

Agata Kowalska-Szubert

**DUTCH LOANWORDS
IN CONTEMPORARY POLISH**



Dutch Loanwords in Contemporary Polish

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Prologue

Presumably all scholars know the feeling of recognition, an *Aha-Erlebnis*, that comes in an encounter in one language with words they know in another language. The words of the native language, recognized in a foreign language, evoke emotion. Native words found in a foreign language arouse a feeling of curiosity. Is this similarity accidental? And if not, where exactly does the word come from and how did it get into the target language? Does it still have its original meaning or has the sense changed?

The work on this book has been such a trek through Polish lexicon, a journey of discovery and at the same time a confrontation with the already existing opinions of other scholars. In Poland, Dutch is still a rather exotic language, 'exotic' both in terms of morphology and in its similarities to German. This similarity has often caused Dutch loanwords to be classified in scientific literature and standard lexicographical reference works as borrowings from the German language, possibly from Lower German. Sometimes, to my amazement at the first stage of collecting material, words that clearly originated in the Netherlands were described in dictionaries as loans from the Russian language. Thus with great curiosity, but also with a certain feeling of humility, I tried to find the history of the words, to identify the ways through which they reached the Polish language, which languages they contacted on their way, how they changed their form and meaning, and finally why at all they were at some point useful for Polish language users. The conclusions of my peregrinations can be found in this monograph.

In the introductory chapter, information on the structure of the study, the material, and corpus is given, as well as an insight into the theoretical background and possible contacts between the Dutch and Polish languages. The second chapter analyses how Dutch words changed their form on their way into Polish: which phonetic, orthographic and morphological changes they underwent. The third chapter provides an overview of why some words are classified in dictionaries as, for example, Russian or (Low) German loans.

The chapter analyses geographical contacts between Dutch and Polish and tries to show which way several words were passed in other phases from Dutch into Polish. The fourth chapter analyses the borrowed words in thematic groups, offering thus possible reasons why just these words came into Polish. The fifth chapter offers a general analysis of the findings of this study and shows which direction future research in this field could take.

Each research project entails a search, a verification of data, their analysis and conclusions. And this happens next to everyday life, often at the expense of family life. It requires patience and understanding to escort researchers as they struggle with the objects of their interests. For precisely this patience and understanding I would like to thank my husband Rafał Szubert and our daughter Marta: had I not been assured that our family life would go on safely, even as I was working on this text, it would not exist.

For his tremendous understanding and great patience I would also like to thank Wilken Engelbrecht and his colleagues from the Department of Dutch Studies in Olomouc: it is to their credit that Palacký University has gradually become my third academic 'little homeland'.

Many thanks are also due to Dr. Andrzej Głazek, who translated the text of this monograph into English, and at the same time was its careful verifier: through discussions with Andrzej the text that lies before you gained an extra dimension.

Finally, I wish to thank everyone who believed in me and this research. This belief is an inspiration.

Agata Kowalska-Szubert

Preliminaries

1.0. By Way of Introduction

1.0.1. Assumption

This work is devoted to Dutch loanwords in contemporary Polish. Polish linguistics has always paid, relatively, a great deal of attention to loans from neighbouring languages (in the context of Slavic languages see, for instance, Siatkowski¹, Sławski, and others; with reference to German, cf. Pipek, Czarnecki, and many others²) and from languages with which Polish has had extensive contact over the centuries. Borrowings from other languages are signalled in Polish dictionaries, but only in a few cases have they been described systematically. Thus, this work is an attempt to provide a systematic description of borrowings from Dutch into modern standard Polish. The corpus consists of words that can, as will be demonstrated, be regarded as Dutch loans for one reason or another. The main research questions are the following:

- Which words has Dutch given to Polish? Why these particular words, and not others?
- How did the words find their way to Polish?

¹ Professor Janusz Siatkowski of the Polish Academy of Sciences is, by the way, one of the authors of a Czech-Polish/Polish-Czech dictionary and numerous studies concerning the mutual influences of Czech and Polish.

² Obviously, etymological research and comparative studies of languages are not an exclusive Polish specialty. Czech linguists with significant contributions in this field include F. Čermak and his work on the Czech National Corpus, including a historical part, and F. Kalda and B. Trnka, who have authored a number of contrastive studies and also made a major contribution to the development of Dutch studies in the Czech Republic. Particularly notable among Olomouc-based linguists, in the context of borrowings and the mutual impacts of languages, is the work of L. Spáčilová (e.g. her publications on the relations between Czech and (Austrian) German in past centuries).

– How did the words adapt to the Polish language system?

In other words, the idea is to equip Dutch loanwords in modern Polish with a label that will allow them to be treated as a separate group of foreign words. By ‘modern Polish’, I mean the standard Polish vocabulary of the twenty-first century that can be found in generally available dictionaries and on the Internet. Further bibliographic information is to be found in section 1.1.1. It goes without saying that many older borrowings have over time fallen out of use and faded into oblivion. Such lexical units are consequently not included in this study.

1.0.2. Chapter Structure

This chapter contains the most important information relevant to the matter under study and the research part.

First (Section 1.1), I briefly introduce the method of compiling the material from which the final research corpus was selected. In this connection, I will not only provide a review of the available sources, but also give the reasons for including a given word in the corpus or not. This part of the discussion is also a good place to make a number of comments on the lexical sources available to the reader. Then (section 1.2), I will present the corpus, a list of words that in my opinion meet the defined criteria.

Theoretical considerations begin in Section 1.3. In a brief outline, I sketch the theory of borrowings, the borrowing process as such, and the characteristics of borrowings (Section 1.4). Section 1.5 focuses on the ways along which words from one language move to another. In Section 1.6, I offer a presentation of the various stages of loanword assimilation in the target language.

Section 1.7 presents a brief overview of the most intensive contacts between the Low Countries and Poland. I will pay attention to the places where and the periods when circumstances favoured direct borrowings and the contexts that made the borrowings possible.

1.1. Material Collection

1.1.1. Review of Sources

The words in the corpus were taken from various dictionaries. These primarily include dictionaries of modern Polish, such as *Praktyczny słownik współczesnej polszczyzny* (Practical Dictionary of Modern Polish) by H. Zgółkowa [1994–2005], and a whole series of descriptive dictionaries

published by Polskie Wydawnictwo Naukowe (PWN). Additionally, I also took into account dictionaries of foreign words. Two of them, namely *Słownik wyrazów obcych PWN* (PWN Dictionary of Foreign Words) by M. Bańko [2007] and *Słownik wyrazów obcych i zwrotów obcojęzycznych* (Dictionary of Foreign Words and Phrases) by W. Kopaliński [2008], were the most frequent loanword sources. Another frequently used resource was the dictionary of foreign words published within the PWN Portal [2004], a broad work consisting of four different dictionaries of Polish: a Polish-language dictionary, a loanword dictionary, a correct usage dictionary, and a spelling dictionary. Naturally, Polish etymological dictionaries were also used: the unfinished *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego* by W. Sławski [1952–1982], the unfinished *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego* by A. Bańkowski [2000], *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego* by W. Boryś [2006], and several etymological dictionaries by K. Kurczabowa. The issue of etymological dictionaries is something I will return to shortly. Loanwords were also taken from the six-language dictionary of sailing terms *Słownik żeglarski w sześciu językach* [2006] and the Polish-German technology dictionary *Słownik naukowo-techniczny polsko-niemiecki WNT* [1992]. Some words were not found in any of the above sources. They were, however, made part of the corpus for one of the following reasons:

- they are used in everyday Polish and, as such, are well known, and they can be demonstrated to have come from Dutch; and/or
- the Dutch origin can be recognized in the form of the word; and/or
- other sources than those given above indicate that these words are of Dutch origin, and Internet searches provide a significant number of hits.

Such cases are clearly marked and provided with appropriate comments, indicating the source where a given word was found.

Outside my consideration, however, are Dutch words borrowed into Polish most recently, showing up in the target language only in recent years. These include, primarily, Polonized words from the Dutch tax and administration world that Poles working in the Netherlands are of necessity familiar with. Such words as *sofi* ‘a social and tax identification number’ or *jarograf* ‘annual tax return’, by themselves evident Dutch loanwords in Polish, are not a part of the corpus because they are used by a relatively small group of Poles and thus have not made it yet into the general language. Their numbers of search engine hits are also still low, which is evidence of their low frequency of usage.

1.1.2. Critique of Polish Lexical Sources

It is not easy to come across words labelled as Dutch borrowings in Polish dictionaries. First of all, the group of words directly borrowed into Polish

from Dutch seems to be relatively small. A large number of unquestionably Dutch words have been borrowed into Polish through other languages, mostly German and Russian. Such loans are marked in dictionaries as respectively German and Russian borrowings.

The generally accepted approach of lexicographers is this: if a word was borrowed from language X, it is treated as a language X loanword. The ultimate origin of the word does not play any role in the language that borrowed the word (as the last one). In view of this approach, the classification of originally Dutch words that were first borrowed into, say, Russian and then into Polish as Russian loans is therefore correct.

However, the authors of dictionaries are inconsistent on this account. A word such as *akcja*, Du. *actie*, Eng. *share of stock*, is marked in Polish dictionaries as borrowed from Latin. Clearly, if not in all cases, originally Latin words were borrowed into Polish through one or more other languages, but dictionaries mention the intermediary language very rarely. The same to a large extent applies to loans from exotic languages: dictionaries frequently provide information about which language a given word originally comes from, without paying much attention to the borrowing pathways. Thus, on the one hand, we are confronted with the position that ‘what is important is the final language from which the word was borrowed’, and on the other hand, we have the following view: ‘if the form of the word and/or its meaning spectrum reveals where it originally comes from, that is mentioned as an important factor (source)’.

Furthermore, Polish dictionary authors rarely pay attention to the semantic features of words, but in determining their etymologies they concentrate on morphological forms. This, too, has a certain impact on the classification of loans. The word form *atlas*, for instance, is originally Greek, but the meaning ‘map and/or image collection’ is attributed to Mercator, and as such the word should be treated as a Dutch loanword. Polish sources do not take this into consideration, just as they ignore the fact that *akcja*, meaning ‘a stake, share’, can be taken back to a significance that arose in the Low Countries; in Polish dictionaries, *akcja* is simply classified as a word of Latin origin.

What is more, it happens not infrequently that the origin of one and the same word is interpreted differently in different dictionaries. One of the best examples is the word *farwater* (from Du. *vaarwater*), ‘sea lane’. Three different dictionaries explain the origins of this word in three divergent ways. *Praktyczny słownik współczesnej polszczyzny* by Zgółkowa says that the word is a borrowing from English, on account of the second part of word, written the same way in Polish and in English (*water*); however, the English equivalent of this word is *fairway*. *Słownik języka polskiego PWN* claims that it is originally a Low German word (*Farhwater*), whereas *Słownik wyrazów*

obcych PWN classifies *farwater* as a German loan. Many such inconsistencies can be found.

Based on the above examples, it becomes clear that, in searching for Dutch borrowings in Polish, one cannot draw hasty conclusions using the available Polish dictionaries.

1.2. Shaping the Corpus

1.2.1. Preliminary Selection

Following the earlier considerations, it becomes clear that classifying words as potentially Dutch loans in Polish is far from easy. Setting up the research corpus proceeded in stages. Initially, words were excerpted from electronic sources.

First of all, the following were chosen:

- words derived from Dutch, according to dictionaries;
- words with forms suggestive of their Dutch origins even if dictionaries claim otherwise;
- words known to be of Dutch provenance even if such information is absent from dictionaries (one example is *butelka lejdejska*, Du. *de Leidse fles*, ‘Leyden jar’, which no dictionary indicates as a calque originally from Dutch).

Subsequently, I also analyzed words indicated in dictionaries as coming from Low German. Because the similarity between Dutch and Low German does not allow the determination of whether a word comes from one of the languages or the other without an in-depth analysis, such words merit particular attention and a more careful examination.

Further, I also searched for words that, according to the dictionaries, had been borrowed from German or Russian. The reason is that words labelled in this way relatively frequently are direct Dutch borrowings in Russian or German. Such words could be found and selected in digital dictionaries.

A part of the corpus was found as a result of the traditional practice of manual browsing through printed dictionaries. The principle I applied in doing so was this: I took into consideration words that (potentially) came from Dutch. Based on the morphological form, pronunciation, or meaning of a word, I made the decision whether to include it in the corpus on a preliminary basis. The question whether these (potential) borrowings had come direct from Dutch or through another language was of secondary importance at the pre-selection stage. What was important was finding words that gave rise to the supposition that they could be related to Dutch.

I further took into account words from other languages where Dutch could be demonstrated to have played the role of an intermediary. Thus, it was assumed with substantial certainty that most words indicated by Polish dictionaries to have originated from Indonesian or Malay had been brought to Europe by the Dutch, and thus, on their way to Polish, they had gone via the Dutch language.

Geographical names, used as such, were not included in the corpus by design. For example, *Haga* as the Polish equivalent of *Den Haag* or *amsterdamczyk* as the word for the inhabitant of Amsterdam were not taken into consideration. Words that have a metaphorical or metonymic meaning were retained, however. *Brukselka*, for example, is not only the female inhabitant of Brussels, but it also stands for Brussels sprouts, a kind of vegetable. *Gouda* in Polish is primarily a kind of cheese and only then the name of a town in the Netherlands. Thus, where geographical names (or derivatives/hybrids based on them) have an added meaning, the words remain in the corpus. If the meaning of a geonym is limited to the purely geographical aspect, the word is not retained in the corpus.

No academic/professional terms other than those included in general Polish-language dictionaries were sought. It cannot be precluded that there are terminological domains in Polish that use many Dutch terms. However, that is the potential subject of another analysis. The same, in fact, applies to Polish dialects, mainly in the north of the country, where at one time there existed settlements of people from the Netherlands and/or Flanders. The presence of such settlers in Poland did not have any strong impact on the national language, but its traces can be found, for instance, in the Kashubian language.³ These influences are also worth investigating thoroughly in another context.

The first corpus that arose through the application of the above method was, in a sense, larger than the list of words finally analysed. First, it also included words that were considered potential Dutch borrowings based on their forms, but which probably are not such loanwords taking into account their meanings. A good example of such a rejected word is *dyszel*, Du. *dissel*, 'haulage shaft of a wagon or cart'. Both Dutch and Low German feature *dissel*. However, due to the nature of contacts between Dutch and Polish (most of which had to do with water, the sea, and fishing), it seems rather unlikely to me that a cart or wagon pole could owe its Polish name to a language not spoken by any of Poland's neighbours, whereas an identical sounding word existed in the language of its direct neighbours to the

³ Cf. the monumental study by B. Sychta (1967–76).

west. A large number of my deleted words are ones that passed through the first screening although they were labelled in the dictionaries as German borrowings. Analysing those words in greater detail, I agreed they were loans from German. The word *ankier*, ‘anchor’, can be an example. As both Dutch and German have the word *anker/Anker*, the Polish equivalent could have been borrowed from either. The analysis of the meaning was decisive for the determination that the German word had been the origin. In Polish, *ankier* has nothing to do with sailing; it is part of the escapement structure in clocks. This meaning of *anker* exists in Dutch dictionary definitions, but it is usually one of the last-listed meanings. In German, however, the ‘escapement part in clocks’ meaning is mentioned as one of the first ones. Thus, the reasoning here was the same as in the case of *dyszal*, Ger. *Dissel*, Du. *dissel*, above.

The next reason for deleting words had to do with the eponyms found, more related to the realities of Flanders than the Netherlands. Polish dictionaries consistently state that the term derives from the name of the person who described or discovered the phenomenon. If the person was Belgian, the dictionaries do not go into the details of whether he or she was Flemish or Walloon. For a linguist, this is a major issue. For this reason, e.g. *fokker*, ‘aeroplane designed by the Dutch aviation pioneer Anthony Fokker’, was included in the corpus, while *nagan*, ‘revolver designed by the renowned nineteenth century gunsmith Leon Nagant of Liège, which was the equipment of the entire tsarist Russian army’, or *saksofon* ‘saxophone’, ‘wind instrument designed by the Walloon Antoine-Joseph “Adolphe” Sax’, were not.

The corpus was then systematically supplemented with words that are not (for now) included in Polish-language dictionaries but can reasonably be supposed to be of Dutch origin. The point of departure here was my knowledge of both Polish and Dutch, as well as of the borrowing processes, which allowed me to suppose that a particular word was a Dutch borrowing (the supposition was, of course, carefully checked). Web search engines actually provide a significant number of hits (at least four-digit numbers in all cases). If a particular borrowing in Polish is written in a few ways, the number of hits of the different options are totalled. This concerns, for instance, the series *masdamer/masdammer/mazdamer/mazdammer*, ‘Maasdammer cheese’, or *coleslaw/coleślaw/koleslaw/koleślaw*, Du. *koolsla*, ‘coleslaw’. Another reason for including such words was as follows: asking respondents from throughout Poland revealed that a given word was known everywhere. This applies especially to consumer goods, e.g. *boskop*, ‘Belle de Boskoop apple’. Even if such foodstuffs have not yet made their way into dictionaries, they are actually a part of modern Polish, a very conspicuous part in fact.

1.2.2. Final Selection Method

Data provided in Polish dictionaries were the starting point. In fact, few words were described as coming from Dutch. In the case of those words, the main task was to verify their Dutch origins.

The next careful assumption was that words that in my opinion are of Dutch origin, but are labelled by dictionaries as borrowings from other languages, came into Polish via those other languages. Words collected in this way were then compared with the Dutch words that were the origins of the borrowings. That was done in two stages: first, the language supposed to be the intermediary was looked at to see if the word concerned had really been used there and had been borrowed from Dutch; then, etymological data concerning the word in the intermediary language were analysed.⁴

With regard to the words making up the final research corpus, the following reasoning was adopted as the main principle. First- and second-degree borrowings from Dutch are considered Dutch loanwords in Polish. The borrowing degree means the distance between the language of origin (thus, in this case, Dutch) and the target language (in this study, Polish). First-degree borrowings are direct borrowings from the language of origin. Second-degree borrowings is a term applied to indirect borrowings, where a word was borrowed from the language of origin by another, transit language, and only then came into the target language. Third-, fourth-, and further degree borrowings (i.e. those, where there is more than one intermediary language) are not included.

In the light of the above, it can be seen that, in the borrowing process studied in accordance with my assumptions here, Polish is always involved as the target language, whereas Dutch can either be the original language or a transit language. The word *batik*, for instance, comes from Indonesian and came to European languages via Dutch. In accordance with the formula above, *batik* is a second-degree borrowing from Indonesian (with Dutch as the intermediary language) and a first-degree borrowing from Dutch (because it was taken from that language directly).

Thus, it may happen that the corpus will include a word coming originally from another language because Dutch played a role in the process of borrowing it. A good example is the word *boja*, Du. *boei*, ‘buoy’, which originated from Old French. In the context of that word, the role of French was limited to that of the ‘producer’ of the word in relation to Polish as the target language. Polish borrowed the word from Dutch.

⁴ The morphological form of Dutch loanwords in the intermediary languages will be discussed in chapter 2 devoted to form modifications.

1.2.3. Final Corpus

The following is the full list of words discussed in the analytical part. The words were selected in the manner described above. For clarity, the borrowings are presented in a table. The left column contains the Polish word, and the middle column provides the equivalent of the word in modern Dutch. If a given word is not used anymore in today's Dutch, the equivalent is printed in italics. The table does *not* contain English equivalents. Such will be presented below where required by the analysis. The main source of this information is the electronic version of *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (WNT). The acronyms EWN and EWA stand for *Etymologisch woordenboek van het Nederlands* edited by M. Philippa *et al.* and *Etimologiewoordeboek van Afrikaans* edited by A.E. Cloete *et al*⁵. Where the description is taken from a different source, it is also cited. Sources provided in the WNT quotations can be found in the bibliography of the dictionary itself.

Polish	Dutch
achterdek	achterdek
achterpik	achterpiek
achtersztag	achterstag
adiutant	adjutant
admiral	admiraal
Afrikaans	Afrikaans
Afrykaner	Afrikaner, Afrikaander
akcja	Actie
apartheid	apartheid
apsel	---
Arminianie	arminianen (ev. arminiaan)
atlas	Atlas
bagier	baggermachine
Bak	
Bakan	
Bakburta	bakboord
Bakelit	

⁵ Afrikaans is a language deriving from Dutch, containing words that haven been used in older Dutch but are no longer contained in the standard language. Therefore, a reference to Afrikaans may be helpful in finding old Dutch words from which their Polish equivalents may be derived.

