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# ENGLISH IN EUROPE

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*Edited by*  
MANFRED GÖRLACH

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# DUTCH

*Amand Berteloot and Nicoline van der Sijs*

## 3.1 History of language contact

### 3.1.1 Chronology of intensive influence

(Bense 1924; Gerritsen 1986; Koenen and Smits 1992; Posthumus 1986; De Vooy's 1925, 1946–56, 1951; Zandvoort 1964)

The oldest contacts between the Netherlands and England date back to the Middle Ages. In the eighth century the Netherlands were Christianized by Anglo-Saxon monks such as Willibrordus and Bonifatius. English loanwords from this period are *delgen* 'delete', *ootmoed* 'humility', and *bisschop*. About the year 1000 English colonists settled along the Flemish coast. They are, according to Heeroma (1952), responsible for approximately twenty loanwords, such as *brijn* 'brine', *kreek*, and *wulk* 'whelk'. However, Dutch immigrants also came to England from the Netherlands, in particular from Flanders. Thus the oldest Dutch sentence 'Hebban olla vogala nestas hagunnan...' (Have all the birds started their nests...) was written by a West Flemish monk in an English monastery. Economic contacts between England and the Netherlands were intensive, too. The cloth industry in the southern part depended strongly on English wool and this repeatedly led to political conflicts. Craftsmen from the Continent settled in England and English traders visited Dutch towns. One of the earliest English printers, William Caxton, learned his trade in Cologne and in Bruges, and the texts he printed included some works which he himself translated from Dutch.

Marriages between the Dutch and English nobility also exerted some linguistic influence. However, the import of English loanwords remained restricted to certain domains such as seafaring, with words like *dok* 'dock', *dreg* 'drag', *loods* 'pilot',

This chapter is based for a major part on Sijs (1996, in particular 294–353); the work will not be mentioned any further.

and *praaien* 'hail'. Trade contacts brought in words such as *bill*, *factor*, *money*, and *okshoofd*, a measure rendering English *hogshead*. Many of these words are completely assimilated today and thus hardly recognizable as loanwords.

During the war against Spain many refugees from the Netherlands crossed the Channel in order to continue their fight from the British Isles. When Antwerp was lost in 1585, the southern part of the Netherlands fell to the Spaniards and was governed alternately by the Spaniards, Austrians, and French. Consequently, direct English influence declined considerably and up to the twentieth century nearly all English loanwords were imported via French.

In contrast, the northern part retained independence, which was consolidated in the so-called 'Peace of Münster' in 1648. The republic attracted various Englishmen like Sir Philip Sidney and Ben Jonson, but also traders, scholars, and refugees. About the year 1600 English actors who were travelling on the Continent performed plays in Holland. Nevertheless, the number of English loanwords remained very small and they were not permanent.

The English and the Dutch competed all over the world in the seventeenth century. As a consequence, the English language started to influence Dutch and continued to do so for a long period. Many loanwords entered Dutch from Britain and from the languages of the English colonies. Increasing tensions between Britain and the 'Verenigde Nederlanden' on the world market resulted in the wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Despite the close dynastic relations with the royal family, English influence remained restricted to the nobility while French predominated at the Dutch court. In the seventeenth century the first Dutch-English/English-Dutch dictionaries were published.

In the eighteenth century, English culture, fashion, and literature started to influence continental societies. The economic ideas of scholars such as Adam Smith and American democratic thoughts entered the scene. However, the total number of loanwords was still fairly small, probably because of the existence of many familiar French equivalents. Religious designations from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries include *quaker*, *methodist*, and *puritan*. Fashionable words of the time are *flip*, *hornpipe* (later *horlepipp* or *horlepiep*), *nonsens*, *rosbief*, *sociëteit*. Other words from the same period are *kerrie* 'curry', *port* 'port-wine', and *koffiehuis*, a translation of English *coffee-house*.

Apart from Romantic literature, which gave Dutch a few loanwords such as *ballade*, *bombast*, *essay(ist)*, *folklore*, *humor(ist)*, English influence in the nineteenth century increased all over Europe in other domains, too. Dutch borrowed English words mainly in four domains – from shipping: *alle hens* (*all hands*), *coaster*, *klipper*, *pier*, *reling*; industry: *hendel*; railways: *buffer*, *cokes*, *lorrie*, *rails*, *tender*, *tram*, *trein*, *trolley*, *tunnel*; and parliamentary affairs: *boycotten*, *budget*, *club*, *debating-club*, *jury*, *lobbyen*, *meeting*, *platform*.

After 1840 English began to invade private and informal spheres. English names such as *Betsy*, *Mary*, *Nelly*, *Bob*, and *Willy* came to be preferred to French ones. Non-technical words started to be borrowed, such as *beauty*, *bluf*, *blunder*, *dandy*, *down*, *plenty*, *puzzel*, *shocking*, *snob*, *spleen*, *tipsy*, and *would-be*. At the end of the nineteenth century the English influence was still unimportant, as is illustrated by te Winkel (1901), who devoted only one page to English loanwords, claiming that

'although the words which Dutch has taken over from English are directly imported from the language, their number is smaller than one might expect'.

From the end of the nineteenth century onwards the influence quickly extended to other domains and the number of loanwords increased rapidly. Important domains affected were: sports, trade, insurance business, advertising, literary scholarship, publishing, office equipment and organization, and various fields in the informal sphere.

After 1945 'the American way of life' became a model for the rest of the world, America spreading its culture (music, film, literature), its political and economic ideas, and technology. English became the common language of international organizations and companies as well as of science and an obligatory subject at school, taking over the position of French as a prestigious international language. Old and new domains include: transportation and tourism, technology and chemistry, academic and scientific terms, photography, film and television, domestic words (housing, nutrition, clothing, hygiene, physical culture, and 'lifestyle'), drug users' jargon, music, business, politics, and military terms.

### 3.1.2 *Origins of influence*

Due to the great similarity of BrE and AmE and the fact that BrE is influenced by AmE, it is hardly possible to discover from which variety an individual word was borrowed. A distinction will here be made only where this is relevant. Words which were recently borrowed from America very often come from specific fields such as music, drugs, computer technology, telecommunication, or words from informal speech.

