The Dutch lexical contribution to three Asian Portuguese Creoles

Contribuição lexical do holandês para três crioulos de base portuguesa da Ásia

Andrei A Avram

University of Bucharest, Romania
andrei2.avram@gmail.com

Abstract: The paper looks at the Dutch-derived loanwords attested in three Asian Portuguese-lexifier Creoles: Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole, Malacca Portuguese Creole, and Batavia and Tugu Portuguese Creole. The loanwords of Dutch origin identified in each of the Creoles at issue are first listed, with the proposed etyma. This is followed by an analysis of other etyma suggested, of the phonological adjustment of Dutch-derived words, and of the semantic changes some of these lexical items undergo. Also included are a comparison of the semantic fields in which Dutch loanwords are found and of their proportion in the lexicon of the three Creoles considered, as well as a discussion of the constant decrease in the use of Dutch-derived words in the modern varieties of Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole and Malacca Portuguese Creole.

Keywords: Dutch; Loanwords; Sri Lanka; Malacca; Batavia; Tugu.

Resumo: Este trabalho aborda os empréstimos de origem holandesa atestados em três crioulos portugueses da Ásia: o Crioulo do Sri Lanka, o Crioulo de Málaca e o Crioulo de Batavia e Tugu. Os empréstimos de origem holandesa identificados em cada um dos crioulos em questão são primeiramente listados, com os seus respectivos étimos. Em seguida, é apresentada uma análise de outros étimos sugeridos, dos ajustes fonológicos nas palavras derivadas do holandês e das mudanças semânticas que
alguns dos itens lexicais sofreram. Também é apresentada uma comparação dos campos semânticos nos quais podemos encontrar palavras de origem holandesas e sua proporção no léxico dos três crioulos em pauta, bem como uma discussão sobre o declínio do uso de palavras derivadas de holandesas nas variedades do Sri Lanka e de Málaca.

**Palavras-chave**: Holandês; empréstimos; Sri Lanka; Málaca; Batavia; Tugu.

1 Introduction

As is well known, Dutch has contributed to the vocabulary of several Creoles with a different lexifier language. Previous research has duly analyzed the Dutch loanwords found in Creoles such as Ndyuka (English-lexifier), Saramaccan (English-lexifier), Sranan (English-lexifier), Papiamentu (Portuguese- and/or Spanish-lexifier).

The Dutch lexical contribution to the Asian Portuguese-lexifier Creoles has been little studied so far. To my knowledge, there are only two works specifically addressing this topic: Hesseling (1910) on the Dutch words in Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole, and Hancock (1970) on the Dutch-derived lexical items in Malacca Portuguese Creole. The dictionary of borrowings from Dutch by van der Sijs (2006) makes reference to a number of Creoles with a lexifier language other than Dutch, e.g. Papiamentu and Sranan, but does not include any single example from Asian Portuguese-lexifier varieties.

In this paper I identify and analyze the words of Dutch origin in three Asian Portuguese-lexifier Creoles: Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole, Malacca Portuguese Creole, Batavia and Tugu Portuguese Creole. The paper is structured as follows. The corpus and methodology are presented in section 2. Sections 3 to 5 present and analyze the Dutch component of the lexicon of Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole, Malacca Portuguese Creole and Batavia and Tugu Portuguese Creole respectively. The findings are discussed in section 6.

2 Corpus and methodology

The corpus consists of both published and unpublished sources and includes dictionaries, glossaries, word-lists, folk poetry, song lyrics, religious texts and grammars. The sources consulted for each Creole are mentioned in the introductory remarks to each corresponding section.
In an attempt to capture the full extent of the Dutch lexical influence, the lists consist of items attested at any time in the history of the three Portuguese-lexifier Creoles at issue. In the case of Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole and Malacca Portuguese Creole, which are still spoken, the list includes words which may no longer be in use today, obsolete items or which are currently less frequently used.

The Dutch etyma and their meanings have been established or checked on the basis of the dictionaries by Gerritsen et al. (1978), Bogaards (1988), van der Sijs (2002) and Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal (2012). This has led to the identification of Dutch-derived lexical items among the words for which no etymon is proposed in the sources consulted or for which an etymon from another language (e.g. Portuguese or English) is suggested by other authors.

Each entry consists of the Creole lexical item or phrase and its variants, the meaning, the Dutch etymon. The meaning of the Dutch etymon is only included where this differs from that of the Creole form. All words (and their variants) appear in the orthography or system of transcription used in the sources. Further specific details are provided in each of the following three sections.

3 Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole

The Portuguese started to occupy Ceylon in 1517, but were driven from the island by the Dutch in 1658. The Dutch rule lasted until 1796 (Holm 1989: 288), when the island was seized by the British. Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole (henceforth SLPC) is spoken today by “an unknown number of families scattered in groups in towns like Colombo, Kandy, Trincomalee, Galle and Batticaloa” (Holm 1989: 289).

The list of Dutch loanwords in SLPC has been compiled from the following sources: a dictionary of the variety spoken in Colombo\(^1\) (Callaway 1820), an unpublished manuscript (Schuchardt n.d.), the grammar, texts and vocabulary in Dalgado (1900), the texts in Tavares de Mello (1908a, 1908b, 1911, 1912 and 1913), and a glossary of the Batticaloa variety\(^2\) (Anon .a. n.d.). Several additional Dutch-derived lexical items are from Hesseling (1910), who only examines the vocabulary in Dalgado (1900).