Polish	Dutch
Bakier	(-)
Bakierować	(-)
Balonfok	ballonfok
balonkliwer	
Bambus	bamboes
Bant	Band
Batik	Batik
Begardzi	begard(en)
Beginki	begijn(en)
bejdewind	(-)
bencel	bindsel
Bezan	Bezaan
bezanmaszt	bezaanmast
Blankiet	blanket
Blik	Blik
blindgafel	blindgaffel
Blok	Blok
Boja	Boei
Bojer	Boeier
bojerowiec	(-)
Bojrep	boeireep
Bom	Boom
bombramreja	boombramra
bombramżagiel	boombramzeil
bomkliwer	boomkluiver
Bort	Boord
Bosak	bootshaak
boskop	de Schone van Boskop
Boss	Baas
Bramreja	Bramra
Bramsel	bramzeil
bramstenga	bramsteng
bramżagiel	bramzeil
Brander	brander
Bras	Bras

Polish	Dutch
brasować	(-)
Braszpil	braadspil
brukselka	Brussels spruitje
Bryfok	breefok
bryg	Brik
Buchta	Bocht
Bukszpir	boegspier
bukszpryt	boegspriet
Burta	Boord
Colestław	Koolsla
Dalba	dukdalf
Dek	Dek
delikatesy	Delicatessen
Dirka	Dirk
Diuna	Duin
Dok	Dok
Dokować	(-)
Dollar	Dollar
Doping	doping
Dryf	(-)
dryfować	drijven
Dujker	Duiker
Dydek	Duitje
Edamski	Edammer kaas
Eland	eland
Elzewir	Elzevier
Faleń	vanglijn
Falrep	valreep
Fał	val
Farwater	vaarwater
flader (sznur)	fladder
Flaga	vlag
Flaglinka	vlaglijn
Flagować	(-)
flagowiec	vlaggenschip

Polish	Dutch
Flagowy	vlaggen...
flagsztok	vlaggenstok
Flibustier	vrijbouter
floren	florijn
Flota	vloot
Fok	fok
Fokker	Fokker
fokmarsel	fokmarszeil
Fokmaszt	fokkemast
Fokreja	fokkera
fokstenga	foksteng
foktopsel	foktopzeil
fordewind	(-)
Forluk	voorluik
Forpik	voorpiek
Forsztag	voorstag
Fortopsel	voortopzeil
Fracht	vracht
frachtowiec	vrachtschip
Fretka	fret
Fryz	Fries
Fryzyjski	Fries (adj.)
Gaf	gaffel
Gafel	gaffel
Gafelfat	gaffelval
Gaflowy	gaffel... (adj)
Gaftopsel	gaffeltopzeil
Gara	geer
Garnela	garnaal/garneel
Gaz	gas
Gezowie	geuzen
gik	giek
Gording	gording
Gouda	Goudse kaas
Grot	grootmast

Polish	Dutch
grotmaszt	grootmast
Grotreja	grote ra
grottopsel	groottopzeil
groźzagiel	grootzeil
Gulden	gulden
Halfwind	halfwind
Hals	hals
Halslina	halslijn
Halsować	(-)
Heling	helling
Herbata	thee
Hisować	hijzen
Holender	Hollander
holenderka	Hollandse
holenderski	Hollands
holendrować	(-)
hundekoja	hondenkooi
Jacht	jacht
jansenizm	jansenisme
jol, jola	jol
Jufer	juffer
Jufers	juffer
Juta	jute
Kabel	kabel
kabeltaw	kabeltouw
Kajuta	kajuit
Kakadu	kaketoe
Kambuz	kombuis
Kanarek	kanarievogel
Kaper	kaper
kaperować	(-)
Kaperski	(-)
kaperstwo	(-)
Kausza	kous
Kil	kiel

Polish	Dutch
Kilwater	kielwater
Kipa	kuip
Kiprować	keperen
Klamp	klamp
Klinkier	klinker
Kliwer	kluiver
kliwerbom	kluiverboom
Kliwerfał	kluiverval
Kluza	kluis
Koga	kog
Koja	kooi
Kok	kok
Kordzik	(-)
Korfbal	korfbal
Kraal	kraal
Kran	kraan
kruża	kroes
Kubryk	koebrug
Kufa	kof
Lak	lak
Lakmus	lakmoes
Lakować	(-)
Lejdejski	Leids
lichtować	lichten
lichtowanie	(-)
Lichtuga	lichter
Lik	lijk
Liklina	lijklijn
Lindan	lindaan
Lizel	lijzeil
Lobelia	lobelia
Lobelina	lobeline
Locja	loods
Lollard	lollaard
Lorenc	lorentz(kracht)

Polish	Dutch
Loteria	lotterij
Ludolfina	Ludolfiaans getal
luk	luik
Luwers	leuwers
Majtek	maatje
Makler	makelaar
Makrela	makreel
Manekin	mannequin/ manneken
Marlinka	marlijn
marlować	(-)
mars (bocianie gniazdo)	mars
Marsel	marszeil
Marsreja	marsra
marszagieli	marszeil
Maszop	maat
maszoperia	maatschappij
Maszt	mast
Mat	maat
matiasy, matiesy	maatjesharing
Matros	matroos
mazdamer	Maasdammer (kaas)
Merk	merk
Mops	mops
Minóg	negenoog
mozazaur	mosasaurus
Naktuz	nachthuis
neta	net
Nok	nok
Olędrzy	Hollanders
orangutan	orang-oetang
Orkan	orkaan
Orlog	oorlogschip
owersztog	overstag
Pasat	passaat
Pawian	baviaan

Polish	Dutch
Peleng	peiling
Pik	piek
Pikfał	piekval
Pikling	bokking
Pinka	pink
Pinasa	pink
Plakat	plakkaat
Plichta	plicht
Polder	polder
Poler	poller
Pompela	pompelmoes
Potas	kalium
Potaż	potas
Prymka	pruim
Rabata	rabat
Raks	raks
Raksa	raks
raks(k)lot	rakkloot
Rand	rand
Ref	reef
Refbant	reefband
Refhals	reefhals
Reflina	reeflijn
reja	ra
Rejs	reis
rembrandtowski	Rembrandtesk
Rotang	rotang
Rufa	roef
Rumple	roerpen
Saling	saling
Sejzing	seizing
spinozizm	spinozisme
Stapelia	stapelia
Stelaż	stellage
Stenga	steng

Polish	Dutch
ster	stuur
Sterburta	stuurboord
Stewanta	stewart
Szelak	schellak
Skipper	schipper
szkuner	schoener
Szkuta	schuit
szkutnictwo	(-)
Szkutnik	(-)
szlupbelka	sloepbalk
Szpigat	spuigat
Sztag	stag
Sztaksel	stagzeil
Sztorm	storm
sztormfok	stormfok
sztormtrap	stormtrap
Szturman	stuurman
Szturwał	stuurwaal
szyper	skipper
Śluza	sluis
takielunek	takeling
Talrep	talreep
Teksle	Texels schaap
Top	top
topenanta	toppenant
Topsel	topzeil
Topsztag	topstag
trap	trap
Wachta	wacht
Wanta	want
Wał	wal
waterbaksztag	waterbakstag
waterlinia	waterlijn
watersztag	waterstag
Werp	werp (anker)

Polish	Dutch
wimpel	wimpel
Wyblinka	weeflijn
zydwestka	zuidwester

1.3. Theoretical Considerations

Generally, it is impossible for an area as small as Europe to contain an isolated language. People travel abroad and there are waves of migrations; languages are in contact. In such cases languages strongly influence one another. This mutual interference⁶ usually results in all kinds of borrowings. The users of one language begin to use words or phrases taken over from the other language. Whether they take them over unchanged or adapt them to their own language system, form calques or hybrids is a completely different question; what is important is that a portion of one language's lexicon is transferred to another language. In this way, the vocabulary of a language is enriched. Sometimes, the borrowings are ephemerides, which exist in the other language only for a while. Sometimes, however, they remain for longer; such vocabulary increases are more permanent in such cases.

The same principle applies not only to the mutual influences of the lexicons of two languages. All kinds of grammatical and phonetic interferences also occur as a result of the presence of one language within another. They will be discussed below as well. As this study is concerned with Polish lexical borrowings from Dutch, my attention is primarily focused on phenomena related to transfers of semantic units.

In order to be able to discuss the mutual influences of languages, a suitable conceptual framework is needed. Therefore, there are a few definitions below that will be useful for further considerations.

1.3.1. Borrowings: Definitions

The branch of linguistics concerned with borrowings is called contact linguistics (Ger. *Kontaktlinguistik*). 'Das Forschungsfeld der Kontaktlinguistik ist dort, wo zwei (oder mehr) Sprachen in Berührung stehen. Mindestens

⁶ In this book, *interference* is taken to mean one language impacting another. A more detailed definition is provided in subsection 1.3.1.

eine dieser Sprachen wandelt sich infolge dieses Kontaktes. Der Wandel ist aber nicht lediglich durch systemlinguistische Faktoren zu erklären, sondern auch durch gesellschaftliche, denn nicht nur die Sprachen, sondern auch die Gesellschaften und die Kulturen, in denen sie verwendet werden und die in den Sprachen zum Ausdruck kommen, stehen im Kontakt.’⁷ One must not forget in this connection that contact linguistics is a discipline strictly connected with many other research areas: the phenomena studied by contact linguistics are also of interest to sociolinguists, language sociologists, psycho- and neurolinguists, as well as non-linguists in the areas of psychology, sociology, social psychology, anthropology, geography, and other humanities. Contact linguistics also deals with issues in the field of teaching methods. In a word, the domains overlap when two or more languages and cultures have been in contact.⁸

This work deals with borrowings. A borrowing is a ‘a word or phrase that comes from another language’⁹. The term borrowing (*ontlening*) also has the synonym loanword (*leenwoord*) with the same meaning. Dutch theory¹⁰ additionally knows such terms as *bastaardwoord* (no English equivalent; another synonym of borrowing; a word from another language that has already been adapted to the rules (grammar/phonological rules) of the recipient language) and *barbarisme* (barbarism, defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as ‘The use of words or expressions not in accordance with the classical standard of a language’¹¹). Foreign words in a language can also become productive and, as such, be the basis for new lexical items. A mixed form consisting of a borrowing in connection with a native suffix or a compound consisting of a borrowing and another word is called a hybrid.¹²

The exchange of words and concepts takes place, as has been said, on the basis of bi- or multilingualism.

⁷ Clyne (1996:12).

⁸ The main task of contact linguistics at present seems to be the study of the phenomenon of two or more languages existing side by side, i.e. bi- or multilingualism in a particular territory. However, the theory is very well suited for the explanation of phenomena that are characteristic of the borrowing process.

⁹ The Macmillan English Dictionary online (<http://www.macmillandictionary.com>).

¹⁰ In the Netherlands, the leading specialist in contact linguistics is Nicoline van der Sijs, the author of the most significant Dutch texts in this area and the editor of www.etymologiebank.nl, an Internet portal where the entire set of Dutch words and their etymological details are kept up to date.

¹¹ The Oxford English Dictionary (on CD ROM), ‘barbarism’.

¹² Cf. Weinreich (1953:52). Neologisms (hybrids are in principle neologisms) are also characteristic of transitional languages like pidgins or have a lasting presence in creoles.

We deal with bilingualism, where people talking two languages are in a particular environment, and their linguistic competences in both languages are similar. For example, children whose parents have two different native languages are often bilingual;¹³ immigrants who use their native languages at home and the (official) language of the country where they live at work or school or in public life are bilingual, as well. A certain kind of bilingualism occurs in areas where a dialect is used in addition to the standard language. In such areas, the standard language and the dialect impact on each other. To some degree, those living in frontier areas are also bilingual, of course if the bordering countries use different languages. Because of cross-border contacts, such people often need to know the neighbours' language; hence the theoretical possibility to come across traces of the other language in areas directly across the border.

Multilingualism requires knowing two or more languages; the better they are known, the greater the likelihood of their mutual impact. Multilingualism can be conceived using the example of a mixed family where the mother and the father have different native languages, and they communicate in a third, different one;¹⁴ also, multilingualism is possible in countries that have a number of official languages and dialects, in which sense many Flemish people are multilingual.

The term interference stands for an important concept. We deal with interference if one language impacts on another one on at least one level, morphological, phonetic, or semantic, or in other words, where the users of one language take over elements of another one or begin to use features not belonging to their own linguistic system, but to the system of another language. 'Die Interferenzen können habitualisiert, aber auch nur gelegentliche Nachwirkungen im Gefolge eines Sprachwechsels sein.'¹⁵ Interference is sometimes also termed transference. 'Transferenzen bewirken eine Verschränkung der beteiligten Sprachen im Bereich von Phonologie, Grammatik und/oder Lexikologie.'¹⁶

¹³ In fact, the language of the parents need not be the children's native language. I know a family where the mother, a Pole married to another Pole, living in Poland, consciously and consistently spoke Dutch to her children, as a result of which the children were brought up as bilingual Polish-Dutch individuals. This, of course, has further consequences for the children's linguistic competence in the two languages, which I will not dwell upon here.

¹⁴ In an era of increasing globalization, this phenomenon is ever easier to imagine, and it is increasingly obvious. Studies on the language of children born in such relations and brought up in a trilingual environment would doubtless yield very interesting results.

¹⁵ Augburger, L., 'Zur Theorie der Sprachkontaktforschung: Ist die "linguistique externe" keine "linguistique"?' [in:] Augsburger, L., and Kloss, H. (eds.), *Deutsche Sprachkontakte in Übersee*, Tübingen: Narr, 1979, p. 140

¹⁶ *Idem*, p. 140

As early as 1953, Weinreich mentioned factors leading to various kinds/forms of interference, which are as follows:

- Phonic interference: This has to do with differences between the phonemic systems of the two languages. They primarily concern sounds (phonemes) that exist in one of the languages but not in the other. At the stage of oral borrowing, a lexeme is taken over together with its pronunciation, and if the pronunciation contains a phoneme that does not exist in a second language, then initially it is pronounced ‘in a foreign manner’. In the process of further naturalization, the foreign-sounding phoneme is replaced with one existing in the recipient language.¹⁷
- Grammatical interference: This is particularly strong when the systems of the two languages are similar both in terms of syntax and in terms of vocabulary in the case of related languages. Because of the similarity of the borrowing to items already existing in the language, the morphological form of the borrowing may be modified, losing or gaining some grammatical features.¹⁸
- Lexical and semantic interference: The meaning of an identical word form in the recipient language is levelled with that of its homophonic equivalent in the source language of the borrowing. This applies primarily to simple words, not to longer expressions. In the case of phrases and complex expressions, various borrowings are possible, from direct borrowings to calques,¹⁹ loan renditions,²⁰ and loan creations.²¹

As every ethnic group develops at its own pace, produces goods sometimes different from those produced by other groups, and uses its own value system that may be different from other systems, comparisons and often also exchanges of goods and values take place between two ethnic groups. This in turn is reflected in the language. The content is transferred, and that transfer often goes hand in hand with the transfer of concepts. It is important that such a transfer takes place naturally; the linguistic information is generally transmitted of itself, as it were automatically. In the case of coercion,

¹⁷ Cf. Weinreich (1953:22–23).

¹⁸ Weinreich (1953:31–44).

¹⁹ Weinreich (1953:51) calls them ‘loan translations’: ‘loan translations proper, in which the model is reproduced exactly, element by element.’

²⁰ Weinreich (1953:51): ‘Loan renditions, in which the model compound only furnishes a general hint for the reproduction, e.g. German *Vater-land* after Latin *patr-ia*.’

²¹ Weinreich (1953:51): ‘Loan creations, a term applied to new coinages which are stimulated not by cultural innovations, but by the need to match designations available in a language in contact: e.g. Yiddish *mitkind* ‘sibling’ (literally ‘fellow child’) created on the stimulus of English *sibling*, German *Geschwister*, and equivalent terms much in vogue in present-day social science.’

i.e. when one language is imposed on the users of another, this is usually met with some resistance.²² In such a case, we deal with enforced resistance to foreign influences, but such influences are not ruled out altogether.

Thus, the next aspect is the resistance of speakers of one language to another language. Normally, i.e. when there is no coercion from a ‘ruler/occupier language’, there are many communities that do not long for foreign influences and are reluctant to adopt morphologically foreign forms, foreign-sounding phonemes, or foreign words. Then, there are also languages that are almost completely open to external influences. The degree of resistance is a factor that determines how a language is resistant or open to foreign influences: the harder it is to instil a borrowing, the more resistant a given language is. The mutual similarity between the two languages is also important. When two languages are closely related, whether semantically, or phonologically, or grammatically, they show a stronger tendency to borrow mutually than in the case of two completely different systems. Weinreich (1953) cites an example first given by Sapir (1927):²³ Tibetan is reluctant to accept Sanskrit influences precisely because the two languages differ significantly in most respects, whereas this applies to a much smaller degree to Chinese, because the structure of Tibetan is more similar to that of Chinese.²⁴

The transfer of linguistic elements may occur in two directions. In other words, if languages A and B are in contact, a linguistic element can be taken either from A to B or from B to A. These processes are respectively called imitation and adaptation. When a new element is taken over by a speaker of the recipient language, we deal with imitation. Poles who start using Dutch words in Polish, that is who take over Dutch words into their native language, imitate those words in their mother tongue. Travellers/explorers who return home will use foreign names of phenomena and objects in their stories. They will not give them new names, but they will implement their existing names in their native language (and they must do so because their native languages now have vacuums: they talk about things that have not been named), or imitate

²² This is evidenced by examples from Polish history, when the territory of Poland was divided among three powerful neighbours: Prussia, Austria, and Russia. As a result of the partitioning countries’ different linguistic policies, Polish was also susceptible/resistant to the impacts of the official languages to different degrees. Cf. Labuda and Salmonowicz (2002:283).

Another example that can be cited is the linguistic situation in Flanders under the influence of the previously dominant French language. Compare the following pairs of words: *jus d’orange* [NL] versus *fruitsap* [VL] or *opticien* [NL] versus *optiker* [VL]. The Flemish people prefer the forms that are less similar to the French ones.

²³ Sapir, E., *Language*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, 1927.

²⁴ Weinreich (1953:61).

those names. Van Coetsem (2000) rightly points out that it is genuinely a necessary condition of imitation for the source language, which is not the mother tongue of the borrower, to enjoy a greater prestige than the recipient language. Because of that prestige, a borrowing from that source language is regarded as prestigious.²⁵

Identification is a necessary prerequisite for imitation: this means that a user of the recipient language who wants to transfer a new notion from the source language (i.e. a foreign language) to his or her native language must be able to decode the notion and know what content is conveyed by the phonological unit. Van Coetsem (2000) formulates that as follows: ‘Before imitation can take place, a precondition has to be fulfilled, namely, *identification*, that is, “a recognition of a separate identity”.’²⁶ Semantic units that do not have any content at all for the recipient will probably not be transferred by the recipient to his or her mother tongue.

We deal with another case where the speaker of the source language introduces a notion to the recipient language; in that case we have an adaptation.²⁷ A Chinese person opening a restaurant abroad will not try to invent new names for their food; the names existing in his or her mental lexicon are provided to the customers, who in turn begin to use them in their own languages and adapt them to the rules of those languages. The strengths of the two languages are also significant. Assume that a group of immigrants settle in an area where a different language is spoken. The language of the community in such a case is by definition stronger and will impact on the language spoken by the immigrants at home more strongly than the other way round. The surrounding language is a language of supra-regional importance. The language of the immigrants, i.e. the language that is less important from the point of view of the society at large, is a subordinated language. Although the languages indeed impact on each other, it can be seen within a relatively short period of time that there are many more influences of the dominant language in the subordinated language than the other way round.

The terms dominant language and subordinated language can be interpreted in two ways: from the point of view of the dominant user number or from the point of view of the dominant culture. In Indonesia, Dutch speakers were a minority, and yet contemporary Bahasa Indonesia contains many words from Dutch because Dutch was the language of the dominant culture, so it was a dominant language in relation to Indonesian. On the other hand,

²⁵ Also cf. the scheme in van Coetsem (2000:72): imitation is brought about by a social demand for prestige.

²⁶ Van Coetsem (2000:68).

²⁷ Van Coetsem (2000:69).

many Malay words became part of Dutch during the colonization of the East Indies because Malay was the language used by the dominant number of users, so Dutch was a subordinated language in that regard.

There are different forms of lexical borrowings. I present them below:²⁸

In the case of semantic borrowings, an existing word (native or borrowed and well established) obtains a new meaning coming from another language. A current example in Polish is the verb *czatować*, which has experienced a kind of renaissance in the recipient language, with a meaning corresponding to the English verb *to chat*. The form *czatować* has existed in Polish for a long time, but the old meaning, ‘to lie in wait for’, is going out of use, and the verb now has the English meaning, ‘communicate over the Internet, “talk via the keyboard”’. The accidental grouping of several phonemes similar to an existing sequence of phonemes causes an existing word to acquire a completely different meaning.

Then, there are loan translations. These are words and/or phrases that exist in a foreign language and which are literally translated into the target language, the meaning of the word and/or phrase being the same as in the foreign language. An old Dutch example is the word *barmhartig* (German *barmherzig*) (with an initial b-), the Latin word *misericors* introduced into Germanic languages through Gothic *armahairts* (traces of the heart can also be seen in the Polish equivalent: *miłosierny*). A more modern example is *IJzeren Gordijn*, Polish *żelazna kurtyna*; both borrowed from the English expression *Iron Curtain*. In the context of this book, it is also interesting that the Dutch word *leenwoord* ‘loanword’ is the loan translation of the German *Lehnwort*.

Then comes the largest group: lexical borrowings in the strict sense of the word. They keep their forms, revealing their foreign origins. Not only the form and/or sound of a given word but also its meaning is borrowed. This group of borrowings is the most conspicuous. In the case of the two previously described forms, the foreign origin of the carrier of meaning is concealed by a familiar form, a word treated as native (thus, inherited from previous generations, used for many years). In this case, it is usually seen immediately that a foreign word is involved, as for one reason or another the word does not seem native Polish; the spelling may be strange, the morphological form unusual, or the pronunciation different from standard Polish. That a borrowing over time undergoes many changes and gradually becomes more and more similar to native words is a completely different story, which will be discussed in the chapter devoted to the adaptability of foreign words (cf. chapter 2).

²⁸ The classification was proposed by van der Sijs (2005:35–37).

1.3.2. Interference

Also in the case of borrowings, as in most communication-related activities, the stimulus-response process is involved. There is a reason why the word existing in one language seems to be also needed in another language.²⁹ The stimulus is the need to name something that does not have a name yet or the name of which is for some reason felt by the users of the language to be inadequate. The response often takes the form of a borrowing. There are a number of stimuli that may play a certain role and which lead to various forms of interference. I present them below:³⁰

Phonic interference results from:

- the absence of the relevant distinctive features from the source language³¹ (for example, the opposition of long versus short vowels in Polish; in contrast to Dutch, changes to the prosodic features of words in Polish do not lead to changes of meaning);³²
- the presence of a distinctive feature (only) in the recipient language (such as consonantal aspiration in German, which is absent from Dutch or Polish);
- differences in pronunciation and sometimes associated differences in spelling (should the word ‘din(n)er’ in Dutch be pronounced in the French or the English way?);³³
- differences between the phonemic systems of the two languages.

In other words, in the case of oral borrowings, the loanword is borrowed together with its sound. If the two languages use phonemes with the same distinctive features, then there is no need for one language to influence the other; the borrowing is almost unnoticeable on the phonemic level. Things are different if there are differences in the production of certain phonemes or when the sounds of one of the languages have different distinctive features from those of the sounds of the other language. This can be seen very well in the example of what van Bree calls the substrate influence (the influence of the source, primary language on the recipient, target language):³⁴ people are

²⁹ For borrowing reasons, see section 1.4 *et seq.* in this chapter.

³⁰ The classification is borrowed from Weinreich (1953:64–65).

³¹ In the discussion below, the *source language* refers to the first language of the speaker, whereas the *recipient language* refers to the second/foreign language.

³² In this case, we deal with a secondary distinction of phonemes, when certain phonemes lose their distinctive features under the influence of their phonetic environment; cf. van Bree (1996:286).

³³ One of the consequences is the substitution of phonemes.