### 3.1.3 *Types of influence*

English influence is mostly in form of loanwords (but cf. ss. 3.3.8 and 3.4.2).

Some English loanwords have come to be restricted to the first or second position in Dutch compounds, often forming hybrids: *-burger* (*baconburger*, *cheeseburger*/*kaasburger*), *-freak* (*filmfreak*, *milieufreak*), *-minded* (*kunstminded*, *sportminded*), and *-stop* (*loonstop* 'wage-freeze'), as against *all-in-* (*all-in-prijs*), *baby-* (*babypiano*), *budget-* (*budgethotel*), *disco-* (*discomode*), *fancy-* (*fancyprijsen*), *fitness-* (*fitnesscentrum*), *indoor-* (*indoorbaan*), *instant-* (*instantpoeder*), *live-* (*live-optreden* 'live performance'), *top-* (*topattractie*), and *wild-west-* (*wild-westverhaal* 'wild west story'). Swearwords are used in a completely novel way in compounds: *fuck-* (*fuckmuziek*), *shit-* (*shitfilm*); also note the Latin-derived elements *mini-*, *maxi-*, and *video-* which are largely transmitted through English.

Four translated English words have become productive first elements in Dutch: *bijna-* as a translation of English *near-* in: *bijna-akkoord* ('near-agreement'); *doe-het-zelf-* as a translation of *do-it-yourself* in: *doe-het-zelf-centrum*, *doe-het-zelf-winkel*; *eersteklas-* as the translation of *first class* in: *eersteklassigaren* ('first class cigars'); and *zelfbedienings-* as the translation of English *self service* in *zelfbedieningsbedrijf*.

English influence is also responsible for compounds no longer being written in one word, names in particular, as in *Rijks Inkoop Bureau* for *Rijksinkoopbureau*.

The fact that many of these names are abbreviated (e.g. *RIB*) probably contributed to their separation. Computer terms are also frequently written as two words: *beeldscherm emulatie* ('screen emulation'). Today, one can even buy a *kogel biefstuk* ('round steak') and *braad worst* at the butcher's.

Two kinds of compounds were prompted by German, but their productivity is now mainly due to English influence: noun participle combinations, such as *zonverbrand*, are possibly borrowed from German *sonnenverbrannt*, but have an equivalent in English *sunburnt*. Dutch *handgemaakt* was probably calqued on *handmade*. The popularity of these compounds is caused by the fact that they are precise and short, whereas alternatives (*met de hand gemaakt* etc.) are much too cumbersome. The second type are compounds like *Afrika-reizen*, *het Hite-rapport* which consist of a name and a noun.

Productive idioms which developed under English influence include: *ik ben bang dat* ('I am afraid...') and *er werden* [by a hurricane] *drie mensen gedood* ('three people were killed')—originally Dutch used *gedood worden* ('to be killed') only in the sense 'to be killed by a crime'. A very popular idiom is *de...-ste ooit* ('the... ever'): *de warmste novembermaand ooit* ('the warmest November ever').

There are also translations from English using past tense instead of present perfect; whether these will result in a change of the Dutch system is impossible to say.

### 3.1.4 Chronology of purist phases

Since the sixteenth century there have been occasional objections to the use of foreign words, as in the two dictionaries *Vocabularius van sommige utlantsche woorden* by Jan van Mussem and the *Tresoor der Duytscher Talen* by Jan van de Werve (both 1553). Various other authors were involved in the battle against the 'corruption' of the Dutch language, Latin and French words forming the main butt of their activities.

In the nineteenth century the great number of German loanwords caused reactions, but not so much in Flanders, where French influence was felt to be most dangerous. English was of no great importance before the end of the nineteenth century although the number of loanwords was no longer small. In his *Bastaardwoordenboek* (Dictionary of Foreign Words) of 1895 Jan Broeckaert registered only 47 real English loanwords out of an estimated total number of 81,000 foreign words (0.06 per cent); these included *beefsteak*, *boksen*, *clown*, *club*, *coke*, *dandy*, *fancy-fair*, *high life*, *interview*, *lunch*, *meeting*, *partner*, *punch* (> *pons*), *rail(way)*, *square*, *ticket*, *toast*, *tunnel*, *waggon*.

In the twentieth century, particularly during and after the Second World War, the purist movement also turned against English. The main butt was so-called 'anglicismen': words, expressions, or constructions which conflict with Dutch structural principles, such as (NEN 5050 1994): *frontpagina*, *onderlijnen*, *pijplijn*. Some words are only rejected because their meaning expanded under English influence, like *conservatief* 'careful', *typisch* 'representative', and *uitvinden* 'choose'. The resistance to numerous other loanwords appears to be rather ineffectual.

Many of the suggested replacements of English loanwords had no chance of success due to their complexity or vagueness: *bulkcarrier* was to be replaced by



*vrachtschip voor stortgoed* or *massa-goedschip*, and *botsballon* was recently tried for *airbag*.

### 3.1.5 Geographic differences

(Cohen 1996)

The southern Dutch language area was exposed to massive French influence for centuries. The number of English loanwords in Flanders has been smaller than in the north for a long time and most of these were borrowed via French; in consequence they differ in pronunciation and intonation from English as well as from northern forms. Such imports included quasi-English words from French like *living* 'living room'. Some words differ in meaning in north and south: *flat* (in the north pronounced as [flet] and in the south as [flat]) is in the north used for an apartment in which all rooms are located on one floor and which is part of a multi-storey building; in the south a *flat* has only one sleeping room. *Camera* in the south only denotes a film- and not a photo-camera. In addition, English loanwords are considerably less popular in Flanders, especially colloquial words and words from the drug scene such as *shit*, *shot*, *(drug)scene*, *coffeeshop*. By contrast, there are a few words which are used in Flanders but do not occur in the Netherlands (or are rare), such as *holdup*, *baxter*, and some derivatives ending in *-ing* (*building*, *roofing*, *scouting*, *dispatching*).