\(^1\)With Sinhalese as its substrate language.
\(^2\)With Tamil as its substrate language.
Since the transcriptions of the SLPC forms below follow various orthographic conventions, such as the Dutch or the Portuguese ones, mention should be made of the following: \(<\dot{a}> = [a] \); \(<\acute{o}> = [\emptyset] \); \(<\text{oe}> = [u] \); \(<\text{y}> = [\varepsilon] \); \(<\text{ce}> = [s] \); \(<\text{ci}> = [s] \); \(<\text{ch}> = [\emptyset] \); \(<\text{tch}> = [f] \); the diacritic \(\acute{\text{r}}\) marks a stressed vowel.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{advocat} ‘lawyer’ < \textit{advocaat}
  \item \textit{admiral} ‘admiral’ < \textit{admairal}
  \item \textit{amandel} ‘almond’ < \textit{amandel}
  \item \textit{ambal} / \textit{ambeel} ‘anvil’ < \textit{aanbeeld}
  \item \textit{ansel} ‘hinge’ < \textit{hengsel}
  \item \textit{artaple} ‘(Irish) potato’ < \textit{aardappel}
  \item \textit{ártei} ‘strong, robust’ < \textit{hartig}
  \item \textit{baas} ‘boss’ < \textit{baas}
  \item \textit{bankroot} ‘bankrupt’ < \textit{bankroet}
  \item \textit{banscro} ‘vice’ < \textit{bankschroef} ‘bench-vice’
  \item \textit{baquer} ‘baker’ < \textit{bakker}
  \item \textit{berg} ‘hill, mountain’ < \textit{berg}
  \item \textit{berger} / \textit{burgher} ‘burgher’ < \textit{burger}
  \item \textit{blade} / \textit{bladé} ‘sheet of paper’ < \textit{blad} ‘leaf’
  \item \textit{blas} ‘bladder’ < \textit{blaas}
  \item \textit{blate} ‘tin’ < \textit{blad} ‘(metal) sheet’
  \item \textit{bonchi} ‘bean’ < \textit{boontje}
  \item \textit{bondal} ‘brush’ < \textit{boender} ‘scrubbing-brush’
  \item \textit{borstok} ‘waistcoat’ < \textit{borstrok} ‘(under)vest singlet’
  \item \textit{botel} ‘bottle’ < \textit{bottel} ‘(obsolete) bottle’
  \item \textit{bú} / \textit{búa} ‘elder brother’ < \textit{broer} ‘brother’
  \item \textit{buco} ‘book’ < \textit{boek}
  \item \textit{búrdar} ‘cake’ < \textit{broedertje}
  \item \textit{bybel} ‘Bible’ < \textit{bijbel}
  \item \textit{bytel} ‘chisel’ < \textit{beitel}
  \item \textit{calcum} / \textit{caclúm} ‘turkey’ < \textit{kalkoen}
  \item \textit{calquerlac} / \textit{cacarláte} ‘cockroach’ < \textit{kakkerlak}
  \item \textit{candelár} / \textit{candelér} ‘chandelier’ < \textit{kandelaar} ‘candle-holder’
  \item \textit{cansel} ‘chapel’ < \textit{kansel} ‘pulpit’
\end{itemize}
carpuce ‘cap’ < karpoets / karpuits
caufe ‘coffee’ < koffie
clár ‘clear’ < klaar
clor ‘colour’ < kleur
cope ‘cup’ < kopje
conei ‘rabbit’ < konijn
cousyn ‘cousin’ < kozijn
crél ‘curl’ < krul
cuiper ‘cooper’ < kuiper
dac ‘roof’ < dak
dace / daci / dase ‘necktie’ < dasje
dàin ‘inch’ < duim
dèc ‘floor, storey’ < dek ‘deck’
dreck / drek ‘press’ < druk
drecker ‘printer’ < drukker
els ‘awl’ < els
europeano ‘European’ < Europeaan
fallende sic ‘epileptic’< vallende ziekte ‘epilepsy’
flau ‘faint’ < flauw
flec / flek ‘blot, stain’ < vlek
flenx ‘talkative’ < fluks ‘quick’
floit ‘to whistle’ < fluiten
floiter ‘fifer’ < fluiten
folmac ‘agent’ < volmacht ‘full powers, power of attorney’
fore leis ‘reading’ < voorlees- (root of voorlezen) ‘to read to someone’
fur ‘lining’ < voer
gespe ‘buckle’ < gesp
giffrau / jufrau ‘woman’ < juffrouw
glass ‘glass’ < glas
gôrgâl ‘throat’ gorgel

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3Callaway (1820: 5) erroneously glosses it ‘the falling sick’.