³⁴ Cf. van Bree (1996:286 *et seq.*). Substrate influence (i.e. the transfer from the native language to the foreign language) is the opposite of a borrowing from the foreign language into the native language.

used to producing sounds proper for their native languages and sometimes produce foreign-language sounds in exactly the same way, without taking into account that the foreign language may have very different sounds, which have to be pronounced in a different way. What is important is that phonic interference occurs unconsciously. When a person speaks in a foreign language, they try to speak as naturally as possible. However, what is 'natural' for one language, may sound very foreign in another.

Grammatical transfer may have the form of:

- the transfer of morphemes (primarily lexical morphemes);
- the transfer of grammatical relations (e.g. the transfer of word order from one language to another);
- changes in the functions of grammatical categories (the replacement of a recipient language function with one proper for the source language);
- abandonment of obligatory categories (especially in the case of two very different languages); this is also a typical grammatical interference phenomenon in creole languages (here one can think, for instance, of the language of immigrant workers; they usually use a very simplified variant of the local language, not minding the grammaticality of their message; they are concerned with the pragmatic function of the language: communicating with others, it is most important to be understood, and no need to be complicated).

At the lexical level, interference has the following forms:

- transfer of words; words are taken from one language to another. This usually happens when there is a new referent, i.e. an object/phenomenon/person that did not exist before. A gap arises in the language that needs to be filled. If the referent already has a name in another language, it is easier to take over the name. Most of the words making up the presented research corpus are examples of transferred words.
- transfer of meanings (semantic extension): an existing word in the target language obtains a new semantic dimension, which it did not have before (but which existed in the source language). The Polish word *akcja* is an example. It has many meanings and is used in multiple contexts, and at a certain moment it obtained an additional meaning: 'share, security'. In other words, a new word did not arise, but a new meaning was borrowed.

Lexical transfers occur more often than the semantic extension of an existing word due to restrictions on (potential) polysemy.

The degree of loyalty of the speaker is important in transfers. In the case of phonetic interference, the speaker remains loyal to the source language. In other words, the primary language is decisive. This is fairly easy to explain. When one has prolonged contact with a language (mainly one's native

language) that one constantly hears and speaks, one gets used to producing sounds in a particular way. When one starts speaking another language, one strongly tends to produce sounds in the foreign language in the same way as that to which one is accustomed.

In the case of grammatical and lexical borrowings, there is loyalty to the recipient language. In other words, at the moment of effecting a grammatical or lexical transfer, the speaker turns to the target language. The grammatical and/or lexical values that the speaker wants to use are important.

1.3.3. Pidgins and Creolization

If we deal with bilingualism or multilingualism³⁵ in a certain area, i.e. if there are people speaking at least two different languages in the area, with differences in the dominance of the languages, it can be taken for granted without a doubt that the languages will partly blend. In the most extreme case, a mixed language, or a *pidgin*,³⁶ emerges. It is a simplified version of both languages: one of them (nondominant) provides the structure, while the other (dominant) provides vocabulary (or at least the majority of it). A pidgin has a purely communicative function; grammatical correctness is secondary. Where people without a *lingua franca* need to communicate, the establishment of a mixed language, or a pidgin, appears the simplest solution. Such a language situation can, for example, be described and explored in the case of a bilingual community. Language minorities or migrant workers in a foreign country can serve as examples.

A pidgin emerges because of a temporary need for a means of communication in a mixed community. A pidgin is a language without native speakers.³⁷ If the use of a pidgin spreads, however, it gains novel nuances and shades of meaning, and a new generation starts to use it, whereby it becomes a native language and thus loses its provisional nature. In such cases, we talk about creolization. The creole languages that emerge have features typical for both

³⁵ Many researchers dealing with contact linguistics stress that multilingualism is in fact common: we use various layers of our native language, depending on the context, the language situation, and the interlocutor, which is in fact a form of multilingualism itself. Further, cf. Weinreich (1953), Van Coetsem (2000).

³⁶ The theoretical foundations of pidgins can be found in Mühlhäuser, P., 'Pidginization', [in:] Goebel *et al*, *Kontaktlinguistik/ Contact Linguistics / Linguistique de contact*, Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996, pp. 642–649.

³⁷ Van Coetsem (2000:78): 'In defining the notion of *pidgin*, the consensus appears to be that pidgin is a nonnative (not having native speakers), strongly reduced and abruptly occurring form of language, used for restricted communication between speakers of different idioms.'

of the original languages, the grammatical system resembling one of them, and the vocabulary largely coming from the other. The phonological features of a creole language are characterized by a high degree of interference. In other words, the two languages that created a pidgin become so strongly fused together that it is sometimes difficult to separate them. Both a pidgin and a creole are characterized by the following: ‘In den Pidgin- und Kreolsprachen ist die Morphologie zugunsten analytischer bzw. syntaktischer Bildungsweisen und durch Lexikalisierung (z.B. von Flexionskategorien wie Kasus oder Aktionsarten und Tempora) starkt vereinfacht,’³⁸ which also confirms the thesis of a grammatical transfer.

1.4. Reasons for Borrowings

As has been said, contact between two cultures / two languages is a prerequisite for a borrowing. In the case of long-term contact, the likelihood of a borrowing is greater than if two languages / two cultures are in contact for a short time. However, sporadic, accidental borrowings are definitely possible. A word is regarded as a part of the target language system only when it has been accepted by a large part of the community and used by them. Of course, a language will contain more loanwords used by small groups of speakers, but if they do not gain general acceptance or do not become used more widely, they will not become part of the general vocabulary.

In fact, everything that happens in a language has a pragmatic cause. The user of a language tends to produce as precise messages as possible that will also be as concise as possible. The speakers of a given language (or at least most of them) thus tend more specifically to produce information that will express what they mean as accurately as possible but which will also take as little time as possible: the shorter, the better. This is also called language economy.³⁹

The most common reason for borrowing is directly related to economic, cultural, or social growth, i.e. a certain superiority of one culture over another. In other words, if an object (reference point) is to be introduced to the target culture/economy/society, and the source culture/economy/society already has it, usually not only the object itself is borrowed, but also its name.⁴⁰

³⁸ Augsburger (1979:147).

³⁹ Cf., e.g.: ‘streven naar een korte, efficiënte uitdrukkingwijze, die **taaleconomie** wordt genoemd’ (‘striving for a brief, efficient expression, referred to as **language economy**’) at http://neon.niederlandistik.fu.berlin.de/nl/nedling/taalgeschiedenis/taalverandering_in_de_19e_en_20e_eeuw/

⁴⁰ It is infrequent that a culture takes over a specific object but its name is invented completely afresh in the target language. An internal borrowing is possible on the basis of similarities between the added feature and something that has existed in the target culture for a long time;

Think about one of the most typical Dutch phenomena, the *polder*: ‘door dijken omgeven stuk land, met beheersbare waterstand’,⁴¹ i.e. a piece of land surrounded by dikes, with a well-arranged hydrological situation is, by itself, a piece of reality with specific definable characteristics that also has its own name; thus, the term *polder* points to something so specific that there is no need for a different name in another language when such a specific place is referred to. A new word appears in the linguistic system where there has so far been empty space because there has been no need to fill it; what does not exist need not have a name. Such borrowings are called necessary borrowings. They are necessary in the sense that they fill a gap (newly formed) in the target language system. The question of whether only features characteristic of the source culture or those that may be transplanted to the target culture are involved is less important in this connection. In fact, Poland does have a few polders (actually, thanks to Dutch immigrants). But the Dutch currency, which was used in the Netherlands not so long ago, the *gulden*, has the same Polish name (although with a slightly changed pronunciation), which indicates a specific referent, which is not common in Poland but exists elsewhere in the world (in this specific case in the Netherlands).

A borrowing often occurs in the area of synonyms. The dominant language may have a word in its lexicon whose meaning is broader or more specialized than the meaning of the equivalent in the subordinated language. In such a case, the subordinated language will take over the word and equip it with an additional semantic dimension that the word already existing in the target language may not have. For example, Polish uses the word *ser* as a description for cheese (or curd cheese). The loanword *mazdamer* ‘Maasdammer’ refers to a special kind of cheese. What we deal with here is an unnecessary borrowing: Poles would buy cheese anyway, even if Maasdammer was not on sale. Unnecessary borrowings are created next to their synonyms already existing in the target language. Sometimes the aim is diversification: the semantic values of the borrowings are usually more accurate or more specific to the object described (e.g. *kolaboracja* ‘collaboration, cooperation’; it has a neutral synonym, *współpraca*; since World War Two, the word *kolaboracja* has had negative associations, and its meaning has become specialized to mean ‘collaboration with the enemy’). Foreign borrowings also help to differentiate objects; this can be exemplified by the long list of masts (such as *bezanmaszt*, *topmaszt*, *brammaszt*, and

in such a case a native target-language word may extend its semantic field and also signify the new feature. It is also possible that the native word will constitute the basis for the creation of a derived form that will then become a part of a hybrid naming the new feature.

⁴¹ Definition taken from *Van Dale Groot woordenboek hedendaags Nederlands*.

many others) or sails. One general term for all of these objects is not sufficient; for purely pragmatic reasons they should be clearly distinguished from one another. A precise description – with a borrowing (or a hybrid) – helps to systematize vocabulary within people’s cognitive system but above all to order reality.

Sometimes, borrowings serve to prevent misunderstandings where the target language has homonyms. Words of the same kind that sound the same (almost) but have very different meanings cannot really function side by side. If it is possible to replace one of these words with some borrowing, it is also a means that allows making information that we want to convey through language precise.

Unnecessary borrowings can also be fashion related. A foreign word initially sounds more mysterious and more elegant than a word that has existed in the language for years and is known to every user of the language. The use of a word at the first adaptation stage⁴² gives the speakers the feeling that they know more than other users of the language and that they are closer to the community they admire if they know how to use the words of that community. This is the principle of fashionable borrowings: they come from a language with a high prestige, at least higher than that of the target language. In the nineteenth century, French was a fashionable language, spoken by the gentry at the court; those who knew how to use French words demonstrated their refinement in that way. Later, in the twentieth century, English played a dominant role in Europe, and it plays the role now, in the twenty-first century; it is here that the numerous English borrowings in most European languages originate. Whoever does not speak or understand English is no longer up to date and in a way is outdated. To a large extent, this also concerns one’s own social status: a *sprzedawca* enjoys less social prestige than a *sales manager*. This kind of borrowing indicates a certain snobbery and is also related to fashion, but additionally such loanwords can become adopted by the target language as a result of frequent use.

The next reason for borrowing is purely pragmatic: the economy of language forces us not only to present our thoughts as precisely as possible but also as briefly as possible. A synonym of a native word that consists of a smaller number of syllables or is easier to pronounce may in the longer term push its native equivalent into the background (and eventually make it sink into oblivion) and take its place, precisely because it is linguistically more economical.

⁴² Thus, at the moment when the foreign word is used in the target language for the first time. For more on adaptation stages, see 1.6.

Words are also borrowed to broach into taboos. There are linguistic domains wherever new synonyms are needed. Cf. Weinreich: ‘Wo Synonyme von einer anderen Sprache zur Verfügung stehen, werden sie dankend aufgenommen.’⁴³ Many names of sex organs (e.g. *penis* or *vagina*) have been borrowed from Latin; some sicknesses (e.g. *syphilis*) are better not talked about in one’s own language, either. Foreign words sound more mysterious and allow for the discussion of specific problems, that is, they can be talked about without shame. Loanwords sound less direct. They are perfect as euphemisms for appeasing descriptions. Because euphemisms grow old fast, there is always a need for new ones, and borrowings are perfect for this purpose.

‘Sounding less direct’ is also applicable to the emotional value of swearwords. It is easier to curse in a foreign language because the emotional value of the swearwords is not felt in the same way as in the native language. Indeed, it is even possible to add one’s own, new emotional value to a borrowed swear word. Thus, swearwords are borrowed, too.⁴⁴ Becoming old and used up affects the use of swearwords as well; there is always a need for new curses that can be borrowed.

1.5. Borrowing Pathways

As has been pointed out, everything happens as a result of direct contacts between two languages. Where two languages meet, there is a significant chance that the languages will affect each other as a result of the natural contact.

There may be written-form borrowings; there may also be spoken ones. Depending on the borrowing pathway, a loanword will behave differently. Below, I briefly discuss possible borrowing pathways. I will devote attention to the most important differences between the word in the original language and the borrowing in the target language. It should be pointed out again that the longer a borrowing exists and functions in the target language, the more it assimilates to the whole target language system. So, not infrequently, not only an ordinary language user but even a linguist no longer notices in the longer term that a word in use is borrowed.

Another aspect – from another point of view – is the question of whether a given word was borrowed directly from one language to another or whether

⁴³ Weinreich (1953:52).

⁴⁴ That curses undergo the same changes as other borrowings is illustrated by the English word *fuck*. In Dutch, it is pronounced in a Dutch fashion, as [fyk], whereas in Polish, the pronunciation is English, but the spelling more and more often is Polish (‘fak’). For curse theory, cf. Sterkenburg (2001) and (2008).

there was one or more intermediary languages along the way before the word became part of the target language. I will devote some thoughts to this aspect, as well, below.

At the end, I will present a brief overview of the borrowing assimilation stages in the target language.

However, before I move on to more detailed considerations, I should mention a certain important aspect of the borrowing mechanism, regardless of the pathway taken by the loanwords going to the transit or the target language. In fact, borrowing a single word is a unitary event that takes place at a specific point in time. Only rarely may it be evidenced that a word X was used for the first time in a different language on, say, 13 May 1234, at 4.25 p.m. It is sometimes possible to pinpoint the moment when a word from one language appeared and started to be used in another one quite exactly, but determining this is often difficult or even completely impossible. What is, however, always the case is that a foreign word enters another language in a particular form (spoken or written⁴⁵) existing in the source language at the moment when the borrowing occurs. In other words, a word borrowed in the Middle Ages brought with it the phonetic or spelling features existing in the source language in medieval times. A 19th century loanword will have phonetic or spelling peculiarities existing in the source language in that century. Thus, our corpus may contain words differing from their semantic equivalents in modern Dutch in their morphological or phonetics forms, but showing similarities to Dutch words from earlier ages.

1.5.1. Borrowings in Writing

If a word appears in written communication between two languages, and for some reason the original word in one language is also useful in the other, it is in principle borrowed in its original written form. The target language obtains a new semantic unit that is then adapted to its phonological and morphological systems because speakers of the the host language adopt the semantic unit without paying attention to the pronunciation in the source language. How the loanword is pronounced in its source language plays absolutely no role in the target language. In other words, a written borrowing

⁴⁵ If a written form of a given borrowing exists, which may be found to be the earliest dated occurrence of the word in the source language, such a loanword is, of course, much easier to date, i.e. to determine which period in the history of the source language it is derived from. In the case of oral borrowings, which entered the written language in a spelling form established in the target language, specifying the precise moment when they were borrowed is more complex, and the relevant considerations will mostly relate to the phonetic features of the source language.

usually obtains a new sound and will be pronounced in the way that a given sequence of letters is usually pronounced in the host language. There is a tendency to read words 'as written', in accordance with the reading, or orthophonic pronunciation, rules learnt at school. A classic example of this kind is the word *gouda*; the uninflected name of a Dutch city has become the name of a kind of cheese in Polish. What we deal with here are two kinds of assimilation:

1) phonetically, the word *gouda* in Polish is pronounced the Polish way: [x] is replaced by [g], and the diphthong [au] is pronounced [o^w];

2) the Dutch neuter noun has become adapted to the Polish morphological system and changed its gender to feminine, typical of most Polish nouns ending in the letter 'a'; it is also inflected.

These features are characteristic of written borrowings. Words borrowed in writing must in the first instance adjust to the phonetic system of the target language. This entails morphological changes. They are based on formal similarity to other words already existing in the host language. The changes that Dutch borrowings have undergone in Polish will be described in detail below. The example above only illustrates a general phenomenon.

1.5.2. Oral Borrowings

If a word gets to another language in its oral form, that fact is usually reflected in the spelling of the loan. The original Dutch word *bakeliet*, for instance, functions in Polish as *bakelit*. As can be seen, the spelling has been adapted to the rules of Polish; to put it differently, the word is spelt the way it is pronounced (the stress position is also transferred; in the original form, the last syllable is stressed, whereas in the Polish form, the stress has shifted to the penultimate syllable). Compared with written borrowings, the mechanism is, thus, the opposite. In the former case, written loans, the general principle is 'read what you see'; in the latter, oral loans, it is 'write what you hear'. Often, the remaining grammatical features of a word are preserved. In some cases, there are slight shifts, but they are much less radical than in the case of written loans.

One other important feature of loanwords is worth mentioning. The longer they have existed in the target language, the more adapted they become to the entire host system. Thus, it is very likely that a word borrowed in writing will become more and more assimilated, to the extent that, after some time, it will be impossible to recognize as a loan. Oral borrowings, as well, become adapted to the extent that they are regarded as native forms; thus, their foreign origins are only seen by specialists, and even that is not so obvious.

Owing to rising globalization, and the development of modern media, it is more difficult to determine in the case of recent borrowings whether they have been borrowed orally or in writing. That is because new words appear in newspapers, on television, and on the internet at practically the same time. In this way, the users of the target language are confronted at the same time with all forms of a potential loan, both the oral version and the written form. Thus, it is possible that in parallel we get accustomed to the source-language pronunciation of a word that is a potentially interesting borrowing, and to its spelling in the source language.

In the specific case of ancient contacts between Dutch and Polish, most loanwords are oral borrowings. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that written contacts between the users of Polish and those whose first language was Dutch were limited; if something had to be drafted in writing, the authors initially preferred to use a language that was in common use in written communication, especially Latin. In later ages, the language of written contact was usually one of the major modern European languages: French, then German, and subsequently English.

1.5.3. Direct and Indirect Borrowings

If two languages come in touch, they can also influence each other.⁴⁶ In such a case, words are borrowed directly from one of the languages into the other. However, it may also happen that words get into a third language (for a shorter or longer time) before they get into the target language. For instance, many names of exotic animals, plants, or spices (*kanarek*, *bambus*, *imbir*) have their origins in the languages of the areas where those animals or plants actually live or grow. However, there is a certain number of languages that were in contact with the exotic languages: primarily the languages used by discoverers, traders, and colonists. In direct contact with the source language, such people loaned these words to then pass them via their own languages to others. In the latter case, we deal with indirect borrowings, words borrowed via a third language, a so-called 'bridge/transit language'.

In the case of selected loanwords, different interpretations are possible. Some dictionaries mention only the language from which the loan came directly. Other authors of dictionaries look deeper and try to reach the

⁴⁶ It is also possible that there will be 'one-way traffic': books read in the foreign language may have a certain impact on the vocabulary of the reader, whereas the language of the reader has no influence on the book language whatsoever.

actual original language, if possible, and determine the route that the loan covered.

For my further purposes, words representing all of the above currents are important. I will investigate both native Dutch words that directly or indirectly found their way to Polish as well as words whose presence in Polish is owed (at least in part) to Dutch as a bridge language. I consider direct borrowings and indirect ones with a single transit language, i.e. first- and second-degree borrowings, as discussed in section 1.2.2.

1.6. Assimilation Stages

The process of the assimilation of a borrowing proceeds in stages. Below, I present a brief description of four stages of the word borrowing process proposed by Van der Sijs⁴⁷ in her *Van Dale Groot Leenwoordenboek* published in 2005 (p. 35 *et seq.*) and in an earlier edition of this loanword dictionary. It should be noted, however, that not all loans go through all these stages; some disappear from the target language at the first stage of their presence there; some remain longer. Generally, it is impossible to predict how long a borrowing will function in the target language and, thus, at which stage it will disappear.

At the first stage, the word is taken over from another language in the oral or written form, usually one that is appropriate for the source language (whether in sound or in spelling). The word still appears foreign, it is spelt or pronounced in the way it is done in the source language, initially without adaptation to the inflection/phonetic system of the target language. The foreign word retains the characteristics it had in the source language in the form in which it was borrowed and relative to that form, so not necessarily to its other inflected variants (this does not extend to grammatical features, such as plural formation, diminutives, etc.).

The second phase is a gradual change of what was borrowed. This means that the word slowly adapts to the target language in terms of pronunciation, spelling, and inflection. Thus, the changes may affect foreign sounds that may have occurred in the word. Their pronunciation changes in such a way that it does not stand apart from other words, that phonetically it becomes a completely 'normal' word. If necessary, the stress placement is shifted as well. The word

⁴⁷ Nicoline van der Sijs is the most eminent contemporary Dutch specialist in the area of, among others, borrowings from and into Dutch. Her position in Dutch linguistics is evidenced by a number of publications on issues relating to borrowings, etymology, and language history, by her contribution to the authorship of the latest Dutch etymological dictionary and by her professorship at the University of Nijmegen.

is increasingly spelt ‘the local way’: foreign combinations of letters are replaced with ones that are proper for the spelling conventions of the target language.

At the third stage, the word behaves as a native word, but it retains some remnants of its foreignness. It is now part of the general vocabulary, but traces of its foreign origin can still be seen, for example in the form of a foreign suffix or the pronunciation, which is in some way different from the standard. It all also means that such a borrowing can be productive, and hybrids, new compounds, or new phrases can be formed. A loanword may be ‘naturalized’, if a word-formation suffix proper for the target language is adopted in place of a foreign one.

At the fourth and final stage, the loanword is so assimilated that an ordinary language user is not aware that a borrowing is involved. From the synchronic point of view, the loan is now a normal part of the vocabulary and is no longer considered a foreign word.⁴⁸ Such words are practically no longer found in dictionaries of foreign words. Concise etymological dictionaries do not consider it necessary to discuss the origins of such words in an exhaustive way. Thus, borrowings existing in the lexicon of a language for a long time are generally the most difficult to track down.

According to Clyne (1975), however, integration proceeds in three stages that must be seen as a continuum:

1. the transfer stage, when the word is borrowed once and, at the time of the borrowing, is not integrated with the system of the target language, remaining foreign phonologically, morphologically, graphematically, and semantically;
2. the stage of being foreign, when the word undergoes various changes as a result of which it is integrated with the linguistic system of target language;
3. the loanword stage, when the word comes into consistent use and gains a permanent place within the target language system.⁴⁹

The division proposed by Clyne omits the last stage of the classification offered by van der Sijs. However, in his other deliberations on the degrees of integration, he concludes that linguistic productivity is only possible if the borrowed word has become completely rooted in the target language:

‘Es ist ein Zeichen der allgemeinen Integration, wenn ein Transfer als Element eines Kompositums in der Empfängersprache produktiv ist, ... oder wenn er mit einem gebundenen Morphem der Empfängersprache gebraucht werden kann.’⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Cf. Van Bree, C., *Historische taalkunde*, Leuven/Amersfoort: Acco, 1996, p. 286 ff.

