.0	-	-	2.1	97.9
all words	6.8	6.1	2.7	1.5	1.1	0.3	0.6	19.1	80.9

The conclusion is clear: the loans are mostly nouns, and this goes for the loans from all the languages. Although nouns form by far the largest word class in all languages and it should therefore not surprise us that they are borrowed most, it appears that also the *relative* number of borrowed nouns exceeds the other word classes: of the nouns, 26% are loanwords, whereas for all other classes the percentage is lower. The figures for the adverbs in Table 1 are misleading: in the subdatabase there are five adverbs in all, of which just one is a loanword – in such a small database that means as much as twenty per cent.

Some years ago, I looked into the relation native words versus loanwords in Dutch (van der Sijs 1998: 158–188). It is interesting to place those data beside the information from the Loanword Typology meaning list. The *Etymologisch Woordenboek* (EWB) contains 25.1% native words, 73.9% loanwords and 1% other words (words whose origin is unknown, letter words, etc.). Now, the entries in this dictionary were selected from an etymological point of view, which means that on the whole, only non-compound and non-derived words were included; this of course influences the outcome.

I also calculated the percentage of loanwords of the word types occurring in an average Dutch newspaper text. The number of loanwords in the newspaper text was 30.7%. These loanwords I categorized on the basis of language of origin. For comparison I give the percentages from the EWB. The loanwords from the Romance languages (especially French and Latin) were taken together, as in these cases one cannot always tell for certain what the source language was.

Table 2: Percentage of loanwords in a newspaper text and in an etymological dictionary (EWB)

	% of loanwords		% of all words	
	Newspaper	EWB	Newspaper	EWB
Romance	82.1	68.6	25.2	50.7
English	7.4	10.3	2.3	7.6
German	6.8	6.2	2.1	4.6
Other	3.7	14.9	1.1	11.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>30.7</b>	<b>73.9</b>
Native/rest			69.3	26.1
<b>Total</b>			<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

In other words: in an etymological dictionary, 73.9% of the words are loans, in a newspaper text 30.7% and in the Loanword Typology list 19.1%. The conclusion is inevitable: although there are many loanwords in our dictionaries, only part of them are actually used daily. The difference between the percentage of loanwords in a Dutch newspaper text (30%) and that in the Loanword Typology list can no doubt be accounted for because in a newspaper text we find reference being made to modern developments, inventions, techniques etc., which are as a rule indicated by a loanword. The Loanword Typology meaning list on the other hand contains relatively many words of the so-called central vocabulary: words for man's everyday environment – and such words are in Dutch more often native words than loanwords.

In Table 3, the percentages of native words and loanwords are subcategorized into 24 semantic fields.

I should add that the absolute numbers of words are really too small to make definite statements about the influence of foreign languages in individual semantic fields. Still, some details are striking: there are few loanwords in the fields of *Kinship*, *The body*, *Quantity*, *Sense perception*, and *Law*. There are no borrowed function words at all – at any rate not among the entries of the subdatabase, although Dutch did borrow a few function words.

More loanwords than average are to be found in the semantic fields *Animals*, *Food and drink*, *The house* and *Agriculture and vegetation*, but there are only two categories where the number of loanwords is really substantial: *Religion and belief* and *Modern world*. This need not surprise us: Christianity was spread together with Latin, and until today, Latin has played an important role in Roman Catholicism. And our modern world is internationally oriented – inventions are mostly made outside Dutch-speaking countries, and are then usually incorporated in the Low Countries with their foreign names. Another striking feature is that the influence of English may be called substantial only in the field *Modern world* – this reflects the great technological and cultural influence of Great Britain and the United States after World War II.

