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Banner calligraphy: Huai Su, 懷素 (737–799), Tang calligrapher and Buddhist monk.

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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, 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

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1 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),
DUTCH INFLUENCES ON THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE

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 Yoshinune 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 Yoshinune 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 Tafel* by Johann Adam Kulmus 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'. 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'.

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
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.

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, 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’, 1 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 Nederlandische en Fransche Taalen, herafter WNT) compiled by François Halma in 1710. Haruma became a generic name for Dutch–Japanese dictionaries.

In 1815 the manuscript of a second Haruma was completed: the Dōyaku (or Zōfu) haruma, ‘Halma translated by Doeff’. 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 Shi-zuki 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.

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 so thoroughly ‘Japanised’ that they are no longer felt to be foreign words, e.g. jude (writing brush), fumi (document), kinu (silk), semi (cicade), une (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
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 pātære, buterǝn or hateren in J.;\(^{13}\) we even find the plural hāteresu.\(^{14}\) The normal words for ‘bread’, ‘cake’ and ‘button’ in modern J. are pān (P. pão), kasa-tēra/kasa-teira (P. Castella)\(^ {15}\) and botan (P. botão). A.J. word for ‘soap’ is shabon\(^ {16}\) (P. sabão, Sp. jabón), nowadays generally supplanted by S.-J. sekken. Still current in modern J. is the word meri-yasu 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>1543–1639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>1592–1624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>1613–1623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>1609–1854</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:
naifu E. knife
oiru E. oil (oil, gasoline, grease)
purodakushon E. production (of a movie), especially used in the sense of 'studio'
sutorippu[shō] E. striptease (shō=show)
sutorippā E. stripteaser
tsuisuto E. twist
rumpen G. lumpen
ryukkusakku G. rucksack
shan G. schön
abekku F. avec, 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’), tondemohappun (j. tondemomai, ‘never happen’; pure J. tondemonai, ‘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.19

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.19

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.20

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Phoentic value</th>
<th>Remarks on phonetic environment and articulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>[a]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>[u]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>[ɛ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>[o]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>[g] in medial position</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>[s] before [a], [u], [ɛ], [o]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/z/</td>
<td>[z] before [a], [u], [ɛ], [o]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>[j] before [i], [j]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>[tʃ] before [i], [j]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʃ/</td>
<td>[tʃ] before [i], [j]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>[d] before [a], [ɛ], [o]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>[n]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>[h] before [a], [ɛ], [o]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ç/</td>
<td>unvoiced palatal spirant, before [i], [j]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>[r] not fully rolled</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>[w] without rounding of the lips</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>[m] before [p], [b], [m]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>[n] before [t], [d], [n], [r]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>elsewhere: imperfect velar closure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔ/</td>
<td>glottal stop</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The phoneme /v/ (phonetic value [v]) is only found in loan-words, e.g. vaiorin (E. violin).²¹
In the following chart the ‘basic’ syllables are presented in the usual order\(^{22}\) n ([m]), [n] or [ṇ] according to its phonetic environment.\(^{23}\)

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

\[\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{a} & i & u ([uu]) & e ([e]) & o \\
\hline
\text{ka} & \\
\text{sa} & shi ([ʃi]) & su & se & so \\
\text{ta} & chi ([tʃi]) & tsu & te & to \\
\text{na} & ni & nu & ne & no \\
\text{ha} & hi ([ɕi]) & fu [Fuu] & he & ho \\
\text{ma} & mi & mu & me & mo \\
\text{ya ([jə])} & i & yu ([jui]) & e & yo ([jо])\(^{25}\) \\
\text{ra} & ri & ru & re & ro \\
\text{wa} & wi & u & we & wo\(^{26}\) \\
\hline
\end{array}\]

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:

\[\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{ga ([ɡa])} & gi & gu & ge & go \\
\text{za} & ji ([ʃi]) or ([dʒi]) & zu & ze & zo \\
\text{da} & ji ([ʃi]) or ([dʒi]) & zu & ze & zo \\
\text{pa} & pi & pu & pe & po \\
\hline
\end{array}\]