⁴⁹ Cf. Clyne, M., *Forschungsbericht Sprachkontakt*, Kronberg: Scriptor, 1975, p. 38.

⁵⁰ *Idem*, p. 38

1.7. Contacts Between the Low Countries and Poland

Owing to the geographical distance between Poland and the Low Countries and the fact that the two linguistic areas do not border each other, contacts between these ethnic groups have not been uninterrupted. In the case of neighbouring countries, the languages have been in contact almost without interruption; in the case of countries that do not share borders, there is no possibility of continuous natural contact between the two languages across the border. However, it is possible to indicate certain periods when contacts between the users of Polish and Dutch were more intensive than during other periods; it is also possible to name specific reasons why such contacts occurred. Below, I present a brief outline of these periods and the reasons for intensive contacts then. The extent to which this affected the Polish language is also indicated.

1.7.1. Middle Ages

1.7.1.1. Fishing and Trade

Trade contacts between Poland and the Netherlands go back to the tenth century. Grain and fish were the commodities traded. Grain had been exported from the territories on the river Vistula to western Europe from time immemorial. Initially herring, too, was a significant export from the Baltic Sea;⁵¹ only later did herring shoals move to the North Sea. Consequently, the trade direction changed; herring were no longer exported from the Baltic Sea to western European countries, but started to be brought from the Netherlands, especially from the Zuiderzee to countries in the east of the continent. That did not change much in the intensity of contacts or their kind.

Considering trade contacts across the Baltic Sea, one almost automatically thinks about the Hanseatic League and its members, in Poland (Gdańsk, Szczecin, and others), in Germany (e.g. Hamburg or Lübeck), or in the Low Countries (such as Deventer or Brugge). The history of contacts between the province of Holland and the Hansa shows, however, that merchants from Holland did not always cooperate with the Hansa; sometimes they were partners, but sometimes they were competitors. It is certain, however, that Dutch, in addition to High German, Low German, Polish, and a few other languages

⁵¹ Also cf. Thijssen, L (1992). The considerations in section 1.7 are to a large extent based on her vision of the history of mutual contacts.

(such as Danish), was a language of communication, so it was in fact an official language in the trade cities associated with Hansa. Thus, whether the Dutch trading along the Baltic coast did that on their own or within the Hanseatic League in fact plays no role whatsoever. It is only important that between about 1000 and 1500 we had flourishing trade contacts with Dutch merchants, who crossed the Baltic Sea to reach markets among others in today's Polish territories.



Figure 1. A map showing the locations of Hanseatic League cities (Source: H.F. Hemolt, *History of the World VII*, London 1902, plate between pp. 28 and 29/Wikimedia)

Thanks to these maritime contacts, many new words entered Polish, especially those relating to ship construction, but also concerning various cultural goods. Many well-known trade routes cut across Poland, from the south to the north and from the east to the west. These were the routes along which merchants moved with their goods; if they had a chance to sell the goods on the way, of course they did so. Some goods were completely unknown in the transit areas; merchants in fact introduced such new goods in those areas. Together with the goods, they usually supplied the names (whether the goods retained those names is a completely different matter, but in principle not just the goods but also the names were introduced). In this way, via the Dutch language, we borrowed numerous names of goods and exotic plants and animals that the Dutch had bought somewhere in the world and offered their partners on the Baltic (*papuga*, for instance, was borrowed from the Dutch word *papegaai*, and *kanarek* is the Polish version of the Dutch word *kanarievogel*). It is mostly thanks to trade that Polish has a number of

borrowings that are partly directly of Dutch origin and partly used in Dutch as an intermediate language.

1.7.1.2. Wilamowice⁵²

The town of Wilamowice, not far from the city of Bielsko-Biała, has a population whose oldest members still speak a strange dialect that is a mixture of Polish and a Germanic language. Colonists appeared there back in the tenth century. They are reported to have been Flemish or Frisian, but they may also have been German or Anglo-Saxon. The name of the village was derived from the name of its founder, Willem; there are documents that confirm this. The local dialect was publicly used until the Second World War. As a result of the policy of the communist regime after the Second World War, the ethnic group, which until then had been homogeneous, was dispersed, and now unfortunately the dialect is gradually dying out. While attempts are made to restore the dialect, it does not seem very likely that the young generation, who find it dated and from a different era, would be willing to use it spontaneously. However, the municipality of Wilamowice wants to preserve relics of the dialect and the local memory of the western ancestors.



Figure 2. The geographic position of Wilamowice in present-day Poland

⁵² A Ph.D. thesis entitled *De nakende taaldood van het Wymysojer in Wilamowice, een Germaans taaleiland in Zuid-Polen. Een sociolinguïstische analyse* by Rinaldo Neels was defended at the Catholic University of Leuven in 2012 (unpublished). The information presented here is primarily based on this study. Also cf. <http://lgeringer.natemat.pl/31997,polska-flamandzka>

Unfortunately, there have been very few studies of the properties of the language used in Wilamowice, and there have certainly never been any studies on its effect on standard Polish. Linguists have tried to preserve the dialect (Wymysorys) one way or another. A few recordings have been made and several studies conducted of the features of this dialect. It is all still too little to reconstruct the language, let alone draw conclusions about the origin of the first foreign residents.

This map (Figure 2) shows the location of Wilamowice within today's Poland:

1.7.2. Between the Sixteenth and the Nineteenth Centuries

The period from the 16th century till the 19th century was a time of tumultuous changes in Poland. Poland was initially a huge country (see Figure 3). From the 15th century onwards, Poland and Lithuania were united as a personal union, known as the Commonwealth of the Two Nations.



Figure 3. *The Commonwealth of the Two Nations ca. 1650* (Source: <http://www.rymaszewski.iinet.net.au/3maps.html>)

In the 18th century, as a result of internal disputes and political weakening, three partitions of Poland took place, causing the disappearance of

Poland from the map of Europe for more than a century. Figure 4 shows Europe in 1815. The Kingdom of Poland showed on this map is an artificial formation, completely subjected to Russia, with hardly any autonomy.



Figure 4. Europe in 1815 (Source: The International Commission and Association on Nobility/Wikimedia, 2009)

1.7.2.1. Polish Students in the Netherlands

In Poland's golden age (the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century), many students went from Poland to the Netherlands. Travelling was regarded at that time as a splendid way to learn; of course, it was possible mainly for rich people who had finished schools in Poland. Studying at a university abroad was considered to broaden the overall personality of young people and enrich their wisdom, whereas Dutch universities were famed for their high level of education and great scholars who taught there. The Netherlands was the destination mostly for students of theology and humanities. Evidence has been found that many members of the Polish gentry studied at Leiden, Leuven, and Franeker, and some of them made a permanent mark on the history of European scholarly thought.⁵³

⁵³ Jan Makowski, a philosopher and theologian from the Poznań area, defended a doctoral thesis

Although ordinary people spoke Dutch at the time, the language of learning at universities was Latin. Few Dutch borrowings date from that period, at least as far as this pathway is concerned, because Polish students had almost no contact with the Dutch language.

1.7.2.2. The Town of Elbląg and the Delta of the River Vistula

A massive wave of immigrants from the Netherlands appeared in the sixteenth century. They were the followers of the ideas of Menno Simmons (Mennonites), who took advantage of religious freedoms existing at the time in the tolerant Commonwealth of Poland. Because of the counter-reformation, many people were forced to flee the southern part of the Netherlands owing to their beliefs. A wave of immigrants also came to Poland, to the delta of the Vistula in the north of the country. This part of Poland was sometimes called ‘little Holland’.⁵⁴ Thanks to immigration from the Netherlands, the lowland area in the north of Poland was developed and inhabited. The Poles were not specialists in fighting water and adapting low-lying areas as inhabitable land. Dutch people, specially invited to Poland for that purpose, came to do that.

Dutch speakers enriched Polish among others by introducing vocabulary concerning not only the fight against water (*polder* etc.), but also agriculture (e.g. *fryz*).

1.7.2.3. Pasłęk

Worth mentioning among Dutch settlements in Poland is the town currently called Pasłęk, in today’s north-eastern Poland. In the sixteenth century, refugees from the Netherlands arrived there and established a settlement with a fortified castle called Holąd. When the area became part of Prussia, the name of the settlement, which had meanwhile grown into a town, was changed to Holąd Pruski (Prussian Holland). Only after the Second World War was the name of the town officially changed. It was named after its probable founder, and it is now called *Pasłęk*.⁵⁵

at Franeker and was appointed a professor in 1516.

⁵⁴ Also cf. Mączak, A. ‘Rozwój społeczno-gospodarczy Prus Królewskich: wieś. Osadnictwo olęderskie’ [Social and economic development of Royal Prussia, rural areas: Hollandic settlement], [in:] *Historia Pomorza, t. II do roku 1815* [Pomeranian History, Vol. 2 Until 1845], G. Labuda [ed.], part 1 (1464/66–1648/57), Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1976, pp. 216–218.

⁵⁵ The name *Pasłęk* was probably used before; cf. volume 3 of *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, http://dir.icm.edu.pl/pl/Słownik_geograficzny/Tom_III/95, under Holąd Pruski.



Figure 5. A map showing the approximate route of Dutch settlers moving to Polish territories, to the neighbourhood of Pasłęk. (Source: <http://www.polenvoornederlanders.nl>)

In the context of Pasłęk, it is worth mentioning that there have been numerous settlements called *Holendry*, *Olendry*, and *Olędry*, i.e. bearing names indicating that their inhabitants had some connection with the Netherlands.⁵⁶

1.7.3. The Twentieth and the Twenty-First Centuries

1.7.3.1. World War Two

During the Second World War, Polish soldiers appeared in Western Europe, where they fought among the Allied Forces. A numerous group of survivors settled down around Breda and Oosterbeek. It would be worth investigating to what extent Polish influenced the Dutch language in the area. The effect of Dutch on the general Polish language was, however, limited to the incidental borrowing of individual words, mostly in the family circle, so we are talking about words that did not reach the level of the standard language.

⁵⁶ Also cf. Czopek-Kopciuch, B. (2009).

1.7.3.2. The Current Wave of Workers

Contacts have also become more intense in the past 10–15 years, now mostly on the economic plane. Poles holding German passports were able to obtain employment in the Netherlands in the early 1990s. Since Poland joined the European Union, there have been more and more employment agencies that send Polish workers to the Netherlands. Under European legislation, people holding Polish citizenship and doing registered business in Poland can do their business in other European countries as well. There are coaches and minibuses travelling from Poland to the Netherlands or Belgium and from the Netherlands or Belgium to Poland practically every day. The Polish language can be heard in the streets of the Low Countries more and more frequently. This phenomenon seems to be having some effect on the vocabulary of Polish; people who have been living for a long time in the Netherlands or in Flanders are slowly beginning to speak a mixed language. They also use a special vocabulary, which is gradually finding its way to the Internet (there are various discussion forums where workers share their experience; people write blogs; there are also websites for Poles working in the Netherlands). Time will show whether this vocabulary reaches the level of the general language. If the tendency to work in the Low Countries does not weaken, it is entirely possible, if only due to the specific nature of the acquired concepts (the words come from the language of authorities with which a worker has regular contacts: tax offices, for example, which must cooperate with the Polish tax authorities, even if the cooperation is not direct, e.g. preparing the annual information about the income of a Pole working abroad). However, it is too early yet to discuss the possibility that Polish is gaining new words thanks to such contact.

Changes of Form

2.0. Introduction

2.0.1. Research Problem and Hypothesis

This chapter will be devoted to the form of borrowings. Some of the words in the research corpus differ in terms of pronunciation and/or spelling from the Dutch words from which they are assumed to originate. It is the effect of their having passed various assimilation stages in Polish (or in a transit language) and become in many ways adapted to the linguistic system of Polish (or the transit language).

Below, I will primarily look at two aspects of borrowings. The research problem can be summarized in two problem questions:

- (1) How far-reaching are the changes of form? Does the spelling change, or the pronunciation, or both? What morphological changes can be observed and what is the reason for their occurrence?
- (2) Can conclusions be drawn on the basis of the changes found concerning the pathways of the borrowings to Polish? In other words: does the form tell us anything about whether a given loanword is an oral or a written borrowing?

There is a further question associated with these two, being their logical consequence, namely:

- (2a) Has Polish borrowed more from Dutch through oral contacts or through written communication? To put it differently, which channel has been used more often: oral or written?

The working hypotheses are as follows:

- (1) Owing to the fact that Polish and Dutch differ from each other in many ways, it is expected that the changes will be quite far reaching. The following changes are expected:

1' morphological:

word formation:

- word form changes
- word length changes (a different number of syllables in the source and the target words)

inflection:

- gender changes

1'' phonetic:

segmental changes:

- changes of typical Dutch sounds that Polish does not have (both consonants and vowels)
- simplification of the pronunciation of diphthongs unknown in Polish

suprasegmental changes:

- stress shifts

1''' spelling:

- traces of the process or arriving at conformity between the sound (phoneme) and the spelling (grapheme) in accordance with the Polish standards, where necessary.

- (2) Taking into account the differences, i.e. comparing the spoken and the written forms of a given word in both languages (and possibly, if helpful or necessary, in the transit language), it can quite often be concluded whether an oral or a written borrowing is involved; it is also assumed that (2a) most borrowings are oral; to put it differently, most Dutch words have been borrowed in their spoken form and only then has their final (today's) written form been established.

One more important aspect of borrowing should be stressed here. The whole of a lexical unit is borrowed, whether it is an individual word or phrase. The entire semantic unit in a language is transplanted to another language system; the same applies to other semantic units, etc. The process itself always applies to single, individual cases, not to the whole group of semantic units of foreign (in this case Dutch) origin. Thus, every borrowing has its own assimilation history, which may be parallel or similar to other loans from the same period, but this is absolutely not necessary. This fact is also not changed by the fact that entire groups of Polish sailing terms are (or may be) of Dutch origin or that borrowings may be related, as in the entire group of *żagiel* ('sail') terms. The purpose of the analysis below is therefore to search for potential parallels but, where necessary, to focus on what is unusual or special. If possible, the general trends will be portrayed (after all, language generally functions as a system with a series of internal rules and mutual relations between word forms); if that is impossible, however, attention will also be paid to this.

2.0.2. Chapter Structure

I begin with theoretical considerations (2.1.), after which the phonetic changes will be analysed (2.2.) followed by an analysis of morphological changes (2.3.). Section 2.4. is devoted to the morphological productivity of borrowings. A summary and concluding remarks (2.5.) will finish the chapter.

2.1. Theoretical Considerations

2.1.0. Introductory Overview

The section on the theoretical aspects of changes begins with a description of the research method and the reasons backing it (2.1.1.). It is followed by a general characterization of changes (2.1.2.).

2.1.1 The Research Method and Reasons for it

The question that should be placed here as the main one is actually the most important question concerning all borrowings: What features make it possible to assign a word to a group of borrowings? To put it differently, on the basis of what criteria can it be concluded that a word has been borrowed from a foreign language, and thus has already passed one or more of the assimilation stages?

When discussing the mutual relations between German and Polish, Czarnecki (2001:112) mentions three criteria that are of a more general nature, so they should be quoted here as well:

- (1) the language criterion: ‘die sprachlichen (phonetisch-phonologischen und morphologischen) Merkmale der Lehnwörter, die sich aus der Charakteristik von zwei Sprachsystemen ... ergeben’;⁵⁷
- (2) the historical and cultural criterion: ‘die historischen und kulturellen Fakten sowie ihnen entsprechende Begriffe (Sachen und Erscheinungen), die mit den entlehnten Wörtern verbunden sind’;⁵⁸
- (3) the philological and chronological criterion: ‘die schriftliche Fixierung der deutschen/ polnischen Lehnwörter: ihre schriftliche Datierung im Polnischen/Deutschen (ihre Erstbelege in den polnischen/deutschen

⁵⁷ Czarnecki, T., ‘Zur Frage der ältesten deutsch-polnischen Sprachkontakte’, [in:] *Studia Germanica Gedanensia*, Gdańsk: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2001.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

Texten und ihre Erstbuchungen in den Wörterbüchern des Polnischen/ Deutschen)'.⁵⁹

In other words, lexemes in two languages may be confirmed to be related if:

- (1) the lexeme in the target language has formal/pronunciation features characteristic of the (presumed) source language;
- (2) the lexeme in the target language refers to objects characteristic of the realities described by the source language;
- (3) based on identified written sources (texts, lexicons, etc.), it can be demonstrated that a source-language word was indicated earlier than in the target language.

The third criterion undoubtedly has the greatest research value. A dating-oriented study may demonstrate certain aspects: the form of the borrowing at the time of the first mention in the target language⁶⁰ may be further compared with its original equivalent in the source language of the same period; in this way, it can be demonstrated in what form the borrowing was taken over, and, thus, it is easier to draw conclusions regarding the acquisition manner (oral or written). The same applies to the oldest dictionaries showing a borrowing.

Whereas the language pair Dutch-German or Dutch-Russian is well prepared for such a comparison, especially with regard to more recent borrowings, such an analysis of Dutch borrowings in Polish proves much more difficult to carry out. The exact determination of how long a Dutch borrowing has existed in Polish, i.e. how long it has been part of the Polish lexicon, is a particularly difficult task. What is extremely important in this connection is whether a word was directly borrowed from Dutch or whether it came via a transit language, such as, for instance, Russian or German.

As the corpus of Polish texts from different periods is still under development, and, in its current version, it is of no good quality for the performance of a reliable analysis of the origins of foreign words in Polish and their dating, for the purposes of this analysis no searches in texts from different periods have been used.⁶¹ The main sources for attempting to date loanwords were the available historical dictionaries, which contain Polish general vocabulary from their relevant periods.

For the purposes of this study, the following dictionaries were used:

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Or when it was found in a text that is the oldest known source for the word.

⁶¹ The available parallel texts, translated e.g. from Latin, such as those by J. A. Comenius, have a serious substantive flaw in my opinion: they are not original texts, and they were translated to their target languages at different points in time. Meanwhile, dictionaries reflect the condition of the language (or at least its most frequent vocabulary) in the period described.

- *Słownik staropolski* (A Dictionary of Old Polish), S. Urbańczyk et al. (eds.), Vols. I–XI, Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1953–2003;
- *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku* (A Dictionary of Sixteenth Century Polish), M. R. Mayenowa et al., Vols. I–XXX, Wrocław-Warsaw: PAN, 1966–2002;
- *Słownik języka polskiego XVII i I. połowy XVIII wieku* (Dictionary of Polish of the Seventeenth Century and the First Half of the Eighteenth Century), M. Karpiuk et al. (eds.), Kraków: PAN, 1996–2000;
- *Słownik języka polskiego* (A Dictionary of Polish), S. B. Linde (ed.), Vols. I–VI, Lwów: Drukarnia XX. Piarów, 1854–1860, reprinted in Warsaw 1998;
- *Słownik języka polskiego* (Dictionary of Polish), A. Zdanowicz et al. (eds.), Vols. I–II, Maurycy Oldebrand: Wilno, 1861;
- *Słownik języka polskiego* (A Dictionary of Polish), J. Karłowicz (ed.), Warsaw, 1900–1935;
- *Słownik języka polskiego* (A Dictionary of Polish), W. Doroszewski (ed.), Warsaw: PWN, 1958–1965.

In this context, these works did not serve as sources for finding words but for obtaining information about the etymology of the research corpus. It should be noted, however, that they provided relatively little useful information.

This fact can, in my opinion, be explained as follows: dictionaries are created on the basis of the frequency of the use of the words they contain. However, a definite majority of the items in the research corpus are words used in special contexts; this vocabulary largely consists of technical terms in many areas, especially sailing and fishing. What is characteristic of such terms is that they have a high frequency in their areas of specialty but outside them often remain completely unfamiliar for people not involved with those fields. Therefore, we can assume that special terms, such as the names of masts or the systematic names of plants, did not stand a chance of finding a place in the standard dictionaries of the language of a particular period, such as those listed above.

If, as has just been established, it cannot be determined precisely when a borrowing entered Polish, neither may conclusions be drawn as to the form of the word in the source language at the time of the borrowing, because it is not known exactly what time is involved. However, even if a borrowing is found in a dictionary or another source, it does not mean that it will be known when the borrowing entered Polish; neither will it be known whether the word was used in the standard language at that time or only in special technical areas.

In my opinion, the above considerations warrant the view that there is no other approach but to base the analysis of an item on the modern Polish form and its equivalent in Dutch or intermediate languages if such equivalents still exist. This chapter is, consequently, primarily based on the first criterion provided by Czarnecki, the language criterion, but only for the present time. Based on the similarities and differences between the current Polish word and its equivalent in Dutch (or a transit language), it will be attempted to systematize the loans in some way. It can be assumed that Polish borrowings are relatively regular: the point of departure is that Polish and Dutch are two language systems that differ from each other. To accept a foreign word into the Polish language system, a word must undergo a number of changes; those changes are what is regular. Special attention will be devoted only to those pairs of words where the difference between the Polish form and the foreign form does not fit a paradigm, such as *kufa* – *kof* (where the root change cannot be explained because it is not systematic).

What are important are not only Dutch word forms but also the forms of those words in the transit languages, because it turns out that many loans underwent the assimilation process in the transit language, as a result of which they entered Polish in a changed form. A good example is the Dutch word *roerpen*, which was borrowed into Russian as *румель* [‘rumpel] and entered Polish in that form. The changes in that form were quite far-reaching, but they did not take place in Polish but already in Russian. In such cases, we will not focus on formal differences between Polish and Dutch but on differences between Polish and the intermediate language.

2.1.2. General Characteristics of the Changes

2.1.2.1. Phonetic and Spelling Changes

The Polish phonological system clearly differs from the Dutch system in some respects. In Polish, ‘tense’ and ‘lax’ are not distinctive features of vowels, and Polish does not have diphthongs. Some Dutch sounds are different from the Polish equivalents. This has implications for the pronunciation and for the spelling of borrowings from Dutch.