Table 3:  
Loanwords in Dutch by donor language and semantic field (percentages)

	French	Latin	High or Low German	English	Other Romance languages	Celtic languages	Other languages	Total loanwords	Non-loanwords
1 The physical world	15.2	-	2.5	1.3	-	-	2.5	21.5	78.5
2 Kinship	2.9	1.5	1.5	1.5	-	-	-	7.4	92.6
3 Animals	9.9	4.1	2.5	3.3	4.1	-	0.8	24.7	75.3
4 The body	3.0	4.9	1.2	0.6	-	-	-	9.7	90.3
5 Food and drink	6.2	15.4	-	1.2	1.2	-	-	24.1	75.9
6 Clothing and grooming	11.3	9.7	6.5	-	3.2	-	-	30.6	69.4
7 The house	9.8	21.6	5.9	-	2.0	-	-	39.2	60.8
8 Agriculture and vegetation	6.3	9.5	-	3.8	6.3	-	2.5	28.5	71.5
9 Basic actions and technology	2.4	3.7	1.2	1.2	-	2.4	1.2	12.2	87.8
10 Motion	2.5	3.8	1.3	2.5	1.3	-	-	11.4	88.6
11 Possession	2.1	8.3	-	-	-	2.1	-	12.4	87.6
12 Spatial relations	5.1	5.1	2.5	-	-	-	-	12.7	87.3
13 Quantity	-	2.6	-	-	2.6	-	-	5.1	94.9
14 Time	7.8	3.1	1.6	-	-	1.6	-	14.1	85.9
15 Sense perception	4.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.0	96
16 Emotions and values	7.8	2.0	7.8	-	-	-	-	17.6	82.4
17 Cognition	5.2	8.6	6.9	-	-	-	-	20.7	79.3
18 Speech and language	6.7	6.7	6.7	-	-	-	-	20.2	79.8
19 Social and political relations	4.8	4.8	9.6	-	-	-	-	19.3	80.7
20 Warfare and hunting	6.9	4.6	4.6	-	-	-	-	16.1	83.9
21 Law	-	-	3.8	-	-	-	-	3.8	96.2
22 Religion and belief	6.8	23.7	6.8	-	-	-	3.4	40.7	59.3
23 Modern world	29.3	8.6	1.7	13.8	1.7	-	3.4	58.6	41.4
24 Miscellaneous function words	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0	100
<b>all words</b>	<b>6.8</b>	<b>6.1</b>	<b>2.7</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>1.1</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>0.6</b>	<b>19.1</b>	<b>80.9</b>

The influence of French, too, is strikingly great in the *Modern world*, more than twice as great, even, as English. This is due to the French cultural influence on the Low Countries having been much more long-lasting than the English: from the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards there has been French influence. In addition, French is represented impressively in *The physical world* – the flat Low Countries did not have special words for phenomena like *baai* ‘bay’, *grot* ‘cave’, *kaap* ‘cape’, *lagune* ‘lagoon’, *ocean* ‘ocean’, *rivier* ‘river’ or *vallei* ‘valley’. Finally, the share of French loanwords in *Clothing and grooming* is substantial, thanks to French fashion. Table 3 does not show that the influence of French in the field *Kinship* is more than average – this is because only loanwords and no loan translations were included, leaving out of con-

sideration the fact that quite a few terms for members of the family were modeled on French terms: *grootvader* 'grandfather', *grootmoeder* 'grandmother', *grootouders* 'grandparents', *kleinkind* 'grandchild', *kleinzoon* 'grandson', *kleindochter* 'granddaughter', *schoonvader* 'father-in-law', *schoonmoeder* 'mother-in-law', *schoonzoon* 'son-in-law', *schoondochter* 'daughter-in-law', *schoonouders* 'parents-in-law', *schoonkind* 'child-in-law', *schoonbroer* 'brother-in-law' and *schoonzuster* 'sister-in-law'.

The influence of Latin is greatest in *The house* – which is not surprising, since the Romans taught the Germans the technique of the building of brick houses – and *Religion and belief* (see above).

From the data, no specific influence of German in specific semantic fields becomes apparent; the German influence spread fairly regularly over a large group of word fields. The influence of other languages is too small for me to be able to make pronouncements about them.

## 5. Integration of loanwords

Loanwords have always immediately been adapted to Dutch. The Latin loanwords that were borrowed in the period of the Roman Empire and the words from Church Latin were so thoroughly adapted that they are in no way recognizable as loanwords, and only etymologists can determine their origin. On the other hand, words from scholarly, scientific and medical Latin are usually recognizable in spelling and pronunciation.

