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(With an Appendix on Dutch Words in Korean)

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## DUTCH INFLUENCES ON THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE: WITH AN APPENDIX ON DUTCH WORDS IN KOREAN

 Frits Vos

On August 24, 1609, the feudal ruler of Japan, the *shōgun* Tokugawa Ieyasu,<sup>1</sup> accorded a group of Dutchmen a pass which allowed them to trade in Japan. This fact as such would not be so noteworthy, were it not that between 1640 and 1854 — a period of more than two hundred years — the Dutch were the only Europeans who were allowed to have trade relations with the Land of the Rising Sun.

This exceptional position they owed to their enmity with the Portuguese and the Spaniards as well as to the fact that they occupied themselves exclusively with commerce and not with attempts at conversion of the Japanese to the Christian religion.

In the beginning the Dutch settlement — ‘factory’ in D. — was set up on the Isle of Hirado to the West of Northern Kyūshū, the southernmost of the main islands of Japan. In 1641 the settlement was moved to Deshima at Nagasaki. Deshima was an artificial island shaped somewhat in the form of a fan which had been created by digging a ‘canal’ across a small peninsula which extended into the bay of Nagasaki. Here were the houses, storehouses and offices of the Dutch. When the attached personnel were at full strength they consisted of some twenty persons under the leadership of a head merchant who was generally called *opperhoofd* (lit. main chief). Sometimes there were also Indonesian servants who often appear in the so-called *Nagasaki-e*, the wood-block-prints with Chinese and Dutch subjects made at Nagasaki.

Especially in the beginning, the life of these servants of the Dutch East India Company was far from pleasant. They were surrounded by spies. Bibles and other Christian books were sealed up in a barrel whenever a ship arrived. Weapons and munition were taken away until the departure of the ship in question and only the *opperhoofd* was allowed to wear a short sword on solemn occasions. Already in 1639 — two years before the settlement was moved to Deshima — all women married to Dutchmen were, together with their children, sent to

This article was first published in *Lingua* 12 (1963): 341–88.

<sup>1</sup> Japanese words have been transcribed according to the Hepburn system with the usual modifications, Korean and Chinese words according to the McCune-Reischauer and Wade-Giles systems. The following abbreviations have been used: Ch. (Chinese), D. (Dutch), E. (English), F. (French), G. (German), J. (Japanese), K. (Korean), M. (Malay), P. (Portuguese), S.-J. (Sino-Japanese), S.-K. (Sino-Korean), Skr. (Sanskrit), Sp. (Spanish)

Batavia (present-day Jakarta). After that only relations with prostitutes were allowed. In the first half of the nineteenth century some Dutch ladies came to Deshima; they were, however, sent back without mercy.

The Dutch were not allowed to leave the island which was strictly guarded. Only once a year the monotonous existence of the inhabitants of Deshima was interrupted by the so-called court journey, *hofreis*, to Edo, present-day Tōkyō, where they paid honors to the feudal ruler of Japan, the *shōgun*, and offered presents to him which had often been ordered beforehand.

One will wonder why the Dutch put up with all these humiliations. The answer to this question is best expressed in figures. Between 1642 and 1660 the *net* returns from the trade upon Japan ran into an average sum of 651,000 guilders per year — at that time quite a nice amount of money! In later years the profits declined sharply and in some years there was an adverse balance. By that time, however, the presence of the Dutch on Deshima had become a matter of prestige. Perhaps they also hoped for better times.

On the side of the Japanese the presence of the Dutch at Nagasaki was tolerated only because they brought certain useful things to Japan like European and Indonesian dry goods, and colonial products such as spices, tin and mercury. It was also to the advantage of the Japanese government to hear from the Dutch what happened in the rest of the world.

We must therefore guard against the mistake of considering the old Dutch-Japanese relations in too idealistic a way.

The policy of seclusion from the outside world which had been the aim of the Japanese government for some decades and which was fully implemented in 1639 meant the end of a period in which there had been fairly intensive contacts with Western culture. In 1639, however, the import of Western books, even in Chinese translation, was subjected to such severe restrictions that one might speak of an embargo.

Nevertheless, the thirst for knowledge of the Western sciences persisted, even among the authorities.

Already in 1650 the physician of the East India Company, Caspar Schambergen, who accompanied the *opperhoofd* on his annual mission to Edo, was requested to remain a few months in the capital. He instructed the court physicians of the *shōgun* in Dutch medicine and became the founder of the *Kasuparu-ryū*, the ‘Caspar School’, which continued to exist until the end of the Tokugawa period (1603–1868).

In the first century of the period of seclusion such cases were, however, rare, and it was especially the official interpreters for the Dutch language at Nagasaki who counted as ‘connoisseurs’ of Western culture. As the profession of interpreter was hereditary and had nothing to do with linguistic talents, we should not overestimate their knowledge. A really gifted interpreter was Nishikawa Joken (1648–1724) who in 1695 compiled a book on geography, manners and customs, and the products of various countries, entitled *Ka’i tsūshōkō*, ‘A Study of the Commercial Intercourse with the Chinese and Other Foreigners’.

Very important for the later development of the study of the Western sciences was the reign of the eighth Tokugawa *shōgun*, Yoshimune (1716–45). This enlightened ruler was, among other things, deeply interested in agriculture, the foundation of Japan’s national existence. In this connection he wanted to correct the calendar and he ordered Nakane Genkei (1662–1733),

a silversmith from Kyōto, to undertake this work. As a result of his researches Nakane Genkei recommended the study of foreign books on this subject. This advice caused Yoshimune to abolish the restrictions on the import of Western books in 1720 — with the exception of those works in which the Christian faith was propagated.

In 1741 Yoshimune sent the scholars Aoki Bunzō (1698–1769) and Noro Genjō (1693–1761) to Nagasaki in order to study the Dutch language. Aoki Bunzō, also known as Konyō, wrote a study of the Dutch monetary system and some treatises on the Dutch language, while Noro Genjō compiled a work on the subject of Dutch plants.

Also in connection with certain economic developments and changes in the social structure, into which we cannot enter here, the actual flourishing period of the study of the Western sciences begins in the period between 1750 and 1790 with the activities of men like Maeno Ryōtaku (1723–1803), Sugita Genpaku (1732–1817), and Ōtsuki Gentaku (1756–1827). Maeno, Sugita and three other scholars translated the Dutch edition of the *Anatomische Tafelr* by Johann Adam Kulmus<sup>2</sup> into Japanese — a Sisyphean labour which required four years. Their translation was printed in 1774 under the title *Kaitai shinsho*, ‘New Writing on Dissection of the Body’.<sup>3</sup> The nearly insurmountable difficulties they encountered in this work have been described in an enthralling way in Sugita Genpaku’s *Rangaku kotohajime*, ‘The Beginnings of Dutch Learning’.<sup>4</sup>

Until then the studies of Western sciences had been called *bangaku*, i.e. the learning of the Southern Barbarians. This curious name is clue to the fact that the Portuguese, the Spaniards and the Dutch came from the south where they had their colonies. In this period a new term came to be used, viz. *rangaku*, ‘Dutch Learning’, ‘Hollandology’. Just like our terms ‘Sinology’ and ‘Japanology’ are very broad in scope, the appellation *rangaku*, too, covered a large number of sciences, of which medicine, astronomy, mathematics, botany, physics, geography, geodesy and military science (especially ballistics) must be mentioned. The scholars who occupied themselves with these studies were called *rangakusha*, ‘Hollandologists’. After the opening of Japan to foreign intercourse in 1854, when the Japanese were no longer exclusively committed to Dutch books for the study of Western sciences, a new term, *yōgaku*, ‘Occidental Science’, began to supplant the word *rangaku*.

Among the Western sciences studied by the *rangakusha* medicine held the most important position. As the study of medicine was directly connected with human life, the authorities did not interfere and, at times, even gave official support.

The Japanese physicians were encyclopaedists who also occupied themselves with other studies and contributed a great deal to development in those fields as well. Certain sciences, like botany, physics and chemistry, were, of course, closely connected with the study of medicine. In the same way mathematical studies were, on the one hand, connected with astronomy and geography, on the other hand, with military science.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century several Japanese scholars pointed out the dangers threatening the independence of the country, particularly from the side of Russia. Famous among them is Hayashi Shihei (1738–93) who advocated in his *Kaikoku heidan*, ‘Military Chats about a Maritime Country’, a coastal defense prepared for any attack and the building of a strong navy. In the beginning the government ignored such warnings and even took drastic actions against these ‘firebrands’. In course of time, however, the

2 *Ontleedkundige Tafelen, benevens de daar toe behoorende Afbeeldingen en Aanmerkingen, Waar in het Zaamenstel des Menschelyken Lichaams, en het gebruik van alle des zelfs Deelen afgebeeld en geleerd word.* Door Johann Adam Kulmus. In het Neederduitsch gebragt door Gerardus Dieten. Te Amsterdam, B. de Janssoons van Waesberge, MDCCXXXIV. Kulmus was a pupil of the famous Leyden professor Hermannus Boerhaave (1668–1738).

3 It is generally not so well known that nearly a century earlier a collection of Dutch anatomical diagrams with explanations had been translated by Motoko Shōdayū, chief interpreter at Nagasaki. Cf. Iwao Seiichi, ‘A Dutch Doctor in Old Japan,’ *Japan Quarterly* VIII (1961):70–78, esp. p.175.

4 Translated by Mōri, Kōichi: ‘Rangaku kotohajime (Die Anfänge der ‘Holland-Kunde’) von Sugita Gempaku (1733–1818),’ *Monumenta Nipponica* Vol.1 (1942), pp.144–66, and Vol.2 (1942), pp.215–36. The book has been adapted as a modern short story by the novelist Kikuchi Kan (1888–1948).

5 *Algemeen Huishoudelijk-, Natuur-, Zedekundigen Konst-Woordenboek, Vervattende middelen om zijn Goed Te Vermeerderen, en zijn Gezondheid Te Behouden*, 8 vols., 1778–86.

6 One of them, *Oranda moji ryakkō*, ‘A Brief Study of Writing’, is dated 1746.

7 The words *oranda* (from P. Olanda, ‘Holland’) and S.-J. *ran* (which we met in the compound *rangaku*) have been prefixed to a fairly large number of Japanese words, mostly pertaining to flowers and vegetables; in that case they indicate varieties which were Dutch or ‘foreign’ in general, e.g. *oranda-ichigo* (strawberry), *oranda-mitsuba* (celery, also: *serōri*, E.), *oranda-zeri* (parsley, also: *paseri*, E.), *ran-giku* (lit. Dutch chrysanthemum, i.e. *Caryopteris mastacanthus*). French beans (‘haricots’, standard J. *ingen[-mame]*) are called *oranda-mame* (Dutch beans) at Fukushima; *ran-gasa* (Dutch umbrella) is the name for a Western umbrella at Kagoshima and in Okinawa Prefecture. In Kanoashi County (Shimane Pref.), Ōshima (Yamaguchi Pref.) and Saga Pref. *ranpō kakeru* (to apply the Dutch method) means ‘to blast rocks with dynamite’. In Nagasaki the word *oranda* denotes anything foreign, while *oranda-jin* (Dutchman) is equivalent to ‘foreigner’.

authorities began to understand the necessity of, at least, acquiring more knowledge about international relations. In 1811 a government bureau for the translation of foreign books, the *Bansho wage goyō*, was established at Asakusa, a district of Edo. In this bureau Ōtsuki Gentaku and other prominent scholars of the capital started to work on a translation of an encyclopedia by N. Chomel.<sup>5</sup>

In 1838 the physician Ogata Kōan (1810–63) established a *rangaku* school at Ōsaka where government officials as well as young men from nearly all parts of Japan studied the Dutch language and Western sciences. The average number of students was one thousand. Among them were many men who later played an important role in the modernisation of Japan, e.g. Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835–1901), the founder of Keiō University (1868).

Other, later, institutions may be left out of consideration here, because they had no significance for the *rangaku* in the strict sense of the word.

The rise of Japan as a great power in the second half of the nineteenth century is, to a large extent, attributable to the swift adoption of Western techniques and sciences. For this process the foundations had been laid by the *rangakusha*.

On the subject of the influence of the Dutch language on the Japanese language and the Dutch words in Japanese relatively little has been published.

We saw already that Aoki Bunzō wrote some treatises on the Dutch language before the middle of the eighteenth century. These studies,<sup>6</sup> however, were never printed. The knowledge of Dutch was, at first, only transmitted orally, and the interpreters and scholars using the language made notes for their personal benefit. The interpreter Nishi Zenzaburō started to compile a Dutch–Japanese dictionary in 1767, but he died one year later, after he had reached the letter B.

Of the fairly large number of books dealing with the study of Dutch which appeared after 1774, the year of the publication of the *Kaitai shinsho*, ‘New Writing on Dissection of the Body’, I can only mention the most important ones. Also in the case of these works several have been handed down in manuscript only.

In 1783 Ōtsuki Gentaku compiled his *Rangaku kaitei*, ‘Guide to Dutch Learning’. In this book, which was printed five years later, we find a Dutch vocabulary, a concise Dutch grammar and an apology for the *rangaku*. Ōtsuki was also the founder of the first boarding-school for the study of Dutch learning at Edo, the *Shirandō*.

One of his pupils, Imamura Sanpaku (1759–1811), compiled the first Dutch–Japanese dictionary, the *Haruma wage*, in 1796. The strange title, ‘Halma Explained in Japanese’, is due to the fact that the work was based on the Dutch–French dictionary (*Woordenboek der Nederduitsche en Fransche Taalen*, hereafter *WNT*) compiled by François Halma in 1710. *Haruma* became a generic name for Dutch–Japanese dictionaries.

Shizuki Tadao, alias Nakano Ryūho (1725–1806). Nagasaki interpreter and specialist in Western astronomy and physics, wrote a book entitled *Oranda<sup>7</sup> shihin kō*, ‘Study of the Dutch Parts of Speech’, in the beginning of the *Kyōwa* era (1801–03).

In 1815 the manuscript of a second *Haruma wa* completed: the *Dōyaku* (or *Zūfu haruma*, ‘Halma translated by Doeff’.<sup>8</sup> This dictionary was compiled by a group of Nagasaki interpreters under the supervision of Hendrik Doeff (1777–1835) who had come to Japan in 1798 and was *opperhoofd* of the settlement from 1805 until 1817.