The question that we face is this: How far-reaching are the changes? In other words, how did Polish cope with situations where it encountered sounds it did not have? What spelling forms did such words adopt?

For the purposes of this study, it is assumed that the borrowings are mostly oral. This means that they were borrowed in speech, and only at a later stage were they written. What this boils down to in practice is that the target

language had to find replacement sounds for those that are not used there natively. Subsequently, the replacement sound (a sound existing in the target language) obtained a spelling representation in accordance with the rules of the target language. It is impossible to consider the phonetic differences and the spelling differences separately because the differences in fact result from each other. In the case of oral borrowings, the order can be written as follows:

foreign sound (phoneme) in the source language → native sound (phoneme) in the target language → rendition of the native sound in the target-language spelling (grapheme)

It may also happen that the foreign phoneme has a direct equivalent in the target language. In such cases only the spelling (graphemes) may change. A good example here is the first syllable of the word *kubryk* (←Dutch *koe-brug*). The sound [u] is pronounced the same in both the languages, but the respective Dutch and Polish graphemes are different. The Dutch <oe> was in this case replaced with the Polish <u>. If, however, certain phonemes, native in both the source language and the target language, are spelt with the same grapheme, then there is no change whether in pronunciation or spelling, as, for example, in the case of the word *dek*.

The same mechanism also applies in the case of phonemes that exist only in the source language, whereas the target language does not have them. The phonetic system of the target language finds its own substitute that can replace the foreign phoneme, and the substitute, in turn, is spelt with the grapheme that reflects the phoneme in writing. For example, the Dutch word *reep* contains [e:], which Polish does not have (tense [e] does not exist in Polish, and vowel length is not distinctive in this language). Polish changed the [e:] to [ɛ], the sound most similar to [e:] in the Polish phonetic system. The grapheme corresponding to [ɛ] is <e>. Consequently, *reep* became *rep* in Polish.

In the case of written borrowings, the order is different. Schematically, it may be presented as follows:

spelling form in the source language → spelling form in the target language → own sound (own phoneme) in the target language based on the spelling form interpreted as graphemes.

A good example here is the Francized Dutch word *vrijbouter*, i.e. *fibustier*, borrowed into Polish in the latter spelling form, pronounced quite differently than in the original or in the intermediate language. The French pronunciation, [flibyst'je:], has hardly any contribution to the final phonetic form of this word in Polish: [fli'bustjer]. In Polish, the word has a different stress pattern, with the main stress on the penultimate syllable, as usual for most Polish words, rather than on the ultimate one.

Although spelling and pronunciation are studied by two separate branches of linguistics, they must be analyzed and discussed in relation to each other in the context of assimilation, as they mutually affect each other. In reference to Polish, it can even be claimed that the final spelling form often contains information about the phonetic changes that have taken place (if such changes have actually occurred).

This immediately indicates the following property: written borrowings as a rule undergo fewer spelling changes than oral ones.

Stress changes are also to be expected because Polish has relatively stable stress patterns: most Polish words are stressed on the penultimate syllable. For example, in the word *admiral*, from Dutch *admiraal*, the stress has shifted from the last syllable to the last but one.

This chapter provides an analysis of Dutch borrowings in Polish in terms of changes of form. The analysis will be carried out within the framework of the above considerations, taking into account the semantic spectrums of loanwords: in some cases, the use of borrowings also seems to affect their pronunciation, as discussed below. If the considerations above, concerning the practical benefits of borrowing,⁶² are correct, we can further assume that most of the borrowings came to Polish via oral communications. Thus, it can be expected that many changes have taken place in spelling, as Dutch and Polish graphemes very often differ. Therefore, the spelling form of a borrowing will provide information about how specific sounds were transformed into a form acceptable in Polish. The reason is that the Polish phonological system is quite transparent, and it is possible to predict changes in the pronunciation of certain sounds on the basis of the letter (or the combination of letters) reflecting the sound in spelling; in any case, compared with Dutch, there are many fewer possibilities, especially as far as vowels are concerned.

Further changes are also to be expected. In view of the considerable differences between the Dutch and the Polish phonological systems, it has been necessary to find a solution for the treatment in Polish of those Dutch sounds that Polish does not have. For example, the Dutch word *luik* contains in its contemporary form a diphthong that does not occur in Polish. In this case, the sound was changed to [u], and the spelling form consequently adopted is *luk*.

2.1.2.2. Morphological Changes

It is also expected that grammatical changes will occur: in Polish, the grammatical gender of a noun is recognized based on its morphological

⁶² See chapter 3: thematic classification of borrowings.

form, and, thus, a loanword ending in a specific letter or combination of letters will often almost automatically be assigned to a different gender than the word had in Dutch (or in the transit language). An example is served by *dek*: the suffix *-ek* in Polish is characteristic of masculine nouns, and, thus, the word became masculine in Polish, even though it is neuter in Dutch (also, *-ek* in this case is not a suffix but a part of the root, but it does not change the fact that the final letters of the word make it possible to assign it to the masculine pattern).

Words that Polish acquired via another language are treated as a separate category. This applies to words that underwent a number of changes already in the intermediate language. The above-cited word *flibustier* (← Dutch *vrijbuitter*) is an example here. Most of the assimilations that affected the borrowing already took place in French, a transit language. Thus, changes from, in this case, the Dutch word *vrijbuitter* to the French word *flibustier* will not be discussed in detail, but there will be information that changes occurred in the intermediate language. In contrast, words that entered Polish via a transit language, but whose form was only changed when they entered Polish, will be discussed together with direct borrowings.

2.2. Analysis of Phonetic, Prosodic, and Spelling Changes

The corpus will be discussed below in terms of the features of the borrowings in Polish. First the phonetic changes (2.2.1–2.2.6) and then the stress (2.2.7) will be discussed. When discussing the phonetic properties, I will also highlight the spelling representations of sounds.

2.2.0. Sound Changes: Preliminary Remarks

If the assumption that most Dutch borrowings in Polish are oral loanwords is correct, then the fundamental question is in what form Polish borrowed sounds it does not have.

Numerous studies in the field of language development in children show that the assimilation of new words is based on imitation. To put it differently, children repeat words they have not heard before as best they can pronounce them. The same applies to borrowing foreign words. When we hear a new word, we try to repeat it, and we pronounce the word the way we heard it

and the way can pronounce it. We filter the word through our own auditory abilities, and then we imitate it. Thus, when a sound is produced, it may be distorted, if the foreign word contains sounds that do not exist in the target language system. This means that in our own phonological system we look for sounds that are the most similar to the foreign sounds.

Consider the vowel diagram (Figure 6) for vowels occurring in most languages:

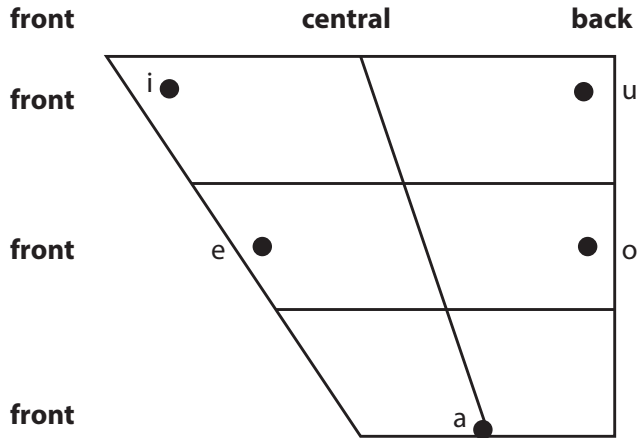


Figure 6. Most current vowel system.

and that for the Dutch and Polish vowels (Figure 7):

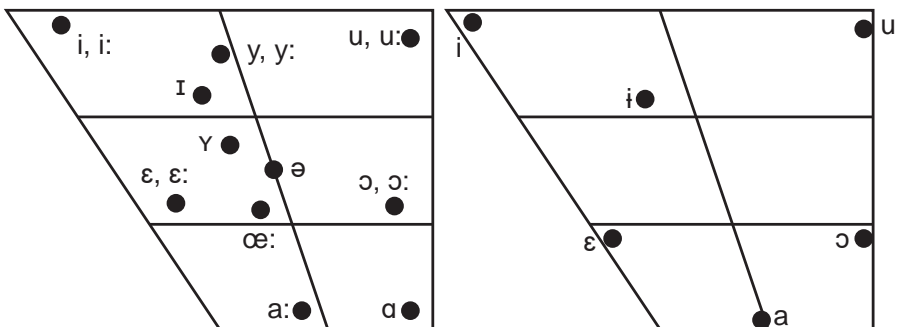


Figure 7. The Dutch vowel system (left) and the Polish system (excluding both nasal vowels; right).⁶³

⁶³ (Netherlandic) Dutch monophthong figure according to Gussenhoven 1992:47 and Polish figure according to Jassem 2003:105.

As can be seen, Dutch offers its users wider possibilities, so in the case of Dutch borrowings to Polish, the target sound must frequently be adapted, being transformed to a vowel that is proper for the Polish phonetic system while being as close as possible to the original.

A good example is the difference between the Dutch and the Polish <a> sounds: Dutch has two of them, whereas Polish has just one, and additionally it has different qualitative properties than the Dutch sounds. Thus, most <a> sounds in Dutch loanwords in Polish are conveyed with the only Polish <a> sound. The Dutch word *kaper* [ka.pər] became the Polish *kaper* [kaper]; the Dutch *gaffel* [gafəl] is *gafel* [gafəl] in Polish. It can be seen even more clearly in the case of sounds that the target language, as opposed to the source language, does not have at all. In such cases, a sound is automatically sought in the target language that appears the most suitable as the rendition of a similar sound acceptable in the host language. The diphthong [œy] is a sound that does not exist in Polish. It turns out, however, that it is not needed for the borrowings found; the sound was already changed in the transit language (especially when this language was Russian). An example is provided by the word *kambuz* [kambus] (← Dutch *kombuis*). Another example is the front rounded [y] in the Dutch *juffer*, which was borrowed as the back rounded [u] in the Polish *jufer* [jufer].

2.2.1. Vowels

Below is an overview of the sound changes that occurred in the case of Dutch words and Polish borrowings. Initially, only words in which direct sound changes can be determined are taken into account. Words in which the assimilation or changes occurred in the transit language will be discussed separately.

2.2.1.1. [ɑ]⁶⁴ and [a]

All Dutch [ɑ] and [a.] have been replaced by [a] in Polish borrowings. This has also had consequences for the spelling. Where the Dutch long vowel was spelt using the double letter <a>, it was reduced to a single letter in Polish. The only exceptions to this rule are *Afrikaans* and *kraal*, but the pronunciation is Polish, i.e. it is not pronounced as repeated [a].

Then, there are also words in which the Dutch [a] is replaced by [ɔ]: for instance, *boss* or *dollar*, but this change occurred first in English.

⁶⁴ I deliberately present the Dutch vowels without an indication of vowel length. As already mentioned, cf. 2.1.2.1., this distinctive feature plays no role in vowel borrowing.

2.2.1.2. [ɛ] and [e]

In most cases, the Dutch sounds [e] (tense) and [ɛ] (lax) are borrowed as Polish [ɛ], the similar phone that Polish has. However, there are a few exceptions. The Dutch word *breefok* was borrowed into Polish as *bryfok*. The [e.] became [i], probably under the influence of [i] in Russian.

One sound change, in Polish *garnela* from Dutch *garnaal*, appears to be irregular, but it is not. *WNT* and other dictionaries provide not only the form *garnaal* but also a regional form, *garneel*. The borrowing of *garneel* as *garnela* is regular. Both German and Russian use forms with the grapheme <e>, so it is not a change that occurred only in Polish.

The corpus contains one more interesting case, the word *gara* coming from the Dutch word *geer*. This change of form does not have an explanation in the languages neighbouring on Polish.

2.2.1.3. [ɔ] and [o]

In most cases, the pronunciation of the phonetic variants of the grapheme <o> has been Polonized without taking into account the tenseness of the vowel. The Dutch *kok* is also *kok*⁶⁵ in Polish; the Dutch *boom* is *bom* in Polish. There are a few exceptions here as well. The Dutch *boord* became the Polish *burta*. It is strange that the change has occurred only in Polish. Both German and Russian use spellings and pronunciations reflecting the vowel <o>, so the original tense phoneme is replaced with its closed equivalent. The Polish word *buchta*, from Dutch *bocht*, may come from Dutch dialectal *bucht* (not used in the standard language version), or a vowel change may have occurred already in German.

2.2.1.4. [i] and [ɪ]

The Dutch tense vowel [i] (as in *niet*) has a direct phonetic equivalent in Polish, which is, however, spelt with a different grapheme. Where a Dutch word has <ie>, Polish will only have <i>. An example of this is *gik*, from Dutch *giek*; incidentally, an equivalent of this word also exists in Russian and in German with phonemes consistent with the Polish one.

The spelling representation of [ɪ] (as in *wil*) in Dutch is <i>, and in Polish it is <y>. Where borrowings from Dutch have this phoneme, it is preserved, and in spelling it is replaced with <y> (as in Polish *bryg* from Dutch *brik*).

⁶⁵ The spelling and the pronunciation are the same in both languages. For changes in the semantic range, cf. chapter 4.

Some spelling changes in loanwords have occurred in transit languages. For instance, the Polish word *bakelit*, from Dutch *bakeliet*, has a spelling form similar to German *Bakelit*.

2.2.1.5 [u]

The sound [u] exists both in Dutch and in Polish. Thus, it has been unnecessary to change it. However, the spelling has been changed. The Dutch <oe> is replaced by <u> in Polish spelling.

However, the corpus contains two words where Dutch [u] has been replaced with another sound: Polish *boja* from Dutch *boei*, and Polish *bojer* from Dutch *boeier*. In both these cases, [u] has been replaced with [ɔ]. The change already occurred in the transit language, in this case German (cf. *Boje* and *Bojer*). This exceptional phenomenon can also be attributed to the fact that the Dutch pronunciation of the vowel combination <oei> is diphthongal in nature.

2.2.1.6. [y] and [ɣ]

Polish does not have front rounded vowels. Therefore, these sounds are replaced by substituents. A possible substituent is [i̯], spelt with the letter <y>, as in the word *kubryk*, from *koebrug*.

Another solution is [u], as in *jufer*, *szturman*, *gulden*, or *juta*. The sound appears in the first two cases in Russian, [u] in *gulden* is also used in German and in Russian, and *juta* also has a German equivalent with the same unrounded phoneme.

2.2.1.7 [ø]

The corpus contains just one word with the phoneme [ø]: *gezowie*, from *geuzen*. The [ø] was not borrowed by Polish, which replaced the sound with [ɛ]⁶⁶; the grapheme <eu> was also removed in spelling. The foreign phoneme was replaced in Polish with a sound it resembles most, i.e. [ɛ].

2.2.1.8. [œ] as in *monteur*

This phoneme does not occur on its own in the corpus of borrowings from Dutch. This is not surprising if one takes into account that this sound is not really a part of the Dutch phonetic system, but is only used in Dutch loanwords, mostly from French.

⁶⁶ The Swedish or German phoneme represented by the letter <ö> is also regularly phonetically rendered in Polish as [ɛ].

2.2.1.9. [ə]

Dutch frequently uses the schwa. This sound only occurs in Dutch unstressed syllables. Its spelling is usually <e>.

Polish does not have schwa. With regard to loanwords from Dutch, there are three possibilities. Most frequently, [ə] is replaced with [ɛ]. This applies to most words with the suffix *-er*: *szkuner*, from *schoener*, *jufer*, from *juffer*, *bojer*, from *boeier*, and many others. Two representatives of the group of words with that suffix experienced a different solution: the consonant at the end of the root was palatalized, as a result of which [ə] in words like *klinkier* (← *klinker*) and *lugier* (← *lugger*) is pronounced as follows: [klinɕɛr] and [luɟɛr].

The corpus also includes the name of a bird that contains a schwa in Dutch as well: *kaketoe* [kakətu] became *kakadu* [kakadu] in Polish, probably under the influence of German and Russian (in Malaysian, the bird is called *kakatu*; when Dutch borrowed the word, the unstressed [a] became a schwa).

2.2.2. Diphthongs and vowel combinations

Polish does not have diphthongs, nor vowel combinations which are characteristic for Dutch. In this case as well, a solution was found that allowed the diphthongs and vowel combinations to obtain an acceptable form when borrowed into Polish. I present it below.

2.2.2.1. [ɛi]

Regarding diphthongs, the period when a given word was borrowed, is of particular significance for the phonetic rendition of the sound. The diphthong [ɛi] spelled as <ei> and pronounced as a combination of [ɛ] and [j], has been used in Dutch since the Middle Ages, whereas <ij> was pronounced as [i] at the beginning of the New Dutch period and only subsequently became the phonetic equivalent of <ei>, which had existed for a long time. Thus, the phonetic quality in Polish may provide a certain amount of information regarding when a given word entered Polish.

The Polish pronunciations of the Dutch <ei> and <ij> are as follows:

- 1) As the combination of the phonemes [ɛ] and [j], as in *sejzing*, from *seizing*. The Polish word *bejdewind*, derived from the Dutch phrase *bij de wind*, also contains this combination of sounds. In these cases, the diphthong has been properly acquired in articulatory terms, with an adjusted spelling. The word *rejs*, from *reis*, also contains this combination of sounds in Russian.

- 2) As [ɛ], which happened in all borrowings containing the Dutch morpheme *zeil*; e.g. in *marsel* (← *marszeil*; in this form also in Russian) or *lizeł* (← *lijzeil*) (this transformation is a natural consequence of the assimilation occurring in the Dutch pronunciation of these words, the phoneme in the Polish unstressed syllable somewhat naturally becoming secondary) or in *peleng* (← *peiling*) (this last assimilation also occurred in Russian).
- 3) As [i], which occurred in the above-cited word *lizeł*, from *lijzeil*, (it also occurs with such pronunciation in Russian).

2.2.2.2. [œy]

This sound has been adapted in two different ways. We probably deal with an indirect borrowing via Russian, where the Dutch [œy] became the Russian [u]. This concerns the following words: *kambuz*, from *kombuis*; *naktuz*, from *nachthuis*; and *śluza*, from *sluis*.

The following words have been evidently borrowed via German: *kliwer*, from *kluiver* (German: *Klüver*), *prymka*, from *pruim* (German: *Priemchen*); and *zydwestka*, from *zuidwester* (German: *Südwester*). That German was an intermediary is evidenced by the change of [œy] into [y] or into [i] and the Polish assimilation of those sounds in German borrowings to forms appropriate for the Polish system.

Borderline cases, where either German or Russian was the intermediate language, and assimilation occurred in one of those languages, include the words *diuna*, from *duin* (German *Düne*; Russian *дюна*) and *luk*, from *luik* (German *Luke*; Russian *люк*).

It should be noted, however, that the assimilation of this phoneme (Dutch diphthong) to the form acceptable in the Polish phonetic system seems to be the most difficult because Polish does not have a sound similar to the original Dutch sound.

2.2.2.3. [au]

The word *kabeltaw* is the Polish borrowing from the Dutch word *kabeltouw*. It seems that the change to *-aw* occurred in the course of oral borrowing. It is not impossible that German intermediation was involved: even though present German no longer possesses the word *Kabeltau*,⁶⁷ the German semantic

⁶⁷ The word may still be found in the spelling dictionary: <http://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/Kabeltau>, which also provides the information that the word is very rarely used. dwds <http://dwds.de/?qu=Kabeltau> provides eleven quotations and a reference only to the Grimm dictionary from the late 19th century.

equivalent of that Dutch word is *Ankertau*. The second part of the compound borrowed into Polish contains the sound [a]. The sound [f] as a voiceless rendition of the final letter <w> indicates, in my opinion, an influence of Russian, where the last vowel is a stressed <o> (stressed, so also pronounced [o]), but the word in Russian ends in the letter (the Cyrillic equivalent of <w>, as at the end of the Dutch word). It is also articulated (in its basic form or as a voiceless variant) in Russian. The grapheme <w> in Dutch represents a part of a diphthong, so it is not articulated as [v], whereas in Russian it is treated as a separate letter and, consequently, a separate sound.

In the case of the word *kausza*, from *kous* (pronounced in Dutch with [a.u]), Polish borrowed a combination of [a] and [u]. This pronunciation is also proper for German; in this case, it has the word *Kausche* with the same meaning.

2.2.2.4. [e.u]

In the case of the word *luwers*, from *leeuwers* (with a combination of the sounds [e.u] in the Dutch pronunciation), there are more phonetic changes, but they actually occurred in the intermediate language. The vowel combination [e.u] became [iu] in Russian, as a result of which the [l] was palatalized. Polish did away with that palatalization (which is much more frequent in Russian than in Polish, and it happens quite often that Polish loanwords from Russian lack that typical Russian palatalization), and the ultimate target sound is [u].

2.2.3. Consonants

Among the transformations that have taken place in the group of consonants, there are two that require our special attention. The first question is: What has Polish done with [ɣ]? The other is: How is it that this group of words contains so many items with [ʃ], which Dutch does not have? I will also discuss other consonants, but they require much less commentary. Consonants or consonantal groups that have not undergone any change, remaining the same in Polish as they are/were in Dutch, will not be discussed.

2.2.3.1. [ɣ]

Polish does not have a fricative [ɣ], whereas Dutch does not have a voiced occlusive [g]. However, in Dutch and Polish spelling, these phonemes are spelt using the same grapheme: <g>. This difference in the relationship between phonemes and graphemes and the absence of the direct counterpart of the

source sound in the Polish phonetic system are the reason why borrowings of words with the sound [ɣ] in Dutch have undergone phonetic changes in Polish.

The Dutch fricative [ɣ], occurring in words from which words in the corpus originated, has in all cases become the occlusive [g] in Polish. In part, that may be attributed to the fact that in many cases the words are presumably not direct borrowings from Dutch (*gaf*, *garnela*, *gik*, *gording*, *grot+*,⁶⁸ *indygo*, *szpigat*, *szttag*). In other cases, it can be assumed that the words have been partly written borrowings (*gara*, *gaz*, *geza*, *graf*).

In one case, [g] has been palatalized; the Dutch word *lugger* [lʏɣər] has become *lugier* [lujɛr] in Polish.