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grado 'rank' < graad
griffi 'slate-pencil' < griffel
handschoen / hansoon 'glove' < handschoen
hand-scrof 'vice' < handschroef 'hand-screw'
hart 'trunk' < gard 'rod'
herberg 'inn' < herberg
hoc 'paultry pen' < hok
hol 'hollow' < hol
howerband 'belt' < houwer 'broadsword' + band 'belt'
iscóchi 'barge' < schuitje
istrica 'iron-box' < strijker 'iron for ironing'
istrica 'to iron' < strijk- (root of strijken)
kerchof 'cemetery' < kerkhof
koster 'clerk' < koster 'sexton, sacristan'
lampo 'lamp' < lamp
lars 'boot' < laars
lacho 'drawer' < laatje '(little) drawer'
legher 'barrel' < legger 'leaguer'
leis / lês / lez 'to read' < lees- (root of lezen)
les 'lesson' < les
lodo 'sounding lead' < lood 'lead'
lye 'slate' < lei
meiter 'measurer' < meter
mirplat 'wall-plate' < muurplaat
mooy 'aunt' < moei '(obsolete) aunt'
mutchi 'aunt' < moeitje '(obsolete) auntie'
na 'in, to' < naar
nagtmaal 'Holy Communion' < nachtmaal
naght roc 'night or morning gown' < nachtrok
neif 'nephew' < neef
nighi 'niece' < nicht
notaris 'notary' < notaris
oester 'oyster' < oester
omp / ompi ‘uncle’ < oompje
ónquel ‘uncle’ < onkel
orloose-maker ‘watch-maker’ < horlogemaker
orlozi / orlozo ‘clock’ < horloge
ost ‘east’ < Oost
patris ‘partridge’ < patrijs
pen mez ‘penknife’ < pennemes
pillar ‘pillar’ < pilaar
pincel ‘pencil’ < penseel
pistol ‘pistol’ < pistool
plat / plâte ‘flat’ < plat
ploi ‘pleat’ < plooi
pófarchi ‘sweetmeat’ < poffertje ‘kind of small pancake’
portrait ‘portrait’ < portret
potloot ‘pencil’ < potlood
predicasse ‘sermon’ < predikatie
prinsipál ‘boss’ < principal ‘master, employer’
prop ‘cork’ < prop ‘plug’
puir ‘powder’ < poeier
pyl ‘arrow’ < píjl
rai ‘to mount a horse’ < ríjd- (root of ríjden) ‘to ride’
régel ‘rule; line’ < regel
rol ‘roll’ < rol
ront / rónte ‘round’ < rond
sadal ‘saddle’ < zadel
saper / sapier ‘prison warden’ < cipier
saus ‘sauce’ < saus
schenkle ‘ankle’ < schenkel ‘femur’
scherm ‘to fence’ < scherm- (root of schermen)
schop ‘spade’ < schop
schuif ‘latch’ < schuif ‘bolt’
scrof ‘screw’ < schroef
segel ‘seal’ < zegel
servet ‘servet’ < servet ‘napkin’
singhanete ‘seal’ < signet
slecta ‘bad’ < slecht
slenger ‘to swing’ < slinger- (root of slingeren)
slêngar ‘slant’ < slinger
sny ‘to make or mend a pen’ < snijd- (root of snijden) ‘to cut’
stal ‘stable’ < stal
stam ‘stem’ < stam
stap ‘step’ < stap
starnîl ‘hinge’ < scharnier
stonáî ‘bridesmaid’ < schoonheid ‘beautiful woman’
stoof ‘stew’ < stoof ‘stove’
swid ‘south’ < zuid
susse ‘sister’ < zus / zusje ‘(familiar) sister, sis’
svar ‘excessive’ < zwaar ‘difficult, hard’
tac / tak ‘plant, grass’ < tak ‘branch’
taflak ‘table-cloth’ < tafellaken
 tandstoker ‘tooth-pick’ < tandestoker
tánta / tanti ‘aunt’ < tante
teer ‘tar’ < teer
tey ‘tea’ < thee
toom ‘muzzle’ < toom ‘bridle’
 translaat ‘translation’ < (obsolete) translaat- (root of translaten)
trap ‘step’ < trap ‘step; stairs’
vandel ‘tramp’ < wandel- (root of wandelen) ‘to wander’
vandelaar ‘tramp’ < wandelaar ‘walker’
vanz ‘to greet’ < wens- (root of wensen) ‘to wish’
vein ‘wine’ < wijn
vénkal / vénkel / venkel ‘shop’ < winkel
walfis ‘whale’ < walvis
west ‘west’ < west
wol ‘wool’ < wol

Several SLPC forms in the list above require some discussion with respect to other etyma which might be proposed. Two forms may illustrate possible
convergence of Dutch and Portuguese. Thus, archaic Portuguese *color* ‘colour’ may have also contributed to *clor* ‘colour’. Similarly, in the case of *istrica* ‘to iron’ the Dutch loanword may have been reinforced by the Portuguese form *estrnicar*.

Also, *buco* ‘book’ and *caufe* ‘coffee’ might arguably be traced back to English *book* and *coffee* respectively. However, on historical grounds, it is rather unlikely that the two words at issue only entered SLPC after the first contacts with English\(^4\). On the other hand, the SLPC form *coffee*, listed by Dalgado (1900: 144), may well be a later variant, influenced by English, as reflected in the spelling.

In still other cases, stress placement is a useful indicator, pointing to a Dutch origin, rather than an English one. Consider *europeano* ‘European’, *pillar* ‘pillar’, *pincel* ‘pencil’ and *pistol* ‘pistol’. In all these SLPC words stress falls on the same syllable as in their Dutch etyma. Compare SLPC [*europea:n*], [*pi'lar*], [*pin'cel*] and [*pis'tol*] with Dutch [*ørope'ja:n*], [*pi'la:r*], [*pen'se:l*] and [*pis'to:l*] respectively. On the contrary, in the corresponding English words stress falls one syllable to the left.

Two Dutch-derived lexical items may have been later reinterpreted as being English loanwords: *clor* ‘colour’ and *stap* ‘step’ occur with the English plural marker -\(s\) in Tavares de Mello (1908a: 48 and 1908b: 379 respectively).

The Dutch-derived lexical items undergo various types of phonological adjustment. The overall picture that emerges is that the phonological adjustment in SLPC of Dutch-derived lexical items is very similar to their adaptation in Sinhalese\(^5\) and Tamil.

Dutch /œ/ is rendered by [e], as in *crél* ‘curl’ < *krul* [krœl], *drek* ‘press’ < *druk* [drœk], or by [u] in e.g. *burgher* ‘burgher’ < burger [bœr\(\alpha\)].

SLPC [i] corresponds to Dutch [y]: *mirplat* ‘wall-plate’ < *muurplaat* [myrpla:t]

The SLPC reflexes of the Dutch diphthong /\(\alpha y/\) are [ai] in *dāin* ‘inch’ < *duim*, [o] in e.g. *iscóchi* ‘barge’ < *schuitje* [s\(\alpha y\)t\(\alpha\)] or [ui] in e.g. *cuiper* ‘cooper’ < *kuiper* [k\(\alpha y\)p\(\alpha\)].

SLPC [s] is the reflex of Dutch /z/\(^6\), as in *sadal* ‘saddle’ < *zadel*, *susse* ‘sister’ < *zus* / *zusje* or *svar* ‘excessive’ < *zwaar*.