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

\[\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{kya ([kja])} & kyu & kyo \\
\text{gya ([ɡja])} & gyu & gyo \\
\text{sha ([ʃa])} & shu & sho \\
\text{ja ([jə]) or ([dʒa])} & ju & jo \\
\text{cha ([tʃa]) che ([tʃe])\(^{27}\)} & chu & cho \\
\text{nya ([nja])} & nyu & nyo \\
\text{hya ([ɕja])} & hyu & hyo \\
\text{pya ([pja])} & pyu & pyo \\
\text{bya ([bja])} & byu & byo \\
\text{mya ([mja])} & myu & myo \\
\text{nya ([rja])} & ryu & ryo\(^{28}\) \\
\hline
\end{array}\]

Each vowel may occur followed by each of the other vowels (e.g. **ai, ao, ie, ui, oi**). The vowel sequences **aa** ([aː]), **ii** ([iː]), **uu** ([uː]), **ee** ([eː]), and **oo** ([oː]) are called long or doubled vowels and are rendered in the present article as **ā**, **ī**, **ū**, **ē** and **ō**.\(^{29}\) The sequence **ei** is pronounced as [eː], e.g. **geisha** ([geʃa]).

---

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. chessu, Eng. chess) and in the interjection che? (pshaw!, tcha!). Its voiced counterpart **je** (found in a few loan-words) is spelled ji-e ([ȝiɛ]) 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.


32 One would have expected something like supoito (cf. uēnroito) or şuēnroito (cf. netik, Bd. I-III (Wiesbaden, 1954–57)).

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 pronunciation (cf. bateren and hateren for D. pronunciation!); M.G. Mori, The Pronunciation of Japanese (Tōkyō: The Herald-sha, 1929); G. Wenck, Japanische Phonetik, Bd. I-III (Wiesbaden, 1954–57).

34 In J. the various systems of writing play, of course, an important role in this respect. When Ch. characters are used to render the pronunciation (cf. bateren and hateren for P. padre). In case of renderings in its pronunciation (cf. matorosu, maitorosu, ‘sailor’), ‘Wednesday’, and supoito, D. spuit, ‘syringe’).

35 From the foregoing examples it becomes clear that the syllabic structure of the loan-morphs 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:

Only the consonants /k s t p/ may be lengthened, e.g. kakkoku ( < kaku + koku), ‘every country’; nissen ( < nichi + sen), ‘Japanese-Korean’; shutten ( < shitsu + 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.35

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).

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 > nairom, Khabarovsk > habarofusuku. Sometimes, however, we find phenomena which seem unaccountable, e.g. D. wijnruit (rue, Ruta graveolens) > henrūda.32 Future research may elucidate the reasons for such curious changes.33

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], [a:]

[u] sometimes becomes [o]. e.g. hokku, D. hoek (hook, clasp). [ə] may become [o] and even [i], e.g. koruku, kiruku4 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!), biya-hōru (beer-hall).

[oa] becomes [oa], e.g. doa (door).

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

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

[l] becomes [r], e.g. hai-sukuru (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).35
DUTCH INFLUENCES ON THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE

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) hakkha, 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 marukishizumo (Marxism).

The accent of foreign words in Japanese has nothing to do with that in the original language, e.g. dôresu, ‘dress’, dôrama, ‘drama’ (in Kyōto: dorâma).

Further, we find a strong tendency to abbreviate the original words, e.g. bâten for bâtenda (bartender), demô for demôntorêshon (demonstration), puchi-buru for puchi-burajoa (petit bourgeois), zene-suto for zeneraru-sutoraiki (general strike). puro is an abbreviation of seven different loan-words: 1. puroretariya (G. Proletarier), 2. puroguramu (E. program), 3. purapapanda (E. propaganda), 4. purusuteichûto (E. prostitute), 5. puraphonaru (E. professional), 6. puradakushon (E. production, used in the sense of ‘a studio’, ‘a lot’), 7. purusento (P. procento or G. Prozent). Sometimes such abbreviations are very curious and hardly recognisable, e.g. hômu for purattohômu (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; 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 araqa; oran ûtan, D. orang utan 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 maris).