Ōtsuki Gentaku’s son, Banri (1785–1837), studied three years under Shizuki Tadao; in 1816 he wrote his *Rangaku bon* ‘Dutch Learning’, later followed by *Oranda setsuzokushi kō* ‘A Study of Dutch Conjunctions’.

Other works on the parts of speech of the Dutch language were written by Fujibayashi Fuzan (1781–1836) of Kyōto.

Tsurumine Shigenobu (1788?–1859) was the first to apply the methods of Dutch grammar to the Japanese language. In 1833 he published his *Gogaku shinsho* ‘New Book on the Study of Language’, a descriptive grammar of Japanese based on the linguistic classifications of the West.

Several Dutch grammars as well as other books were, moreover, reprinted in Japan.<sup>9</sup>

We have seen that the Western sciences were studied through the medium of the Dutch language. Consequently, there were many Japanese who had a passive knowledge of Dutch, while those who had direct contacts with the settlement at Deshima were, of course, also able to speak the language more or less fluently.

It is worth mentioning that Dutch remained, until 1870, the language in which official negotiations with foreign powers were carried on.

It goes without saying that many words were borrowed from the Dutch language — in the first place names of concepts, objects, animals and plants which until then had been unknown in Japan. In addition to such practical lexical items, words were borrowed, for which Japanese equivalents existed, but which satisfied the universal human tendency to show off words of foreign origin — a tendency which has always been particularly strong in Japan.

In the course of fifteen centuries countless words of foreign origin were incorporated in the Japanese language.

With the introduction of Chinese writing and the acculturation of Chinese civilisation in Japan thousands and thousands of Chinese words became current in Japanese. These words, the pronunciation of which has been adapted to the Japanese phonetic system, are called Sino-Japanese in order to distinguish them from both Chinese and Japanese. There are even words which have been so thoroughly ‘Japanised’ that they are no longer felt to be foreign words, e.g. *jude* (writing brush), *fumi* (document), *kinu* (silk), *semi* (cicade), *ume* (plum). Even nowadays the Japanese create compounds of Ch. words in order to render new concepts, e.g. *denwa*, ‘telephone’ (lit. ‘lightning, i.e. electric, words’), *genshi bakudan*, ‘A-bomb’ (lit. ‘original-parts-explosion-ball’). Many of these compounds made in Japan have been incorporated in modern Chinese and Korean.

In recent and modern times, too, words have been borrowed from Chinese. Like the Dutch the Chinese had a settlement at Nagasaki in the Edo period and many new Chinese words entered Japan through this port. An example of these is *isu* (Ch. *i-tze*), the normal J. word for ‘chair’. A word which has become part of the Nagasaki dialect is *shansu* (Ch. *hsiang-sze*, ‘mutual love’) used in the sense of ‘lover’, ‘paramour’. A large number of new Ch. loan-words in J. refer

<sup>8</sup> *Dō* in *Dōyaku* stand for ‘Doeff’ (J. pron. *Zūfu*). Imamura’s dictionary is also known as *Edo haruma*, Doeff’s as *Nagasaki haruma*.

<sup>9</sup> Among them we find: *Grammatica of Nederuutsche Spraakkunst* (Maatschappij tot nut van ’t algemeen, 1822<sup>3</sup>), *Syntaxis of woordvoeging der Nederuutsche Taal* (Maatschappij tot nut van ’t algemeen, 1810), and P. Weiland, *Nederuutsche Spraakkunst* (Dordrecht 1839).

- 10 K. *tyōl* is probably derived from Skr. *caitya*, 'cave-temple'.
- 11 *patchi* was already widely used in the second half of the eighteenth century; in the *Kasshi yawa* (1822) by Matsuura Seizan (1760–1841) the word is defined as Korean. Cf. Ugaki Minoru, *Nihon gairaigo no kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Kenkyūsha shuppa kabushiki kaisha, 1963), p.42.
- 12 Post-vocalic /k p t/ are pronounced without audible explosion in K., hence J. *chongā*.
- 13 The *n* in *bateren*, *hateren* is due to the normal pronunciation of the third Ch. character selected to render this word.
- 14 J. nouns have no special forms for the plural.
- 15 The Portuguese called this (yellow) cake probably 'pão de Castella' (Castilian bread) or 'bolo de Castella' (Castilian cake); it is a speciality of Northern Spain.
- 16 In old texts the form *sabon* is also found; in modern J. we have the hybrid word *sabon-sō*, 'soapwort' S.-J. *sō* means 'grass', 'herb'.
- 17 This does not mean that no D. words were borrowed after 1854.

to various kinds of food, e.g. *gyōza* or *chaozu* (Ch. *chiao-tze*), 'meat dumplings'. The phonetic characteristics of these new loan-words render them easily distinguishable from the old ones.

Contacts with other peoples, cultures and religions have led to the incorporation of loan-words from various other languages.

After the introduction of Buddhism from Korea in the middle of the sixth century a number of Sanskrit words were introduced via Chinese and Sino-Korean, e.g. *dhyāna*, 'meditation', Ch. *ch'an-na*, S.-K. *sōnna*, S.-J. *zenna*; *bhikṣu*, 'monk', Ch. *pi-ch'iu*, S.-K. *piqu*, S.-J. *bihu*. A very curious loan-word is J. *danna* from Skr; *dānapati*, 'munificent man', a compound consisting of *dāna*, 'the act of giving', and *pati*, 'master'. J. *danna* has the following meanings: 1. master, 2. husband, 3. Sir, 4. patron, benefactor, 4. parishioner (of a Buddhist temple). Another common word in Japanese is *hachi*, 'bowl', from Skr. *pātra* (original J. rendering: *pātara*).

Leaving aside the question whether Korean and Japanese were originally cognate languages, we find in Japanese several Korean words which were taken over in historical times. The oldest ones are *tera*, 'Buddhist temple' (K. *chōl* < *tyōl*)<sup>10</sup> and probably the place-name Nara (K. *nara*, 'country') written with characters which do not have any meaning in J. The Old J. word for 'puppet', *kugutsu*, may come from K. *kkohtu* which in its turn is probably a corruption of one of the Ch. words for 'puppet', *kuo-t'u* (ancient Ch. *k'âk-t'uk*). A word borrowed much later from K. is *patchi*, 'close-fitting trousers' (K. *paji*, cf. Goldi *pa*, 'trousers').<sup>11</sup>

Among the latest K. additions to the J. language we find *chongā* (K. *ch'ong'gak*)<sup>12</sup> 'batchelor'; *kisan* (K. *kisaeng*), 'geisha'; *noro* (K. *noru*), 'roe deer' (*Capreolus bedfordi*), *nukutē* (K. *nūktae*), 'Korean wolf' (*Canis lupus coreanus*); *ondoru* (K. *ondol*), 'Korean heater', 'hypocaust'. Some words, like *kisan* and *chongā*, have been incorporated in J. since the Taishō era (1912–26); other, like *nukutē*, are mainly used by Japanese repatriates from Korea.

In the sixteenth century, when Portuguese and Spanish missionaries came to Japan, a fairly large number of Portuguese and Spanish words were borrowed. As many of these will be mentioned in connection with D. loan-words, I will restrict myself to a few examples here. A Roman Catholic priest (P. *padre*) was called *pātere*, *bateren* or *hateren* in J.;<sup>13</sup> we even find the plural *hāteresu*.<sup>14</sup> The normal words for 'bread', 'cake' and 'button' in modern J. are *pan* (P. *pão*), *kasutera*/*kasuteira* (P. Castella)<sup>15</sup> and *botan* (P. *botão*). A J. word for 'soap' is *shabon*<sup>16</sup> (P. *sabão*, Sp. *jabón*), nowadays generally supplanted by S.-J. *sekken*. Still current in modern J. is the word *meriyasu* for 'hosiery', 'knitted goods' (Sp. *medias*, 'stockings').

In the period of 1609 until ca. 1860 a great many D. words were taken over. With these I shall deal later. For the Western loan-words in the Japanese language before the opening of the country we can, however, already draw up the following chronological table:

Portuguese	1543–1639
Spanish	1592–1624
English	1613–1623
Dutch	1609–1854. <sup>17</sup>

In recent times countless English words and, to a somewhat lesser extent, French and German words have become part of the Japanese language. A few examples of these are:



<i>naifu</i>	E. knife
<i>oiru</i>	E. oil (oil, gasoline, grease)
<i>purodakushon</i>	E. production (of a movie), especially used in the sense of 'studio'
<i>sutorippu[shō]</i>	E. striptease ( <i>shō</i> =show)
<i>sutorippā</i>	E. stripteaser
<i>tsuisuto</i>	E. twist
<i>rumpen</i>	G. <i>lumpen</i>
<i>ryukkusakku</i>	G. <i>rucksack</i>
<i>shan</i>	G. <i>schön</i>
<i>abekku</i>	F. <i>avec</i> , i.e. a couple or a date (rendezvous).

Musical terminology has been borrowed from Italian, e.g. *da-kāpo* (*da capo*), *moderāto* (*moderato*). One of the few Russian loan-words in Japanese is *pechika* (R. *pečka*), 'stove', 'oven', used by the Japanese formerly living in Manchuria.

Certain E. phrases and expressions, like *ai-donto-nō* (I don't know, also used in the sense of 'I have no concern with it') and *sankyū* (Thank you), have become part of modern Japanese. 'Japanese English' are compounds like *ōru-bakku*, 'all black', (i.e. hair combed straight back) and *sutekki-gāru*, '[walking-]stick girl' (a girl whom one hires for taking a walk). Further we find interesting hybrids like *bakku-shan* (E. back + G. *schön*, said of a girl who looks very attractive from behind, but turns out to be a disillusion when overtaken and seen in front); *kanningu-suru* (E. cunning + J. *suru*, 'to do', 'to do cunning', i.e. to cheat at an examination), *shū-kurīmu* (F. *chou* + E. cream: 'chou à la crème'), *tote-shan* (J. *tote*-[*mo*], 'utterly', + G. *schön*: 'a great beauty'), *tonde mo happun* (J. *tonde mo* + E. happen: 'never happen'; pure J. *tonde mo nai*, 'absurd', 'preposterous'). One of the latest additions to the Japanese language is *sutamina-ga tsuku*, lit. 'stamina is becoming attached', i.e. 'to put up endurance'.

With regard to the incorporation of loan-words in Japanese two observations are of primary importance:

1. In case of conformity of the structural rules of the foreign language with those of Japanese the loan-word will be incorporated without change in its phonemic composition, e.g. *kan* (D. *kan*, 'can', 'tin'), *sāi* (D. *saai*, 'mousseline de laine').
2. If there is no question of such conformity, the foreign element will be adapted to the structural rules of Japanese. In other words, the loan-morphemes are subjected to the same structural rules obtaining in J. morphemes.<sup>18</sup>

In order to make clear what changes a foreign word incorporated in Japanese will undergo it is necessary to give a survey of the rather simple sound-system of modern Standard Japanese.<sup>19</sup>

The J. language of the historical period reveals itself as a language of open syllables. A Japanese does not analyse the elements of pronunciation into consonants and vowels, but as combinations of these in syllables.<sup>20</sup>

18 Cf. for these formulations E.M. Uhlenbeck, *De Structuur van het Javaanse Morpheem* (Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen: *Verhandelingen* LXXVIII) (Bandoeng 1949), p.74.

19 The speech of the educated middle classes in and around Tōkyō. This definition does not imply that this speech is the exclusive possession of the native citizens of the Japanese capital.

20 He even 'thinks' in syllables. When asked to invert the word *katana* (sword) a Japanese will say *nataka* instead of *anatak*.

21 Cf. Bruno Lewin, *Abriss deri Japanischen Grammatik* (Wiesbaden, 1959), p.19. Most Japanese, however, tend to substitute /b/ for /v/; instead of *vaiorin* they will say *baiorin*. Cf. E. vanilla > J. *banira*.

Phoneme	Phoentic value	Remarks on phonetic environment and articulation
/a/	[a]	
/i/	[i]	
/u/	[u]	
/e/	[ɛ]	
/o/	[o]	
/k/	[k]	
/g/	{ [g] [ŋ]	in medial position
/s/	{ [s] [ʃ]	before [a], [u], [ɛ], [o] before [i], [j]
/z/	{ [z] [ʒ], [dʒ]	before [a], [u], [ɛ], [o] before [i], [j]
/t/	{ [t] [tʃ] [ts]	before [a], [ɛ], [o] before [i], [j] before [u],
/d/	[d]	before [a], [ɛ], [o]
/n/	[n]	
/h/	{ [h] [ç] [ʰ]	before [a], [ɛ], [o] unvoiced palatal spirant, before [i], [j] bilabial plosive, before [u]
/p/	[p]	
/b/	[b]	
/m/	[m]	
/y/	[j]	before [a], [u], [o]
/r/	[r]	not fully rolled
/w/	[w]	without rounding of the lips
/ɳ/	{ [m] [n] [ɳ]	before [p], [b], [m] before [t], [d], [n], [r] elsewhere: imperfect velar closure
/ʔ/	/ʔ/	glottal stop

The phoneme /v/ (phonetic value [v]) is only found in loan-words, e.g. *vaiorin* (E. violin).<sup>21</sup>

In the following chart the ‘basic’ syllables are presented in the usual order<sup>22</sup> *n* ([m], [n] or [ŋ] according to its phonetic environment.<sup>23</sup>

This chart is called *gojūon-zu*, ‘the table of the fifty<sup>24</sup> sounds’. The syllables are written with symbols (*kana*) abbreviated from phonetically used Ch. characters.