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\(^4\)Cf. Hancock (1970: 353) on the etymology of the form *būku* in Malacca Portuguese Creole. See also section 4.

\(^5\)Cf. the Sinhalese words of Dutch origin listed in van der Wall (1938).

\(^6\)Hesseling (1910: 31) also mentions “the absence of z”. The \(<z>\) in *vanz* ‘to greet’ < *wens* is a transcription error by Dalgado (1900: 181).
There are three reflexes of Dutch /χ/. The most frequent one is [g], as in berg ‘hill, mountain’ < berg [berχ], gôrgôl ‘throat’ < gorgel [χɔɾɡɔl]. A second one is [k]: slecta ‘bad’ < slecht [sleχt], folmac ‘agent’ < volmacht [fɔlmɑχt]. Finally, in two forms derived from Dutch etyma containing the onset cluster /sχ/, the SLPC reflex of /χ/ is [t]: starnîl ‘hinge’ < scharnier [ʃɔrnî:r] and stonâi ‘bridesmaid’ < schoonheid [ʃɔonheit].

At the level of syllable structure, two repair strategies are occasionally employed. Prothetic [i] is used for the resolution of illegitimate /s/-initial onset clusters: iscóchi ‘barge’ < schuitje. Illicit codas are resolved via paragoge: blate ‘tin’ < blad [blat], lampo ‘lamp’ < lamp, nighi ‘niece’ < nicht, slecta ‘bad’ < slecht.

A number of Dutch archaisms survive in SLPC. These are botel ‘bottle’ < bottel ‘(obsolete) bottle’, mooy ‘aunt’ < moei ‘(obsolete) aunt’, and mutchi ‘aunt’ < moeitje ‘(obsolete) auntie’.

The Dutch-derived items fallende and sic have not been listed separately since they only occur in a phrase, fallende sic ‘epileptic’, and are not attested separately. Similarly, fore leis appears in the phrase onde te fore leis, glossed ‘a Reading desk’ by Callaway (1820: 8).

The polysemy of the Dutch word blad ‘leaf; (metal) sheet’ accounts for blade / bladé ‘sheet of paper’ and blate ‘tin’ < blad ‘(metal) sheet’. The meaning of several SLPC lexical items differs from that of their Dutch etyma. Thus, sny ‘to make or mend a pen’ < snijd- (root of snijden) ‘to cut’, and svar ‘excessive’ < zwaar ‘difficult, hard’ are instances of specialization/narrowing of meaning. Pejoration is illustrated by vandel ‘tramp’ < wandel- (root of wandelen) ‘to wander’ and vandelâar ‘tramp’ < wandelaar ‘walker’.

The total number of Dutch loanwords identified in SLPC amounts to 158. By far the largest number of these is recorded in Callaway (1820), which is believed to reflect the spoken language at the time: out of some 2100 words 112 lexical items are from Dutch. The number of Dutch loanwords is significantly lower in Dalgado (1900), which is typical of a high style variety, influenced by standard Portuguese. Not surprisingly, then, the vocabulary in Dalgado (1900: 135-183) only includes 45 Dutch loanwords. The recent glossary (Anon. a. n.d.) of the Batticaloa variety of SLPC, containing 864 words, includes 24 Dutch-derived lexical items.

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7 Where onde ‘where’ and te is the Dutch infinitive marker.
8 See also Grant (2012: 352).
9 Except for several samples of folk poetry and proverbs, most of the texts in Dalgado (1900) are religious, such as sermons and songs.
10 See e.g. Holm 1989: 289). The language of the texts in Dalgado (1900) is an illustration of what Grant (2012: 352) calls “a lusitanized idealization” of SLPC.
11 Hesseling (1910) only identifies 38 words of Dutch origin in Dalgado (1900).
4 Malacca Portuguese Creole

Malacca was occupied by the Portuguese in 1511, but between 1640 and 1795 and between 1818 and 1824 Malacca was under Dutch rule (Holm 1989: 291-292; Hancock 2009: 296). Malacca Portuguese Creole (henceforth MPC) is spoken by members of the Eurasian community in Malaysia, in Malacca, and, possibly, in Kuala Lumpur as well as in Singapore (Holm 1989: 291, Pereira 2006: 59, Hancock 2009: 295). Estimates of the number of speakers vary: Holm (1989: 292) writes that “the creole-speaking community consists of some 1500 people in Malacca”, whereas more recently, Hancock (2009: 295) puts the figure to “several hundred people, including children”.

The main sources for MPC are two dictionaries (Baxter and de Silva 2004 and Anon.b. n.d.), a glossary (Sta Maria n.d.), a phrasebook (Marbeck 2004) which includes a glossary, a grammar (Baxter 1988), and an online corpus consisting of poems, song lyrics, religious texts, proverbs (Biblioteca Malaca n.d.). Data have also been taken from Hancock (1970), Kaur (1999), Mohideen and Mohideen (2008) and Hancock (2009).

In the spelling used in some of the sources <ă> = for [a], <ci> = [si], <ch> = [ʧ], <ng> = [ŋ] and the diacritic [’] marks a stressed vowel. Note also that <e> stands for either [e] or [ɛ], while <o> represents either [o] or [ɔ]. The occurrence of <e> and <i> and respectively of <o> and <u> in variants on the MPC lexical items listed below reflects inter-speaker variation.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{andóku} & \quad \text{‘towel’ < handoek} \\
\text{artápel} & \quad \text{/ atápal / atapel ‘(Irish) potato’ < aardappel} \\
\text{ascu / askúng} & \quad \text{‘glove’ < handschoen} \\
\text{báskong} & \quad \text{‘wash-basin’ < waskom} \\
\text{berger} & \quad \text{‘burgher’ < burger} \\
\text{blau} & \quad \text{‘blue, indigo’ < blauw} \\
\text{bolsá / bolsac} & \quad \text{‘bolster’ < bultzak} \\
\text{buco / búku} & \quad \text{‘book’ < boek} \\
\text{búnchis} & \quad \text{‘bean’ < boontjies ‘beans’} \\
\text{cacus / kakuș / kakús} & \quad \text{‘latrine’ < kakhuis}
\end{align*}
\]

12 Also known as Kreol Kristang, Kristang, Papía Cristang and Papia Kristang.
14 According to Hancock (2009: 298), “for some speakers there is a certain amount of free variation between /i/ and /e/ and /o/ and /u/”. 