2.2.3.2. [s]

The phoneme [s] has partly also remained [s] in Polish. This concerns the following words:

apsel (← *aapzeil*), *atlas* (← *atlas*), *balast* (← *ballast*), *bambus* (← *bamboe*), *bosak* (← *bootshaak*), *boskop* (← *Boskoop*), *bosman* (← *bootzman*), *boss* (← *baas*), *bramsel* (← *bramzeil*), *bras* (← *bras*), *brukselka* (← *Brusselse spruuit*), *delikatesy* (← *delicatessen*), *fryz* (← *Fries (paard)*), *+topsel* (← *+topzeil*), *gaz* (← *gas*), *hals+* (← *hals+*), *jansenizm* (← *jansenisme*), *jufers* (← *juffers*), *kambuz* (← *kom-buis*), *lakmus* (← *lakmoes*), *luwers* (← *leeuwes*), *mars+* (← *mars+*), *+marsel* (← *+marszeil*), *mops* (← *mops*), *naktuz* (← *nachthuis*), *pasat* (← *passaat*), *potas* (← *potas*), *rejs* (← *reis*), *rolmops* (← *rolmops*), *saling* (← *zailing*), *scribaanne* (← *scribaan*), *segars* (← *zegers*), *sejzing* (← *seizing*), *skipper* (← *skipper*), *spinozizm* (← *spinozisme*), *stapelia* (← *stapelia*), *stelaż* (← *stellage*), *+stenga* (← *+steng*), *ster* (← *stuur*), *strop* (← *stroop*).

In a large group of words, the Dutch [s] has become [ʃ] in Polish. The following are examples of such words:

braszpil (← *braadspil*), *bukszpir* (← *boegspier*), *bukszpryt* (← *boegspriet*), *maszt* (← *mast*), *maszoperia* (← *maatschappij*), *potaż* (← *potas*), *szelak* (← *schellak*), *+szttag* (← *+stag*), *szyper* (← *schipper*), *szkuner* (← *schoener*⁶⁹), *szkuta* (← *schuit*⁷⁰), *szlupbelka* (← *sloepbalk*), *szpadel* (← *spadel*), *szot* (← *schoot*), *szpat* (← *spat*), *szpigat* (← *spiegat*), *szpil* (← *spil*), *szpring* (← *spring*), *szttag+* (← *stag+*), *sztaksel* (← *stagzeil*), *szstorm+* (← *storm+*), *szturman* (← *stuurman*), *szyper* (← *schipper*).

⁶⁸ The plus sign (+) is used to indicate that what is discussed concerns not only the word but also all compounds in the corpus that include it.

⁶⁹ The form *schoener* is also encountered in dialects.

⁷⁰ The form *schoetje* also occurs in dialects.

An investigation of the borrowing routes, the subject of the next chapter, will probably indicate which way those words got into Polish. At this research stage, we may presume that the change already took place in Dutch itself (where, depending on the region, the pronunciation may range from [s] all the way to [ʃ]) or in the transit language (German or Russian). Thus, the shift from [s] to [ʃ] is not a process that can be attributed to Polish.

The corpus also includes three cases where [s] is replaced by a different consonant in a borrowing into Polish. These words are: *kluza* (← *kluis*), *śluza* (← *sluis*), and *kruża* (← *kroes*). The relevant Polish sounds in these words are [z] and [ʒ]. The passage from voiceless [s] to voiced [z] seems to have occurred in the transit language, German in this case.

No reason was found for the change of [s] into [ʒ] in the pair of words *kroes* – *kruża*. Perhaps an explanation may be found in the Dutch pronunciation of the word at earlier development stages, when the final [ə] had not been reduced yet, so the Dutch word was *kroeze*, with a voiced [z].

The last change of the Dutch [s], not discussed so far, has just been mentioned: the word *śluza* (← *sluis*) has [ɕ] in place of [s] at the beginning of the word. This change can be explained in two ways. On the one hand, the pronunciation of the Polish word *śluza* is between the pronunciation of the standard Dutch word *sluis* and that of the German word *Schleuse* (all of which have the same meaning); the sounds [s], [ɕ], and [ʃ] differ mainly in the place of articulation, which is on the upper teeth for [s] and on the palate for [ʃ]. It is, therefore, possible that Polish has found a middle ground between the two sounds with which it was confronted, the Dutch dental [s] and the clearly palatal German [ʃ], by using the slightly palatalized sound [ɕ]. It is also possible that a certain role in the formation of the Polish word was played by Russian, which has two counterparts of the Dutch word *sluis*, namely *шлюз* [ʃlʲus] and *слиз* [slʲus]. The Polish sound [ɕ] does not exist in Russian, but, as mentioned a moment ago, it lies between those two other sounds, so it is perfect to combine the two similar Russian forms into a single, intermediate one⁷¹.

Old Polish also had the word *ślozy* ('tears'), with the same [ɕ] at the beginning, and a meaning that can be associated with the meaning of the word for 'sluice'. The sound could have been replaced at some point also owing to this similarity.

2.2.3.3. [ŋ]

There are two possible pronunciations, often shown as variants: [ŋk] or [nk], the [n] in the latter variant not being velarized.

⁷¹ It is also not impossible that the phoneme [ʃ] came direct from Dutch dialects, Hollands (Hollandic) in this case; cf. the preceding paragraph.

Below, I present words from the corpus that have [ŋ] in their Dutch pronunciation. *Słownik wymowy polskiej PWN* (1977) (the Polish pronouncing dictionary) only provides information for three of those words.

[ŋk]

doping (← *doping*), *peleng* (← *peiling*)

[ŋk]~[nk] / [nek]

takielunku/takielunek (← *takeling*)

The latter word merits special attention because it has undergone a whole series of changes. The Dutch [ŋ] was heard and pronounced by Poles as [ŋk] (frequent in Polish words), alternating with [nk] (which alternation is also frequent), and an epenthetic [e] was added between the [n] and the [k] in the endingless nominative form, excluding the velarization of the [n] in that form.

The pronunciation of the following words is not described in Polish dictionaries:

gording (← *gording*), *heling* (← *helling*), *pinka* (← *pink*), *sejzing* (← *seizing*), *reling* (← *reling*), *rotang* (← *rottang*), *saling* (← *zaling*), *stenga* (← *steng*), *szpring* (← *spring*).

However, in these cases separate conclusions can be drawn on the basis of analogies between these words and other words in Polish with similar spelling.

Words ending in <ing> may by analogy be included in the group with [ŋk] (most such words in Polish are borrowings from English).⁷²

In the case of the word *rotang*, it can, first of all, be stated that a final [k] is clearly heard, in accordance with Polish pronunciation rules. In this way, the pronunciation of *rotang* can be compared with the pronunciation of *tank* described in the pronouncing dictionary (*Słownik wymowy polskiej*) as [taŋk]. With the analogy, it can thus be stated that because *rotang* has exactly the same combination of phonemes it will also have a final [ŋk].

Pinka is similar to such Polish words as *spinka* or *świnka* and a few others. *Słownik wymowy polskiej* has two variants of the pronunciation of those words, ending in [iŋka] or in [inka]. We can therefore assume that *pinka* will also have two phonetic variants.

The last word to be discussed in this group is *stenga*. To find an analogy, Polish words with the combination <enga> have to be found. However, the result of the search does not provide information about the pronunciation of the combination because none of the words found in *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego* (2006) is included in *Słownik wymowy polskiej PWN* (2007

⁷² Cf. *recykling* (← *recycling*), *katering* (← *catering*), or *mitying* (← *meeting*).

CD-ROM edition). Consequently, I feel forced to resort to my competence as a native speaker of Polish. The word *stenga* is pronounced in exactly the same way as the Polish word *wstęga* [fstɛŋga]. Here, too, the Dutch [ŋ] is pronounced in combination with another consonant, in this case voiced [g].

2.2.3.4. [h]

Modern Polish does not have [h]. It has replaced all [h] in borrowings from Dutch with [x]. Thus, for instance, *hals* (← *hals*) is pronounced [xals]; this concerns all loanwords that had [h] in their original Dutch forms.

2.2.3.5. [x]

In most cases, Dutch [x] has remained [x] in Polish. There are a few exceptions, however:

In the word *naktuz* (← *nachthuis* [naxthœys]), [x] changed to [k]. The change already took place in Russian. The word, in fact, is not the only one showing a change from [x] to [k]; the same phenomenon has also taken place in *koebrug* → *kubryk*, *schoener* → *szkuner* (in both cases, also already in Russian), *schuit* → *szkuta*, and *stag* → *sztag*, where the <g> in the base form is pronounced as the voiceless stop [k].⁷³ In other case forms, the consonant becomes voiced again (similarly as in *bryg*). In the compound *sztaksel* (← *stagzeil*), the final consonant of the first constituent loses voice under the influence of the following voiceless [s].

An example from a different group containing [x], whose pronunciation has been modified in Polish, is *szyper* (← *schipper*). The pronunciation change of the sequence of phonemes [sx] into [ʃ] should be attributed to the German intermediate stage. Other words here include *szelak* (← *schellak*) (probably under the influence of German or Russian), *szkuta* (← *schuit*), *szot* (← *schot*). This change in fact provides clear evidence confirming the claim that such loanwords are not direct borrowings: Polish has the combination of phonemes [sx], and there are no reasons why it should not be taken over in the case of a direct contact between Dutch and Polish. Because that did not happen, it can be assumed that the borrowing occurred through another language.

2.2.3.6. [z]

The Dutch [z] has a direct equivalent in Polish, which has exactly the same phonetic features. Therefore, it is small wonder that most words with [z]

⁷³ This concerns only singular, however. In plural, the last consonant becomes voiced again.

have retained that pronunciation because that involves no difficulty. The only exception in the corpus is *szwabra* (← *zwabber*), where the original [z] changed into [ʃ] as a result of the Russian intermediation.

2.2.4. Palatalization

In the case of six words in the corpus, the Dutch source word has been changed through palatalization. These words are *bagier* (← *bagger*), *bakier* (← *bak keren*), *blankiet* (← *blanket*), *klinkier* (← *klinker*), *lugier* (← *lugger*), and *takielunek* (← *takeling*).

Russian has a stronger consonant palatalization tendency than Polish. So the first thought is that these loanwords entered Polish through Russian. In part, it is true. The Russian form of *lugger* is *люггер* [lʊgʲɪr], so palatalization is confirmed. In Polish, the second consonant has retained palatalization, while the first one has not.

The Russian counterpart of *takeling* is *такелаж* [takɪlɐʂ]. The [k] has indeed become palatalized in that language, but the end of the word has acquired a completely different form. In the case of the Polish word *takielunek*, we have to look for a solution in another direction; in German the word has the form *Takelung*. It is definitely possible to assume that both forms, Russian and German, have to an extent affected the formation of the Polish word. This claim would explain both the palatalization and the form of the word-final part, which is a model Polish rendition of German *-ung*. Polish borrowings from German words ending in *-ung* often have *-unek*; cf. *Rettung* → *ratunek*. The word-final [k] w is probably a reflection of a regional German pronunciation.

It seems that the Polish phrase *na bakier*, from Dutch *bak keren*, originated in Polish, because of its idiomatic nature. This is confirmed by the fact that none of the possible transit languages has acquired such a borrowing. While there is a Russian form with the same meaning, *набекрень* [nɐbɪr'krɛnʲ], it seems to have been transformed from the Dutch *bak keren* to a form that is even further than the Polish form. An answer to the question why palatalization has occurred here seems quite simple in this case and also applies to the other palatalized words in the corpus. In Dutch, the [k] is followed by [e:], as a result of which the [k] is slightly palatalized in Dutch. Additionally, Polish does not have [kɛ] or [gɛ] sequences, except for borrowings such as *geografia* or *inteligencja* or denasalized word-final syllables in words like *nogę*. Therefore, [k] in *bakier* has become palatalized almost automatically, similarly as in *klinkier* and *blankiet*. The same applies to [g] in *bagier*.

2.2.5. Special Cases

The corpus includes words pronounced differently in Dutch and in Polish. Their Polish spelling is identical to the spelling in Dutch or in a transit language. In those cases, we clearly deal with written borrowings. I refer to the following words:

akcja, locja: These borrowings were formed in accordance with the paradigm of transforming Latin words ending in the suffix *-tio*, which is replaced by *-tie* in Dutch. Both these words had already changed their spellings in Russian.

coleslaw: The original Dutch word, *koolsla*, was orally borrowed into American English, where it started to be written using English spelling conventions, as *cole slaw* or *coleslaw*. This spelling was then introduced into the Polish reality of fast-food chains without simultaneously importing its pronunciation [koolslɔ:]. Based on analogies, the written form was subsequently Polonized as *coleslaw* [kołɛslav], and this is how it exists in Polish today, although the form *coleslaw* [kołɛslav] has not disappeared completely. Based on pronunciation, it is a Polish word (although the former form sounds more natural, because the juxtaposition of [s] and [l] is relatively rare in Polish); the pronunciation provides absolutely no hint as to the word originally being a Dutch borrowing.

dryf: This derivative from the verb *drijven* slightly resembles its Dutch ancestor, but the pronunciation is different, mostly because of the vowel. Where contemporary Dutch has the diphthong [ɛi], Polish has the vowel [i]. The spelling does still reveal the word's Dutch origin, however.

edamski: This has been formed in Polish, in accordance with the paradigm: place name + *-ski* suffix. The fact that the toponym was probably borrowed in writing is revealed by its pronunciation: the initial <e> is pronounced the Polish way, as [ɛ].

fibustier: This word is a classic example of a written borrowing, at least in Polish. The Dutch word *vrijbuiter* was borrowed into French, where it was changed to *fibustier* [fɪbyst'je]. This spelling was borrowed into Polish (perhaps through Russian, but direct borrowing from French cannot be ruled out) giving rise to the Polish pronunciation (if we adopt the theory of Russian intermediation, then Polish also borrowed the pronunciation from its neighbours) in accordance with the rule: 'read what is written', with all consequences, such as a shift of stress.

gouda: With regard to this eponym, it can be said that Polish borrowed it in writing, directly or through German. The spelling of this word – leaving aside the initial letter, which is upper case in the original, and lower case in Polish – is consistent with the Dutch spelling, whereas the pronunciation is very different from Dutch and can be transcribed as [gowda].

gulden: Nobody doubts the Germanic origins of this word. As in the previous case, the spelling has not been changed, but the pronunciation has been Polonized to [gulden].

jansenizm/spinozizm: The spoken names of these religious/philosophical trends will still be recognized by a native speaker of Dutch. The endings of the words have changed from their direct Dutch equivalent, the suffix *-isme*. What remains to be discussed here is the vowel change in the suffix of *spinozizm* (← *spinozisme*): the original Dutch <i> has been replaced by <y>. This can be explained in a simple way: when Polish <i> immediately follows a consonant, the latter is usually softened, whereas a consonant preceding <y> is usually not. Because in this case we are dealing with a proper name whose Dutch pronunciation was clearly known, Polish wanted to remain faithful to it. The potential form **spinozizm* could lead to the conclusion that the philosopher's name was **Spinozia*. When the suffix is preceded by <n> in *jansenizm*, the [n] is palatalized in both languages, so the word could be borrowed with the original <i> .

teksel: This name of a sheep breed shows a departure from the original Dutch name of the island of Texel. The letter <x> is pronounced [ks] in Polish; because this letter is seldom used in Polish, it has been replaced by the combination <ks>. It is an interesting transition because in Dutch Texel is pronounced as [ˈtɛsəl]; no [k] is heard as it has been reduced. In Polish, however, that phoneme is articulated. It seems, therefore, that it is a written borrowing with a slightly adjusted spelling, unless the Dutch <x> represents an older pronunciation.

korfball: There is no doubt that this word is of Dutch origin. However, Polish has adjusted its spelling to a number of other names of ball games borrowed from English such as *basketball* and *volleyball*, and added an extra <ł> at the end.

manekin: The Polish form is in part a Polonized French spelling of the word: the vowel in the last syllable of *mannequin* is <i>, and it is also the vowel in the Polish written version. Here, too, the written form is the point of departure. What is interesting, the Polonized spelling with <k> instead of the French <qu> is again consistent with the original Dutch version.

matjasy/matjesy (sometimes also spelt as *matiasy/matiesy*) (← *maatjes(haring)*): *Słownik wymowy polskiej PWN* (1977) does not include this word. My native speaker's experience is, however, that the Dutch [t] is much more palatalized than in Polish, where the [j] practically does not affect the preceding [t], in part because a palatalized [tʲ] is not a native phoneme in Polish.

mozazaur (← *mosasaurus*): The name of the reptile species has been palatalized following the paradigm used for almost all dinosaur names.

raks(k)lot (← *raakkloot*): The word occurs in Polish dictionaries as *raksłot*. Specialized sailing websites and sailing manuals use the form

raksklot. The latter form is closer to the Dutch word from which it originates, but it is still different: apart from different vowel length and vowel quality, it contains an intrusive <s> that does not occur in Dutch. The <s> in the Polish borrowing is a puzzle. The change took place not in Polish but in Russian, where the word has exactly the same form, *раксклом*, with the lost/added [k]. It seems acceptable to claim that Russian has a whole series of borrowed Dutch sailing terms with the element *raks*. It is, therefore, thinkable that *raakkloot* was considered a related form, and the [s] was inserted on the grounds of the presumed relatedness. In this case, an excessive analogy-based generalization is involved.

rumpel (← *roerpen*): The word obtained its form in Russian, from which it was borrowed. Thus, the main formal changes did not occur in Polish. On its part, Polish only abandoned the palatalization of the [p] in Russian *румпель* [ˈrumpʲɪlʲ].

ryngraf (← *Rijngraaf*): The meaning of this word will be commented on below; now, there will be a few words about the form. The Polish pronunciation generally takes no account of the Dutch original, whose spelling has been retained (except for the abandonment of a the double <a> in favour of a single one). This justifies the claim that this word, too, is a written borrowing.

2.3. Lexical Stress

The loanwords in the corpus can generally be divided into three groups in terms of the analysis of the lexical stress. The first group are borrowings in which the stress has been shifted. The second group are words in which the same syllable is stressed in the borrowing and the Dutch word. The third group are special cases. What is meant are words in which the stress falls on the same syllable (root) as in the Dutch counterparts, but in the case of which the Polish word is differently stressed than the Dutch one. This is to do with formal changes, which will also be discussed.

For greater clarity, the stressed syllable is underlined both in the Polish words and in their Dutch counterparts.

Information about stress in Dutch words is derived from Dutch dictionaries; information about the Polish stress is derived from Polish sources.

2.3.1. Stress Shifts

The following Polish words are stressed differently than in Dutch:

admiral (← *admiraal*), *bakburta* (← *bakboord*), *bakelit* (← *bakeliet*), *balast* (← *ballast*), *balonfok* (← *ballonfok*), *balonkliwer* (← *ballonkluiver*),

barchan (← *barchaan*), *bejdewind* (← *bij de wind*), *bezan* (← *bezaan*), *bezanmaszt* (← *bezaanmast*), *blankiet* (← *blanket*), *blindgafel* (← *blindgaffel*), *bombramżagiel* (← *boombramzeil*), *bomkliwer* (← *boomkluiver*), *boskop* (← *boskoop*), *bramżagiel* (← *bramzeil*), *colesław* (← *koolsla*), *elzewir* (← *el-sevier*), *farwater* (← *vaarwater*), *flibustier* (← *vrijbuitter*), *floren* (← *florijn*), *fokmarsel* (← *fokmarszeil*), *foktopsel* (← *foktopzeil*), *fortopsel* (← *voortopzeil*), *gaftopsel* (← *gaftopzeil*), *grottopsel* (← *groottopzeil*), *groŹagiel* (← *grootzeil*), *holender* (← *Hollander*), *indygo* (← *indigo*), *jansenizm* (← *jansenisme*), *kabel-taw* (← *kabeltouw*), *kakadu* (← *kaketoe*), *kambuz* (← *kombuis*), *kantor* (← *kantoor*), *kilwater* (← *kielwater*), *lindan* (← *lindaan*), *loteria* (← *lotterij*), *manekin* (← *mannequin*), *marsżagiel* (← *marszeil*), *matiasy/matiesy* (← *maatjes*), *matros* (← *matroos*), *oleđrzy* (← *Hollanders*), *orkan* (← *orkaan*), *pasat* (← *passaat*), *pawian* (← *baviaan*), *plakat* (← *plakkaat*), *refsejzing* (← *reefseizing*), *spinozizm* (← *spinozisme*), *stelaż* (← *stellinge*), *sterburta* (← *stuurboord*), *waterbaksztag* (← *waterbakstag*), *waterlinia* (← *waterlijn*), *watersaling* (← *watersailing*),

The vast majority of these words exemplify the rule that Polish words are stressed on the penultimate syllable. There are two special cases in this group: *balonfok* (← *ballonfok*) and *bezanmaszt* (← *bezaanmast*). This is not a matter of stress placement borrowing, because both the Dutch words are stressed on the penultimate syllable. The only seemingly acceptable explanation is that Polish stresses the first constituent of the Dutch compound, and the second part, in both cases consisting of a single syllable, is simply attached to the first constituent. The words that are the first constituents of the compounds are *balon* and *bezan*. When these are individual words (not constituents of compounds), they are stressed on the penultimate syllable (which also happens to be the initial syllable in these words).

2.3.2. Stress not Shifted

The group of words that have retained their original stress patterns in Polish is much larger than the previous one.