<i>a</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i> ([u])	<i>e</i> ([ɛ])	<i>o</i>
<i>ka</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ko</i>
<i>sa</i>	<i>shi</i> ([ʃi])	<i>su</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>so</i>
<i>ta</i>	<i>chi</i> ([tʃi])	<i>tsu</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>to</i>
<i>na</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>no</i>
<i>ha</i>	<i>hi</i> ([çi])	<i>fu</i> [Fɯ]	<i>he</i>	<i>ho</i>
<i>ma</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>mo</i>
<i>ya</i> ([ja])	<i>i</i>	<i>yu</i> ([ju])	<i>e</i>	<i>yo</i> ([jo]) <sup>25</sup>
<i>ra</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>ru</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>ro</i>
<i>wa</i>	<i>wi</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>wo</i> <sup>26</sup>

By adding diacritical signs to the symbols representing the syllables in the ‘*k*, *s*, *t* and *h* rows’ the so-called ‘impure sounds’ (*dakuon*) are rendered in writing. The syllables in question are:

<i>ga</i> ([ga])	<i>gi</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>ge</i>	<i>go</i>
<i>za</i>	<i>ji</i> ([ʒi] or ([dʒi])	<i>zu</i>	<i>ze</i>	<i>zo</i>
<i>da</i>	<i>ji</i> ([ʒi] or ([dʒi])	<i>zu</i>	<i>ze</i>	<i>zo</i>
<i>pa</i>	<i>pi</i>	<i>pu</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>po</i>

A special group is constituted by what might be termed the C(y)V syllables:

<i>kya</i> ([kja])	<i>kyu</i>	<i>kyo</i>
<i>gya</i> ([gja])	<i>gyu</i>	<i>gyo</i>
<i>sha</i> ([ʃa])	<i>shu</i>	<i>sho</i>
<i>ja</i> ([ʒa] or ([dʒa])	<i>ju</i>	<i>jo</i>
<i>cha</i> ([tʃa]) <i>che</i> ([tʃɛ]) <sup>27</sup>	<i>chu</i>	<i>cho</i>
<i>nya</i> ([nja])	<i>nyu</i>	<i>nyo</i>
<i>hya</i> ([çja])	<i>hyu</i>	<i>hyo</i>
<i>pya</i> ([pja])	<i>pyu</i>	<i>pyo</i>
<i>bya</i> ([bjja])	<i>byu</i>	<i>byo</i>
<i>mya</i> ([mjja])	<i>myu</i>	<i>myo</i>
<i>rya</i> ([rja])	<i>ryu</i>	<i>ryo</i> <sup>28</sup>

Each vowel may occur followed by each of the other vowels (e.g. *ai*, *ao*, *ie*, *ui*, *oi*). The vowel sequences *aa* ([a:],), *ii* ([i:],), *uu* ([u:],), *ee* ([ɛ:],), and *oo* ([o:],) are called long or doubled vowels and are rendered in the present article as *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ē* and *ō*.<sup>29</sup> The sequence *ei* is pronounced as [ɛ:], e.g. *geisha* ([gɛ:ʃa]).

22 The transcription used is Hepburn’s with the usual modifications. In order to facilitate comparison with the preceding survey renderings in phonetic symbols have occasionally been added in parentheses.

23 *n* is the result of nasalisation of an earlier *mu*. Hence it is considered to be a syllable (see below).

24 Actually forty-eight.

25 *yi* and *ye* do not exist. The (S.-J.) monetary denomination ‘yen’ is spelled *en*.

26 Although the syllables *wi*, *we* and *wo* are represented by symbols in J. writing, the semi-vowel *w* is not pronounced anymore.

27 Occurs only in loan-words (e.g. *chesu*, E. chess) and in the interjection *che?* (pshaw!, tchal). Its voiced counterpart *je* (found in a few loan-words) is spelled *ji-e* ([ʒiɛ]) in *kana*.

28 *ky*, *gy*, etc. are called ‘subsyllabic clusters’ by Samuel E. Martin, ‘Morphophonemics of Standard Colloquial Japanese’ (*Language* 28.3, pt.2 (July–Sept.) 1952: Supplement: Language Dissertation No. 47), p.12, 2.3. In J. *kana* these phonic units are spelled *ki-ya* (> *kya*), *chi-yo* (> *cho*), etc. Accordingly they are counted as consisting of two syllables in J. prosody.

29 According to the etymology of the morpheme, in which they occur, long vowels are spelled in various ways in traditional *kana* orthography, e.g. *o + u* (=ō), *o + ho* (=ō), *o + wo* (=ō), etc.

30 Other instances of assimilation, e.g. in verb forms, need not be considered here.

31 In other words: a syllable may consist of a consonant when followed by another consonant. For further details with regard to the J. sound-system the reader is referred to B. Bloch, *Studies in Colloquial Japanese IV. Phonemics* (= *Language* 26.1: 1950); F.J. Daniels, *The Sound System of Standard Japanese. A Tentative Account from the Teaching Point of View* (Tōkyō: Kenkyūshū 1958); E.R. Edwards, *Étude de phonétique de la langue Japonaise* (Leipzig, 1903); Martin, *op. cit.*; M.G. Mori, *The Pronunciation of Japanese* (Tōkyō: The Herald-sha, 1929); G. Wenck, *Japanische Phonetik*, Bd. I-III (Wiesbaden, 1954-57).

32 One would have expected something like *uēnroito* (cf. *uēnzudē*), 'Wednesday', and *supoito*, D. *sput*, 'syringe'.

33 In J. the various systems of writing play, of course, an important role in this respect. When Ch. characters are used to render the phonic units of a loan-word a reading variant may be the cause of a major change in its pronunciation (cf. *bateren* and *hateren* for P. *padre*). In case of renderings in *kana* the inadvertent omission or accidental addition of diacritical signs (see above) may, in some instances, have brought about transitions from voiced to voiceless consonants and vice versa. I am, however, of the opinion that this phenomenon will be restricted to a small number of words rarely used in daily conversation. The interchangeability of [k] ~ [g], [t] ~ [d] ~ [h], [p] ~ [b], etc, especially in medial positions, has always been a characteristic of the J. language.

34 <kyuruku? Cf. *gyuruden* (D. *gulden*, 'guilder').

35 Cf. J. *mutsukashii* ~ *muzukashii*, 'difficult'.

Only the consonants /k s t p/ may be lengthened, e.g. *kakkoku* (< *kaku* + *koku*), 'every country'; *nissen* (< *nichi* + *sen*), 'Japanese-Korean'; *shutten* (< *shutsu* + *ten*), 'source'; *happyō* (< *hatsu* + *hyō*), 'announcement'. This lengthening is the result of 'total assimilation' of *ku*, *chi*, *tsu* or (sometimes) *ki* preceding a voiceless consonant.<sup>30</sup>

Recapitulating we can say that J. syllables may consist of:

1. simple vowels (double vowels are regarded as two syllables)
2. consonant + vowel, 3. 'syllabic' *n* (< *mu*), 4. 'syllabic' *k*, *s*, *t* or *p* (in case of consonant lengthening).<sup>31</sup>

It is often rather easy to predict in which way a given loan-word will be adapted to the structural rules of Japanese, e.g. *nylon* > *nairon*, *Khabarovsk* > *habarofusuku*. Sometimes, however, we find phenomena which seem unaccountable, e.g. D. *wijnruit* (rue, *Ruta graveolens*) > *henrūda*.<sup>32</sup> Future research may elucidate the reasons for such curious changes.<sup>33</sup>

In the following I have restricted myself to the enumeration of a few important or striking examples of phonetic changes in borrowings from various Western languages. The survey is by no means exhaustive, but additional data are self-evident in the lists of D. loan-words included in this article.

Because of the comparative 'poverty' of the J. vowel-system the range of selection of substitutes for the vowels in loan-morphemes is very limited. J. [a] or [a:]. for instance, may represent [a], [æ], [ʌ], [ə], [ø], e.g. *kamera* (camera), *bata* (butter), *ēkā* (acre), *shan* (*schön*).

[u] sometimes becomes [o]. e.g. *hokku*, D. *hoek* (hook, clasp). [ʌ] may become [o] and even [i], e.g. *koruku*, *kiruku*<sup>34</sup> D. *kurk* (cork).

[kæ] becomes [kja], e.g. *kyanpingu* (camping), *kyabarē* (cabaret). For 'camera', however, we find *kyamera* as well as *kamera*.

[iə] is strengthened to [ija] or [i:ja], e.g. *hiya-hiya* (Hear! Hear!), *bīya-hōru* (beer-hall).

[ɔə] becomes [oa], e.g. *doa* (door).

As the J. dentals preceding [i] and [u] are affricates, the Japanese substitute [tʃi] for [ti] and [tsu] for [tu]. e.g. *chifusu* (typhus, D. pronunciation!), *tsungūsu* (Tungus).

The E. dental fricatives [θ] and [ð] become [s], [z], [ʃ] (before [i]), [ʒ] (before [i]), and even [t]. e.g. *sankyū* (thank you), *suriru* (thrill), *shiodoa* (Theodore), *hiyashinsu* or *hiyashinto* (hyacinth).

[l] becomes [r], e.g. *hai-sukūru* (high school).

[p] becomes [p] or [f], e.g. *porutogaru* (Portugal), *purasu* (plus), *furashi* (plush), *nafukin* (napkin). Cf. the concluding remark of note 33 above.

Voiced and unvoiced consonants are often interchangeable: *madorosu* ~ *matorosu*, D. *matroos* (sailor).<sup>35</sup>

From the foregoing examples it becomes clear that the syllabic structure of the loan-morph is fully subjected to the structural rules pertaining to the J. syllables. As consonant clusters like [pr], [kr], [st], etc. do not exist in J. and as every word ends in a vowel (this statement includes *n* < *mu*), all J. vowels can act as so-called parasitic vowels:

<i>garasu</i> , 'glass' (D.)	<i>sukēto</i> , 'skate' (E.)
<i>pātere</i> , 'padre' (P.)	<i>guriru</i> , 'grill' (E.)
<i>kirishitan</i> , 'Christao' (P.)	<i>puro</i> , 'Pro[letarier]' (G.)
<i>gurafu</i> , 'graph' (E.)	<i>dorama</i> , 'drama' (E.)

With regard to the parasitic vowels we can often distinguish between (a) regressive and (b) progressive assimilation:

- (a) *karan*, D. kraan (tap, faucet) *kereppu*, D. klep (valve)  
 (b) *hakka*, D. haak (hook) *hoko*, D. vork (fork) *zukku*, D. doek (canvas).

In *kirinki*, D. klink (latch), we find both regressive and progressive assimilation. Interesting in this respect is the difference between *Marukusu* (Marx) and *marukishizumu* (Marxism).

The accent of foreign words in Japanese has nothing to do with that in the original language, e.g. *dōresu*, 'dress', *dōrama*, 'drama' (in Kyōto: *dorāma*).

Further, we find a strong tendency to abbreviate the original words, e.g. *bāten* for *bātendā* (bartender), *demo* for *demonsutorēshon* (demonstration), *puchi-buru* for *puchi-burujoa* (petit bourgeois), *zene-suto*<sup>36</sup> for *zeneraru-sutoraiki* (general strike). *puro* is an abbreviation of seven different loan-words: 1. *puroretariya* (G. *Proletarier*), 2. *puroguramu* (E. program), 3. *puropaganda* (E. propaganda), 4. *purosuteichūto* (E. prostitute), 5. *purofeshonaru* (E. professional), 6. *purodakushon* (E. production, used in the sense of 'a studio', 'a lot'), 7. *purosento* (P. *procento* or G. *Prozent*). Sometimes such abbreviations are very curious and hardly recognisable, e.g. *hōmu* for *purattohōmu* (platform); *ketto* for *buranketto* (blanket).

Nowadays the loan-words from Western languages and Korean are generally written in *katakana* (the 'square or 'straight-lined' syllabary), formerly Chinese characters were selected for them according to various principles. Generally these characters merely represented the sounds of the word in question, sometimes characters were chosen which had some real or supposed connection with the meaning of the loan-word;<sup>37</sup> in a limited number of cases new characters were created (mostly for weights and measures, e.g. *mairu*, E. mile, and *guramu*, E. gram).

With regard to the following lists of Dutch words in Japanese it should be noted that the designation 'Dutch' is used in a very wide sense, since Latin, Greek, Arabic, Malay and other words which were borrowed via Dutch have been included (e.g. *araki*, D. arak from Arabic *araq*; *oran ūtan*, D. *orang oetan* from M. *orang utan*).

Although I have aimed at completeness, I have omitted such very rare words as *okuri kankuri* ('Dutch': *oculi cancri*) and *saru-maruchisu*. ('Dutch': *sal martis*).

Geographical names have not been listed. Some of these, like *Doitsu*, 'Duits[lancl]' (Germany), and *Toruko*, 'Turkije' (Turkey) were borrowed from Dutch at an early date; others, like *Zoideru-zē*, 'Zuiderzee' (Zuyder Zee), and *Māsu-gawa*, D. 'Maas' + J. *kawa* (river) are more recent acquisitions.

The words marked with an asterisk are still used nowadays; a date added between brackets indicates when the word in question is first found in Japanese literature.<sup>38</sup> In the case of a word fallen into disuse the new word replacing it has generally been listed; such a word is preceded by Ns. (= nowadays [supplanted by]).

36 To be distinguished fro *zen-suto*, a compound consisting of S.-J. *zen* (entirely) and E. *suto* (+ *sutorippi*, striptease): 'completely nude' (a term used in connection with burlesque shows).

37 The obsolete hybrid *karakun-chō* (D. kalkoen, 'turkey', + S.-J. *chō*, 'bird', for instance, was rendered by three ideographs meaning 'China bird' (Ch. *t'ang-kuo-niao*)! It goes without saying that such a way of writing may give rise to curious folk-etymologies; on the other hand, the selection of 'meaningful' characters may itself be the result of folk-etymology.

38 In several cases it will become clear that words which are generally thought to be of E. origin have actually been borrowed from Dutch. The use of certain D. loan-words may, however, have been continued under the influence of cognate E. words, with which the Japanese became familiar afterwards. In the same way P. loan-words have often been 'reinforced' by D. loan-words.