French loanwords, too, have been adapted to Dutch, but because of the large number of French loanwords, several loan phonemes have developed in Dutch, such as the /zj/ in *etage* 'floor' or *jaloëzie* 'envy' and the /sj/ in *machine*. Moreover, the large influx of French loanwords has contributed to Dutch words getting a free accent pattern, with the accent sometimes on the final syllable – in Germanic, the accent was, in principle, always on the first syllable of the root.

German loanwords are in general immediately changed to Dutch morpheme shapes – thus, *Fremdling* 'stranger' is 'dutchified' to *vreemdeling*. The result is that German loanwords are less easily recognizable as such than loanwords from other languages.

Finally, English loanwords, which are relatively young, have been adapted least to Dutch – resulting in a discrepancy between spelling and pronunciation. Most English loanwords retain the English spelling and pronunciation in Dutch: for example, *a* is pronounced /a/ in Dutch words and in naturalized loanwords, but in English loanwords it is /ee/ (*baby*) or /e/ (*jaguar*), two vowel sounds which have for centuries had the spelling *ee* or *e*. There is a small group of Dutch speakers who are opposed to English loanwords, which are easily recognized as such – this is not likely to be successful, since earlier objections against German loanwords never caused these to disappear.

Because Dutch has always borrowed words from other languages, keeping at first the spelling of the other languages intact, a problem has arisen with the spelling of

so-called bastard words, i.e. words borrowed from other languages (especially French and Latin) that have not completely been integrated yet. Dutch has, for instance, the letters *c*, *q*, *x* and *y*, which occur only in non-native words, it also has a different spelling for various sounds. Thus, in native words and integrated loanwords the sound /k/ is spelled *k*, but in bastard words as *c* (cf. the native *vlakke* 'the plain' versus the loan word *insect*). At regular intervals, proposals are made for spelling reforms, which invariably lead to a heated public debate. The greatest problems there concern the bastard words.

## 6. Grammatical borrowing

The influence of other languages on Dutch syntax is hard to establish, although it is certain to have occurred in the present and in the past. Research in this field is ongoing, and scholars are not agreed on the question in how far language changes occur autonomously or are/can be influenced in greater or smaller measure by other languages. It is certain, for instance, that an expression like *de heetste herfst ooit*, which was introduced recently to replace *de allerheetste herfst*, is a literal translation of English *the hottest autumn ever*. It is also a fact that German and English had and in part still have, a certain influence on Dutch word formation. These two related Germanic languages have so many points of correspondence with Dutch that their word formation patterns can be copied fairly easily. In the past, loan translations were made from French and Latin, with the word formation of these languages being copied; among the entries of the Loanword Typology list, too, we find such loan translations (they are given at the end of the Loanword Appendix).

Finally, French has for centuries influenced the Dutch of Belgium, notably the inter-language and dialects, and to a lesser extent also the Belgian Dutch standard language, not only in its vocabulary but also in its syntax. Such gallicisms are rejected in the standard language whenever possible, and they cause a great deal of vexation. In 20th-century Belgium, many linguistic advisory books have been published with the aim of resisting the influence of French.

## 7. Conclusion

The greatest influence on Dutch came from neighboring French, and from Latin, which had for a few centuries been spoken in the south of the Low Countries, and has since then for centuries played a major role as the language of science and religion. After these two, the greatest influence has come from neighboring German and English (in that order). In these days, the influence of English on Dutch is still on the increase ~ the word material selected on the Loanword Typology meaning list does not show this, however.