The plural of nouns in *-en* is more frequent in Flanders than in the Netherlands, whereas verbs are more often assimilated by using the (originally French) suffix *-eren*: *boycotteren*, *recycleren*, *handicapperen*, *relaxeren*. The latter makes the formation of past participles more 'Dutch' than in the north: *gedeteerd* vs. *gedeletet*.

Reactions to foreign words in Flanders are still dominated by a rejection of French words, and much less of German and English words. It is commonly held in Flanders that the people from the north adopt English words too easily.

### 3.1.6 Stylistic differences

In the beginning, terms relating to industrial processes and products and sports were borrowed from English. Although many technical terms continue to be taken over, particularly from the field of pop music, computing, and drugs, from 1840 on colloquial words were taken over in ever increasing numbers (de Vooy 1951: 24). They are now encountered in all fields, but especially in journalism and youth language. Recently it has become fashionable to use ephemeral, non-integrated loanwords: *die danst bad!* ('he dances badly'), *dat kun je wel shaken* ('forget it'). Additionally, funny 'translations' are popular among teenagers: *hear you* becomes *hoor je*, *heavy* becomes *heftig*, *peanuts* becomes *pinda's* 'trifle', and *see you* becomes *zie je*. Most of these words quickly make way for other new English fashionable expressions.

Popular words in yuppie language are: *bingo!*, *commitment*, *cool*, *deal*, *dammit*, *fake*, *loser*, *overstatement/understatement*, *relaxed*, *stressen*. Homosexuals use

English words in many contexts: *backroom* and *darkroom*, *buddy*, *buggerie* (besides the Dutchified form *bogger* 'sodomite'), *cockring*, *dijk* and *dyke* 'lesbian', the invective *fruitcake*, *gay*, *gesbian* (a combination of *gay* and *lesbian*), *nursing* 'play doctor', *one night stand*, *piercing*, *queer*, *safe-seks*, *spanking*, *straight*.

English influence on Dutch slang dates to the beginning of this century. The relevant Dutch dictionary by Endt (1974) mentions the following words: *afnokken* (from *to knock off*, sailor's slang), *aftaaien* (from *to tie (up)*), *bietsen* (from *beachcomber*), 't (*helemaal*) *maken* (from *to make it*), *te mats* 'too expensive, too crazy' (possibly from *too much*), *stuf* 'drugs', and *tipsie*.

### 3.1.7 Innovation and obsolescence

(Claus and Tældeman 1989)

Before 1945 the Dutch knew far fewer English than French and German loanwords. The number of Anglicisms began to rise from the 1970s on. However, many English loanwords are ephemeral; the words tend to disappear after some time; they are either translated, or replaced by a Dutch equivalent, as *football* was by *voetbal*.

The number of English loanwords has recently become a matter of some concern. The Dutch language, it is feared, may lose its identity. Claus and Tældeman (1989) showed that the number of English words in Dutch dictionaries rose from 0.16 per cent between 1898 and 1924 to 0.75 per cent between 1971 and 1976, and there was a sudden increase to 2.95 per cent between 1977 and 1984 (partly reflecting greater tolerance in the lexicographers). The number of words which are used only for a short period is probably much greater. However, the fear that Dutch is being flooded by English words is clearly not justified.

The latest developments show that some English loanwords push out older French ones: greeting formulas such as *adieu*, *au revoir* are being replaced by *bye*, *so long*; *boetiek/boutique* by *shop*; *coiffeur* by *hair stylist*; *dejeuneren* by *lunchen*; *hausse* by *boom*; *pardon* by *sorry*; *potpourri* by *medley*; *verifiëren* by *checken*. Some words which were originally borrowed from French are now pronounced the English way, like *agent*, *compatibel*, *relaxen*, *service* and *surprise*. Others have acquired, together with an English pronunciation, an additional meaning: *abstract*, if pronounced the English way, is equivalent to 'excerpt' in Dutch.

The same English word can be borrowed more than once in different forms: *kerrie*—*currie*. English *cake* was even borrowed four times, each time in a different form and meaning: in the seventeenth century as *keeks* 'a kind of pancake', in the eighteenth century as *kaakjes* 'a kind of spiced nuts', after that as *cake* and finally as (*honde*)*kaakjes* 'dog biscuits' (De Vooy 1925: III).

Some words look like pseudo-English, but are in fact items which have disappeared in the source language, but are still alive in the borrowing language. Such fossils are (according to Posthumus 1996a): *fancy-fair* (present-day E *bazaar*), *butterfly* (now *bow-tie*), *goalgetter* (now *finisher*), *Browning* 'pistol', *plumpudding* (now *Christmas pudding*), *all-risk(s)polis* (now *comprehensive policy*). The word

*crack* 'brilliant person' has certainly not disappeared from English but is now restricted to the first part in compounds: *a crack shot*.

### 3.1.8 Mediating languages

English words are normally directly imported into Dutch. In Flanders French has functioned as an intermediate language in the past.

A number of words were borrowed by Dutch twice, the first time via French and the second time straight from English, as one can see from the form: *akte—act*, *ballade—ballad*, *ballon—balloon*, *cadet—caddie*, *karton—cartoon*, *dessin—design*, *muzikaal—musical*, *salon—saloon*, *speciaal—special*. The French forms are always completely assimilated. Many Latin words were also borrowed twice: *bul—bill*, *kamer—camera*, *koor—chorus*, *ons—inch*.

In modern times many new English words were formed from Latin/Greek roots. Most of these words, such as *deodorant* and *insuline*, have become international and hence occur in Dutch as well. Since these items have nothing English in their form, they are excluded from the *Dictionary of European Anglicisms* collection.

### 3.1.9 English in education

(Kobayashi 1995)

Three modern languages—French, German, and English—were taught in secondary education until 1968. In 1968 the so-called 'mammoth-law' made English obligatory for all types of schools; other foreign languages were optional. In 1986 a new type of an integrated primary school was introduced for children from 4 to 12 with English as the only obligatory foreign language. In 1993 the school system changed again; for children from 12 to 15 primary education now prescribes two obligatory languages: English plus French or German. In secondary education (from 15 to maximally 18) children have to choose one language no matter which; most children opt for English.