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calcum / kalkún / kalkun ‘turkey’ < kalkoen
clór / color / klor ‘colour’ < kleur
copi / kopi ‘cup’ < kopje
cós / kus ‘stockings’ < kous
daci / dási ‘necktie’ < dasje
doi / duit ‘money’ < duit ‘a farthing’
fles ‘bottle’ < fles
floi ‘flute’ < fluit
frai ‘nice’ < fraai
frikadel ‘saussage’ < frikadel
glas ‘glass’ < glas
kalbas ‘gourd’ < kalabas / kalebas
kânóp / quenop ‘knot’ < knoop ‘button’
klómpu / klompu ‘clogs’ < klomp
kofi ‘coffee’ < koffie
kukís ‘cake’ < koekjes
lachi ‘drawer’ < laatje
lámpu ‘lamp’ < lamp
leis / les ‘to read’ < lees- (root of lezen)
loi ‘lazy’ < lui
na ‘in, to’ < naar ‘to’
niches ‘pretty’ < netjes
olozi / orlózi ‘clock’ < horloge
papom ‘old man’ < papa ‘father’ + oom ‘uncle’
ploi ‘pleats’ < plooi
póchi ‘pot’ < potje
quelder / kelda ‘tombstone’ < kelder ‘cellar’
rétu ‘right’ < recht
ropiano / ropiánu / ropianu ‘European’ < Europeaan
saldreh ‘celery’ < selderie
stal ‘stable’ < stal
striká / strika / strikah / striki / striqui ‘to iron’ < strijk- (root of strijken ‘to iron’)

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stroi ‘confetti’ < strooi- (root of strooien) ‘to strew’
susi ‘elder sister’ < zus / zusje ‘(familiar) sister, sis’
taflac / tafla(k) ‘table cloth’ < tafellaken
tanta / tárta ‘auntie’ < tante
tat ‘cake’ < tart
tatom ‘uncle’ < tata ‘father’ + oom ‘uncle’
úmpi ‘uncle’ < oompje

A few remarks are in order regarding the origin of some of the MPC items in the above list. Thus, as already shown by Hancock (1970: 353) in his comments on the MPC form búku ‘book’, this is “historically probably Du rather than Eng-derived”\textsuperscript{15}. Accordingly, buco / búku is here considered to have been borrowed from Dutch.


MPC lámpu ‘lamp’ is derived from Dutch lamp, although Hancock (1970: 354) adds “possibly Eng lamp”. However, should English lamp be the etymon the MPC form would be expected to be *lemp, with [e] as a reflex of English [æ].

For olozi / orlózi / orlozi ‘clock’, a Dutch etymon is more likely than the archaic Portuguese form horloge, mentioned by Hancock (1970: 355), but not by any other authors.

According to Hancock (1970: 355), in the case of ropiano / ropianu / ropiánu ‘European’ “the stress-bearing syllable […] suggests a Dutch, rather than an English derivation”.

The possibility of multiple etymologies has been suggested for several MPC words. MPC na ‘in, to’ may be traced back not only to Dutch naar, but also to Portuguese na, in confirmation of Hancock’s (1970: 354-355) conclusion that “the likelihood of […] Ptg-Du convergence should not however be discounted”\textsuperscript{16}.

According to Hancock (1970: 355), rétu ‘right’ may derive etymologically from Dutch recht and also from Portuguese correcto, via aphaeresis, i.e. [kɔretu] > [retu].

\textsuperscript{15}Where Du = Dutch, and Eng = English.
\textsuperscript{16}Ptg = Portuguese.
Hancock (1970: 355) states that *striká* is “probably Ptg-derived, [its] use having been reinforced by the very similar Du form”. However, *striká* / *strika* / *strikh* / *striki* / *strijqui* is more plausibly derived from Dutch.

The phonological adjustment of the Dutch-derived lexical items reflects the influence of Malay, the substrate language of MPC.

Dutch /œ/ is rendered by [e]: *berger* ‘burgher’ < *burger* [bœrɔr].

There are three MPC reflexes of Dutch /ʌy/. One is [u], as in *kakus* ‘latrine’ < *kakhuis* [kakʌys]. A second one is [oi], in *doi* ‘money’ < *duit* [dʌyt], *loi* ‘lazy’ < *lui* [lʌy]. The third one is [ui], as in *duit* ‘money’ < *duit* [dʌyt].

Dutch /χ/ is replaced with [k], in *ascu* / *askúŋ* ‘glove’ < *handschoen* [hantsʌ:n] [g], in *berger* ‘burgher’ < *burger* [bœrɔr], *glas* ‘glass’ < *glas* [ɡlas][17].

Several MPC forms illustrate the fate of illicit onsets and codas. An ill-formed onset cluster is broken up by an epenthetic vowel: *kănop* / *quenop* ‘knot’ < *knoop*. Paragogic vowels are used for the resolution of complex codas, in e.g. *buco* ‘book’ < *boek*, *klompu* ‘clogs’ < *klomp*, *lampu* ‘lamp’ < *lamp*[18].

MPC *doi* / *duit* ‘money’ is a lexical item which is obsolete in Dutch.