### A. Genuine Dutch Words

1. *\*akashia, \*akashiya*, acacia.
2. *amumonia, \*anmonia, \*anmoniya*, ammonia.
3. *\*ananasu*, ananas (pine-apple). Ns. *painappuru* (E.) is more common.
4. *\*anchimonī, antemonyūmu*, antimonie, antimonium (antimony). Ns. also *anchimon* (G.).
5. *aneisu, \*anisu*, v. B 2.
6. *anjaberu, anjelier* (carnation, *Dianthus caryophyllus*). Ns. *kānēshon* (E.).
7. *\*anmoniya*, v. *amumonia*.
8. *antemonyūmu*, v. *anchimoni*.
9. *\*arabia-gomu*, Arabisch gom (gum arabic). Ns. also: *arabiya-gomu*.
10. *araki, arak* (arrack).
11. *aroe, aloë* (aloe, *Aquilaria agallocha*). Ns. *jinkō* (S.-J.).
12. *\*arukari*, alkali.
13. *\*arukōu, arukohoru*, alcohol.
14. *arumen-sai, armezij[n], armozijn* (ormesine, a kind of taffeta silk).
15. *\*arunika*, arnica.
16. *arusemu, arusen*, alsem (wormwood, *Artemisia absinthium*).
17. *āteru*, v. *ēteru*.
18. *\*baito, beitel* (bite — as a tool). Ns. also used as an abbreviation of *arubaito* (G. Arbeit), ‘side-work’.
19. *bakku, bak* (cistern, tank).
20. *banko*, v. B 3.
21. *bariken, bergeend* (bergander). Also called *oranda-ahiru* (P. + J.), ‘Dutch duck’.
22. *baromētoru*, barometer. Ns. *baromētā* (E.) or *seiukei* (S.-J.).
23. *\*barusamu*, balsem (balm, balsam).
24. *barusamu-hēryū, \*perū-barusamu*, Perubalsem (Peruvian balsam).
25. *bengara*, Bengalen (Bengal), but referring to ‘Indian red’, ‘red-ochre rouge’. The name is due to the fact that it was imported by the Dutch from Bengal. Ns. supplanted by the ‘japanised’ form *benigara*.
26. *\*berensu*, Berlijns [blauw] (Prussian blue). Also: *berurin-sei* (G. Berlin + S.-J. sei, ‘blue’) or *konjō* (S.-J.).
27. *besukoito*, v. *bisuketto*.
28. *\*bīru* (1724), bier (beer). The E. word ‘beer’ is found in *bīya-hōru* (beer-hall).
29. *\*bisuketto, besukoito, beschuit* (rusk). Ns. also used for biscuit in general and for crackers. The word might be a ‘continuation’ or ‘reinforcement’ of *bisukōto* (P. biscoito), cf. B4.
30. *bisumitto*, bismuth. Ns. *sōen* (S.-J.).
31. *bīto, biet* (beet). Ns. used in *bīto-tō*, ‘beet sugar’ (v. C 4).
32. *bōgoru*, v. *hōgoru*.
33. *\*bonbon*, bonbon (sweet, sugar-plum).
34. *bōru, bōro*, v. C 5.
35. *bōtō*, bout (bolt).
36. *bōtoru, bōtoro, boter* (butter). Ns. *bata* (E.). Cf. E S.
37. *\*bui*, boei (buoy).
38. *\*buriki, burikki, blik* (tin-plate).

39. \**burionia*, \**burioniya*, bryonia (bryony).  
 40. \**chibusu*, \**chifusu*, typhus.  
 41. \**chinki*, tinctuur (tincture, solvent).  
 42. \**dansu*, dans (dance).  
 43. *darai*, v. C 7.  
 44. \**dekki*, dek (deck — of a ship).  
 45. \**dolkku* (1854), dok (dock).  
 46. \**dokutoru*, *dokter* (physician, doctor). Ns. also *dohutā* (E.).  
 47. *dondoru*, *donder* (thunder), used in the sense of ‘explosive compound’. Ns. *bakuhatsuyaku* (S.-J.).  
 48. *dontaku*, zondag (a holiday, lit. Sunday). Ns. rarely used except in dialects (q.v.). Cf. also C 10.  
 49. \**doroppu*, drop (licorice). The plural *doroppusu* is, of course, inspired by E. ‘drops’. Distinguish *doroppu* (E.): 1. drop (baseball term); 2. drop (failure in examination); 3. in such neologisms as *ia-doroppu*, ‘ear-drop’.  
 50. \**doru*, *doruraru*, dollar. *darā* (E.) is also used.  
 51. \**ekisu*, extract.  
 52. \**enishida*, genista (Scotch broom, *Cytisus scoparius*).  
 53. \**ereki*, *erekiteru*, *erekishiteito*, electriciteit (electricity), also used in the sense of ‘magnet’. Ns. generally supplanted by *denki* (S.-J.).  
 54. *erekimētoru*, electrometer. Ns. *den’ikei*.  
 55. *erikishiru*, elixir. Ns. *erikisā* (E.).  
 56. *erekiterumētoru*, electrometer. Cf. 54.  
 57. *eru*, *el* (ell, yard).  
 58. \**erubyūmu*, erbium.  
 59. \**ēteru*, *āteru*, ether.  
 60. *fukurin*, v. *goro*.  
 61. *furafu*, vlag (flag). Ns. still used in certain dialects (q.v.).  
 62. \**furanneru*, *furano*, flanel (flannel). Also abbreviated as *neru* (q.v.).  
 63. *furesu*, fles (bottle). Rarely found; normal was *furasuko* or *furasoko* (P., Sp. *frasco*).<sup>39</sup> Ns. *bin* (S.-J.).  
 64. \**furinto-garasu*, flintglas (flint-glass).  
 65. *furugōrōtogarasu*, vergrootglas (magnifying-glass). Ns. *kaku-daikyō* (S.-J.).  
 66. *furyūorine*, fluorine. Ns. *fusso* (S.-J.).  
 67. *furyūoru*, fluor (fluorine).  
 68. *fusuke*, hoekijzer (angle steel).  
 69. *fūzeru*, v. C 8.  
 70. *garamu*, gram. Ns. *guramu* (D., E.).  
 71. \**garasu* (1763), glas (glass, plate glass). E. glass is found in *opera-gurasu*, ‘opera glass’.  
 72. \**gasu* (1822), gas.  
 73. *gatto*, [man]gat (manhole). Ns. *manhōru* (E.).  
 74. *gerein*, grein (grain — as a weight).  
 75. \**gingamu*, v. B 5 and C 9.  
 76. \**gipusu*, gips (gypsum, plaster cast).  
 77. *giyaman*, *jiamante*,<sup>40</sup> diamant (diamond). Ns. *daiya[mondo]* (E.). Cf. E 13.  
 78. \**gomu* (1847), gom (gum, rubber). *gamu* (E.) is used in the sense of ‘chewing-gum’.

39 *furasoko* may still be heard in Nagasaki.

40 *jiamante* is probably of P. or Sp. origin: *diamante*, cf B 7.

- 41 The old D. word 'grein' = F. 'graine', a collective noun indicating silkworm's eggs.
- 42 In his *Gairgaigo no hanashi* (Ōsaka: Shin-Nippon tosho kabushi ki kaisha sōritsu, 1944), p.189, Shinmura Izuru relates that in the military drill at the middle schools of Shizouka around 1890 Dutch terms were used, e.g. *haruto*. In this case, however, (considering the period concerned) the word may also be of G. derivation.
- 43 The syllable *tsu* in *kamitsure* was originally used in writing in order to indicate the doubling of the *l* (cf. the syllable *ru* in *kamirure*).
79. \**gorofukurin*, *gorofukuren*, \**goro*, *fukurin*, *grofgrein*. This word is often translated as 'camlet' in dictionaries, but actually it refers to a coarse stuff made of silk and mohair.<sup>41</sup> Note the interesting abbreviations *goro* (*gro*[*fgrein*]) and *fukurin* ([*gro*]*fgrein*)! Cf. E 10 and E 14.
80. *gorosu*, *gros* (gross, twelve dozen).
81. \**guramu*, v. *garamu*.
82. \**gurosu*, *gros* (gross, twelve dozen).
83. *gyuruden*, *gulden* (guilder). Ns. *girudā* (E.).
84. *hakka*, *haak* (hook- in the sense of 'boat-hook' and the like).
85. \**hamu*, *ham*. Cf. *rakan*.
86. \**harogen*, *halogeen* (halogen).
87. *haruto*, *haru*, *halt!*<sup>42</sup>
88. *haruma*, [François] Halma (1653-1722) — used in the sense of 'Dutch-Japanese dictionary' (see the introduction).
89. *hatoron*, *patroon* (cartridge), but used in the sense of 'kraft paper'. Cf. C II.
90. \**henrūda*, *wijnruit* (rue, *Ruta graveolens*).
91. *heruhetoan*, *perpetuaan* (perpetuana). V. B 6.
92. \**hetto* (1848), *vet* (fat).
93. \**hipokonderī*, *hypochondrie* (hypochondria). Ns. also *yūutsushō* (S.-J.).
94. *hipokonderu*, *hypochonder* (hypochondriac). Ns. *yūutsushōkanja* (S.-J.).
95. \**hisoppu*, *hysop* (hyssop, *Hyssopus officinalis*).
96. *hiyosuyamosu*, \**hiyosu*, *hyoscyamus* (henbane, *Hyoscyamus niger*).
97. *hōgorō*, *bōgoru*, [struis]vogel (ostrich). Ns. *dachō* (S.-J.).
98. *hōittsuru*, v. *hōwittsuru*.
99. \**hokku*, *hoek* (hook — clasp, hook-and-eye).
100. *hokushia*, *foksia* (fuchsia, *Fuchsia hybrida*). Ns. *fukushia*, *fukushiya* (E.).
101. \**hoppu*, *hop* (hop, *Humulus lupulus*).
102. *horoppu*, *prop* (plug, stopper). Cf. *koroppu*.
103. *horuko*, *hoko*, *vork* (fork). Ns. *foku*, *hōku* (E.).
104. *hōwittsuru*, *houwitser* (howitzer).
105. *inden*, Indië[n] (the Indies), used for a kind of soft leather imported by the Dutch.
106. \**infuruenza*, *influenza*. A rare and 'vulgar' abbreviation is *inpure*.
107. \**inki* (1800), *inkt* (ink). *Inku* (E.) is also used (e.g. *inku-sutando*, 'inkstand').
108. \**irijūmu*, *iridium*.
109. *jiamante*, v. *giyaman*.
110. \**jigitarisu*, *digitalis* (foxglove, *Digitalis purpurea*).
111. \**jigitarisu-chinki*, *digitalistinctuur* (a tincture of digitalis).
112. *jira*, *dille* (dill, *Anethum graveolens*). Ns. *inondo* (J.).
113. *jukku*, v. *zukku*.
114. \**kaban*, *kabas* (bag, satchel, suitcase).
115. \**kadomyūmu*, *kadmium* (cadmium).
116. \**kakao*, *cacao*.
117. \**kamereon*, *kameleon* (chameleon).
118. \**kamitsure*<sup>43</sup> *kamirure*, *kamire*, *kamille* (chamomile).
119. \**kan*, *kan* (can, tin). *Kan* is also the S.-J. reading of two Ch. characters (Ch.



- kuan*, ‘jug’, ‘jar’) representing this word in the written language, but the word is of D. origin.<sup>44</sup> Cf. c 14.
120. \**kanariya*, *kanarie* (canary [bird]). Cf. for the rendering in J. the old D. plural ‘*kanaryen*’. The word can hardly be of P. origin, since in that language a distinction is made between (male) *canário* (the bird that sings!) and (female) *canária* (the same holds good in Sp.).
121. \**kanfuru*, *kanpuru*, *kanheru*, *kanpora*, *kamfer* (camphor).
122. *kanon*, v. C 13.
123. \**kantarisu*, *kantharis* (cantharides).
124. \**kantera*, *kanteira*, *kandelaar* (candle-stick), used in the sense of ‘metal hand lamp’. The word is sometimes assumed to be of P. origin (*candeia*, ‘lamp’), in which case the ending would be due to the example of *kasutera*.
125. *kapitan*, v. B 9.
126. *kapperu*, *kachel* (stove). In Nagasaki formerly called *kāheru*.
127. *kappuri*, *kappen?* (to chop), the name of a knife imported by the Dutch.
128. *karakon*, *karakun*, v. C 15.
129. \**karan* (1854), *kraan* (tap, cock, faucet).
130. *karato*, \**karatto*, *karaat* (carat).
131. \**kari*, *kali*.
132. \**karyūmu*, *kalium* (potassium). Ns. also called *potashūmu* (E.).
133. *karomeru*, *calomel*. Ns. *kankō* (S.-J.).
134. \**karuki*, *kalk* (lime). Ns. used in the sense of ‘bleaching powder’.
135. *karumein*, *karmijn* (carmine). Ns. *kāmin* (E.).
136. *karusai*, v. J3 10.
137. \**karushūmu*, *calcium*.
138. *karuuei*, *karwij* (caraway, *Carum carvi*). Ns. *karauē* (E.) or *hime-uikyō*
139. *kasutoryūmu*, *castoreum* (castor). Ns. *umidanuki-kō* (J. + S.-J.).
140. \**katēteru*, *katheter* (catheter).
141. *kayapūte*, *kajapoet* (cajeput, *Melaleuca cajuputi*). Ns. *kayu-puchi* (M. *kayu*, ‘wood’; *putih*, ‘white’).
142. *kazuaru*, *kazuwaru*, *kazowaru*, *casuaris* (cassowary). This might be a loanword from P. (*casuár*), but the bird was often imported by the Dutch. Ns. *hikuidori* (J.), lit. ‘fire-eating bird’.
143. *kei*, v. C 16.
144. *keitoru*, *ketel* (steam-boiler).
145. *kereito* (1822), *krijt* (chalk). Ns. *hakuboku* (S.-J.).
146. \**kereosōto* (1856), *creosoot* (creosote).
147. *kereppu*, *klep* (valve).
148. *ketchin*, *ketting* (chain).
149. \**kina*, *kina* (cinchona, quinine).
150. \**kinīne*, *kinine* (quinine).
151. *kinogomu*, *kinogom* (kino gum). Ns. *sekkō* (S.-J.) or *kino-jushi* (D.+ S.-J.).
152. *kirinki*, *klink* (latch).
153. *kirishisu* (1834), *crisis* (of an illness). Ns. *kiki* (S.-J.), *tōge* (J.).
154. *kirisuteru*, *klisteer* (enema, clyster). Ns. *kanchō* (S.-J.).
155. \**kīru*, *kiel* (keel — of a ship).