In the case of single-syllable words, stress placement is obvious. The Polish rule is that in words consisting of a larger number of syllables the penultimate syllable is stressed. The words below meet this criterion.

akcja (← *actie*), *Afrykaner* (← *Afrikaner*), *apartheid* (← *apartheid*), *apsel* (← *aapzeil*), *arden* (← *arden*), *atlas* (← *atlas*), *bak* (← *bak*), *baken* (*bakan*) (← *baken*), *baksztag* (← *bakstag*), *bambus* (← *bamboe*), *batik* (← *batik*), *beginka* (← *begijn*), *begard* (← *begaard*), *bencel* (← *bindsel*), *blik* (← *blik*), *blok* (← *blok*), *bojer* (← *boeier*), *bojrep* (← *boeireep*), *bom* (← *boom*), *bort* (← *boort*), *bosak* (← *bootshaak*), *bosman* (← *bootzman*), *bramsel* (← *bramzeil*), *brander* (← *brander*), *bras* (← *bras*), *braszpil* (← *braadspil*), *bryfok* (← *breefok*), *bryg* (← *brik*), *bukszpir* (← *boegspier*), *bukszpryt* (← *boegspriet*),

Bur (← *Boer*), *dek* (← *dek*), *delikatesy* (← *delicatessen*), *dok* (← *dok*), *doping* (← *doping*), *dryf** (← *drijf*), *dujker* (← *duiker*), *dydek* (← *duitje*), *eland* (← *eland*), *faleń* (← *vanglijn*), *falrep* (← *valreep*), *fal* (← *val*), *finkil* (← *vinkiel*), *flader* (← *fladder*), *flagsztok* (← *vlagstok*), *fok* (← *fok*), *fokker* (← *Fokker*), *fokmaszt* (← *fokmast*), *forluk* (← *voorluik*), *forpik* (← *voorpiek*), *forsztag* (← *voorstag*), *fracht* (← *vracht*), *gafel* (← *gaffel*), *gaz* (← *gas*), *gik* (← *giek*), *gording* (← *gording*), *gouda* (← *Gouda*), *graf* (← *graaf*), *grot* (← *groot*), *grotmaszt* (← *grootmast*), *gulden* (← *gulden*), *hak* (← *haak*), *hals* (← *hals*), *helling* (← *helling*), *jacht* (← *jacht*), *jufer* (← *juffer*), *juta* (← *jute*), *kabel* (← *kabel*), *kajuta* (← *kajuit*), *kanarek* (← *kanarie(vogel)*), *kaper* (← *kaper*), *kil* (← *kiel*), *klamp* (← *klamp*), *klinkier* (← *klinker*), *kliwer* (← *kluiver*), *kok* (← *kok*), *korfball* (← *korfball*), *kraal* (← *kraal*), *kran* (← *kraan*), *kubryk* (← *koerbrug*), *lak* (← *lak*), *lakmus* (← *lakmoes*), *lik* (← *liek*), *lizel* (← *lijzeil*), *lobelia* (← *lobelia*), *lobelina* (← *lobeline*), *lorenc* (← *Lorentz*), *lugier* (← *lugger*), *luk* (← *luik*), *luwers* (← *leeuwvers*), *majtek* (← *maatje*), *makler* (← *makelaar*), *makrela* (← *makreel*), *mars* (← *mars*), *marsel* (← *marszeil*), *maszt* (← *mast*), *mat* (← *maat*), *merk* (← *merk*), *minóg* (← *nege-noog*), *mops* (← *mops*), *naktuz* (← *nachthuis*), *nok* (← *nok*), *orlog* (← *oorlog*), *pacht* (← *pacht*), *peleng* (← *peiling*), *pik* (← *piek*), *pikfal* (← *piekval*), *pikling* (← *bokking*), *polder* (← *polder*), *poler* (← *poller*), *potas* (← *potas*), *potaż* (← *potas*), *raks* (← *raks*), *raks(k)lot* (← *rakkloot*), *rand* (← *rand*), *ref* (← *reef*), *refbant* (← *reefband*), *refhals* (← *reefhals*), *rejs* (← *reis*), *rolmops* (← *rolmops*), *rotang* (← *rottang*), *rumpel* (← *roerpen*), *ryngraf* (← *rijngraaf*), *saling* (← *zaling*), *segars* (← *segers*), *sejzing* (← *seizing*), *skipper* (← *skipper*), *stapelia* (← *stapelia*), *ster* (← *stuur*), *strop* (← *strop*), *szelak* (← *schellak*), *szkuner* (← *schoener*), *szpat* (← *spat*), *szpigat* (← *spuigat*), *szpil* (← *spil*), *szpring* (← *spring*), *sztag* (← *stag*), *sztaksel* (← *stagzeil*), *sztorm* (← *storm*), *sztormfok* (← *stormfok*), *sztormtrap* (← *stormtrap*), *szturman* (← *stuurman*), *szturwał* (← *stuurval*), *szwabra* (← *zwabber*), *szyper* (← *schipper*), *talia* (← *talie*), *talrep* (← *talreep*), *top* (← *top*), *topsel* (← *topzeil*), *topsztag* (← *topstag*), *trap* (← *trap*), *wal* (← *val*), *werp* (← *werp*), *wimpel* (← *wimpel*), *zydwestka* (← *zuidwester*).

2.3.3. Irregular Forms

In addition, there are words that have retained their original Dutch stress placement although it is not on the penultimate syllable. In this sense, these words depart from the Polish paradigm.

The following cases are involved:

achterdek (← *achterdek*), *achterluk* (← *achterluik*), *achterpik* (← *achterpiek*), *Afrikaans* (← *Afrikaans*), *gafelfal* (← *gaffelval*), *kliwerbom* (← *kluiverboom*), *kliwerfal* (← *kluiverval*), *owersztag* (← *overstag*), *watersztag* (← *waterstag*)

With one exception, these are all sailing terms, used under special circumstances, often shouted when the wind is strong. Stressing the (original) root syllable undoubtedly contributes to better communication because a stressed syllable is pronounced somewhat louder and thus gets to the hearer more clearly. The sailing terms are also subject to the view, formulated in 2.3.1 above, that if the terms are treated as pairs of words rather than compounds in a linguistic sense, then each word retains its stress placement.

Afrikaans has certainly reached the second naturalization stage in Polish, but there is also a Polonized form of this word, *afrykanerski*. The stress placement on *Afrikaans* is probably associated with a deep conviction of the ‘foreignness’ of that word and its semantic content. Maintaining the exotic aspect of the word serves to maintain the distancing effect.

2.3.3.1. Stress on the Same Root Syllable

The group contains one-syllable Dutch words that have become two-syllable words in Polish. In large part, an extra syllable was added in a transit language, but there are also a few words where the change took place in Polish.

In the table below, the words are presented again, now in the context of the contemporary Dutch words and the Russian and/or German counterparts, if they exist. If a table field contains a dash (–), it means that the transit languages use other equivalents, which are not borrowings from Dutch, or that the target form in Russian and/or German is essentially different from the Polish form.⁷⁴

PL	NL	RU	DT
baja	baai	байка	-
belka	balk	-	-
boja	boei	бойка, боя	Boie
buchta	bocht	бухта	Bucht
burta	boord	-	Bord
dirka	dirk	-	Dirke
diuna	duin	дюна	Düne
flaga	vlag	флаг	Flagge
flota	vloot	-	Flotte
fretka	fret	-	Frettchen

⁷⁴ A good example of such a form, which brings little into this discussion, is *belka* (Pl.) – *balk* (Du.) – *Balken* (Ger.). The German form is masculine, so it does not help to answer the question why the Polish form has been extended to include a final <-a>.

PL	NL	RU	DT
gara	geer	-	-
geza	geus	-	-
kausza	kous	-	Kausche
kipa	kuip	-	Küpe
kluza	k Luis	-	Klüse
koga	koog	-	-
koja	kooi	койка	Koje
kruža	kroes	-	-
kufa	kof	-	-
lina, linka	lijn	-	Line
locja	loods	лоция	-
neta	net	-	-
pinka/pinasa (Fr.)	pink	пинка	Pinasse
plichta	plicht	-	Plicht
prymka	pruim	-	Priem
raksa	rak, raks	-	-
reja	ra	рей	-
rufa	roef	рубка	-
stenga	steng	стенга, стеньга	Stenge
szkuta	schuit	-	-
śluza	sluis	шлюз, слюз	Schleuse
wachta	wacht	вахта	-
wanta	want	ванта	-

In the case of Polish borrowings, the stress falls on the root syllable, which has become the penultimate syllable of the Polish word. Thus, in principle the stress placements have been retained, but the words have an extra syllable in comparison with Dutch.

As a result, compounds with one of the words in the table have stress on the same syllable, and thus (in the above meaning) have retained their original stress placement. This concerns the following cases:

szlupbelka (← *sluipbalk*), *bombramreja* (← *boombramra*), *bramreja* (← *bramra*), *bramstenga* (← *bramsteng*), *flaglinka* (← *vlaglijn*), *grotreja* (← *grootra*), *halslina* (← *halslijn*), *liklina* (← *lieklijn*), *marlinka* (← *marlijn*), *marsreja* (← *marsra*), *parduna* (← *parduin*), *reflina* (← *reeflijn*), *wyblinka* (← *weeflijn*)

Finally, a few more words were already polysyllabic in Dutch, but have one more syllable in Polish. The difference from the previous group is that

this one does not contain Dutch compounds. Also in these cases, the Dutch lexical stress placement is retained in Polish:

arminianin (← *arminiaan*), *garnela* (← *garnaal*), *makrela* (← *makreel*), *maszoperia* (← *maatschappij*), *mennonita* (← *mennoniet*), *rabata* (← *rabat*), *topenanta* (← *toppenant*)

2.4. Conclusions Concerning Spelling, Pronunciation, and Stress

This part of my considerations was devoted to spelling, phonetic, and prosodic features of loanwords. The purpose was to establish what changes have taken place compared with the original words in Dutch.

The above analyses indicate that all words in the corpus have become adapted to the Polish phonetic system. In no case has a phoneme been adopted that is used only in the Dutch phonetic system, without being represented in Polish. Thus, it can be concluded that all borrowings in the corpus have a fully Polonized pronunciation. The same applies to spelling; where necessary, it has been altered in such a way that the original is hard to see in it.⁷⁵ This homogeneity of the spoken and written forms of loanwords and their complete adaptation to the systems of Polish can be seen as evidence confirming the claim that the words making up the corpus have been present in Polish long enough and attained the second or third stage of assimilation.⁷⁶

2.5. Morphological Changes

The next part of the analysis is devoted to morphological changes. We will look at forms in terms of how much the Polish target differs in morphological features from the Dutch original or the form in a transit language that seems to have been borrowed. The analysis will be conducted in the following order: gender (2.3.1), difference between singular and plural (2.3.2), and a change of the part of speech/part of sentence (2.3.3). Section 2.3.4 is a summary and a conclusion of this part.

⁷⁵ Also cf. Agata Kowalska-Szubert, 'Nederlandse ontleeningen in het Pools: nog altijd herkenbaar?' In: F. Gruzca *et al.* (eds.), *Akten des XII. Internationalen Germanistenkongresses Warschau 2010: Vielheit und Einheit der Germanistik weltweit*. Band 4: *Sprache in der Literatur / Kontakt und Transfer in der Sprach- und Literaturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit / Die niederländische Sprachwissenschaft – diachronisch und synchronisch*, Internationale Vereinigung für Germanistik: Frankfurt am Main, 2012.

⁷⁶ Cf. chapter 1.

The question can also be asked about how Polish words have changed from their Dutch origins on the morphological plain. My tentative hypothesis is as follows: Loanwords adapt to the target system of the language in various ways (sometimes specific changes are required). If the loanword retains its spelling and/or pronunciation (more or less), the borrowing process sometimes involves changes of morphological features, such as gender (e.g., Du. *dok* (neuter) → Pl. *dok* (masculine)). The retention of the gender, in contrast, sometimes triggers a change of form (e.g. Du. *bocht* (feminine) → Pl. *buchta* (feminine)).

2.5.1. Gender

Dutch has only a few rules concerning the determination of the gender of a noun: for instance, *-ing* is a feminine ending (thus, it goes with the article *de*); all diminutives are neuter. In Polish, there are more suffixes associated with a particular gender, and the gender of most nouns can be recognized from their forms. Thus, the vast majority of nouns ending in *-a* are feminine, whereas a fundamental difference between Dutch and German on the one hand and Polish on the other is that diminutives retain the gender of the words from which they are formed. No wonder, then, that this has consequences for borrowings. Every newcomer to the target language must find a place for itself in the existing system. Some words (such as *fokker* (← *Fokker*)) are taken over without a need for any changes. In other cases, there is a change of form (e.g. *garnela* ← *garnaal*) or gender (*gaz* is masculine in Polish in contrast to its neuter Dutch origin). Sometimes, both these changes co-occur, a change of form taking place alongside a change of gender.

Below are cases where the gender has changed. Thus, the lists below do not include words whose gender has not been changed. The words are shown in two columns: the Dutch word on the left, and its Polish counterpart on the right.

2.5.1.1. Neuter in Dutch and Masculine in Polish

Ardens paard	arden
Dek	dek
Dok	dok
*drijf (derived from the verb drijven)	dryf
Gas	gaz

Jansenisme	jansenizm
Kabeltouw	kabeltaw
Kantoor	kantor
Kielwater	kilwater
Lakmoes	lakmus
luik (and all compounds)	luk
Maatje	majtek
Mannequin	manekin
Nachthuis	naktuz
Negenooog	minóg
Plakkaat	plakat
Schellak	szelak
Spinozisme	spinozizm
Stuur	ster
Werp	werp
-zeil (and all compounds with -zeil)	-sel/-zel

All the words can be regarded as regular in the sense that, because of their forms, they are intuitively perceived as masculine. In accordance with the Polish grammar, most nouns ending in consonants are masculine.⁷⁷

2.5.1.2. Neuter in Dutch and Feminine in Polish

Boord	burta
Brussels spruitje	brukselka
Fret	fretka
Net	neta

The letter <a> at the end of a Polish noun indicates that the word is feminine. All these changes have taken place in Polish. There is no trace of such transformations in transit languages.

2.5.1.3. Masculine/Feminine in Dutch and Masculine in Polish

Bezaan	bezan
Doping	doping

⁷⁷ Cf., e.g.: A. Nagórko, *Zarys gramatyki polskiej* (Polish grammar outline), PWN: Warsaw, 2007.

Fries (horse)	fryz
gording	gording
Helling	heling
Juffer	jufer
koebrug	kubryk
Nok	nok
Peiling	peleng
Poller	poler
Potas	potas/potaż
Reling	reling
Seizing	sejzing
stellage	stelaż
takeling	takielunek
vanglijn	faleń

Some of the changes have taken place in the transit languages (see a discussion of the phonetic properties). The other loanwords have adapted to the Polish pattern.

2.5.1.4. Masculine/Feminine in Dutch and Feminine in Polish

Bocht	buchta
Dirk	dirka
dukdalf	dalba
Kruža	kroes
Loods	locja
makreel	makrela
marlijn/marling	marlinka
pompelmoes	pompela
Ra	reja
steng (and compounds)	stenga
Steven	stewa
Vlag	flaga
zuidwester	zydwestka
zwabber	szwabra

The change in large part occurred in a transit language.

2.5.1.5. Masculine/Feminine in Dutch and Neuter in Polish

The corpus does not contain a single noun that would have the common gender (masculine/feminine) in Dutch and become neuter in Polish.

2.5.2. Difference Between Singular and Plural

In Dutch, plurals are in most cases formed by means of the suffixes *-en* or *-s*. Polish plurals are formed by completely different endings, and *-s* is characteristic of singular masculine nouns. This has specific consequences for loanwords.

The word *bambus*, borrowed through the Dutch word *bamboe* (ultimately from Malaysian *bambu*), is described in dictionaries as a masculine singular noun with the plural *bambusy*. *WNT* states that, in addition to the modern form *bamboe*, there is also an old form with the plural *bamboes(ch)*. We can start from the observation that Polish borrowed the original form. Because Polish does not have plural forms ending in *-s*, whereas *-s* may be an ending of singular masculine nouns, *bambus* became a singular masculine noun in Polish.⁷⁸ *vD GWNT* marks this noun as *het* (neuter) and *de* (masculine). The corpus contains two other words transformed in exactly the same way: the Dutch word *baak* was borrowed into Polish (and Russian) in plural, *baken*,⁷⁹ and became a masculine singular noun, *bakan*;⁸⁰ the Dutch word *leuver*, *leuvers* in plural, became a masculine singular noun in Polish: *luwers*.

2.5.3. Part of Speech / Part of Sentence Change

The corpus includes several words that have attained a different grammatical form in Polish than they had in Dutch. It is still obvious that they were borrowed from Dutch, but they represent a different part of speech than in Dutch.

⁷⁸ The tendency to treat nouns ending in <-s> as masculine nouns is characteristic of Polish. What is seen in such cases is that the number of the original noun is disregarded altogether. Another recent example is the word *pampers*, which is a masculine singular noun in Polish, with *pampersy* as the plural form.

⁷⁹ The word *baak* is used in Dutch in the singular primarily with a meaning differing from the meaning 'navigation sign'; the plural of the word is, however, used for that meaning.

⁸⁰ *WNT* itself wonders whether the original form is *baken* or *baak*. The entry for *baken* in *Vd Etymologisch Woordenboek* refers to the entry for *baak*.

These cases are presented below.

Bakier comes from the Dutch phrase *bak keren* ‘turn the back’. In this phrase, *bak* is the direct object. In Polish, the word is only used in the phrase *na bakier* ‘at a rakish angle, at odds, at loggerheads’ thus serving as an adverbial of manner in a sentence.

Bejdewind in Polish is the description of a certain kind of wind in sailing. The form comes from the Dutch phrase *bij de wind*: in Polish, the adverbial prepositional phrase turned into a noun.

Fordewind is another case of the same kind; the original Dutch expression, *voor de wind*, was turned into a noun.

As the above examples are Polish neologisms, derived from Dutch syntactic phrases, they behave as Polish words, with stress on the penultimate syllable. The Dutch stress in the Dutch phrases is of no consequence for the Polish loanwords.

2.5.4. Summary and Concluding Remarks

This section discusses the morphological changes in loanwords. Attention was devoted to changes of gender, differences between singular and plural, and complex syntactic changes.

The analysis of morphological changes confirmed my tentative hypothesis. The borrowings have become adjusted to the Polish linguistic system not only in terms of spelling, pronunciation, and stress, but also in terms of morphology. The part of speech / part of sentence syntactic changes are interesting because they are a phenomenon at the juncture between morphology in the narrow sense of the term and the morphological productivity of words. These changes result in the situation where we are no longer dealing with borrowings in Polish, but with new semantic and grammatical units formed on the basis of a Dutch word or group of words.

2.6. Morphological Productivity of Borrowings

Borrowings that have already become a part of Polish behave as normal words functioning in the language. They are no longer perceived as foreign, and they have the same capabilities as other lexical units in the language. Among other things, they can be the basis for the formation of new words.

The corpus also includes words that have without a doubt been formed on the basis of Dutch borrowings. The purpose of this section is to include these words in the investigation to determine where the productivity of borrowings is headed.

balastować – a verb derived from *balast*

na bakier – derived from *bak keren*

bojerowiec – a hybrid based on the word *bojer* (← *boeier*) ‘ice boat’: ‘a person who rides an ice boat’

dokować – a verb derived from the noun *dok*; currently, with a broad meaning spectrum

dopingowy – an adjective from the noun *doping*, almost exclusively used in plural in the word combination *środki dopingowe* ‘doping substances’⁸¹

dryfować – actually an equivalent of the Dutch verb *drijven* (meaning ‘to drift on water, without a clearly defined direction’); an open question in this case is what exactly Polish borrowed: the verb (and then formed the derived word *dryf*) or the shortened form *dryf* (perhaps from the inflected first person singular form of the verb) to form its own verb on this basis

frachtowiec – this noun was formed on the basis of the word *vracht*, from which a hybrid was derived in accordance with the same paradigm as *bojerowiec*; in this case, however, the meaning of the neologism contains a meaning ingredient from the Dutch word, ‘a type of freight ship’

gafłowy – an adjective from *gafel*

holendrować – in terms of form, a verb derived from *holender*; in terms of meaning, this verb relates to the meaning of the noun *holender*, which refers to an ice skating figure; the verb has several other meanings, such as ‘drive a car in a particular way’ or ‘use a particular brochure stitching technique’

kaperować – a verb derived from the noun *kaper*

kaperski – an adjective meaning ‘of a pirate (=kaper)’

kaperstwo – an abstract noun ‘piracy’

lakmusowy – an adjective derived from the noun *lakmus* (← *lakmoes*)

lakować – a verb meaning ‘cover with sealing wax (← *lak*)’

lichtuga – a noun with a meaning related to the Dutch noun *lichter* ‘light ship’

marlować – a verb meaning ‘to fix with lacing (=marlinka) to the boom’

maszop – ‘a member of an association of fishermen’, a nominal derivative from *maszoperia* (← *maatschappij*)

refować – a verb derived from *reef*, meaning ‘decrease the sail area’

⁸¹ The singular, *środek dopingowy*, is grammatically possible but very rarely used.

rembrandtowski – an adjective formed from the personal proper name Rembrandt with the meaning ‘in Rembrandt style’

rembrandtolog – a denominal noun meaning ‘an expert regarding Rembrandt’s paintings’; interestingly, although a direct equivalent of this word could be expected to exist in Dutch, it never existed there

sterować – a verb derived from the noun *ster*

*szkutnictwo*⁸² – a noun derived from the noun *szkuta*, the name of the boatbuilding trade

szkutnik – an artisan in the boatbuilding trade; thus, a derivative from the above loanword-based neologism

As can be seen, the Polish neologisms are mostly verbs and nouns. In the case of verbs, usually an activity using a particular object is meant: to *sterować* ‘steer’, one needs a *ster* (← *stuur*) ‘helm’; to *lakować* ‘seal with wax’, one needs *lak* ‘sealing wax’. The adjectives indicate features of objects characteristic of the object that lends its name. Nouns obtain a new meaning dimension that is only partly associated with the meaning of the original. Thus, *kaperstwo* is ‘being a pirate (=kaper)’, whereas *szkutnictwo* is ‘building punts (=szkuty)’, but also ‘building boats (generally)’.

2.7. Analysis Results and Conclusions

This chapter was devoted to issues relating to changes in the form of loanwords. I investigated the extent of changes in the pronunciation, spelling, and morphology of loans. It was important to note whether a word was borrowed orally or in writing.

My analysis yielded the following results:

The borrowings have become well adjusted to the Polish linguistic system. The pronunciation is adjusted to the Polish phonetic system, and the written forms to the Polish spelling system. Changes from the Dutch original can in most cases be explained from the perspective of a transit language or are a logical consequence of assimilation processes in Polish itself. Only one word, *flibustier*, seems to be a written loanword; all other loanwords appear to have been borrowed in speech, which is evidenced by their Polonized spelling contrasted with relatively few changes in pronunciation. As the borrowings no longer appear to be foreign and have gained positions in Polish,

⁸² The fact that the Polish noun has already become able to undergo separate word-formation processes may in fact be seen as the indirect proof of its long existence in Polish. Morphologically creative are those words that have undergone a (nearly) complete assimilation in the target language, and the assimilation process takes some time, after all.

they can be said to have been in the language for a longer time and passed at least two naturalization stages. The fact that some are in the fourth (last) naturalization stage is confirmed by the semantic productivity of some of the loans, which have been the basis for new Polish forms.