Included in the list are several cases of reanalysis of morphemic boundaries. Three of them include the Dutch plural maker: *búnchis* ‘bean’ < *boontjie* ‘bean’ + plural marker -s ‘beans’; *kukís* ‘cake’ < *koekje* ‘cake’ + plural marker -s; *niches* ‘pretty’ < *netje* ‘pretty’ + plural marker -s.

Semantic shift occurs in two MPC forms. As indicated above, *kănóp* / *quenop* ‘knot’ is derived from Dutch *knoop* which means ‘button’, and Dutch *kelder* ‘cellar’ has yielded *quelder* / *kelda* with the meaning of ‘tombstone’.

The number of Dutch loanwords in MPC amounts to 49. It is instructive to compare the current findings with those reported by other researchers. According to Hancock (1970: 352), “an examination of the vocabulary of Papia Kristang […] indicates the presence of some thirty five items traceable, or possibly traceable, to Dutch”. More recently, Hancock (2009: 5) writes that “the Dutch contribution to the lexicon amounts to about 30 words”. The glossary of MPC (Anon. n.d.) includes 27 lexical items of Dutch origin out of 1413 words. Surprisingly, the dictionary of MPC by Baxter and de Silva (2004), of 2429 words, includes only 13 of Dutch origin[19]. To conclude, the 49 lexical items of Dutch origin attested in MPC identified in this paper constitute a significantly higher number than previously reported.

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[17] Cf. the Malay forms *burger* (Ling et al. 2007: 628) and *gelas* (Ling et al. 2007: 691).


5 Batavia and Tugu Portuguese Creole

When the Dutch conquered Batavia – today’s Jakarta – in 1610, a variety of Portuguese-lexifier Creole was already in use (Holm 1989: 293). Another variety emerged after some 150 speakers of Portuguese Creole speakers were moved from Batavia to Tugu (Holm 1989: 293-294). Both varieties are extinct. For the purposes of this paper I treat the two varieties as a single entity\textsuperscript{20}, Batavia and Tugu Portuguese Creole (henceforth BTPC).

There is very little available documentation on BTPC. For the variety of Batavia the corpus consists of a grammar and a dictionary (Anon. 1780)\textsuperscript{21}, the dialogues and stories collected in the 1880s (Schuchardt 1891). One of these dialogues is analyzed in detail by Teensma (1986). As for the Tugu variety, the corpus includes a word-list, poems, stories and songs dating from 1884, 1885 and 1888 (see Schuchardt 1891), and a word-list collected in 2004 (Suratminto 2005 and 2011). The entire corpus of sources documenting the Portuguese Creole once spoken in Batavia and Tugu has been edited by Maurer (2011). However, the Dutch loanwords are mentioned in an extremely short chapter (Maurer 2011: 117-126) which discusses the lexical items from languages other than Portuguese.

Listed below are the Dutch lexical items recorded in the BTPC corpus. Note that the spelling in the sources follows the Dutch orthographic conventions: \( <\text{ie}> = [i] \); \( <\text{oe}> = [u] \); \( <\text{tj}> = [\text{f}] \); \( <\text{v}> = [f] \).

- aanspeker / anspéker / aanspreker ‘undertaker’s man’ < aanspreker
- ambassador ‘ambassador’ < ambassadeur
- bèbel ‘Bible’ < bijbel
- beschuit ‘biscuit’ < beschuit
- bier ‘beer’ < bier
- blaauw / blauw ‘blue’ < blauw
- boekoe ‘book’ < boek
- bolsak / bolsakh ‘bolster’ < bultzak
- boontjes ‘bean’ < boontjies
- borstrok ‘waistcoat’ < borstrok

\textsuperscript{20}See also Maurer (2011).
\textsuperscript{21}A second edition, without the Batavia Portuguese Creole part, appeared in 1815, entitled \textit{Nieuwe Nederlansche en Maleidsche woordenschat en spraakkunst van gebruik van nederlander die naar de Indiën gaan}, Amsterdam, W. Holtrop (Groeneboer 1993: 57, f.n. 39).
boteel / botteel / bottel ‘bottle’ < bottel ‘bottle’
brillo ‘spectacles’ < bril
brood / brot ‘bread’ < brood
cachette ‘seal’ < cachet
calkoen / kalkoem / kalkom ‘turkey’ < kalkoen
cantor / kantor ‘office; desk’
cloor / coloor ‘colour’ < kleur
coffie / kovi ‘coffee’ < koffie
commandoor ‘commander’ < commandeur
convoor ‘spirit-stove’ < komfoor
daak ‘day’ < dag
dangki ‘thanks’ < dank U ‘thank you (polite)’
dansi ‘to dance’ < dans- (root of dansen)
dasie ‘necktie’ < dasje
diekton ‘ducatoon’ < dukatoon
djondjivrouw ‘young woman’ < jonge jufrouw
doecaat ‘ducat’ < dukaat
doie / doij / dooi / dooit ‘money’ < duit ‘farthing’
donder ‘thunder’ < donder
dozint ‘dozen’ < dozijn
drai ‘shift (of the wind)’ < draai- (root of draaien)
dublo ‘double’ < dubbel
eëlla ‘(Dutch) ell’ < el
emmer ‘bucket’ < emmer
flessoe ‘bottle’ < fles
fluit ‘flute’ < fluit
fricadelle ‘sausage’ < frikadel
gaaoe / gaoe / gaoew / gau ‘quick’ < gauw
gas ‘quick, speedy’ < haast ‘haste’
gesper ‘buckle’ < plural form of gesp
glaas ‘glass’ < glas
grieffe ‘office of the clerk’ < grieffe
hās ‘hare’ < haas
The Dutch lexical contribution to three Asian
Contribuição lexical do holandes... 67