Geographical names have not been listed. Some of these, like Doitsu, ‘Duits[lancel]’ (Germany), and Toruko, ‘Turkije’ (Turkey) were borrowed from Dutch at an early date; others, like Zoideru-zê, ‘Zuiderzee’ (Zuyder Zee), and Mâsu-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. 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]).
A. Genuine Dutch Words

3. *ananasu, ananas (pine-apple). Ns. painappuru (E.) is more common.
4. *anchimonī, antemonyūmu, antimonie, antimonium (antimony). Ns. also anchimon (G.).
6. anjaberu, anjelier (carnation, Dianthus caryophyllus). Ns. kānēshon (E.).
8. antemonyūmu, v. anchimoni.
10. araki, arak (arrack).
14. arumen-sai, armezijn, 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).
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.
27. besukoito, v. bisuketto.
28. *bīra (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.
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).
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. *erekite, erekiteru, erekishiteito, electriciteit (electricity), also used in the sense of 'magnet'. Ns. generally supplanted by denki (S.-J.).
54. erikimētoru, electrometer. Ns. den'ikei.
55. erikishiru, elixir. Ns. erikisā (E.).
56. erikiterumētoru, electrometer. Cf. 54.
57. eru, el (ell, yard).
58. *erubyūmu, erbium.
59. *ēteru, ēteru, ether.
60. fukurin, v. gorō.
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).39 Ns. bin (S.-J.).
64. *furinto-garasu, flintglas (flint-glass).
65. furugorōtogarasu, vergrootglas (magnifying-glass). Ns. kaku-daikyō (S.-J.).
67. furyūōru, fluor (fluorine).
68. fusuke, hoekijzer (angle steel).
69. fūzeru, v. C 8.
70. garamu, gram. Ns. gunamu (D., E.).
71. *garasu (1763), glas (glass, plate glass). E. glass is found in opera-garasu, ‘opera glass’.
72. *gasu (1822), gas.
73. gatto, [man]gat (manhole). Ns. manhōru (E.).
74. gerein, grein (grain — as a weight).
76. *gipusu, gips (gypsum, plaster cast).
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.
100. *hokushia, foksia (fuchsia, Fuchsia hybrida). Ns. fukushia, fukushiya (E.).
102. horoppu, prop (plug, stopper). Cf. koroppu.
103. horuko, hoko, vork (fork). Ns. foku, hōku (E.).
104. hōittsuru, 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.
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).
117. *kamitsure, kamire, kamille (chamomile).
118. *kan, kan (can, tin). Kan is also the S.-J. reading of two Ch. characters (Ch.
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, kanpora, kamfer (camphor).


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.


126. kapperu, kachel (stove). In Nagasaki formerly called kāheru.

127. kappuri, kanpen? (to chop), the name of a knife imported by the Dutch.


129. *kan, kali.

130. *karyūmu (1854), kraan (tap, cock, faucet).

131. *kari, kali.

132. *karyūmu, kalium (potassium). Ns. also called potashūmu (E.).

133. karomeru, calomel. Ns. used in the sense of ‘bleaching powder’.

134. *karuki, kalk (lime). Ns. used in the sense of ‘bleaching powder’.

135. karumein, karmijn (carmine). Ns. kāmin (E.).


137. *karuuei, karwij (caraway, Carum carvi). Ns. karuwē (E.) or hime-uikyō.

138. kasutoryūmu, castoreum (castor). Ns. umidanuki-kō (J. + S.-J.).

139. *katēteru, katheter (catheter).

140. kayapūte, kajapoet (cajeput, Melaleuca cajuputi). Ns. kayu-puchi (M. kayu, ‘wood’; putih, ‘white’).

141. kazuaru, kazowaru, kazowaru, cassuaris (casuary). This might be a loan-word from P. (casuár), but the bird was often imported by the Dutch. Ns. hikuidori (J.), lit. ‘fire-eating bird’.

142. kei, v. C 16.

143. keitoru, ketel (steam-boiler).

144. kereito (1822), krijt (chalk). Ns. hakuboku (S.-J.).

145. *kereosōto (1856), creosoot (creosote).

146. ketchin, ketting (chain).

147. *kina, kina (cinchona, quinine).

148. *kininé, kinine (quinine).