44 Cf. Ishiguro Yoshimi, *Nippongo no sanpo* (Tōkyō: Kadokawa shoten, 1963), p.32, and cf. Kinaichi, p.156.

45 In popular language *korera* was often corrupted into *korori*, as sufferers from this disease died a sudden death (*korori-to shinu*) after a few days (cf. Ugaki, p.116). *Korori* was in that case written with various Ch. characters representing the three syllables; interesting is the writing ‘tiger-wolf-diarrhoea’. In the Nagasaki dialect cholera is called *tonkoro*, a word said to be derived from *ton* (the sound of a gun) and *korobu* (to fall over), because people attacked by this disease tumble over and die as if shot by a gun! (cf. G.B. Sansom, ‘Notes on Dialectical Usages in the Nagasaki District,’ *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* XXXVIII 3 (1910): 91–123, esp. pp.119–20.)

156. \**kiruku*, *kiruko*, \**koruku*, *kurk* (cork). The word *koruku* is already found in 1759, so that it cannot be of E. derivation. Cf. *koroppu*.
157. \**kobaruto*, *kobalt* (cobalt).
158. \**kōhī* (1797), *koffie* (coffee).
159. \**kōhī-shioppu*, *koffiesiroop* (coffee syrup).
160. \**kokku* (1615), *kok* (cook).
161. *komein*, *komijn* (cummin, *Cuminum cyminum*. Ns. *kamin* (E.) or *hime-uikyō* (cf. A 138).
162. \**konma*, *komma* (comma).
163. \**konpasu* (1837), *konpatsu*, *kompas* (compass[es]): 1. a pair of compasses (in D. no longer used in this sense); 2. a mariner’s compass (also S.-J. *rashinban*); 3. legs (slang), e.g. *kompasu ga nagai*, ‘to have long legs’, ‘to walk with long strides’. See also *passuru*.
164. \**koppu*, v. B 13.
165. \**korera* (1822), *cholera*.<sup>45</sup>
166. \**koroido*, *kolloid* (colloid).
167. \**korojion*, *collodion*.
168. *korokinto*, *kolokwint* (colocynth, *Citrullus colocynthis*). Ns. *koroshinto-uri* (E. + J.).
169. *korōn-garasu*, *kroonglas* (crown-glass). Ns. *kuraun-garasu* (E.+ D.).
170. \**koroppu*, *kurk*, *prop* (cork, stopper). Probably a contamination of *koruku* and *horoppu* (q.v.).
171. \**koruku*, v. *kiruku*
172. *kūkū*, *koekoek* (cuckoo). Normally called *hototogisu* (J.), *kakkō* (S.-J.) or *kakkō-dori* (S.-J. + J.).
173. *kuwasshia*, *kwassie*[hout] (quassia, bitterwood). Ns. *kuwashiya* (E.?).
174. \**madorosu*, *matorosu*, *matarosu*, *matroos* (sailor, marine). Sometimes used in the sense of ‘blockhead’, ‘dunce’. Cf.C20.
175. \**maguneshia*, \**maguneshiya*, *magnesia*.
176. \**maguneshūmu*, *magnesium*.
177. *magunēto*, *magneet* (magnet). Ns. *magunetto* (E.). Cf. *ereki*.
178. \**mangan*, *mangaan* (manganese).
179. *manteru*, *mantoru*, \**manto*, *mantel* (cloak, cape). *Manto* might be an abbreviation of *mantoru*; cf. however P. *manto*. There is another word *mantoru* (E.) used in the sense of ‘gas mantle’.
180. \**marariya*, *malaria*.
181. *marumeira*, v. B IS.
182. *marumotto*, \**morumotto*, *marmot* (1. marmot; 2. guinea pig).
183. \**masuchikku*, *mastiek* (mastic).
184. \**masuto* (1848), *mast*.
185. *matarosu*, *matorosu*, v. *madorosu*.
186. *menī*, *menie* (minium, red lead). Ns. *entan* (S.-J.).
187. \**merankorī*, *melancholic* (melancholy).
188. *meriki*, v. *meruki*.
189. *merissa*, *melisse* (balm-mint). Ns. *merissa-yō* (D. + S.-J.)
190. *meruki*, *meriki*, *melk* ([mother’s] milk). The normal words for ‘breast milk’ are *chichi* (J.) and *bonyū* (S.-J.); in the case of ‘cow’s milk’ or ‘condensed milk’ the words *miruk*; (E.) and *gyūnyu* (S.-J.) are used.

191. \**mesu*, *mes* (knife) — only used in the sense of ‘surgical knife’.
192. *mohi*, abbreviation of *moruhine* (q.v.).
193. *mōru*, *moer* (nut — a negative screw).
194. \**mōru*, *moor* (blackamoor),<sup>46</sup> but used as the name for a kind of thick cloth woven with raised figures which was imported by the Dutch from India. Ns. used in the sense ‘lace’, ‘braid’.
195. *moruchūru*, *mortier* (mortar — as a gun).
196. \**moruchine*, *mohi*, *morphine*.
197. \**morumotto*, v. *marumotto*.
198. *mosukobia*, *musukobiya*, *musukobea*, *Moskovia*: a kind of wrinkled leather imported by the Dutch.<sup>47</sup>
199. *musuku*, *muscus* (musk), formerly also spelled ‘muskes’; in older D. we also find the form ‘musk’ (borrowed from F *muse*). Ns. *jakō* (S.-J.).
200. *nafuta*, *naputa*, *naphtha*. Ns. *nafusa-yu* (E. + S.-J.).
201. *narukochine*, *narcotine*. Ns. *narukochin* (E.).
202. \**natoryūmu*, *natrium*.
203. \**neru*, abbreviation of *furanneru* (q.v.).
204. \**nikkeru*, *nikkel* (nickel).
205. \**oburāto*, *oblaat* (oblate, medicinal wafer).
206. \**okutanto*, *octant*. Ns. also: *hachibungi* (S.-J.). Cf. *sekisutanto*.
207. \**onsu* (1822), *ons* (ounce).
- 208\**opāru*, *opaal* (opal).
- 209\**opopanakkusu*, *opopana*, *opopanax*.
210. *oran ūtan*, *orang oetan* (orang utan). Ns. *shōjō* (S.-J.). Cf. *posumensu*.
211. \**orēfu*, \**orēbu*, *orību*, *olijf* (olive). *Orību* may be of E. derivation.
212. \**orugōru*, *orugoru*, *orukoru*, *orukōru*, *orgel* (organ). Ns. only used in the sense of ‘music box’ (the normal word for ‘organ’ being *orugan*, E.).
213. \**osumyūmu*, *osmium*.
214. *pappu*, *pap* (porridge).
215. \**paretto*, *palet* (palette).
216. *parurajūmu*, *palladium*. Ns. *parajūmu* (E.).
217. *passuru*, *passer* (a pair of compasses). Cf. *konpasu*.
218. *patoron*, *patroon* (paper cartridge).<sup>48</sup> Cf. *hatoron*.
219. *pekki*, *pikki*, \**penki*,<sup>49</sup> *pek*, *pik* (pitch, tar), but nowadays only used in the sense of ‘paint’.
220. *pepushine*, *pepsine* (pepsin). Ns. *pepushin* (E.).
221. *peresu*, *pers* (press — as an instrument for pressing).
222. \**perikan*, *pelikaan* (pelican).
223. \**perū-barusamu*, v. *barusamu-hēryū*.
224. \**pesuto* (1856), *pest*. Also called *kokushibyō* (S.-J.), ‘the disease of the black death’ (a translation from D. or E.).
225. *pikki*, v. *pekki*.
226. \**pinsetto*, *pincet* (a pair of tweezers).
227. \**pinto* (< *pyunto?*) , [brand]punt (focus).
228. *pinto-garasu*, [brand]punt-glas (burning-lens?, cf. C 24 — in which sense it is also used).
229. \**pisutoru* (1837), *pistool* (pistol).

46 Some scholars consider the word to be derived from ‘Mogul’.

47 The adjective ‘Moscovisch’ formerly indicated various kinds of merchandise in D.

48 *patoron* (E.) is used in modern J. in the sense of ‘sponsor’, ‘supporter’. The normal word for ‘cartridge’ is *yakukō* (S.-J.).

49 Ugaki (p.63, n.1) calls the *n* in *penki* an ‘unoriginal medial *n*’ and compares it with the *n* in ‘nightingale’.

- 50 In the beginning of the Meiji era *ponsu* was a well-known remedy against colds; it consisted of squashed bitter oranges (*daidai*), to which sugar was added. Cf. Shinmura Izuru, p.187.
- 51 'Rookham' is unusual D., but cf. 'rookspek' (smoked bacon).
- 52 In several D. texts of the first half of the nineteenth century this word is spelled 'randsel' (cf. Norwegian and Danish).
- 53 Originally the D. word 'limonade' corresponded with E. lemonade; nowadays this syrup is also prepared from other fruits than lemons; in that case the corresponding word in J. is *shiroppu* (q.v.).
- 54 Sometimes one finds *safuran* listed as a word of P. origin; this is hardly possible, since the P. is *açafrão* (Sp. *azafán*).
- 55 Not to be confused with 'Suntory' (in *kana* spelled *santorī*), the popular Japanese whisky brand.
230. *pokkuhōto*, pokhout (guaiac, *Lignum vitae*). Ns. *yusōboku* (S.-J.).
231. \**pondo*, *pōndo* (1781), pond (pound — as a weight and as a monetary unit). *paundo* (E.) is also used.
232. \**ponpu* (1798), pomp (pump).
233. \**ponsu*, pons (punch — alcoholic and non-alcoholic: squash).<sup>50</sup>
234. *poregara*, *porigara*, polygala (milkwort, *Polygala sibirica*). Ns. *himehagi* (J.).
235. \**porudā*, polder (the most recent loan-word from D.).
236. *posumensu*, bosmens (orang utan). Cf. A 210.
237. *pottorōdo*, potlood (lead-pencil). Modern S.-J. *enpitsu*. is a literal translation of 'lead-pencil'.
238. \**purachina*, platina. Also: *hakkin* (S.-J.), lit. 'white gold'.
239. *rabaruberu*, rabarber (rhubarb — as medicine, *Rheum officinale*). Ns. *daiō* (S.-J.).
240. *rāhenderu*, lavendel (lavender, *Lavandula officinalis*). Ns. *rabenderu*, *rabendā* (E.).
241. *rakan*, rookham (smoked ham).<sup>51</sup>
242. *rāken*, laken (cloth). Ns. *orimono* (J.), *rasha* (P., cf. B 17), etc.
243. *rakkamūsu*, lakmoes (Dutch blue, litmus). Ns. *ritomasu* (E.).
244. \**randoseru*, ransel<sup>52</sup> (knapsack, satchel).
245. \**ranpu*, lamp.
246. \**ransctto*, lancet. D. 'continuation' of *ransetta* (P.), cf. B 16.
247. *rasen*, rassen. D. 'continuation' of *rasha* (P.), cf. B 17.
248. \**raten*, *ratein*, Latijn (Latin).
249. *raurīru*, laurier (laurel, bay, *Laurus nobilis*). Ns. *gekkeiju* (S.-J.).
250. *raurīru-kerusu*, laurierkers (cherry-laurel).
251. *reiperu*, lepel (spoon). Ns. *supūn* (E.) used alongside with *saji* (J.).
252. \**renzu*, lens.
253. \**repura*, lepra (leprosy). Also called *raibyō* (S.-J.).
254. \**retoruto*, retort.
255. \**retteru*, letter (letter — character). Ns. only used in the sense of 'label'. Hence it is sometimes explained as being derived from G. Zettel.
256. \**richūmu*, lithium.
257. *rimonáde*, limonade (lemonade). Ns. *remonēdo*, *ramune* (E.), *reman-sui* (E. + S.-J.).<sup>53</sup>
258. \**rinneru*, linnen (linen). *Rinen* (E.) is also used.
259. \**rinpa*, lymph, lympe (lymph).
260. *rosutoru*, rooster (1. gridiron; 2. grate — of a stove).
261. *rūfuru*, *rūpuru*, *zūjufu*, roeper (megaphone). Ns. *megahon* (E.).
262. *sabajirura*, *sabajira*, *sabadilla* (*Schoenocaulon officinale*).
263. \**sāberu*, sabel (saber). Also used in the sense of 'militarism', e.g. *sāberu-naikaku* (D. + S.-J.), 'a militarist cabinet'.
264. \**safuran*, saffraan (saffron).<sup>54</sup>
265. *sāi*, *saai*. D. 'continuation' of *saya*, *sāya* (P.), cf. B 18.
266. \**sakku* (1848), zak (sack), used in the sense of: 1. a case (for glasses); 2. a condom (Cf. D 6); 3. a pessary; 4. a finger stall.
267. *santonīne*, santonine (santonin). Ns. *santonin* (E.).
268. *sautortī*, santorie (centaury, *Erythraea centaurium*).<sup>55</sup>
269. *sarādo*, *sarado*, \**sarada*, salade, salaad (salad).
270. \**sareppu*, salep (saloop, salep).