Until the end of the 1960s French was the first foreign language in all Flemish schools. The pupils learned English only to a lesser extent and at a later stage. When the choice became free English pushed French quickly into second position.

Dutch and Flemish universities and colleges use English as one of the media for academic teaching. In various disciplines scientific publications are predominantly written in English. In 1989 the Dutch Minister of Educational Matters Jo Ritzen himself favoured lectures in English in order to serve the needs of foreign students and to improve the chances of students who finish their study abroad. The Dutch and Flemish reacted furiously, and in 1992 the Dutch Parliament included a proviso in the law which made Dutch the language of higher, academic education. Other languages can be used under certain circumstances. In line with this agreement the Faculty of Economy of the University of Tilburg decided in February 1997 to switch over to English completely, using it for announcements, invitations, and reports.

### 3.2 Pronunciation and spelling

(Posthumus 1986, 1988, 1991a, 1995)

#### 3.2.1 Pronunciation

A number of common rules apply for spelling and pronunciation. Technical loanwords which were primarily borrowed via oral contacts in the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century are, as far as spelling and pronunciation are concerned, completely assimilated so that their English origin is hardly recognizable: *kroet* (English *crude*), *piekijzer* (*pig-iron*), *weespijpe* (*waste-pipe*), *wijer* (*wire*). Although these words are found in the dictionary of Van Dale (Geerts and Heestermans 1995), most (native) speakers no longer know them, and in a short time they will probably be totally lost.

Post-1945 loanwords are frequently less thoroughly assimilated, partly because the words became familiar in spoken as well as in written language (via the media, in advertising, as trade names, in films, etc.) and partly because the knowledge of English has increased. Younger speakers now tend to adopt loanwords in their original phonetic form. This practice, if exaggerated, can sound conceited. Additionally there is a big difference between northern and southern varieties of Dutch: people in the Flemish area use spelling pronunciations more often than people in the north, partly reflecting less exposure to spoken English and partly French mediation. However, words are now borrowed increasingly in their English form—only a few younger people consider it funny to pronounce English loanwords the Dutch way.

It is not significant whether words are borrowed from the spoken or written language. A word clearly borrowed from the written form is *folklore*, whose constituents were not recognized, so that the stress moved to the second syllable and the word is now divided into 'fol-klore'.

Whether loanwords are pronounced as in English or are assimilated to Dutch pronunciation (partly based on spelling) depends on a number of factors such as regional origin, the educational standard of speakers, analogies, the phonetic structure, the frequency of the word, and the date of its adoption (van Bezooijen and Gerritsen 1994: 154). In active use the context or interlocutor can influence pronunciation.

The differences in phonemic structure and in pronunciation between English and Dutch are fairly great. However, in most cases there are no phonetic obstacles against the borrowing of an English word. One can always find an appropriate Dutch sound to replace an English one.

##### 3.2.1.1 Consonants

- Fairly great differences exist in the realization of /r/, which varies a great deal in Dutch. Also *w(h)* is realized differently from English. However, this has no negative consequences for borrowing.
- There are no /θ, ð/ in Dutch. The phonemes are mostly realized as [d] (*to the point*), sometimes as [t] (*thinner*), and rarely as [s] (*thriller*).

- English [-ʃ] (*finish*) is realized as [sj] and sometimes as [s], but the latter is commonly regarded as highly colloquial 'plat') in the north of the Netherlands.
- Plosives and fricatives are always devoiced word-finally, a rule which is extended to English words (*trend, club*).
- English < g > is rendered in different ways. A study of the pronunciation of *drugs* and *goal* (van Bezooijen and Gerritsen 1994) showed three ways of pronunciation: pronunciation as in English [g] (especially in words like *goal*), assimilated Dutch [k] (especially for *drugs*, cf. *brik* instead of English *brig*), and assimilated [x] (one third of the occurrences for both *drugs* and *goal*). The latter can be due to spelling pronunciation since < g > is commonly pronounced as /x/. It is remarkable that [x] often occurs in Flanders, possibly caused by a purist rejection of 'alien' elements, a reaction which obviously includes French and English elements. The pronunciation of English < ch > and < j > is sometimes simplified by cluster reduction: from [tsj] to [sj] and from [dzj] to [zj]. *Cheque, chips, choke, jam* are pronounced [sjek], [sjips], [sjook], [sjem] (contrast *charter* [tsjartər]) and *jury* is realized as [zjurjə] (contrast *jingle* [dzjɪŋgəl] and *jungle* [dzjɒŋgəl]). *Joker, jumbo, jumper* have spelling pronunciations with [j]. However, the number of adaptations is comparatively small in the north (apart from a few everyday words), and it is unlikely that it will rise due to the widespread knowledge of English.
- Concerning the pronunciation of consonants at morpheme boundaries the normal Dutch rules apply: in *zakdoek* as well as in *breakdown* one can find assimilation to simple [d], and in *roadtest, snack country* simple /t/, /k/.

### 3.2.1.2 Vowels

In most recent loans English pronunciation and spelling are taken over together, with the exception of < u >; because [ʌ] does not exist in Dutch, it is replaced by the normal pronunciation of Dutch *u*. The English spelling-pronunciation correlation often differs from Dutch: for instance, < a > is pronounced as [a(a)] in Dutch. This does not stop most Dutch speakers from pronouncing *a* as [e:] or [ɛ] in English loanwords. A few words have spelling pronunciation, for example in *kaak* 'cake', *claxon, overlappen*, or vary [tram] vs. [trem], [traktor] vs. [trektor].

### 3.2.1.3 Stress

In most English loanwords the stress is on the first syllable (as in Dutch), whereas French loanwords are normally end-stressed. The position of the word stress can thus indicate whether a word is borrowed, and from which language. Sometimes the stress of an English loanword is shifted to the end of the word to adapt it to Dutch conventions (*columnist, deodorant, snobisme*) or if the speaker takes it for a French loanword: *attachékoffer* (influenced by the older French loan *attaché*), *budget, comfort, corduroy, essay, pamflet*—a feature shared with other continental languages.