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## Loanword Appendix

### A. LOANWORDS

		English			
		<i>lucifer</i>	match	<i>boemerang</i>	boomerang
<b>Akkadian</b>		<i>baby</i>	baby	<i>boot</i>	boat (perhaps borrowed)
<i>zilver</i>	silver	<i>jaguar</i>	jaguar	<i>outrigger</i>	outrigger
		<i>kangoeroe</i>	kangaroo	<i>peddel</i>	paddle
<b>Celtic</b>		<i>alligator</i>	alligator	<i>radio</i>	radio
<i>bok</i>	he-goat (perhaps borrowed)	<i>opossum</i>	opossum	<i>televisie</i>	television
<i>ijzer</i>	iron	<i>seks hebben</i>	to have sex	<i>auto</i>	car
<i>lood</i>	lead	<i>lunch</i>	lunch	<i>bus</i>	bus
<i>rijk</i>	rich	<i>lasso</i>	lasso	<i>wc</i>	toilet
<i>eed</i>	oath (perhaps borrowed)	<i>banyan</i>	banyan	<i>plastic</i>	plastic
		<i>yam</i>	yam	<i>film</i>	film/movie

<i>trein</i>	train	<i>ceintuur</i>	belt	<i>barnas</i>	armour
<b>French</b>		<i>juweel</i>	jewel	<i>fee</i>	fairy, elf
<i>vallei</i>	valley	<i>kraal</i>	bead	<i>moskee</i>	mosque
<i>grot</i>	cave	<i>tent</i>	tent	<i>post (2)</i>	post/mail
<i>baai</i>	bay	<i>lamp</i>	lamp or torch	<i>krant</i>	newspaper
<i>rivier</i>	river, stream	<i>kussen</i>	pillow	<i>telefoon</i>	telephone
<i>vlam</i>	flame	<i>rijst</i>	rice	<i>elektriciteit</i>	electricity
<i>kalm</i>	calm	<i>cassave</i>	cassava/manioc	<i>machine</i>	machine
<i>oceaan</i>	ocean	<i>maniok</i>	cassava/manioc	<i>injectie</i>	injection
<i>lagune</i>	lagoon	<i>kalebass</i>	gourd	<i>president</i>	president
<i>kaap</i>	cape	<i>pompoen</i>	pumpkin, squash	<i>minister</i>	minister
<i>savanne</i>	savanna	<i>tapijt</i>	rug	<i>politie</i>	police
<i>tante</i>	aunt	<i>rollen</i>	to roll	<i>toilet</i>	toilet
<i>familie</i>	relatives	<i>dansen</i>	to dance	<i>matras</i>	mattress
<i>beest</i>	animal	<i>prijs</i>	price	<i>schroef</i>	screw
<i>olifant</i>	elephant	<i>plaats</i>	place	<i>sigaret</i>	cigarette
<i>insect</i>	insect	<i>resten</i>	remains	<i>muziek</i>	music
<i>krokodil</i>	crocodile	<i>plat</i>	flat	<i>batterij</i>	battery
<i>papegaai</i>	parrot	<i>rond</i>	round	<i>adres</i>	address
<i>konijn</i>	rabbit	<i>direct</i>	immediately	<i>bom</i>	bomb
<i>dolfijn</i>	porpoise, dolphin	<i>zich haasten</i>	to hurry	<b>Greek</b>	
<i>schorpioen</i>	scorpion	<i>uur</i>	hour	<i>kerk</i>	church
<i>termiet</i>	termites	<i>seizoen</i>	season	<b>High German</b>	
<i>kariboe</i>	reindeer/caribou	<i>duren</i>	to last	<i>bron</i>	spring, well
<i>kameleon</i>	chameleon	<i>proeven</i>	to taste	<i>sintel</i>	embers
<i>buffel</i>	buffalo	<i>kleur</i>	colour/color	<i>verwanten</i>	relatives
<i>pissen</i>	to piss	<i>jaloerie</i>	envy, jealousy	<i>adelaar</i>	eagle
<i>roos</i>	dandruff	<i>juist</i>	right	<i>rendier</i>	reindeer/caribou
<i>bek</i>	beak	<i>fout</i>	mistake	<i>eland</i>	elk/moose
<i>palm (2)</i>	palm of the hand	<i>gulzig</i>	greedy	<i>arts</i>	physician
<i>kadaver</i>	carcass	<i>idee</i>	idea	<i>gif</i>	poison
<i>diner</i>	dinner	<i>manier</i>	manner	<i>spindel</i>	spindle
<i>soep</i>	soup	<i>imiteren</i>	to imitate	<i>sok</i>	sock, stocking
<i>fruit</i>	fruit	<i>papier</i>	paper	<i>sluier</i>	veil
<i>vijg</i>	fig	<i>fluit</i>	flute	<i>sieraad</i>	adornment
<i>suiker</i>	sugar	<i>trompet</i>	horn, trumpet	<i>hut</i>	hut
<i>stof</i>	cloth	<i>meester</i>	master	<i>kachel</i>	stove
<i>katoen</i>	cotton	<i>prostitutee</i>	prostitute	<i>kaars</i>	candle
<i>jurk</i>	(woman's) dress	<i>soldaat</i>	soldier	<i>kapot</i>	broken
		<i>katapult</i>	sling		