271. *sarusaparirura*, \**sarusa*, sarsaparilla (*Smilax officinalis*, *Smilax medica*). 56 -ji was misunderstood as S.-J. ji (texture, fabric), hence the abbreviation *seru*.
272. *saruze*, v. *seruji*.
273. \**sassafurasu*, sassafras (*Sassafras albidum*). 57 In the latter sense it is also found as *tāheru*.
274. \**saten*, satijn D. ‘continuation’ of *shichin*, *shuchin* (P.), cf. B 19.
275. *seikuru*, \**seiuchi*, zeekoe (manatee, dugong). The word, however, referred to the teeth of the male of this mammal, also know as *suizōge* (S.-J.), ‘water ivory’. Cf. A 278.
276. *seimi*, chemic (chemistry). Cf. C 27.
277. *seirasu*, zelas (derived from ‘Ceylon’). The word refers to a kind of silk imported by the Dutch from Ceylon.
278. \**seiuchi*, v. *seikuru*. The mutilation of this word is ununderstandable. *Ns.* used to denote a walrus.
279. *sehikutanto*, *sekkikutanto*, sextant. *Ns.* *rohubishi*, Cf. *okutanto*.
280. \**semen*, 1. semencine (cf. next entry); 2. abbreviation of *semento* (q.v.).
281. \**semenshina*, semen cinae (santonica, *Artemisia cina*).
282. \**semento*, cement.
283. \**senega*, senega (*Polygala senega*).
284. \**seruji*, \**seru*, *saruze*, serge.<sup>56</sup> *Ns.* also *sāji* (E.).
285. \**shian*, cyaan (cyanogen).
286. *shikaru*, v. C 28.
287. \**shiroppu*, siroop (syrup).
288. \**sōda*, soda.
289. \**sojūmu*, sodium.
290. \**soppu* (1787), sop, soep (soup, broth). *Ns.* *sūpu* (E.), *konsome* (F.) and *potāju* (F.) are in general use.
291. *sukoine*, schuin (sloping, slant).
292. \**sukoppu*, schop (shovel, scoop). *Ns.* generally superseded by *shaberu* (E. shovel).
293. *sukorufu*, schroef (screw). *Ns.* *sukuryū* (E.).
294. *supī*, spie (pin, wedge, peg).
295. \**supoito*, spuit (syringe, squirt).
296. *surangesutēn*, slangsteen (serpentine stone). *Ns.* *jamonseki* (S.-J.).
297. *sutamen*, *sutamento*, stamet, stammet (a kind of woolen material, cf. F. *estamet*).
298. *sutomubotchi*, *sutomupotchi*, stoombootje (steam-launch).
299. \**sutorikinīne*, strychnine.
300. *tāfuru* (1615), tafel (table — in the sense of a piece of furniture and in the sense of a tabulated statement).<sup>57</sup> *Ns.* *tēburu*.
301. \**tamarindo*, tamarinde (tamarind-tree, tamarind-fruit, *Tamarindus indica*).
302. *tanbaka*, tombak (from F. *tombac*), the name of various goldcoloured alloys of copper and zinc.
303. \**tannin*, tannine (tannin).
304. \**tarappu*, trap (staircase), used in the sense of ‘ship’s ladder’ or ‘gangway’.
305. *tarumomētoru*, thermometer. *Ns.* *kandankei*, *ondokei* (S.-J.).
306. *terepin*, terpentijn. D. ‘continuation’ of *terebin* (P.), cf. B 20.
307. *teresukoppu*, telescoop (telescope). *Ns.* *teresukōpu* (E.) or *bōenkyō* (S.-J.).
308. *teru*, *tēru*, teer (tar). *Ns.* *tāru* (E.).

- 58 *zeneraru* in the sense of ‘universal’ has been borrowed from E.
- 59 Several of the following words are often wrongly listed as ‘Dutch’.
- 60 P. *banca!*
- 61 ‘Bank’ in the sense of ‘money shop’ is *ginkō* (S.-J.) or *banku* (E.).
- 62 The word *kapitan* is still well-known as the equivalent of *opperhoofd* (head of the Dutch settlement). A captain of a soccer team, occasionally also of a ship, is called *kyaputen* (E.).
- 63 ‘Cup’ in the sense of ‘trophy’ is *kappu* (E.); ‘tea-cup’ is *cha-nomi* (S.-J. + J.) or *chawan* (S.-J.).
- 64 The D. word ‘marmelade’ was formerly not only used of the jam in question, but also with reference to the fruits, from which it was prepared.

309. \**ton*, *ton* (ton, tonnage).
310. *torumenchirura*, tormentilla (tormentil, *Potentilla tormentilla*).
311. *uērugarasu*, *weerglas* (lit. ‘weather-glas’, i.e. barometer). Cf. A22.
312. *wāfuru*, *wāheru*, wafel (waffle). Ns. *waffuru* (E.).
313. \**yarappa*, jalappe (jalap, *Exogonium purga*).
314. *yasumin*, jasmijn (jasmin, *Jasminum officinale*).
315. \**yojūmu*, jodium (iodine). Ns. also *yōdo* (G.) or *yōso* (G. abbreviation + S.-J.).
316. *zeneifuru*, jenever, genever (gin). Ns. *jin* (E.).
317. *zeneraru*, generaal (general — field officer). Ns. *rikuguntaishō* (S.-J.).<sup>58</sup>
318. *zongarasu*, zonglas (telescope). Cf. A 307.
319. *zonneuesēru*, *zonnewijzer* (sun-dial).
320. *zubōto*, zoethout (stick-liquorice).
321. *Zūfuru*, v. *rūfuru*.
322. \**zukku*, *jukku*, doek (duck, canvas, sackcloth).

### B. Portuguese and Spanish Loan-Words ‘Reinforced’ by Borrowings from Dutch<sup>59</sup>

1. \**amendō*, *anmendō*, P. *amendoa*, D. *amandel* (almond). Ns. also *āmondo* (E.).
2. \**anisu* (P.), *aneisu* (D.), P. *anis*, D. *anijs* (anise).
3. *banko*, Sp. *banco*,<sup>60</sup> D. *bank* (bench).<sup>61</sup>
4. *bisukōto* (P.), *besukoito* (D.), \**bisuketto* (D.), P. *biscoito*, D. *beschuit*. Cf. A 29.
5. \**gingamu*, P. *gingão*, D. *gingang* (gingham, striped fine cotton). Cf. C 9.
6. *heruhetoan*, *heruhetowan*, P. *perpétuana*, Sp. *perpetuàn*, D. *perpetuaan* (*perpetuana*), a kind of very durable woolen cloth (hence the name). Since the 16th century it was manufactured in England.
7. *jiamante* (P./Sp.), *giyaman* (D.), cf. A 77.
8. \**kantera*, *kanteira*, cf. A 124.
9. *kapitan*, P. *capitão*, D. *capitein*, *kapitein* (captain). The word was not only used in the sense of ‘captain of a ship’, but also to indicate: 1. the head of the Dutch settlement at Deshima; 2. a kind of striped cloth imported by the Dutch.<sup>62</sup>
10. *karusai*, Sp. *carisea*, D. *karsaai* (kersey), a twilled woolen fabric.
11. *kazuaru*, *kazuwaru*, *kazowaru*, v. A 142.
12. \**koendoro*, P. *coentro*, D. *koriander* (coriander, *Coriandrum sativum*). Old J. names: *konishi*, *koshi*. This plant had ceased to exist in Japan and the seeds were often imported by the Dutch from the Mediterranean.
13. \**koppu* (1617), P. *copo*, D. *kop*. Although *koppu*, ‘tumbler’, ‘beaker’, is often listed as D., it was undoubtedly borrowed from the P. ‘copo’ which also means ‘tumbler’. The D. word ‘kop’ has the meaning of ‘cup’. It is, however, plausible that the use of the word *koppu* was continued under the influence of the D. word ‘kop’.<sup>63</sup>
14. \**manto*, v. A 179.
15. \**marumero* (P.), *marumeru* (P.), *marumeira* (D.), P. *marméiro*, D. *marmelade* (quince, *Cydonia vulgaris*).<sup>64</sup>
16. *ransetta* (P.), \**ransetto* (D.), P. *lanceta*, D. *lancet*. Cf. A 246.
17. \**rasha* (P.), *rasen* (D.), P. *raxa*, D. *rassen*, a kind of coarse woolen cloth (used for blankets and the like).
18. *sāya* (P.), *saya* (P.), *sāi* (D.), P. *sáia*, Sp. *saya*, D. *saai*. P. *sáia* means ‘petticoat’,

‘underskirt’, but D. *saai* and J. *sāya*, *saya* and *sāi* were used to indicate *mousseline de laine*.

19. *shichin*, \**shuchin* (P.), *satén* (D.), P. *setím*, D. *satijn* (satin). The words ‘setim’, ‘satin’, etc. are said to be a contraction of the Ch. compound *ch’i-sze-tuan*, ‘figured satin’.
20. *terebin* (P.), *terepin* (D.), P. *terebenthina*, D. *terpentijn* (terpentine), cf. C 20.

### C. Hybrid Words

In the following list the reader will find J. compounds consisting of D. loan-words and words of other (J., S.-J., E.) derivation. All D. loan-words *only* occurring in compounds have been listed; for the rest a few representative examples have been selected.<sup>65</sup>

1. \**akiresu-ken*, Achillespees (Achilles’ tendon): D. Achilles + S.-J. *ken* (tendon).
2. *araki-zake*, arak (arrack): D. *arak* + J. *sake* (wine).
3. *barorisu-kyō*, brug van Varolius (*pons* [Varolii]): D. Varolisch + S.-J. *kyō* (bridge). Ns. *barorushi-kyō* or *warorushi-kyō*.
4. \**bīto-tō*, bietsuiker (beet sugar): D. *biet* + S.-J. *tō* (sugar).
5. \**bōru-ban*, *bōra-ban*, boormachine (drilling machine, drill press): D. *boor* (drill) + S.-J. *ban* (board, tray).<sup>66</sup>
6. \**chō-chifusu*, + *chō-chibusu*, buiktyphus (enteric fever): S.-J. *chō* (intestines) + D. typhus.
7. \**darai ban*, draaibank (turning lathe): D. *draai* (turn) + S.-J. *ban* (cf. C 5).
8. \**fūzeru-yu*, foezel[olie] (fusel oil): D. *foezel* + S.-J. *yu* (oil).
9. *gigan-jima*, gestreepte gingang (striped gingham): D. *gingang* (P. *guingāo*) + J. *shima* (stripes). Ns. *gingamu*, cf. B 5.
10. \**han-don*, lit. halve zon[dag] (half-holiday, Saturday): S.-J. *han* (half) + the abbreviation of D. *zondag* (*dontaku*, cf. A48).
11. \**hatoron-shi*, *patoron-shi*, lit. patroonpapier (cartridge paper), i.e. a kind of strong brown paper, kraft paper (so called because of its resemblance to the colour of a cartridge): D. *patroon* + S.-J. *shi* (paper).
12. \**jagatara-imo*, \**iaga-imo*, aardappel (potato): D. Jacatra (=Jakarta) + J. *imo* (spud, taro).<sup>67</sup>
13. *kanon-hō*, *kanon* (cannon): D. *kanon* + S.-J. *hō* (ballista, gun). Ns. *taihō* (S.-J.) or *kyanon* (E.).
14. \**kan-zume*, a modern compound meaning ‘tinning’, ‘canning’, ‘canned goods’: D. *kan* (can, tin) + J. *zume* (from *tsumeru*, ‘to cram’, ‘to fill’, ‘to pack’).
15. *karacun-chō*, *karakon-chō*, kalkoen (turkey): D. *kalkoen* + S.-J. *chō* (bird). Ns. *shichimenchō* (S.-J.).
16. *kei-seki*, keisteen (cobble-stone): D. *kei* (cobble) + S.-J. *seiki* (stone). Ns. *maruishi* (J.).
17. \**kiruku-nuki*, kurketrekker (corkscrew): D. *kurk* + J. *nuki* (drawing out).
18. \**kiruku-zōri*, a modern compound meaning ‘cork-soled sandals’: D. *kurk* + J. *zōri* (straw sandals).
19. \**koruku-gashiwa*, kurkeik (cork-oak): D. *kurk* + J. *kashiwa* (oak).
20. \**madorosu-paipu*, in modern J. used with reference to a seaman’s pipe with a short stem and a large bowl: D. *matroos* (sailor) + E. *pipe*. Originally any Western smoking-pipe was called *madorosu-paipu* in contrast to the Japanese pipe, *kiseru* (from Cambodian *khsier*).

65 Accordingly many common compounds, e.g. *chifusu-kin*, ‘typhoid bacillus’ (D.+ S.-J.), and *zukku-sei*, ‘made of canvas’ (D.+ S.-J.), have been omitted here.

66 S.-J. *ban* (Ch. *p’an*) may be considered as a ‘meaningful’ rendering of D. *bank* (cf. C 7 and C 28).

67 The compound *jagatara-bumi* (D. Jacatra + J. *fumi*, ‘document’, ‘letter’), ‘Jacatra letters’, was used with reference to the letters sent to Japan by the Japanese wives of the Dutch who had been exiled to Batavia in 1639.

- 68 *kameya* is the origin of the now practically obsolete word *kame*, 'a dog of Western breed'. Cf. F.J. Daniels, 'The Vocabulary of the Japanese Ports Lingo,' *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XII (1947-48): 805-23, at p.815.
- 69 We also find the hybrid *shami-kawa*: E. shammy + J. *kawa* (leather).
- 70 The compound *kamenokō*, 'tortoise-shell', was formerly also used in the sense of 'deck of a ship'. The Ch. word *chia*, 'tortoise-shell', is found in the sense of 'deck' in the compound *t'ieh-chia-ch'uan*, 'ironclad' (lit. 'iron-armour-ship').
- 71 H.A. Giles, *A Chinese-English Dictionary* 2nd ed. (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh; London: Quaritch, 1912).
- 72 *Dictionnaire Coréen-Français*, par les Missionnaires de Coree de la Societe des Missions Etrangères de Paris (Yokohama, 1880). See also J.S. Gale, *A Korean-English Dictionary* (Yokohama: Fukuin Printing Co. Ltd, 1911).
21. \**men-furanneru*, \**men-neru*, katoenflanel (cotton flannel): S.-J. *men* (cotton) + D. flanel.
22. *patoron-shi*, v. C II.
23. \**pin-boke da*, a phrase meaning 'is out of focus', and hence 'is not to the point' or 'is slightly senile': D. [brand]punt (focus, v. A 227) + J. *boke* (growing faint, fading) + J. *da* (pseudo-copula).
24. \**pinto-gurasu*, a modern compound meaning 'focussing screen' (also called *shōten-garasu*, cf. C 29): D. [brand]punt (focus) + E. glass. Cf. A 228.
25. \**raiden-bin*, Leidse fles (Leyden jar): D. Leyden + S.-J. *bin* (bottle).
26. \**sarusa-kon*, *Radix sarsaparillae*: D. sarsaparilla + S.-J. *kon* (root).
27. *seimi-gaku*, *chemie* (chemistry): D. chemie + S.-J. *gaku* (learning).
28. *shikaru-ban*, schaaftbank (carpenter's bench): D. schaaft (plane) + S.-J. *ban* (board, tray). Cf. C 5 and C 7.
29. \**shōten-garasu* = *pinto-gurasu* (C 24): S.-J. *shōten* (focus, burning point) + D. glas. Cf. A 228.
30. \**terepin-yu*, terpentijnolie (oil of turpentine): D. terpentijn + S.-J. *yu* (oil). Cf. B 20.
31. *yūsutakisu-kan*, Eustachiaanse buis (Eustachian tube): D. Eustachius + S.-J. *kan* (tube). Ns. *eusutaki[shī]-kan*.
32. \**zukku-gutsu*, a modern compound meaning 'canvas (duck) shoes': D. doek (canvas) + J. *kutsu* (shoes).