### 3.2.2 Graphemic integration

Recent English words are borrowed in their original spelling. This has led to spelling pronunciation in some of the oldest loans with reference to vowels (cf. cases such as 'tram'). Only in a few cases is an English *a* or *ai*, which is pronounced [ɛ] or [e:], realized as < e(e) > as it is in *flens* ('flange'), *hendel* ('handle'), *reling* ('railing'), *pleet* ('plate'). Even more sporadically English < e(e) > is pronounced [iə], spelt *ie*: *kien* (English *keen*). We also find *sien*, *wiet* and *scene*, *weed*, where the assimilated Dutch spellings occur exclusively in the language of teenagers or drug users. There is variation also in *moven*, *looken* and *moeven*, *loeken*; in older loanwords *y* was changed to *i* or *ie* (*herrie*) and (*o*)*u* to *oe* (*hoela*, *toerist*), whereas in more recent loanwords *y* and *ou* are retained (*hurry*, *discount*).

The spelling of the consonants is assimilated only in older loanwords and in colloquial words: < c > was changed into < k > (*kapseizen*, *kluts*), < x > to < ks > (*seks*), < sh- > to < sj- > (*sjekkie* next to *shag*), and < -ch > to < -s > (*kluts*, *pons*).

The Dutch use of diaeresis is commonly not applied to English loanwords where the two vowels are pronounced separately: *efficiency* and not *efficiëncy*.

Dutch has borrowed letter combinations which were formerly not known in native words such as < wh- > (*whiskey*), < sh- > (*shampoo*), < sc- > (*scalp*), < oa > (*coach*), < ea > (*leasen*), and < -ll > (*baseball*).

The growing familiarity with English has also led to a few orthographical interferences. In English the genitive singular is indicated by 's; in Dutch this realization is only used after long vowels (*Ada's overwinning*), in other cases -s is used. However, 's is increasingly used to indicate the genitive of a proper name: *Pietje's tas*, *Vondel's werken*. This is sometimes regarded as an English influence, but it is supported by the fact that 's helps to indicate that the *s* is not part of the name.

Plural forms of English loanwords which end in -y are now often spelt -ies instead of -y's: *babies* versus the official *baby's* (cf. *ie*, s. 3.3.2). It is unlikely that this will affect usage in dictionaries and grammars.

### 3.2.3 Homonyms and homographs

Due to the close relationships between English and Dutch the number of homonyms and homographs has increased. Homographs include *boom* 'tree' and, with an English pronunciation, [bu:m] 'rise, boom', *brand* 'fire' and [brent] 'brand name'. In sports one finds the verb *passen*, with an English pronunciation, and the term *post* from basketball; *putten* is used in the stock exchange business and in golf. Homonyms are words with identical spelling and pronunciation, such as *dribbelen*, which means in Dutch 'to walk with small steps' and which has received an additional meaning from English ('move the ball forward with slight touches'). At the same time the number of homonyms is growing because words which were borrowed from Romance languages (French or Latin) before, are re-borrowed from English, mostly in another meaning (see s. 3.4.2): *data* 'dates' adopted the meaning 'facts, data' from English. And finally a loanword can be identical with a native word at the moment of adoption, such as *hall*, which changed into *hal*.

### 3.3 Morphology

#### 3.3.1 Introduction

Dutch nouns are uninflected for case apart from an old genitive ending in *-s*; only plural is indicated. Gender distinctions are expressed in the definite article. The inflectional system of adjectives and nouns is reduced to a minimum. Verbs vary according to person, number, tense, and mood. Loanwords are commonly integrated in this process so that they can be combined syntactically with the rest of the vocabulary without any problems. This process of adoption sometimes involves a state of uncertainty. Concerning the infinitives of verbs this process normally occurs quickly; by contrast the inflection of verbs can cause considerable spelling problems; cf. s. 3.3.5.

#### 3.3.2 Nouns

##### 3.3.2.1 Gender

(Geerts 1970, 1975; Koenen and Smits 1992: 10; Poplack, Pousada, and Sankoff 1982; Posthumus 1996b; Verhoeven and Jansen 1996)

Dutch has two grammatical genders, which can be identified by the use of the definite article: '*het*' (neuter) and '*de*' (masculine and feminine = 'common'). In new loanwords the allocation of a gender is obligatory. Most English loanwords are treated as 'common' (words designating persons have natural gender—*steward* is masculine, *stewardess* is feminine). If neuter *het* is chosen, this can be explained by grammatical, semantic, and analogical reasons:

1. *Grammar*. The suffix determines article and gender: all words starting with *ge-* and ending in *-ment* are neuter (*gerace*, *management*); words on *-ing* have the article *de* (*dancing*, *hearing*), analogous to Dutch *mededeling*; however, if they correspond to a Dutch infinitive in the function of a noun they often have *het*. For these Dutch infinitives occur as alternatives, cf. *het ballroomdancing* vs. *het ballroomdansen*, *het bodybuilding* vs. *het bodybuilden*, and *het brainstorming* vs. *het brainstormen*.
2. *Meaning*. All names of materials, sports and games, languages, and collective terms are neuter; consequently it is *het plastic*, *het hockey*, *rugby*, *tennis*; *het basic*, *het panel*, *sample*, *design*.
3. *Analogy*. If the sound pattern and meaning of the loanword are identical with those of a native word, the loanword has the same article and gender as the native word: *het dashboard* is modelled on *het bord*. As a consequence of a shared meaning *het concern* is modelled on *het bedrijf*, *het image* on *het beeld*, *het label* on *het etiket*, *het ticket* on *het kaartje*. However, *de creditcard* is analogous to *de kaart*, *de approach* to *de aanpak*, *de club* to *de vereniging*. Analogy is the least predictable factor, for it is often not clear which native word is considered equivalent. Of native Dutch words about 75 per cent have the article *de*, and only 25 per cent *het*. It is striking that the number of loanwords with *het* is even smaller. Thus the increasing number of English

loanwords contributes to making the article *het* more and more marginal (Geerts 1975).