<i>wikkelen</i>	to wrap	<i>testikels</i>	testicles	<i>specie</i>	mortar
<i>verzamelen</i>	to gather	<i>dokter</i>	physician	<i>oogst</i>	harvest
<i>spits</i>	pointed	<i>medicijn</i>	medicine	<i>graan</i>	grain
<i>langzaam</i>	slow	<i>pols</i>	wrist	<i>plant</i>	plant
<i>pech</i>	bad luck	<i>penis</i>	penis	<i>palm (1)</i>	palm tree
<i>medelijden</i>	pity	<i>vagina</i>	vagina	<i>planten</i>	to plant
<i>trots</i>	proud	<i>vulva</i>	vulva	<i>sorghum</i>	millet, sorghum
<i>gevaar</i>	danger	<i>pus</i>	puss	<i>lariks</i>	larch
<i>begrijpen</i>	to understand	<i>koken</i>	to cook, to boil	<i>keten</i>	chain
<i>zich herinneren</i>	to remember	<i>ketel</i>	keettle	<i>koper</i>	copper
<i>geheim</i>	secret	<i>pan</i>	pan	<i>mat</i>	mat
<i>oorzaak</i>	cause	<i>kop</i>	cup (perhaps borrowed)	<i>pin</i>	peg (perhaps borrowed)
<i>trommel</i>	drum	<i>schotel</i>	saucer	<i>kar</i>	cart, wagon
<i>trom</i>	drum	<i>vork</i>	fork, pitchfork	<i>riem</i>	oar
<i>stotteren</i>	to stutter, stammer	<i>peilen</i>	to peel	<i>anker</i>	anchor
<i>heersen</i>	to rule, to govern	<i>molen</i>	mill	<i>munst</i>	coin
<i>binderlaag</i>	ambush	<i>olijf</i>	olive	<i>salaris</i>	wages
<i>straf</i>	punishment	<i>olie</i>	oil	<i>kopen</i>	to buy
<i>beks</i>	sorcerer, witch	<i>peper</i>	pepper	<i>markt</i>	market
<i>elf</i>	fairy, elf	<i>kaas</i>	cheese	<i>kant</i>	side, edge
<i>kalender</i>	calendar	<i>boter</i>	butter	<i>kort</i>	short
		<i>wijn</i>	wine	<i>kruis</i>	cross
		<i>bier</i>	beer (perhaps borrowed)	<i>cirkel</i>	circle
<b>Hokkien or Malay</b>		<i>bont</i>	fur	<i>paar</i>	pair
<i>thee</i>	tea	<i>mantel</i>	cloak	<i>klaar</i>	ready
<b>Indonesian</b>		<i>mutz</i>	hat, cap	<i>zaterdag</i>	Saturday
<i>bamboe</i>	bamboo	<i>zak</i>	pocket	<i>pijn</i>	pain
<b>Italian</b>		<i>speld</i>	pin	<i>school</i>	school
<i>nul</i>	zero	<i>spiegel</i>	mirror	<i>zeker</i>	certain
<i>bank</i>	bank	<i>keuken</i>	cookhouse	<i>proberen</i>	to try
		<i>kamer</i>	room	<i>trachten</i>	to try
<b>Latin</b>		<i>poort</i>	door, gate	<i>studeren</i>	to study
<i>persoon</i>	person	<i>venster</i>	window	<i>schrijven</i>	to write
<i>paard</i>	horse	<i>muur</i>	wall	<i>pen</i>	pen
<i>ezel</i>	donkey	<i>tafel</i>	table	<i>dichter</i>	poet
<i>kat</i>	cat	<i>post (1)</i>	post	<i>regeren</i>	to rule, to govern
<i>leeuw</i>	lion	<i>paal</i>	post	<i>slaaf</i>	slave
<i>kameel</i>	camel	<i>metselaar</i>	mason	<i>pijl</i>	arrow
		<i>mortel</i>	mortar	<i>toren</i>	tower