149. kinogomu, kinogom (kino gum). Ns. sekkō (S.-J.) or kino-jushi (D.+ S.-J.).

150. kirinku, klink (latch).

151. *kirishisu (1834), crisis (of an illness). Ns. kiki (S.-J.), tōge (J.).

152. kirisuteru, klisteer (enema, clyster). Ns. kanchō (S.-J.).


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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.)

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168. *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-shiroppu, koffiesiroop (coffee syrup).
160. *kokku (1615), kok (cook).
161. komein, komijn (cummin, Cumimum 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.
165. *korera (1822), cholera. 45
166. *koroido, kolloid (colloid).
167. *korojion, collodion.
168. korokinto, kolokwint (colocynth, Citrullus colocynthis). Ns. koreshito-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.?).
175. *maguneshia, *maguneshiya, magnesia.
177. magunêto, magneet (magnet). Ns. magunetto (E.). Cf. ereki.
178. *mangan, mangaan (manganese).
179. manteru, mantoru, *manto, mantel (cloak, cape). Manto might be an abbreviation of mantorou; cf. however P. manto. There is another word mantorou (E.) used in the sense of ‘gas mantle’.
180. *marariya, malaria.
182. marumotto, *morumotto, marmot (1. marmot; 2. guinea pig).
183. *masuchikku, mastiek (mastic).
184. *masuto (1848), mast.
185. matorosu, matorosu, v. madorosu.
186. meni, 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. moruchūru, mortier (mortar—as a gun).
195. moruchine, mohi, morphine.
196. morumotto, v. marumotto.
198. musukobia, musukobiya, musukoba, Moskavia: a kind of wrinkled leather imported by the Dutch.47
199. musuku, muscus (musk), formerly also spelled ‘musk’es; in older D. we also find the form ‘musk’ (borrowed from F muse). Ns. jakō (S.-J.).
200. naftuta, naputa, naphtha. Ns. nafusa-yu (E. + S.-J.).
201. narukochine, narcotine. Ns. narukochin (E.).
203. *neru, abbreviation of furanneru (q.v.).
204. *nikkeru, nikkel (nickel).
205. *oburāto, oblaat (oblate, medicinal wafer).
207. *onsu (1822), ons (ounce).
208*opāru, opaal (opal).
209*opopanakkusu, opopana, opopanax.
211. *orēfu, *orēbu, orību (olive). Orību may be of E. derivation.
212. *orēbu, *orēbu, orību (olive). Orību may be of E. derivation.
213. *orēfu, *orēbu, orību (olive). Orību may be of E. derivation.
214. *paretto, palet (palette).
215. *perseus, per (press—as an instrument for pressing).
216. parurajūmu, palladium. Ns. parajūmu (E.).
217. passuru, passer (a pair of compasses). Cf. konpasu.
218. patoron, patroon (paper cartridge).48 Cf. hatoron.
219. pekki, pikki, *penki, pek, pik (pitch, tar), but nowadays only used in the sense of ‘paint’.
220. pepushine, pepshine (pepsin). Ns. pepushin (E.).
221. peresu, pers (press—as an instrument for pressing).
222. *perikan, pelikaan (pelican).
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 (punt), [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).
pokkūhōto, pokhout (guaiac, *Lignum vitae*). Ns. yusōboku (S.-J.).

pondo, pōndo (1781), pond (pound — as a weight and as a monetary unit). paundo (E.) is also used.

*ponpu* (1798), pomp (pump).

*ponsu*, pons (punch — alcoholic and non-alcoholic: squash).

poregara, porigara, polygala (milkwort, *Polygala sibirica*). Ns. himehagi (j.).

*porudā*, polder (the most recent loan-word from D.).


*purachina*, platina. Also: hakkin (S.-J.), lit. ‘white gold’.

*rabaruberu*, rabarber (rhubarb — as medicine, *Rheum officinale*). Ns. daiō (S.-J.).

*râhenderu*, lavendel (lavender, *Lavandula officinalis*). Ns. rabenderu, rabendā (E.).

*rakan*, rookham (smoked ham).

*rāken*, laken (cloth). Ns. orimono (.J.), rasha (P., cf. B 17), etc.

*rakkamūsu*, lakmoes (Dutch blue, litmus). Ns. ritomasu (E.).