horlogie ‘clock’ < horloge
iskotji / scotje ‘barge’ < schuitje
ispring ‘to sprinkle water’ < spreng- (root of sprengen)
istrika ‘iron for ironing clothes’ < strijker
jaco fëbri ‘fish species’ < jacob-avers
jërraal ‘general’ < generaal
kaan / kan ‘jug’ < kan
kaas ‘dubbeltje (coin); money’ < kas
kakerlak / kakkarlac ‘cockroach’ < kakkerlak
kakoes ‘latrine’ < kakhuis
kandaar / kandelaar ‘candle-holder’ < kandelaar
kanibel ‘moustache’ < knevel
karapoes ‘cap’ < karpoets / karpuits
kelder ‘cellar’ < kelder
klaar ‘clear’ < klaar
kleentjie / klentji ‘rabbit’ < konijntje
knoop ‘button’ < knoop
koekis ‘cake’ < koekjes
koesier / koesir / kusir ‘driver’ < koetsier
kokkie ‘cook’ < kok
koos / kous ‘stockings’ < kous
lampu ‘lamp’ < lamp
leervis ‘fish species < leervis
lees ‘to read’ < lees- (root of lezen)
lem ‘gum’ < lijm
lesnaar ‘desk’ < lessenaar
ley ‘slate’ < lei
lobbetje ‘lobe’ < lobbetje
looidade / luidadi ‘lazy’ < lui ‘lazy’ + Portuguese -dade
maar / mer ‘but’ < maar
mama ‘mother’ < mama
meester ‘master’ < meester
messel ‘to lay bricks’ < metsel- (root of metselen)
morgen ‘morning’ < morgen
naam ‘name’ < naam
nier ‘kidney’ < nier
noot ‘nut’ < noot
oester ‘oyster’ < oester
officier ‘clerk’ < officiant
papa ‘father’ < papa
pasment ‘lace’ < passement
pengster ‘Whitsuntide’ < Pinkster
pentji ‘pint’ < pintje
permissie ‘permission’ < permissie
plooi ‘pleat’ < plooi
polls ‘pulse’ < pols
pond ‘pound’ < pond
potlood ‘pencil’ < potlood
praefecto ‘senior official’ < prefect
prinses ‘prince’ < prins
raamglas ‘window-frame’ < glasraam
radies ‘raddish’ < radijs
rébastik ‘rib’ < ribbenstuk ‘rib of beef, of pork’
reken ‘to amount to’ < reken- (root of rekenen) ‘to count’
rokkie ‘dress’ < rokje
ron / rond ‘round’ < rond
sinette ‘seal’ < signet
slooysoe ‘sluice’ < sluis
smit ‘smith’ < smid
snip / snippies ‘snipe’ < snip / snipjes
solder / sólèr ‘attic’ < zolder
spansmat ‘piastre’ < Spaanse mat ‘(Spanish) coin’
spiegeloie / spiglo ‘mirror’ < spiegel
spiering ‘smelt’ < spiering
sücker ‘sugar’ < suiker
stropdassie ‘necktie’
taflak ‘table-cloth’ < tafellaken
takoe ‘branch’ < tak
thesoureir ‘treasurer’ < thesaurier
tjielie ‘chili’ < chili
vat ‘barrel’ < vat
visch ‘fish’ < vis
weikmeester ‘village chief’ < wachtmeester ‘sergeant’
zeida ‘silk’ < zijde

Given the many inconsistencies in the transcription used in the sources, only a few remarks can be safely made with respect to the phonological adjustment of Dutch loanwords.

The reflex of the Dutch diphthong /ɔy/ is [o], [oi], [u] or [ui], as in scotji ‘barge’ < schuitje [sɔytʃ], dooi ‘money’ < duit [dɔyt], kakoes ‘latrine’ < kakhuis [kakhɔys] and fluit ‘flute’ < fluit [flɔyt] respectively.

Dutch /χ/ is consistently replaced with [g], as in glaas ‘glass’ < glas [ɡlas].

In the resolution of illicit onsets or codas BTPC resorts to repair strategies generally typical of Malay. Thus, epenthesis into an onset cluster is illustrated by kanibel ‘moustache’ < knevel. A number of forms exhibit a paragogic vowel, e.g. dansi ‘to dance’ < dans, lampu ‘lamp’ < lamp, takoe ‘branch’ < tak. A word-final [t] part of a cluster in the Dutch etymon is deleted: officiant ‘clerk’ < officiant, ron < rond [rɔnt] 22.

Quite interestingly, illegitimate /s/-initial onset clusters are resolved via addition of a prothetic vowel, as in Portuguese. Consider the following examples: ispring ‘to sprinkle water’ < spreng, istrika ‘iron for ironing clothes’ < strijker, iskotji ‘barge’ < schuitje 23.

Not surprisingly, the list includes several lexical items which are now obsolete in Dutch: e.g. boteel / botteel / bottel ‘bottle’ < bottel ‘bottle’; terms designating previously used units of measurement: dublo ‘double’ < dubbel, ėlla ‘(Dutch) ell’ < el; the names of former monetary units, such as diekton ‘ducatoon’ < dukatoon, doecaat ‘ducat’ < dukaat, doie / doij / dooi / dooit ‘money’ < duit ‘farthing’, spansmat ‘piastre’ < Spaanse mat ‘(Spanish) coin’.

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22 Cf. e.g. Indonesian koran ‘newspaper’ (Adiwimarta et al. 1997: 81) < courant .
Some of the BTPC lexical items of Dutch origin only occur in set phrases: *daak* ‘day’ in *vaaij daak* and *morgen* in *vaaij morgen*, both ‘to greet’; *naam* ‘name’ in *vaaij naam* ‘to introduce one self’; *permissie* which actually translates as ‘excuse me/us’.