### 3.3.2.2 *Number*

(Hoppenbrouwers 1978, 1980; Posthumus 1989b)

Most Dutch nouns form their plural in *-en*, but *-s* is a minority option. In consequence, English plurals in *-s* are normally retained. A minority of English loanwords have two plural forms: *budgetten* and *budgets*, *testen* and *tests*, *trams* and *trammen*. Words ending in a sibilant often retain the English *-es*: *coaches*, *sketches*; however, dictionaries often give alternative plural forms: *lunchen/lunches*, *matchen/matches*, *speechen/speeches*. By contrast, *boxen*, *faxen*, *pieren*, *sporten*, *telexen* have *-en* exclusively. Most English words in *-tor* also have two plural forms *-s/-en*: *tractors/tractoren*, *transistors/transistoren*; older loanwords often prefer *-en*, and more recent ones *-s*: *boxen*—black boxes, *doggen*—underdogs, *liften*—face-lifts, *pluggen*—drugs, *stewardessen*—hostesses, *strippenkaart*—strips; and also those with the suffix *-ing*: *puddingen*—happenings.

English *knickerbockers*, *overalls*, *pyjamas*, *shorts* are regarded as plural forms in Dutch; this has led to non-English 'singulars': *knickerbocker*, *overall*, *pyjama*, *short* (this does not apply to *jeans*).

Some loanwords ending in *-y/-ie* are regarded as diminutive forms, which follow the vulgar Dutch pronunciation in *-ie* as [jə]: *koekie*, *vissie*. This has led to hypercorrected forms such as *flopje*, *gupje*, *pupje*; also forms like *flop*, *gup*, *junk*, and *yup* have been coined through backformation.

### 3.3.3 *Adjectives*

(Royen 1952)

Adjectives are inflected in *-e*; this applies to borrowed adjectives: *clever*—*clevere*. However, adjectives ending in a vowel are unchanged (*heavy*). Comparatives and superlatives follow Dutch rules: *clever/cleverder*, *trendy/trendyter*.

### 3.3.4 *Adverbs*

Uninflected adjectives can be used as adverbs in Dutch; this includes borrowed adjectives. English adverbs ending in *-ly* are not borrowed, with the possible exception of *recentelijk* (from *recently*); the adjective *recent* is borrowed from French.

### 3.3.5 *Verbs*

The adaptation of English infinitives proceeds fairly quickly: English *to dim*, *to fix*, *to film*, *to flirt*, *to relax*, *to settle* have *-en* added: *dimmen*, *fiksen*, *settelen*. Some English verbs add *-eren*, a suffix which is borrowed from French. *Alloceren* (pronounced as [allokerən] with [k], as in English), *formatteren*, *implementeren*, *shockeren* are Dutch derivations of English verbs or nouns. The *-eren* ending makes the conjugation of the verbs easier; it is more popular in the south.



The conjugation of English verbs is easy in the spoken language, but it can cause considerable problems in written forms. Some people use English morphemes as in *finishede, gefinished; screenede, gescreened* instead of the Dutch forms *finishte, gefinisht; screende, gescreend*. In particular English verbs in *-e* cause problems in spelling, since Dutch verbs do not have base forms with an *-e*. These verbs vary between *-et* (*racete, geracet*) and *-ed* (*savede, gesaved; timede, getimed*). Dictionaries contradict each other in such cases.

In 1995 a new version of the *Woordenlijst van de Nederlandse Taal* was published, in which the spelling of Dutch words was codified. Verbs of English origin are treated as follows:

1. If the base form ends in a vowel, the simple past has *-de* and the past participle *-d* (*rugbyen, rugbyde, gerugbyd*).
2. If the base form ends in a voiceless consonant, the simple past is formed with *-te* and the past participle with *-t* (*faxen, faxte, gefaxt*); in all other cases *-del-d* is used (*scrabbelen, scrabbelde, gescrabbeld*).

In English the *-e* sometimes indicates the pronunciation of the preceding vowel or consonant. This *-e* in the root remains in the conjugation (*barbecue, barbecuede, gebarbecued*). However, in combination with [o], as in *scoren*, the *e* disappears and the *o* is doubled in closed syllables: *scoren, scoorde, gescoord*.

In English spelling the duplication of a consonant often indicates a short preceding vowel; this double consonant grapheme is reduced in Dutch clusters: *volleyballen, volleybalde, gevolleybald*. Sometimes there is variation in the final sounds. Some speakers pronounce an [s] in *leasen*, others a [z]. In *briefen* and *golven* some people pronounce an [f], others a [v]. In such cases both conjugations are possible: *leastelleasde, gegolft/gegolfd* (Nederlandse en Belgische regering 1995; Timmers 1993).

### 3.3.6 Derivation (selection)

In most cases English loanwords can easily form derivatives such as *bunkeren, egotrippen, filmisch, fitheid, geflirt, gehandicapt, trendmatig, verfilmen*. It is not always possible to decide whether a derivation was formed in Dutch or whether it was borrowed from English because some suffixes are identical in both languages, especially *-er* and *-ing*. Furthermore, there are many loans attested in derivational word families, for example noun and verb: *boycot—boycotten, interview—interviewen, mailen—mailing*.

**Gender specification.** In Dutch, words for males can be adapted for females by derivation: *de typist* (M) vs. *de typiste* (F); *barkeeper* (M) vs. *barkeepster* (F). Sometimes a Dutch word is used for both genders as in English (a *manager* can be a woman as well as a man), and sometimes a word is taken over with the English suffix indicating the gender: *steward—stewardess, host—hostess*.

**Agent nouns.** Since both Dutch and English use the suffix *-er* for agent nouns and tools, it is often not possible to determine whether a particular word is borrowed from English or formed in Dutch. Are words like *manager* and *voetballer*

borrowed, or derived from *managen*, *voetbal(len)*? Sometimes there is no English model, which means that they must have been formed in Dutch: *filmer*, *hockeyer*, *lifter*.