*randoseru*, ransel (knapsack, satchel).

*ranpu*, lamp.


*raten*, ratein, Latijn (Latin).

raurīru, laurier (laurel, bay, *Laurus nobilis*). Ns. gekkeiju (S.-J.).

raurīru-kerusu, laurierkers (cherry-laurel).

reiperu, lepel (spoon). Ns. supūn (E.) used alongside with saji (j.).

*renzu*, lens.

*repura*, lepra (leprosy). Also called raibyō (S.-J.).

*retoruto*, retort.

*retteru*, letter (letter — character). Ns. only used in the sense of ‘label’. Hence it is sometimes explained as being derived from G. Zettel.

*richūmu*, lithium.

rimonāde, limonade (lemonade). Ns. remonōdo, ramune (E.), reman-sui (E. + S.-J.).


*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.

santonīne, santonine (santonin). Ns. santonin (E.).

sautortī, santorie (centaury, *Erythraea centaurium*).

sarādo, sarado, *sarada*, salade, salaad (salad).

*sareppu*, salep (saloop, salep).
273. *sassafarasu, sassafras (*Sassafras albidum*).
275. *seikuru, *seiuchi, zeekoe (manatee, dugong). The word, however, referred to the teeth of the male of this mammal, also known as *suizōge (S.-J.), ‘water ivory’. Cf. A 278.
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.
280. *semen, 1. semencine (cf. next entry); 2. abbreviation of *semento (q.v.).
281. *semenshina, semen cinae (*Artemisia cina*).
282. *semento, cement.
283. *senega, senega (*Polygala senega*).
284. *seruji, *seru, saruze, serge.6 Ns. also sāji (E.).
286. *shiroppu, siroop (syrup).
287. *sōda, soda.
288. *sōjūmu, sodium.
289. *soppu (1787), sop, soep (soup, broth). Ns. sūpu (E.), konsome (F.) and potāju (F.) are in general use.
290. *sukuine, schuin (sloping, slant).
291. *sukoppu, schop (shovel, scoop). Ns. generally superseded by *shaberu (E. shovel).
292. *sukorufu, schroef (screw). Ns. sukuryū (E).
293. *supī, spie (pin, wedge, peg).
294. *supoito, spuit (syringe, squirt).

56 -ji was misunderstood as S.-J. ji (texture, fabric), hence the abbreviation *seru.
57 In the latter sense it is also found as *tāheru.
B. Portuguese and Spanish Loan-Words ‘Reinforced’ by Borrowings from Dutch

1. *amendô, amendoê, P. amendoa, D. amandel (almond). Ns. also ảmondo (E.).
2. *anisu (P.), anesï (D.), P. anis, D. anijs (anise).
6. heruhetoan, heruhetowan, P. perpetuàn, Sp. perpetuaan, D. perpetuaan (perpetuaan), a kind of very durable woolen cloth (hence the name). Since the 16th century it was manufactured in England.
9. kapitan, P. capitão, D. 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.
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’.
15. *marumero (P.), marumero (P.), marumeira (D.), P. marméiro, D. marmelade (quince, Cydonia vulgaris).
17. *rasha (P.), rased (D.), P. raxa, D. rassen, a kind of coarse woolen cloth (used for blankets and the like).
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Accordingly many common compounds, e.g. *chifusu-kin, ‘typhoid baccillus’ (D.+ S.-J.), and *zukku-sei, ‘made of canvas’ (D.+ S.-J.), have been omitted here.

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

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.

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.

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.
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).
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).
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!’.

The word *sēmu*, ‘chamois’, ‘shammy leather’, resembles D. zeem, but will be an abbreviation of G. Sämischleder or E. chamois.