A number of BTPC forms are instances of reanalysis of morphemic boundaries. Consider the following examples: *boontjes* ‘bean’ < *boontjie* ‘bean’ + plural marker *-s*; *dangki* ‘thanks’ < *dank* ‘thank’ + *U* ‘you (polite)’; *koekis* ‘cake’ < *koekje* ‘cake + plural marker *-s*; *snippies* ‘snipe’ < *snipje* ‘snipe’ + plural marker *-s*. An interesting case is *jaco-fibri* ‘fish species’ < *jacob-evers*, where the proper name Jacob Evers is reinterpreted, probably with a folk-etymological connection with *febru* ‘fever’.

As shown above, *luidadi* / *luidade* ‘lazy’ is etymologically derived from the Dutch adjective < *lui* ‘lazy’ and the Portuguese suffix *-dade*. However, while the suffix *-dade* serves to form abstract nouns in Portuguese, *luidade* / *luidadi* is an adjective in BTPC.

Another word worth discussing is *raamglas* ‘window-frame’ which follows the Indonesian word order, not that of its Dutch etymon, *glasraam*.

Consider finally the share of the Dutch-derived lexical items in the vocabulary of BTPC. The total number of words listed in the dictionary of the Batavia variety (Anon. 1780) amounts to 1221, of which 117 from Dutch.

6 Conclusions

The comparison of the Dutch loanwords identified in SLPC, MPC and BTPC shows that these generally tend to be concentrated in a number of semantic fields. Hancock (1970: 355), for instance, concludes with respect to MPC that “the greatest sphere of Dutch influence [...] was undoubtedly in the home”. Dutch-derived lexical items pertaining to semantic fields such as household articles, food, clothing are attested in all the three Creoles under discussion. Consider the following examples:

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24Cf. Portuguese *dar os bons dias*.
25Cf. Portuguese *dar o seu nome*.
27See also Schuchardt (1891: 135, f.n. 243).
28Cf. earlier Indonesian *ramkatja* ‘window-frame’ (Schuchardt 1891: 82).
In SLPC and BTPC Dutch loanwords are also found in domains such as administration, the military, Christian religion, education, tools. In SLPC, with the largest number of Dutch loanwords, these include three terms designating body parts, *blas* ‘bladder’, *gôrgôl* ‘throat’ and *schenkle* ‘ankle’, and even the name of a basic degree of kinship, *susse* ‘sister’.

In terms of the distribution of Dutch loanwords in the three Creoles under discussion, their number is considerably higher in SLPC and BTPC than in MPC. The absolute numbers are repeated here: 158 in SLPC, 117 in BTPC, but only 49 in MPC. Given this considerable discrepancy between the number of Dutch loanwords recorded in SLPC and BTPC, on the one hand, and in MPC, on the other, it is rather surprising that 12 Dutch-derived lexical items are only attested in MPC. These are: *andóku* ‘towel’; *báskong* ‘wash-basin’; *frai* ‘nice’; *kalbás* ‘gourd’; *klómpu / klompé* ‘clogs’; *niches* ‘pretty’; *papom* ‘old man’; *póchi* ‘pot’; *rétu* ‘right’; *stroi* ‘confetti’; *tat* ‘tart’; *tatom* ‘uncle’.

The proportion of Dutch loanwords recorded in SLPC amounts to some 6.5% in (against only 2.7% in Anon.a. n.d.). After Portuguese, Dutch is the second most important contributor to the lexicon of SLPC. The proportion of Dutch-derived lexical items is 2.8% in MPC (less than 2% according to Hancock 1970, 1.9% in Anon.b. n.d., 0.7% in Baxter and de Silva 2004), and 9.5% in the Batavia variety of BTPC. Both in the case of MPC and in the case of BTPC Dutch is the third most important source of their vocabulary, after Portuguese and Malay.

Neither the absolute number nor the proportion of Dutch-derived lexical items correlates directly and neatly with the duration of the Dutch rule over Ceylon, Malacca and Indonesia. Rather, other factors need to be taken into account as well. These include at least the following. The ethnic origin of the speakers may account for the higher absolute number of Dutch loanwords in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SLPC</th>
<th>MPC</th>
<th>BTPC</th>
<th>gloss</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bonchi</td>
<td>búnchis</td>
<td>boontjies</td>
<td>'bean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caufe</td>
<td>kofi</td>
<td>coffie/kovi</td>
<td>'coffee'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dace/daci/dase</td>
<td>daci/dási</td>
<td>dasie</td>
<td>'necktie'</td>
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<td>glass</td>
<td>glas</td>
<td>glaas</td>
<td>'glass'</td>
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<td>lampo</td>
<td>lämpu</td>
<td>lampu</td>
<td>'lamp'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orlozi/orlozo</td>
<td>olozi/orlózi</td>
<td>horlogie</td>
<td>'clock'</td>
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<tr>
<td>taflak</td>
<td>taflac/tafla(k)</td>
<td>taflak</td>
<td>'tablecloth'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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SLPC: a significant part of the Burgher community was made up of descendants of the Dutch. More Dutch loanwords may have been used in earlier stages of MPC, which are extremely poorly documented. The high proportion of Dutch-derived lexical items in the Batavia variety of BTPC may be due to the low total number of words recorded.

The examination of earlier sources has made it possible to correctly assess the extent of the Dutch lexical influence on SLPC. There has been a constant and noticeable decrease in the use of Dutch-derived lexical items. The texts published by Tavares de Mello (1908a, 1908b, 1911, 1912 and 1913) already attest to an increasing use of English loanwords in SLPC, some of which replace formerly used Dutch-derived lexical items. A similar situation is reported in the case of MPC, for which early sources are unfortunately not available. Thus, Hancock (1970: 356) writes that “the frequency of Dutch-derived words seems to be declining”. More recently, Hancock (2009: 299) notes that “Malay words are constantly being adopted into the language” and that “the use of English-derived words in Papia Kristang is increasing”.

The findings of the present paper shed light on the Dutch component of SLPC, MPC and BTPC, a hitherto neglected topic. They are also a contribution to the assessment of the diffusion of Dutch-derived lexical items to Creoles with various lexifier languages.

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