*Denominal verbs.* A verb can be freely converted into a noun (or a noun into a verb) in both Dutch and English, that is, zero derivation is a very productive process in the two languages. Whether such verbs are borrowed or formed in Dutch is not always clear. This holds true for *liften* 'search for a free lift' and *squashen* 'play squash', which must be derived in Dutch because English uses *to lift*, *to squash* in other meanings. In Dutch the agent noun *lifter* is again derived from *liften*. *Baseballen*, *basketballen*, *brunchen*, *golffen*, *pingpongen*, *puzzelen*, *speechen*, *volleyballen* are Dutch derivations of the borrowed English nouns. In addition, there are many backformations on the basis of English nouns in *-ing*: *aquaplaning*, *bodybuilding*, *powerlifting* gave rise to Dutch *aquaplanen*, *bodybuilden*, *powerliften*. Zero derivation can also be used to form nouns out of English verbs which do not exist in English; e.g. the noun *flirt* in Dutch is derived from *flirten*, whereas English uses *flirtation*.

*New adjectives.* There are only a few adjectives derived from borrowed nouns: *filmisch*, *freakerig*, *trendmatig* 'according to the trend'.

*Deadjectival nouns.* Hardly any new derivatives are formed from borrowed adjectives; a possible exception is *fitheid*, which can be explained as derived from *fit*, or which can be borrowed from *fitness* with suffix replacement.

### 3.3.7 Compounds, combining forms, and idioms

Compounds made with English elements are very frequent: *arbeidspool*, *bungalowtent*, *campingbeheerder*, *cocktailjurk*, *efficiencybeurs*, *gasfitter*, *gordijnrail*, *intakegesprek*, *lease-auto*, *modeshow*, etc. *F-side* was invented in Dutch; the expression designates uncontrollable Ajax supporters who were always led into block F of the Ajax stadium in Amsterdam. There are also hybrid compounds combining an English and a French loanword: *fraudeteam*, *privé-club*, *recherchebijstandsteam*, *weekendretour*. The verbs *in-luitchecken*, *in-luitfaden*, *in-luitloggen*, *in-luitzoomen* are compounds which translate English *to check in/out*, *to fade in/out*, *to log in/out*, *to zoom in/out*; also cf. *afchecken*, *afkicken*, *inpluggen*, *oppeppen*, *opstarten*, and *overrulen*. By contrast, *inplannen*, *intapen*, *omturnen*, *opboksen*, and *uittesten* were coined in Dutch.

The spelling of English compounds often raises problems. In English compounds can be spelt in three ways: separate, in one word, or hyphenated: *ghost writer*, *ghostwriter*, *ghost-writer*. In Dutch compounds are written in one word, at least as far as accepted loanwords are concerned. As long as loanwords are still 'alien', English spelling conventions can be followed. This results in different kinds of treatment in the dictionaries. Additionally English supports the spelling of compounds as two separate words; this also influences Dutch compounds (*computer systeem*; cf. s. 3.1.3). Language purists vehemently oppose these developments.

English idioms can be borrowed into Dutch or be translated: *after all*, *business as usual*, *dos and don'ts*, *grand old man*, *in no time*, *in the long run*, *last (but) not least*,

*missing link, never mind, of all people/ places, off the record, on the rocks, point of no return, red tape, safety first, self-fulfilling prophecy, total loss, up to date, ups and downs.*

Translated expressions include *als regel* ('as a rule'), *de tijd doden* ('to kill time'), *het kost een fortuin* ('it costs a fortune'), *gemengde gevoelens* ('mixed feelings'), *hoeksteen van de samenleving* ('cornerstone of society'), and *het groene licht geven* ('to give the green light').

### 3.3.8 Calques (loan translations)

Two types of calques can be distinguished in cases where two closely related languages are in contact. A loan formation is a translation of a compound or derivation using cognate elements like *diepvries*, *huidspreker*, *vrijdenker* for English *deep-freeze*, *loudspeaker*, *freethinker*. By contrast, if unrelated (but equivalent) words are used, we may call the process and the result a loan translation (thus *blauwdruk* for *blueprint*, *draaitafel* for *turntable*, in which *druk*, *draai* are the translation equivalents of *print*, *turn*). A remarkable word is *welvaartstaat* for *welfare state*—this must be a loan formation, since Dutch *welvaart* has a different meaning from English *welfare*, namely 'wealth'.

There are also semi-calques like *bantamgewicht* for *bantam weight*, *dataverwerking* for *data processing*, *loopbaanplanning* for *career planning*, *praatshow* for *talk show*, and *teamgeest* for *team spirit*. However, such words can also be original combinations of an English and a Dutch word, not following an English example.

Sometimes an English loanword is in due course replaced by a calque. Think of *football*, which was used for a short period in the past, but which has now been definitely replaced by *voetbal* (except for the special form of *American football*, and in *FC* as the abbreviation of *Football Club* in names of soccer clubs). Occasionally, a loanword coexists with a loan translation: *feasibility study* with *haalbaarheidsonderzoek*, *space-shuttle* with *ruimteveer*, *verdunner* with *thinner*.

### 3.3.9 Abbreviations, syllable words, and contractions

The use of abbreviations and acronyms has increased enormously since the nineteenth century; this is largely due to English influence. In the twentieth century this kind of word flourished in politics, especially in totalitarian states such as Germany after 1933 and the USSR.

English and Dutch prefer acronyms to words combined from syllables. A few abbreviations were borrowed from English: *c.d.*, *l.p.*, *w.c.* (originally a taboo word), and (in pronounceable form) *aids*, *ECU*, *laser*, *radar*, *sonar*, *VIP*, and names of organizations such as *NATO*, *UNESCO*.

Borrowed blends are somewhat rarer: *faction* for *fact + fiction*, *infotainment* for *information + entertainment*, *smog* for *smoke + fog*. Compare clippings: *ad* (*advertisement*), *airco* (*air conditioning*), *fan* (*fanatic*), *hifi* for *high fidelity*, *prefab* (*prefabricated*), *tram* (*tramway*), *vamp* (*vampire*).

### 3.4 Meaning

Loanwords retain only one or a few meanings of polysemic items. Thus *keeper* is borrowed only in a sports context. Sometimes two different meanings are successively borrowed, often from different domains, such as *film* ('membrane' and 'pictures') and *chip* (relating to potatoes and computers). Furthermore, sometimes the 'real' meaning of the loanwords can become opaque; this explains Dutch *paardebiefstuk* (literally 'horsebeefsteak') because there is no association of *biefstuk* with 'beef'. After a word is borrowed, it can add meanings, sometimes including senses not recorded in English.