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 some times 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’) and ‘boards’. Morohashi’s *Dai kanwa jiten* (Vol.VII, p. 1072a) mentions the *Kinsai 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 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).
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 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. *rödesakkü, 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 ‘rödeszácz’ (which is, moreover, not listed in the WNT or any other D. dictionary at my disposal) was used by our ancestors on Deshima. The word may have been derived from G. Rutensack; yet rödesakkü corresponds better with the D. form. Although rödesakkü 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) 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
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). 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’

### 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.).
3. *appura-imo*, D. aardappel + J. *imo* (spud, taro), ‘potato’ (Taka County, Ibaraki Pref.).
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 Pref.; Ōkunoshima Pref.; Iwate Pref.; Inashiki County, Ibaraki Pref.; Tsukui County, Kagawa Pref.; Watarai County, Mie Pref.; Ōsaka; Köchi; 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).
9. *doronken*, dronken, ‘drunk’: 1. drunk — as a condition (Nagasaki; Yokohama; Niibari County, Ibaraki Pref.; Higashimuro County, Wakayama Pref.); 2. a drunk person (Hakata, Fukuoka Pref.).
11. *fukurin*, grofgrein (cf. A 79), used in the sense of *mousseline de laine* (Ōii County, Fukuoka Pref.; Ikaruga County, Kyōto Municipal Pref.).
12. *furahō*, vlag, ‘flag’: 1. flag (Wakayama; Ehime; Köchi; Kuga County, Yamaguchi Pref.; Shimōna 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.).
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). 79


15. *ketchin*, *ketting*, 'chain' (used in certain mines of Kyushū). 80


17. *posuperu*, *phosphor* (Tsushima).

18. *posuporu*, *phosphor*, but used in the sense of 'matches' (Kumamoto).


22. *tāfuru*, *tafel*, 'table', used in the sense of Dutch (i.e. Western) food (Nagasaki).

23. Yae. The main railroad station of Tōkyō has a Yae Exit. This Yae 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 Yae.81

In the *katakoto-eigo* (lit. 'babbling English', i.e. Japanese pidgin) of Yokohama around 1860 we find words like *konshiri* (consul) and *menoshita* (minister),82 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,83 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.

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

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

81 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* VII(1959): 308–15.

82 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'.

83 *Gairāgogaku josetsu*, pp.312-31.
9. jū-tai, dierenriem, 'zodiac', lit. animals + girdle.
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.
19. shoku-min, volkplanting, 'colonisation', lit. planting + people.
20. sui-so, waterstof, 'hydrogen', lit. water + plain [matter].
21. tan-san, koolzuur, 'carbonic acid', lit. coal + sour (acid).
22. za-yaku, zetpil, 'suppository', lit. seat + drug.

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'). There can be no doubt that mekura-ji 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 translations 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. yori ii hōhō, 'a better method', 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:

hitsuji-wo hatsume-no haha, 'Necessity, the mother of invention'.
toki-wo kane nari, 'Time is money'.
yowaki mono yo, nanji-no na-wa onna nari, 'Frailty, thy name is woman'.

Under this impetus the Japanese themselves started to use an entirely new and actually 'foreign' language, e.g. ame-ɡa gaishutsu-wo samatageta, 'The rain prevented [me from], going out'.

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,
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Donn'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' (vierkantswortel) 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.
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).
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-word's 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); *pyǒngwǒn* (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, 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. There can be no doubt that words like *kŭllasŭ*, 'glass', and *ingk'ŭ*, 'ink', are of E. origin.

Words which might have been borrowed from D. via J. are: *alk'ool* (alcohol), *k'adet'ŏrŭ* (catheter), *kapp'an* (D. kampanje, E. poop, deck), *kasŭ* (gas), *k'ollŏra/k'ollera* (cholera), *p'ŏmp'ŭ* (D. pomp, E. pump), *p'ŭllannel* (D. flanel, E. flannel), *p'ŭlluorŭ* (D. fluor, G. Fluor, E. fluorine), *ret'orût'û* (retort), and *tokk'ŭ* (D. dok, E. dock).
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.  

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

16. *ogool*, orgel — only used in the sense of ‘music box’ (cf. A 212).
17. *p’aengk’i*, p’aengkkii, pek — only used in the sense of ‘paint’ (cf. A 219).
23. *sakk’ŭ*, zak — only used in the sense of ‘condom’ (cf. A266).

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


Author’s Postcript

In the new work *Nihon no gairaigo*, by Yazaki Genkurō (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1964), which I received from my friend Prof. M. Shibusawa (Tōkyō 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); *gotta*, God; *hisutori*, historiè (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).