<i>tempel</i>	temple
<i>altaar</i>	altar
<i>offer</i>	sacrifice
<i>priester</i>	priest
<i>preken</i>	to preach
<i>zegenen</i>	to bless
<i>demon</i>	demon
<i>pil</i>	pill, tablet
<i>bril</i>	spectacles/glasses
<i>brief</i>	letter
<i>motor</i>	motor
<i>straat</i>	street

**Low German**

<i>jas</i>	cloak, coat (perhaps borrowed)
<i>grens</i>	boundary

**Old Frisian**

<i>eiland</i>	island
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**Old Irish**

<i>klok</i>	clock
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**Old Norse**

<i>rif</i>	reef
<i>baai</i>	shark

**Old Slavic**

<i>rogge</i>	rye
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**Picardic**

<i>moeras</i>	swamp
<i>rots</i>	stone, rock
<i>kous</i>	sock, stocking
<i>plank</i>	shelf, board
<i>kamp</i>	camp
<i>boetseren</i>	to mould/mold

**Portuguese**

<i>kakkerlak</i>	cockroach
<i>banaan</i>	banana

**Portuguese or Spanish**

<i>tapir</i>	tapir
<i>musket</i>	mosquito

**Romance**

<i>pot</i>	pot
<i>zijde</i>	silk
<i>pijp</i>	pipe

**Spanish**

<i>toekan</i>	toucan
<i>coyote</i>	coyote
<i>poncho</i>	poncho
<i>hangmat</i>	hammock
<i>maïs</i>	maize/corn
<i>tabak</i>	tobacco
<i>bataat</i>	sweet potato
<i>kano</i>	canoe

**Turkish**

<i>koffie</i>	coffee
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**B. CALQUES****French**

<i>kleinkind</i>	grandchild
<i>grootvader</i>	grandfather
<i>grootmoeder</i>	grandmother
<i>kleinzoon</i>	grandson
<i>kleindochter</i>	granddaughter
<i>schoonvader</i>	father-in-law
<i>schoonmoeder</i>	mother-in-law
<i>schoonzoon</i>	son-in-law
<i>schoondochter</i>	daughter-in-law

<i>schoonouders</i>	parents-in-law
<i>grootouders</i>	grandparents
<i>schoonkind</i>	child-in-law
<i>schoonbroer</i>	brother-in-law
<i>schoonzuster</i>	sister-in-law
<i>kleinkind</i>	grandchild
<i>grootvader</i>	grandfather
<i>grootmoeder</i>	grandmother
<i>kleinzoon</i>	grandson
<i>kleindochter</i>	granddaughter
<i>schoonvader</i>	father-in-law
<i>schoonmoeder</i>	mother-in-law
<i>schoonzoon</i>	son-in-law
<i>schoondochter</i>	daughter-in-law
<i>schoonouders</i>	parents-in-law
<i>grootouders</i>	grandparents
<i>schoonkind</i>	child-in-law
<i>schoonbroer</i>	brother-in-law
<i>schoonzuster</i>	sister-in-law

**Italian or High German**

<i>vasteland</i>	mainland
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**Latin**

<i>noorderlicht</i>	arctic lights
<i>duizendpoot</i>	centipede
<i>baarmoeder</i>	womb
<i>ruggengraat</i>	spine
<i>sleutelbeen</i>	collarbone
<i>zondag</i>	Sunday
<i>maandag</i>	Monday
<i>dinsdag</i>	Tuesday
<i>woensdag</i>	Wednesday
<i>donderdag</i>	Thursday
<i>vrijdag</i>	Friday
<i>vaderland</i>	native country
<i>aanbidden</i>	to worship