Many recent words have borrowed a meaning from English, as in *doen* as 'deal with superficially': *in twee dagen Parijs doen* (E *to do*); *brug* as 'dental bridgework'; *edelmoedig* as 'magnanimous'; *flessehals* as 'choke point' (*bottleneck*); *haan* on a rifle (*cock*); *heet* as 'recent': *heet nieuws*, *hete informatie* (*hot*); *mol* as 'spy' (*mole*); *spotten* as 'see' (*to spot*), *schaduw* as 'follow unobtrusively' (*to shadow*); *ster* as 'famous person' (*star*).

### 3.5 Usage

Claus and Taeldeman (1989) found that the number of English words had increased in all domains, even though the growth in the last decades had been most spectacular in the fields of technology and music. In some domains nearly all innovations are expressed by English words, but after some time a number of these English words disappear or are replaced by another (sometimes another English word, sometimes a loan translation or a new formation: *beeldscherm* for *monitor*). English words are definitely more popular among the young than among older people.

More and more annual reports, product and job advertisements, and titles of films and books are formulated in English. A study of advertisements for products (Gerritsen 1996) has shown that 19 per cent of the corpus contained some English, being completely (15 per cent) or partly (85 per cent) in English. Gerritsen then studied the attitudes towards these advertisements and the comprehension among younger (younger than 25 years) and older (above 45) people all chosen from the higher social classes. The study showed that the informants valued the use of English positively (the older having a more negative attitude), and that they strongly overestimated their own knowledge: many informants were not able to produce a correct translation of the English. Gerritsen concludes that Dutch is less Anglicized than one is inclined to think; English is often used, but not always understood. Current research at the University of Nijmegen reflects a unanimously more positive attitude towards English, particularly among pupils. Certainly nobody wants to see Dutch disappear, and the position of Dutch is not seen as being directly threatened by English (De Bot 1997).

### 3.6 Forms of linguistic loans and their categorization

#### 1. Borrowing

As we have seen above all sorts of lexical loans occur. Loanwords borrowed according to form and meaning are the biggest group. They can be divided according to the degree of their adaptation in Dutch.

- (a) The loan is not adapted and not regarded as a part of the Dutch vocabulary (code-switching, foreignisms).
- (b) The loan is foreign or not adapted in its form, i.e. *meeting* and *thriller*.
- (c) The loan is completely integrated, i.e. *basketbal*, *dimmen*.

#### 2. Replacement

- (a) The foreign word is adopted in meaning but not in its form (a loan translation): *belastingvrij* for *tax-free*, *draaitafel* for *turntable*.
- (b) Only a part of the compound is translated: *praatshow* for *talk show* and *teamgeest* for *team spirit*.
- (c) The foreign word is replaced by cognate items (loan formation): *diepvries* for *deep-freeze*.
- (d) A foreign word is rendered by a free translation, i.e. *gemeenschapszin* for *public spirit*, *koppensneller* for *head-hunter*, and *verstekeling* for *stow-away*; *hoorzitting* for *hearing* (to which *zitting* is added); *vouwblad* for English *folder*.
- (e) An existing Dutch word adds a meaning from English (semantic calque): *controleren* meaning 'to control'.

Loanwords are much easier to discover than replacements, since their form remains identifiable as foreign.

#### 3. Pseudo-loans

(Posthumus 1991b, Van der Sijs 1994)

When loanwords are completely accepted they can diverge from the development in the source language. A loanword can be shortened in Dutch as in *baby doll* for English *baby-doll pyjamas*, *camping* for English *camping site*, *detective* for *detective story*, *pocket* for *pocketbook*, *gin-tonic* for *gin and tonic*, *panty* for *panty-hose*, *strip* for *comic strip*, *living* for *living room* (spread via French and Flemish). *Twen* as a short form of English *twenty* was coined in German and handed on to Dutch. *Professional* is shortened to *prof* in Dutch and to *Profi* in German; the English say *pro*. Further examples are *happy end* for *happy ending*, *mixdrink* for *mixed drink*, *stationcar* for English *estate car*, AmE *station wagon*, and possibly *jack* for *jacket*. Such pseudo-loans are of three types.

Lexical pseudo-loans are combinations of English words or morphemes used to form new linguistic items which do not exist in the donor language, i.e. *babybox* (English *playpen*), *speakerbox* (English *speaker*), *city-bag* (English *holdall*), *dumpshop* (English *army surplus store*), *hometrainer* (English *home exerciser* or *exercise machine*), *rally-paper* (English *paper-chase*), *ribcord* (English *corduroy*),

*showcaravan* (English *demonstration model*). There are no English equivalents for *ladyshave*, *showmaster*, or *talkmaster* either. Many of these words are intentionally coined in advertising or fashion.

A separate category is words borrowed from English ending in *-ing*. In English these are originally present participles or verbal nouns. In English *dancing* means 'the action of dancing', in Dutch 'an occasion/site for dancing'; in English *doping* means the action, in Dutch also 'drugs'; Dutch uses *franchising* where English uses *franchise*. Many of the above-mentioned pseudo-English words seem to be more or less international (and many have been transmitted through French).

Many pseudo-borrowings develop a non-English meaning; Dutch *Manchester* designates a type of cloth which is called *corduroy* or *velveteen* in English.

### 3.7 The future of Anglicisms

Despite reactions from purists, the number of English loanwords is likely to increase in the near future. The study by Gerritsen (1996) shows that the attitude towards the use of English in advertising is not particularly positive and that the knowledge of English among addressees is sometimes overestimated. Will the two factors help to slow down the influx of English words?

### 3.8 Research

In the past a great deal of research into loanwords (including Anglicisms) was carried out by De Vooy's. English loanwords were studied in the Anglistisch Instituut te Groningen by Zandvoort, Gerritsen, and in particular Posthumus. There is little systematic research apart from this; it is striking that Koenen and Smits (1992), a book which has no scholarly aim, is the only dictionary of 'Anglicisms' in Dutch. Most contributions on English loanwords are published in popular journals such as *Onze Taal*, and are often biased by a purist point of view.

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