#### D. Words of Doubtful Origin

One should be careful to consider words which have a 'Dutch appearance' and a similar meaning as in Dutch as D. loan-words without further investigation. Such a word is, for instance, *kameya* or *komiya*, old Yokohama dialect for 'dog', which is derived from E. 'Come here' land not from D. 'Kom hier!'.<sup>68</sup> The word \**sēmu*, 'chamois', 'shammy leather', resembles D. *zeem*, but will be an abbreviation of G. Sämischleder or E. chamois.<sup>69</sup>

In the following list the reader will find a number of words which are often (correctly or incorrectly) considered to be D. loan-words.

1. \**chokki*, 'waistcoat'. This word is linked with P. *jaqueta*, D. *jak* (jacket) or E. jacket, and it is difficult to decide which theory is correct, especially because I have been unable to establish when the word was actually borrowed. The curious phonetic form of the word is probably due to the readings of the two Ch. characters, with which it was formerly written: *choku* (S.-J., 'direct') and *ki* (J., 'wear').
2. \**garon* (formerly also *garuron*), 'gallon', may be E. as well as D.
3. \**kanpan*, 'deck (of a ship)'. An interesting problem is presented by this word which is sometimes said to have been derived from D. *kampanje*, 'poop'. It has the appearance of a S.-J. compound and is written with two Ch. characters meaning 'tortoise-shell' (and hence 'armour')<sup>70</sup> and 'boards'. Morohashi's *Dai kanwa jiten* (Vol.VII, p. 1072a) mentions the *Kinsei taisen kiryaku* by Tsuchiya Hōshū (1841-1926) as the (earliest?) source for this word. In the Chinese standard dictionary *Tz'e-hai* no sources are mentioned. In H.A. Giles' dictionary<sup>71</sup> it is not included. Although *kapp'an* (the S.-K. reading of *kanpan*) is a common word in modern Korean, it is not yet found in the large dictionaries of the 'Missionnaires de Coree' (1880) and Gale (1911).<sup>72</sup> It is therefore possible that *kanpan* (which is, moreover, only used in the case of decks of large modern ships) is a rather recent J. creation and



that the word is a loan-word in China (*chia-pan*) and Korea (*kapp'an*) — as is the case with many S.-J. compounds. The question whether the creation of the compound *kanpan* has been inspired by the D. word 'kampanje' must remain undecided for the time being, but it should be remembered that immediately after the opening of Japan D. influences in the training of the Japanese navy have been very strong. In 1855 a Navy Institute (*Kaigun denshūjo*) was established at Nagasaki where instruction was given by a D. navy detachment. In the same year King William III presented the J. government with the first paddle-steamship (*Soembing*), while J. naval officers were trained in the Netherlands.

4. \**mandarage* is sometimes listed as D.: mandragora, i.e. mandrake, *Mandragora officinalis* (Middle English: mandragge). The word *mandarage* is a compound of Skr. *mandala* (circle) and S.-J. *ke* (flower) and is found in Chinese translations of Buddhist *sūtras*; the flower in question is the *Datura alba*. The existing word *mandarage* was therefore borrowed to name a plant imported by the Dutch, so that we have a case of contamination here.
5. \**otenba*, *otemuba*, *tenba*, 'hussy', 'minx'. This curious word is often said to be a corruption of the D. adjective 'ontembaar', i.e. indomitable, uncontrollable (used of persons, animals and passions). The word is written with one *hiragana* (cursive syllabary) sign, viz. *o*, and two Ch. characters representing the syllables *ten* and *ba*; according to the writing the meaning of the word would be 'honorable revolving old woman' which, indeed, does not make much sense! Already in the Genroku era (1688–1703) the form *tenba* is found; Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653–1725), the 'Japanese Shakespeare', uses *tenba me*<sup>73</sup> in one of his plays. The use of the form *tenba* clearly indicates that the syllable *o* was considered to be an honorific prefix, but this phenomenon can hardly serve as evidence to show that the word was not borrowed from the D.
6. \**rūdesakku*, D. roedezak (?), i.e. condom. Although the condom as a preservative against diseases was already invented in the eighteenth century and the Dutch are known to have used fishbladders as condoms in Japan, I have been unable to discover whether the word 'roedezak' (which is, moreover, not listed in the *WNT* or any other D. dictionary at my disposal) was used by our ancestors on *Deshima*.<sup>74</sup> The word may have been derived from G. *Rutensack*; yet *rūdesakku* corresponds better with the D. form. Although *rūdesakku* is still found in some modern dictionaries, the normal terms for this appliance are *kondōmu* and *sakku* (cf. A 266).

We have already seen that the use of certain loan-words was 'reinforced' by the knowledge of words from other languages, with which the Japanese became acquainted afterwards (cf., for instance, A 29 and B 4).

Furthermore, we find, in the middle of the nineteenth century influences of the D. phonetic system upon loan-words from or the Western languages. Shinmura Izuru (pp.162–63) has pointed out that, at the end of the Tokugawa period (1603–1868) and the beginning of the Meiji era (1868–1912), there was a tendency to pronounce E. words in the D. way. The Japanese occupying themselves with the study of E. had all learned D. as a basic language while the Americans and the British used D. (mostly through interpreters)<sup>75</sup> in their first contacts with the Japanese. Therefore we find the E. ending *-er* rendered as *-uru* in the J. of that period; 'slipper', for instance, was pronounced and

73 *-me* is a pejorative suffix meaning something like 'bitch'.

74 In this connection it is interesting to note that the *rangakusha* Hiraga Gennai (1726–1779) shows his acquaintance with D. common terms for the sexual organs in a small treatise on impotence, *Naemara initsu-den* (1768).

75 Well-known in history is Hendrik C.J. Heusken († 1861) of New York the secretary of Townsend Harris (1803–78), first consul-general of the U.S. in Japan (1856–62).

76 Japanese ladies use the word *shapō* which has a ‘Frencher’ flavour.

77 For *mētoru* as a D. loan-word v. A 22, A 54, A 56.

78 In the Wakayama dialect a festival-day – in normal J. *iwaibi* or *shukujitsu* – is called *furafu-bi* (D. vlag + J. *hi*, ‘day’).

written as *surippur* (nowadays: *surippā*). In the same way E. ‘pound’ has retained its ‘Dutch’ form *pondo*.

At the end of the Tokugawa period Dutch officers were given the task to train Japanese troops. As the French influence was still strong in the D. army language, F. words were introduced via D., e.g. *guêtres*, ‘gaiters’, ‘leggings’ (J. *gētaru*, nowadays it is used by alpinists); *chapeau*, ‘hat’ (J. *shappo*, nowadays only used in slang).<sup>76</sup> The word *zuban*, ‘trousers’, ‘breeches’ (F. *jupon* ‘underskirt!’), also seems to have been borrowed in this period.

Rather complicated is the question of weights and measures, but there can be hardly any doubt that the metric system was first introduced by the Dutch. We find certain variations which betray influences from other languages, e.g.

*senchimētoru* (D.), abbreviated *sanchi* (F.), ‘centimetre’

*mētoru* (D.), *mētā* (E.), ‘meter’<sup>77</sup>

*miriguramu* (E.?), (obsolete): *mirurigaramu* (D.), ‘milligram’.

### E. Dutch Words in Japanese Dialects

Dutch words are also surviving in Japanese dialects, sometimes with a very curious semantic development (see, e.g., *dontaku*)

1. *afura*, aardappel, ‘potato’ (Kawanobe County, Akita Prefecture; Ojika County, Miyagi Pref.).
2. *anpura*, aardappel, ‘potato’ (Akita).
3. *appura-imo*, D. aardappel + J. *imo* (spud, taro), ‘potato’ (Taka County, Ibaraki Pref.).
4. *banko*, Sp. banco/D. bank (cf. B 3), ‘bench’ (Numakuma County, Hiroshima Pref.; Imabari City, Ehime Pref.; Kyūshū).
5. *bōdōru*, boter, ‘butter’, but used in the sense of ‘condensed milk’ (Shuri, Okinawa Pref.).
6. *dontaku*, zondag, ‘Sunday’ (cf. A 48): 1. Sunday (Nukada County, Aichi Pref.; Mishima County, Ōsaka Municipal Pref.); 2. holiday (Iwai County, Iwate Pref.; Inashiki County, Ibaraki Pref.; Tsukui County, Kanagawa Pref.; Watarai County, Mie Pref.; Ōsaka; Kōchi; Shizuoka; Nagasaki; Kumamoto); 3. menstruation (Ihara County, Shizuoka Pref.); 4. stupid (Hiroshima); 5. idleness, laziness (Amabe County, Aichi Pref.); 6. a sly dog (Tottori); 7. hunting cap (Shimane; Ōita).
7. *dontaku-bō*, D. zondag + S.-J. *bō*, ‘cap’, used in the sense of ‘hunting cap’ (Nima County, Shimane Pref.).
8. *doronken*, dronken, ‘drunk’: 1. drunk – as a condition (Nagasaki; Yokohama; Niibari County, Ibaraki Pref.; Higashitsukuma County, Nagano Pref.); 2. a drunk person (Hakata, Fukuoka Pref.).
9. *erasuchika*, elastiek, ‘a piece of elastic’, ‘a rubber band’ (Fukui City).
10. *fukurin*, grofgrein (cf. A 79), used in the sense of *mousseline de laine* (Ōii County, Fukui Pref.; Ikaruga County, Kyōto Municipal Pref.).
11. *furaju*, vlag, ‘flag’: 1. flag (Wakayama;<sup>78</sup> Ehime; Kōchi; Kuga County, Yamaguchi Pref.; Shimoina County, Nagano Pref.); 2. flag of a fishing boat (Ōita; Iki; Higashimuro County, Wakayama Pref.); 3. poster of cloth (Jōbō County, Okayama Pref.; Nagaoka City, Niigata Pref.).
12. *furaho*, vlag, ‘flag’: 1. flag (Shima County, Mie Pref.; Aki County, Hiroshima Pref.; Kyōto; Ōshima – the island S.E. of Yamaguchi Pref.); 2. flag of a fishing boat (Kamo County, Shizuoka Pref.).

13. *giyaman*, diamant, 'diamond': 1. glass (Takata County, Shizuoka Pref.); 2. glass receptacle, glass container (Ōshima — the largest of the seven isles of Izu); 3. a glass instrument for catching fish (Kitakatsushika County, Saitama Pref.); 4. a glass-cutter's diamond (Nagasaki).<sup>79</sup>
14. *gorofuku*, grofgrein (cf. A 79): 1. calico, unbleached muslin (Yamanashi); 2. *mousseline de laine* (Toyama; Matsuyama, Ehime Pref.).
15. *ketchin*, ketting, 'chain' (used in certain mines of Kyūshū).<sup>80</sup>
16. *matarōsu*, matroos, 'sailor' (Nagasaki). Cf. A 185.
17. *posuperu*, phosphor (Tsushima).
18. *posuporu*, phosphor, but used in the sense of 'matches' (Kumamoto).
19. *pottoru*, potlood, 'lead-pencil' (Shizuoka). Cf. A 237.
20. *sāi*, saai, '*mousseline de laine*' (Kimotsuki County, Kagoshima Pref.). Cf. B 18.
21. *sashizu*, saucijs, 'sausage' (Yokohama).
22. *tāfuru*, tafel, 'table', used in the sense of Dutch (i.e. Western) food (Nagasaki).
23. *Yaesu*. The main railroad station of Tōkyō has a Yaesu Exit. This *Yaesu* goes back upon the name of Jan Joosten van Lodensteijn († 1623), a Dutchman who arrived in 1600 in Japan together with the famous Englishman Will Adams (called Miura Anjin in J.). Jan Joosten was called *Yayosu* by the Japanese and this word was corrupted into *Yaesu*.<sup>81</sup>

In the *katakoto-eigo* (lit. 'babbling English', i.e. Japanese pidgin) of Yokohama around 1860 we find words like *konshiri* (consul) and *menoshita* (minister),<sup>82</sup> of which it is sometimes said that they are of D. origin; they may just as well be of E. derivation.

According to Arakawa Sōbei the word *aboteki* (D. apotheker, 'pharmaceutical chemist') was used in Kyōto in the middle of the Meiji period. The same author states that *taruta* (D. taart, 'tart', 'cake') and *horuko/hoko* (D. vork, 'fork') are still used in the Nagasaki dialect,<sup>83</sup> but I have been unable to confirm this information.

### F. Japanese Translations of Dutch Words

A very large number of D. words (especially scientific, medical, anatomical and military terms) have been translated by the Japanese into S.-J. Many of these 'translation loan-words' have been taken over in Ch. and K. In the following list only 22 items are presented; hyphens have been used in order to show the component parts.

1. *bi-yoku*, *neusvleugel*, 'nostril', lit. nose + wing.
2. *bo-han*, *moedervlek*, 'birthmark', lit. mother + spot.
3. *byō-in*, *ziekenhuis*, 'hospital', lit. illness + public building.
4. *gi-san*, *mierenzuur*, 'formic acid', lit. ants + sour (acid).
5. *in-ryoku*, *aantrekkingskracht*, 'gravitation', 'attraction', lit. drawing + strength.
6. *jigoku-seki* (obsolete), *helse steen*, *lapis infernalis*, lit. hell+stone.
7. *jū-do*, *zwaaraarde*, *barytaarde*, 'barium oxide', *terra ponderosa*, lit. heavy + earth.
8. *jūnishi-chō*, *twaaalfvingerige darm*, 'duodenum', lit. twelve fingers + intestine (bowel).

<sup>79</sup> Hybrid compounds with *giyaman*: *giyaman-shōji*, 'glass door' (Takata City, Hiroshima Pref.); *giyaman-no bin*, 'beer-bottle' (Senboku County, Ōsaka Municipal Pref.).

<sup>80</sup> Several D. words (not mentioned in this article) are still current in certain factories and mines.

<sup>81</sup> According to the *Nagasaki kongenki* Jan Joosten's home in Edo was called *Yayosugashi*. Lit.: Iwao Seiichi, 'An Early Dutchman in Japan,' *The Japan Quarterly* VI(1959): 308-15.

<sup>82</sup> These words were written with Ch. characters chosen in such a way that *konshirō* looks like a J. personal name, while *menoshita* literally means 'under the eyes'.

<sup>83</sup> *Gairaigogaku josetsu*, pp.312-31.

84 For a long treatise on this interesting word (already used around 1801) v. Mutō Chōzō, 'Hōgo no shokumin naru meiji wa Rango no yaku nari to no (setsu', *Kokka gakkai zasshi* XXXI.12 (1917): 91–117.

85 It is interesting to note here that 'zet' in 'zetspil' is the Middle D. *set* 'arse', 'seat'.

86 Cf. J. Feenstra Kuiper, *Japan en de Buitenwereld in de Achttiende Eeuw's* (Gravenhage, 1921), p.259. Otsuki Fumihiko (*Daigenkai* s.v. *kuronbō*) connects the word with the geographical name Colombo.

87 In J. comparisons *yorī*, 'from', is used in the following way: *purachina yorī takai*, 'It is more expensive than platina' (lit. "Platina-from is expensive"). In *yorī ii hōhō* it is used like E. 'more'.

88 A large number of such examples are listed in *Ugaki*, pp.191–94.

89 What is meant by the term 'foreign' will become clear below.

90 In classical J. rain can never appear as an agent in this way. For this and other examples the reader is referred to Matsumura Akira, 'Gendaigo no seiritsu to hatten,' in Doi Tadao (comp.), *Nihongo no rekishi* (Tōkyō: Shibundō, 1960), pp.210–251, esp.214.

9. *jū-tai*, dierenriem, 'zodiac', lit. animals + girdle.

10. *kai-gun*, zeemacht, 'navy', lit. sea + army.

11. *ko-maku*, trommelvlies, 'tympanum', lit. drum + membrane.

12. *kyūhō*, mortier, 'mortar', lit. mortar + ballista. Cf. A 195.

13. *men-kayaku*, schietkatoen, 'gun-cotton', lit. cotton + 'firedrug' (=gunpowder).

14. *mō-chō*, blinde darm, 'caecum', lit. blind+ intestine (bowel).

15. *rui-kotsu*, traanbeen, 'lachrymal bone', lit. tear + bone.

16. *shak-kotsu*, elleboogsbeen, 'ulna', lit. foot (as a measure, in the sense of D. 'el', cf. A 57) + bone.

17. *shi-kaku*, gezichtshoek, 'visual angle', lit. vision + angle.

18. *shojo-maku*, maagdevlies, 'hymen', lit. maiden+ membrane.

19. *shoku-min*, volkplanting, 'colonisation', lit. planting + people.<sup>84</sup>

20. *sui-so*, waterstof, 'hydrogen', lit. water + plain [matter].

21. *tan-san*, koolzuur, 'carbonic acid', lit. coal + sour (acid).

22. *za-yaku*, zetspil, 'suppository', lit. seat + drug.<sup>85</sup>

Curious hybrid words falling into this category are *kuronbō*, 'a dark-skinned person' (nowadays also used as a rather contemptuous term for 'Negro') and *mekura-ji*, 'anal fistula' (nowadays supplanted by S.-J. *jirō*). According to Feenstra Kuiper *kuronbō* would be a translation of D. 'zwarte jongen' (J. *kuroi*, 'black', + S.-J. *bō*, 'boy').<sup>86</sup> There can be no doubt that *mekuraji* is a translation of D. 'blinde fistel', since *mekura* is the J. word for 'blind' and *ji* the S.-J. word for 'piles'.

When we leave the words of doubtful origin, dialectic words and translation loan-words out of consideration we find that in modern standard J. more than 160 words of D. origin are being used.

The influence of the D. language, however, was not restricted to J. vocabulary.

When studying or reading modern J. we find time and again ways of expression borrowed from E., e.g. *nōto-wo toru*, 'to take notes'; *chūmoku-wo hiku*, 'to draw attention'; *chūi-wo harau* 'to pay attention'; *keii-wo harau*, 'to pay respect'. Even in the (structure and grammar of modern J. we find such influences, e.g. *yorī ii hōhō*, 'a better method',<sup>87</sup> and *kangaesaseru*, 'to give one (to think' (which itself seems to have been inspired by the F. 'donner à penser'). Such direct translations have become an integral part of the written and spoken language of the Japanese.

Translations of Western books have exerted an enormous influence upon the innovation of the J. language. Here follow a few examples:

*hitsuyō-wa hatsume-i-no haha*, 'Necessity, the mother of invention'.

*toki-wa kane nari*, 'Time is money'.

*yowaki mono yo, nanji-no na-wa onna nari*, 'Frailty, thy name is woman'.<sup>88</sup>

Under this impetus the Japanese themselves started to use an entirely new and actually 'foreign'<sup>89</sup> language, e.g. *ame-ga gaishutsu-wo samatageta*, 'The rain prevented [me from]. going out'.<sup>90</sup>

An historical investigation of certain developments in modern J. shows that very important changes came into being in the first half of the nineteenth century — changes which were due to D. influence. In the *Dōyaku haruma*,

Doeff's Dutch–Japanese dictionary, we find many sentences which are now considered as normal J., but at that time certainly were regarded as ‘outlandish’ ways of expression. A beautiful example is: *yonjūku-no heihōkon-wa shichi-de aru*, ‘The square root of forty-nine is seven’. Not only the S.-J. translation of the D. word for ‘square root’ (vierkantwortel) is used here, but this abstract concept is, moreover, the subject of the sentence — something which was hitherto impossible. Finally we find here the use of the pseudo-copula *de aru* (see below).

The translations and definitions of D. terms in the *Dōyaku haruma* and other dictionaries/grammars as well as the perusal of D. books in the original or in translation (widely read among the intellectuals) have resulted in the ‘standardisation’ of a conventional translation language and contributed to the formation of a new Japanese with an entirely different style, a new vocabulary and, to a certain extent, new grammatical categories.

Peculiar features of the renovation of the J. language which took place in the said period are:

1. The frequent use of the pseudo-copula *de aru* at the end of sentences.<sup>91</sup>
2. The use of *tokoro-no* (‘place-of’) in order to render the J. relative pronoun, e.g. *kare-ga itsu-mo tsukau tokoro-no kotoba* ‘The words which he always uses’.<sup>92</sup>
3. The fact that inanimate things and abstract concepts may appear as subjects of sentences.
4. The frequent use of pseudo-pronouns like *kare*, ‘he’ (originally a demonstrative pronoun: ‘that [one].’, and *kano-jo*, ‘she’ (lit. ‘that woman’).

From this we learn that the D. influence on J. has been much greater than is generally supposed. The influence of other Western languages on modern J. may be regarded as the logical continuation of a process which started long before the Meiji Restoration in 1868 and which was accelerated by the introduction of compulsory education (1872).

### Appendix: Dutch Words in Korean

In Korean we find a rather small number of D. loan-words which entered the language via Japanese. Quite a number of S.-J. translations of D. scientific and other terms, however, have been incorporated in the K. language in their S.-K. forms, e.g. *t'ansan* (S.-J. *tansan*), D. koolzuur (carbonic acid); *pyōngwōn* (S.-J. *byōin*), D. ziekenhuis (hospital).

In compiling the following list of D. loan-words in K. I have been extremely circumspect. Because American and other missionaries have been very active in introducing modern education in Korea ever since the opening of the country,<sup>93</sup> it is often difficult to determine which words have entered the language via J. or via E. The word *ak'asia*, ‘acacia’, for instance, may have been introduced by the Japanese (in which case its origin is D.), but it is probably an E. loan-word.<sup>94</sup>

There can be no doubt that words like *kūllasū*, ‘glass’, and *ing'ū*, ‘ink’, are of E. origin.

Words which *might* have been borrowed from D. via J. are: *alk'ool* (alcohol), *k'adet'ōrū*, (catheter), *kapp'an* (D. *kampanje*, E. poop, deck), *kasū* (gas), *k'ollōra/k'ollera* (cholera), *p'aet'ū* (D. vet, E. fat), *p'ōmp'ū* (D. pomp, E. pump), *p'ūllannel* (D. *flanel*, E. flannel), *p'ūlluorū* (D. fluor, G. Fluor, E. fluorine), *ret'orāt'ū* (retort), and *tokk'ū* (D. *dok*, E. dock).

91 This pseudo-copula with the basic meaning ‘to exist in the function of’ (< *nite ari*) is occasionally found in texts of the later Muromachi period (1336-1573), but has remained rather unusual until the translations from the D. became popular in the first half of the 19th century. Nowadays its various forms (*de arimasu*, *desu*, etc.) are the most common ways of expressing the copula in J. Cf. Yamamoto Masahide, ‘De aru no enkaku’, [*Hashimo Hakase kanreki kinen. Kokugogaku ronshū* (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1944), p.505-24.

92 Peculiar is the specific combination *tokoro-no*. The use of *tokoro* ‘place’, in the sense of ‘that which’ goes back upon the J. translations Ch. texts where a certain character so (read *tokoro* in J.) is used to set apart what we would call ‘relative clauses’.

93 In 1876 Korea was forced by Japan to put an end to her policy of seclusion, in 1882 she entered into treaty relations with the US.

94 If it had been borrowed from J., it would probably be pronounced *agasia*.

95 It is still included in Mun Seyöng's well-known [*Suöng chüngbo*]. *Chosön'ö sajön* (Tökyö ed., 1946). Ns. the word has been supplanted by *k'uk'ü* (E.) *yorin* (S.-K.).

96 E. 'lamp' is also found, especially in hybrids like *raemp'ü-üi kat*, 'lamp shade, and *raemp'ü patch'im*, 'lamp stand'.

97 As in J. the E. word 'beer' is found in *ppiöhool* or *piöhol*, 'beer hall'.

98 The loan-word *p'isüt'ül* clearly represents E. 'pistol'.

99 A finger-stall is called *sonkkarak-sakk'ü* (K. *sonkkarak*, 'finger') in K., a pessary *chagung-sakk'ü* (S.-K. *chagung*, 'womb'). The compound *sakk'ü reisü*, 'sack-race', is, of course, of E. derivation.

100 The loan-word *siröp'ü* clearly represents E. 'syrup'.

An interesting word is the hybrid *kok-sang* listed in Gale's *Korean-English Dictionary* (1911) as 'a word of Japanese origin' and translated as 'Mr the Cook'. The word is a compound of D. *kok* (cook) and J. *san* (Mr, Mrs, etc.) and now practically obsolete.<sup>95</sup>

Unquestionably of D. origin are the following words, all of which are still current in the modern language:

1. *ananasü*, ananas (d. A 3). Ns. *p'ainaep'ül* (E.) is more common.
2. *eksü*, extract (cf. A 51).
3. *kabang*, kabas (cf. A 114).
4. *k'amp'ürü*, kamfer (cf. A 121).
5. *k'anon*, kanon (cf. A 122 and C 13).
6. *kandera*, kandelaar (cf. A 124).
7. *k'omp'asü*, kompas (1. a pair of compasses; 2. a mariner's compass). Cf. A 163.
8. *madorosü*, matroos (cf. A 174).
9. *mant'ü*, mantel (cf. A 179).
10. *marümot'ü*, marmot (cf. A 182).
11. *masüt'ü*, mast (cf. A 184).
12. *mattürosü*, matroos (cf. A 174).
13. *mesü*, mes — only used in the sense of 'surgical knife' (cf. A191).
14. *namp'o*, lamp<sup>96</sup> (cf. A 245).
15. *neru*, flanel (cf. A 203).
16. *ogool*, orgel — only used in the sense of 'music box' (cf. A 212).
17. *p'aengk'i*, *p'aengkki*, pek — only used in the sense of 'paint' (cf. A 219).
18. *p'int'ü*, [brand]punt (cf. A 227).
19. *pirü*, bier (cf. A 28).<sup>97</sup>
20. *p'isüt'ol*, pistol (cf. A 229).<sup>98</sup>
21. *randüsel*, ransel (cf. A 244).
22. *sabel*, saberü, sabel (cf. A 263).
23. *sakk'ü*, zak — only used in the sense of 'condom' <sup>99</sup> (cf. A266).
24. *siröp'ü*, siroop (cf. A 287).<sup>100</sup>
25. *süp'oit'ü*, spuit (cf. A 295).
26. *t'ip'usü*, typhus (cf. A 40).
27. *türop'ü*, türop' (cf. A 49).

In conclusion the following three hybrids deserve to be mentioned here:

1. *madorosü-p'aip'ü*, 'a sailor's pipe' (D. *matroos* + E. *pipe*), cf. C20.
2. *poorü-ban*, 'drilling machine' (D. *boor* + S.-K. *ban*), cf. C 5.
3. *tarai-ban*, 'turning lathe' (D. *draai* + S.-K. *ban*), cf. C 7.

#### Author's Postscript

In the new work *Nihon no gairaigo*, by Yazaki Genkurö (Tökyö: Iwanami shoten, 1964), which I received from my friend Prof. M. Shibusawa (Tökyö Gaikokugo Daigaku) after this article had been completed, the following (rarely found) loan-words from D. are mentioned: *apoteki*, apothek (pharmacy, cf. p.169); *burōdo*, brood (bread); *gotto*, God; *hisutorī*, historie (history); *kanaru*, *kanāru*, kanaal (canal); *kāzu*, kaas (cheese); *koroner*, kolonel (colonel); *kukkī*, koekje (cookie); *minisutoru*, minister (cf. p.155); *paruremento*, parlement (parliament); *rōzu*, roos (rose); *uein*, *wijn* (wine). According to Yazaki the word \**gorira*, 'gorilla', would be of D. origin. Besides *barumomētoru* (cf. A 22) he mentions *barumomētoru* (due to contamination with A 305).