Geographic Analysis of Borrowing Paths

3.0. Preliminaries

3.0.1. Issue and Hypothesis

This chapter seeks to answer the question of how and along what paths the researched words got into Polish. The assumption we make in this connection is that which language a word originally comes from generally plays little role. Based on the theory that Proto-Indo-European (PIE) and several other languages, which because of their (hypothetical) features seem related to PIE, existed at some point in the past, we can take it for granted that the oldest words in an extant or extinct (Indo-European) language could be taken back to one language that used to be common to a large part of the human population.

The process of the development of a language assumes that new words emerge when it becomes necessary to name something that did not exist before. Thus, any human community creates new words, which may be passed on to other communities. If the borrowers use such loanwords for a sufficiently long time, they become a natural part of the borrowing community's lexicon. A word may, for instance, have been of Latin origin, but, because it was used in Dutch for ages, it over time became an ordinary Dutch word. If now another human community has a need to borrow the word into its language, it does not borrow a Latin but a Dutch word. Based on the foregoing reasoning, searching for the 'true' origins of words is not always important. What is relevant, first of all, is which language used the word for some time and from which it was borrowed.

A good example in the corpus is the Polish word *boja*, borrowed from Dutch *boei*. Etymological and historical dictionaries indicate that the word is of Old French origin. In the case of Polish, borrowing from French is out of the question, even though the word (i.e. *boeie*) was originally French, and

according to the above-mentioned dictionaries even goes back to the Latin form *boiae*. Over time, the word was borrowed into Dutch and started to be used by the linguistic community of the Netherlands. It was from Dutch that it spread elsewhere. So, for Polish, it is a Dutch loanword even if it was borrowed via Low German or German (see the table under 3.2).

We deal with the same issue in the case of words originally coming from exotic languages. Definitely, not every ethnic group sends its representatives to faraway countries, but animals, plants, natural phenomena, and materials not occurring in our area are known in Poland. The names of these objects function in many languages, however, because they were borrowed via the language of people who went to those remote countries and brought the items and their names to this part of the world one way or another. Take the Polish word *orkan*. We know for certain that it is an exotic word, coming from a language we call ‘exotic’, from somewhere outside Europe. We can further draw the cautious conclusion, based on the data we have at our disposal, that this (now Polish) word was probably borrowed from Dutch. We do not even know for certain which specific language the word comes from. The *Etymologisch woordenboek van het Nederlands* (EWN) ascribes the origin of this word to a Caribbean language. Via Spanish, the word got into Dutch, and then, from Dutch, into Polish.

The question about the ‘true’ or ultimate language of origin in the context of interlinguistic contacts is of little significance. Firstly, it is not the original language that the borrowing language was in contact with; secondly, borrowings may become so highly assimilated that they are no longer treated as loanwords.⁸³ Additionally, the form of the word has to be kept separate from its meaning. A word of foreign origin that has received a specific semantic dimension in Dutch (Nl_B) and has been borrowed into other languages in that meaning is regarded as a Dutch word. Schematically, we have Nl_B → Pl. Words that have a Dutch form but have acquired a different meaning in another language (A_B) are also taken into account in the further analyses. In this case, the borrowing process is schematically: Nl → A_B → Pl.

Thus, the question asked in reference to the research corpus is this: Where did Polish get these words from? Based on the selection criteria, it is assumed that the components of the corpus one way or another are related to Dutch.

⁸³ Third or fourth assimilation stage borrowings (cf. 1.6.) are usually no longer included in dictionaries of foreign words. Cf. the introduction to *Wielki słownik wyrazów obcych PWN* (2005: V): ‘Aby zrobić miejsce dla nowych haseł, pominięto część wyrazów najbardziej znanych i dobrze już przyswojonych polszczyźnie. Ich znaczenia mało kto by tu szukał.’ (‘To make room for new headwords, some of the most familiar words, well assimilated in Polish, have been omitted. Nobody would look for their meanings here.’)

The following cases are relevant to this analysis:

- 1) A word comes from Dutch and was borrowed directly from Dutch into Polish (Nl → Pl); or
 - 2) A word comes from Dutch and was borrowed into Polish via another language (Nl → A → Pl); or
 - 3) A word is of foreign origin, but it directly came into Polish from Dutch (V → Nl → Pl); or
 - 4) A word is of foreign origin, but it became widespread in Europe via Dutch, and it got into Polish through another language with which Polish had more contact than with Dutch (V → Nl → A → Pl);
- where A – another language; Nl – Dutch; Pl – Polish; V – a foreign language.

The working hypothesis of the present part of this monograph is as follows:

- (1) A word can relatively infrequently be determined to have been borrowed directly from Dutch. This is indirectly related to the fact that Polish and Dutch were in durable contact with each other relatively seldom. However, there are cases where direct borrowing is unquestionably involved.
- (2) Polish borrowed most loanwords from the languages of its neighbours, (Low) German and Russian, as the intermediary languages. Contacts between Polish and (Low) German or Russian have definitely been much more intensive than contacts between Polish and Dutch. Dutch is also a language neighbouring German, which affects the intensity of mutual contacts and increases openness to potential borrowings compared with other languages. As regards Russian, there was a period in history when Dutch had a significant importance for Russian realities. What has to be mentioned in this context is definitely the role of Tsar Peter the Great, his visits to the west of Europe, and their consequences for his contemporary Russian language.⁸⁴ Because Polish for a long time in its history was not an official state language (as a result of the so-called partitions, Poland in the years 1772–1918 was divided between Prussia -- later, Germany -- Austria-Hungary, and Russia, and each of those countries applied its own language policy, according to which there was frequently no place for the language of the Polish population in public life),⁸⁵ and played a less important role in the Polish territories than German or Russian, which played dominant roles in the communities.

⁸⁴ Cf. Serczyk (2003).

⁸⁵ Information about the language situation in Poland under Prussian, Austrian, and Russian occupation is to be found, among others, in Klemensiewicz (2007: 507–525).

The following maps show Europe at the beginning of the 19th century as well as the Polish territories occupied by Germany, Austria, and Russia.



Figure 8. Europe in 1815 (Source: The International Commission and Association on Nobility/Wikimedia, 2009)



Figure 9. The partitions of Poland (Source: Wikimedia Commons)

3.0.2. Chapter Structure

The proper beginning of this chapter is the review of the languages that have played a role in the borrowing of words into Polish (see 3.1. below). Then (3.2.), I will consider borrowings from Dutch, also segregated in terms of the intermediary language. A lot of attention will be devoted to cases that are dubious. Namely, what frequently happens is that the form of a word in Polish shows features proper for more than one language (and also for Dutch itself). In cases where we do not have additional information that could indicate the ultimate intermediary language, we must remain with the conclusion that the borrowing came via language X and/or via language Y. In the next section of this chapter (3.3), I will discuss borrowings from another language, where Dutch was a mediator. Further sections talk about loanwords from more specific points of view. Section 3.4 is devoted to words that have another origin as far as their form is concerned, but which owe their specific meaning to Dutch. In 3.5, there are words whose form is Dutch but whose meaning originated in another language. The final section of this chapter contains conclusions (3.6.)

3.1. Intermediary Languages

3.1.0. Introduction

To begin with, we need a brief review of languages that have been intermediaries for Dutch words. Apart from the languages themselves, I will also present the reason why it is possible that Polish owes its Dutch borrowings to these languages.

3.1.1. German

The German language area lies between the areas of Dutch and Polish. Therefore, German is a natural transitory zone between the two languages, and it is also related to Dutch. Thus, it seems natural that there are words borrowed from Dutch into German, initially in the border area between the Netherlands/Flanders and Germany, which then spread across Germany and were subsequently transferred to other (neighbouring) languages. Also (High) German was a language of the Hanseatic League. The language, like Latin, Low German, Dutch, Swedish and Danish, was in constant contact with the languages of other peoples living on the Baltic. Very important

for contacts between Polish and German was the above-mentioned period when Prussia and Austria ruled large parts of the Polish territory (18th and 19th centuries), when German played a dominant role relative to Polish. As a consequence of the planned Germanization of the ethnicities forming the population of (especially) Prussia, and then united Germany, Polish was oppressed among others in the regions of Greater Poland and Silesia, Poles were forced to use only German in public life, and there were no official Polish-language schools. German was permanently present in the lives of Poles, in part forcibly (in Prussia, where Germanization was planned), and in part naturally, as the second language of the community (in Austria, where the population had a certain degree of linguistic freedom).

3.1.2. Russian

Russian is also a language neighbouring Polish. The two languages have some common words borrowed from Dutch. A large part of those words in Polish have undoubtedly been loaned from Russian. This is in the first instance a consequence of the policy of Tsar Peter I the Great,⁸⁶ who desired to ‘civilize’ his country and in that sense was open to foreign influences. His trips abroad resulted in the introduction of many pieces of equipment and everyday artefacts and technologies that had not been known in Russia before, and the names of the new acquisitions were taken over as well. As a result of numerous contacts between Poland and Russia, the Polish reality was enhanced with some of the new acquisitions, which often involved the borrowing of the carriers of meaning.

Russian is also subject to the neighbouring language rule: a word that has been borrowed into Russian may be transferred to neighbours across borders. During the partitions of Poland, Russian (next to German) was a language of the rulers and as such played a dominant role in the public life. Thus, for 123 years, during the partitions, in the territories annexed by Russia, Polish functioned alongside Russian. Russia’s language policy allowed the presence of other languages in daily life but Russian was of course the official language. Many words of daily use were borrowed during that period. Thus, it is absolutely possible that Dutch loanwords at the third or fourth assimilation stage were also borrowed into Polish.

Further, it cannot be forgotten that Poland found itself in the Russian sphere of influence after World War Two. Just reading any dictionary of Polish shows that Polish has acquired many words from Russian since the war. This concerns not only ‘communist’ words and the terminology used

⁸⁶ Data from W. A. Serczyk, *Piotr Wielki*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 2003

by the regime, although it is to be expected that they were most of the loanwords after World War Two. They were mostly politics-related words, and a Dutch influence is not expected here.

3.1.3. English

The role of English as an intermediary language is very interesting: words for which English was an intermediary are so Anglicized and so strongly associated with British or American realities that it is not even presumed without more thorough research that they have Dutch roots. The most intriguing example, partly already discussed in the previous chapter, is *dollar*: there is probably hardly anything more American than this currency name. However, more detailed research indicates that the word is a borrowing from the Dutch/ Low German *daalder* ‘thaler’, which obtained its spelling and pronunciation forms as a result of assimilation in American English. American English owes such words to Dutch immigrants; the main British Isles language was mostly subject to the influence of the language of sailors, but economic and daily-use words also played a certain role. Thus, the corpus of borrowings contains words one does not normally suspect of being borrowed from another language, so English they look and so British or American is their meaning.

3.1.4. French

French is also a language neighbouring on Dutch, which has had (constant) contact with Dutch. Because French was for some time a *lingua franca* in Europe (which means that educated Europeans, including Poles, spoke French) and because Polish has had numerous and intensive contacts with French since the 17th century,⁸⁷ Polish has many French borrowings. Some of them, in turn, are Dutch loanwords.

3.1.5. Low German

Low German is a separate story. Because Dutch and Low German are closely related, in most cases it is impossible to clearly determine from which of

⁸⁷ Cf. B. Walczak, ‘Kontakty polszczyzny z językami niesłowiańskimi’, [in:] J. Bartmiński (ed.), *Współczesny język polski*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS 2001, pp. 527–540; here, especially pp. 532–533.

the two languages a Polish borrowing originated. This in fact concerns all cases where the Low German form is identical with its Dutch equivalent. As mentioned in the preliminary part, etymological information available in the Polish dictionaries is not reliable. Therefore, in cases where a loanword appears Dutch, but the dictionaries include information that it comes from Low German, it will be included in the corpus, but in the Dutch/ Low German category.

The only exception are words that, because of their meaning, logic suggests assuming they are more likely to have been borrowed from (Low) German than from Dutch (which, of course, does not prevent a parallel sibling form existing in Dutch). An example is the word *ankier*, standing for a clock part. Dutch dictionaries provide this meaning of the word *anker* as one of the last ones, whereas its main meaning is a component of ship equipment. Polish uses a completely different lexeme with this meaning: *kotwica*. Meanwhile, German is a clear exporter of clockmaking terms used in Polish.⁸⁸ German (also, Low German) provides the clock part meaning as one of the first ones. Therefore, *ankier* is not taken into account in the case of other considerations because we can assume with significant likelihood that it is a (Low) German borrowing.

3.1.6. Latin, a Special Case

Latin has also played a certain role in enriching Polish with Dutch words. Although Latin can generally only in extremely exceptional cases be regarded as an intermediary language, it happens in our case that a Latin or Pseudo-Latin form acquired a meaning in Dutch. This concerns scientific terms and the names of plants discovered/described in the Low Countries. New Latin plant names (e.g. *stapelia*) are frequently formed from the surnames of the persons who described them first. The just-mentioned *stapelia* (which comes from South Africa) was named after J. Bordaesus van Stapel, a 17th century Amsterdam physician.

The corpus also includes cases where a Latin word acquired a new semantic dimension in Dutch, which then spread directly or via another language (or other languages). Latin influences can thus be divided into two groups: there are words existing for a long time, provided with new special meanings by Dutch (thus, NI_B) (cf. 2.1.3. *et seq.* below), and words that obtained completely new neo-Latin forms as a result of events in the Low Countries.

⁸⁸ Even the word for a clock itself, *zegar*, is a German borrowing, and the trade description *zegarmistrz* ‘watch/clockmaker’ is a Polonized version of the German *Zeigermeister*.

3.2. Dutch as an Intermediary Language (V)

Dutch functioned as an intermediary language, especially with regard to languages outside Europe. In this context, Polish is indebted to Dutch primarily in respect of the names of goods brought to Poland by Dutch merchants. The source languages included Malay (e.g. *bambus* ← *bamboe*), Javanese (*batik* ← *batik*), Chinese (*herbata* ← *thee*), and Carib languages (*kanarek* ← *kanarie*).

3.2.1. Dutch Meaning, Another Form (NI_B)

The group of words in this category is not large. However, they are all worth mentioning because their forms are foreign to the Dutch linguistic system. Yet, the meanings that arose in the Low Countries justify treating them as Dutch words. All these words are, in terms of form, Latin words. They are either old words, which obtained new, special meanings in Dutch (e.g. *akcja* ← *actie* meaning ‘share, security’), from Latin *actio*, or neo-Latin words formed to describe typical Dutch phenomena or Dutch inventions (e.g. *lobelia*).

3.2.2. Dutch Form, Foreign Meaning (NI → A_B → PI)

This small group in its entirety consists of words that have different meanings in Afrikaans than in Dutch or words whose Dutch meanings are borrowed from Afrikaans. An example of such a word known around the world is *apartheid*; other words will be discussed below.

3.3. Analysis of Borrowings

3.3.0. Preliminaries

In the paragraphs below, Dutch wordforms will be compared with their counterparts in other languages. Based on morphological similarities, I will then draw conclusions regarding the language through which the word may have come to Polish. The words will also be presented language by language, with relevant justifications.

The following table contains the forms of the borrowed words. The initial form is Polish, followed by Dutch, (Low) German, Russian, and English. The

last column includes forms in other languages that may be relevant to the borrowing of a particular word into Polish. To maintain clarity in the table, not all fields are filled. Where the form of a particular equivalent is clearly different from the Polish form, it is irrelevant to our considerations, and for this reason it is not included.

Polish	Dutch	German	Russian	English	Other
achterdek	achterdek	Achterdeck	-	-	-
achterpik	achterpiek	-	-	-	-
achtersztag	achterstag	-	-	-	-
adiutant	adjundant	-	-	-	-
admirat	admiraal	Admiral	admiral	-	-
Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Afrikaans		Afrikaans	Afr. Afrikaans
Afrykaner	Afrikaander	Afrikaander		Afrikaner	Afr. Afrikaner
akcja ('share, security')	actie	Aktie	ákcija		
ankier	anker	Anker	ánker		
apartheid ← Dutch (Afrikaans meaning)	apartheid	Apartheid	aparteid	apartheid	
apsel	aapzeil	-	apsel'	-	-
arden (geography)	ardens paard				
Arminianie	arminiaan	Arminianer		arminian	
atlas	atlas	Atlas		atlas	Fr. Atlas
Baggier	bagger- machine	Bagger			
baja	baai		bájka		
Bak	bak	Bak	bak	back	
bakan	baken	Bake (+LG)	bákan, báken		
Bakburta	bakboord	Backbord (+LG)	bakbórt		
bakelit	bakeliet				
Bakier	bak keren				
Bakierować	bak keren				
Baksztag	bakstag				
Ballast	ballast	+Ballast (+LG)			
Balastować					
Balonfok	ballonfok				
Balonkliwer	ballonkluiver				

Polish	Dutch	German	Russian	English	Other
Bambus	bamboe	+ Bambus	bambúk	bamboo	
Barchan	barkaan				
Batik	batik	Batik			
Begardzi	begard	Begard(e)			
Beginki	begijn				
Bejdewind					
bencel	bindsel		bénzel', vénzél'		
Bezan	bezaan	Besan			
Bezanmaszt			bizanmačta		
Blankiet	blanket	Blankett			Fr. blanquet
Blik	blik				
Blindgafel					
blok		Block	<i>different meaning</i>	block	
Boja	boei	Boje	buek, buj		
Bojer	boeier	Bojer, Bujer		boyer	
Bojerowiec	boeier	Bojer, Bujer			
Bojrep			bújrep		
Bom	boom	LG	bom	boom	
Bombramreja					
bombramżagiel					
Bomkliwer					
Bort		Bort			
Bosak	bootshaak				
boskop (not in the lexicon)	Boskoop	Boskoop/ Boskoop			
boss	baas	Baas		boss	
Brabancki	Brabants		barabanckij		
Bramreja	bramra		bramréja, bramrej		
Bramsel	bramzeil	Bramsegel	brámsel', brámzel'		
Bramstenga	bramsteng	Bramstenge	bramsténga		
Bramstra					
Bramżagiel	bramzeil	Bramsegel	brámsel', brámzel'		
Brander	brander	+?	bránder		
Bras					

Polish	Dutch	German	Russian	English	Other
Brasować					
Braszpil	braadspil	Bratspill	drášpil, drášpel, brášpil		
Brukselka	Brusselse spruitjes			Brussels sprouts	
Bryfok	breefok		brifok		
Buchta	bocht	Bucht	búchta		
Bukinista		Bouqinist	bukinist		Fr. bouquiniste
Bukszpir					
Bukszpryt	boegspriet	Bugspriet	búgšprit		
Burta	boord	Bord	bort		
Coleślaw	koolsla			cole slaw	
Dalba	dukdalf	Dukdalbe, Dalbe			
Dek	dek	Deck	dek		
Dirka	dirk	Dirke	derik		
Diuna	duin	Düne	djuna		
Dok	dok	Dock	dok		
Dollar	daalder			dollar	
Doping					
Dryf		Drift	drejf		
Dryfować		Driften	drejfit'		
Dujker	duiker	Düker			
Dydek	duit	Deut		doit	
Edamski	edammer	Edamer	édamer, édamskij syr		
Eland	eland	Eland			Afr. eland
Elzewir	elzevier	Elzevir		Elzevir	
Faleń	vanglijn		falen'	vang	
Falrep	valreep		falrep		
Fał	val		fal		
Farwater	vaarwater		farwater		
flader (cord)	vladderen				Sw. fladdra
Flaga	vlag	Flagge	flag		
Flaglinka					
Flagować					
Flagowiec	vlaggenschip				

Polish	Dutch	German	Russian	English	Other
Flagowy					
Flagsztok	vlaggenstok	Flaggenstock	flagštok	flagstaff	
Flibustier	vrijbouter	Freibeuter Filibustier	flibust'jer	freebouter filibustier	Fr. flibustier
floren	florijn	Florin			Fr. florin
Flota	vloot	Flotte	flot		
Fok	fok	Fock	fok		
Fokker	Fokker			Fokker	
Fokmarsel	fokken- marszeil				
Fokmaszt	fokkenmast		fokmačta		Sw. fockmast
Fokreja	fokkenra		fokareja		Lat. fokraja Lith. fokrėja
Fokstenga					
Foktopsel			fok-topseł'		
Fordewind	voor de wind				
Forluk	voorluik		forljuk		
Forpik	voorpiek				
Forsztag	voorstag				
Fortopsel					
Fracht	vracht	Fracht	fracht		
frachtowiec					
Fretka	fret	Frett			
Fryz	[Fries paard]				Lith. fryzai
Fryzyjski	Fries				
Gaf	gaffel	Gaffel	gafel'		
Gafel	gaffel	Gaffel	gafel'		
Gafelfał	gaffelval				
Gafłowy					
Gaftopsel	gaffeltopzeil		gaftopsel'		
Gara					
Garnela	garnaal/ garneel	Garnele	garnel'		
Garować					
Gaz	gas	Gas	gaz		
Gezowie	geus	Geuse			Fr. gueux
gik	giek	Giek	gik		
Gording		Gording	gorden'		

Polish	Dutch	German	Russian	English	Other
Gouda		Gouda			
Graf	graaf	Graf			
Grot	groot (not small)		grot		
Grotmaszt					
Grotreja	grote ra		grotarej		
Grottopsel					
Grotżagiel					
Gulden		Gulden	gul'den		
Halfwind	halfwind		gal'fvind		
Haloizyt					
Hals	hals		gals		
Halslina					
Halsować					
Heling	helling		eling, elin		
Herbata					
hisować / hysować	hijzen	heissen, hissen			Sw. hissa
Holender	Hollander	Hollander	gollander		
holenderka			gollandka		
holenderski	Hollands	Hollands			
hundekoja	hondenkooi	Hundekoje			
Jacht	jacht	Jacht	jachta	yacht	
Jansenizm	jansenisme	Jansenismus			
jol, jola	jol	Jolle	jal', el'	yawl	
Jufer	juffer		jufers	juffer	Da. juffer
Jufers	juffer		jufers		
Juta	jute	Jute		jute	
Kabel	kabel	Kabel	kabel'	cabale	
kabeltaw	kabeltouw		kabel'tov		
Kajuta	kajuit	Kajüte	kajuta		
Kakadu	kaketoë	Kakadu	kakadú		
Kambuz	kombuis	Kombüse	kambuz, kambus		
Kanarek	kanarievogel				
Kantor	kantoor	Kontor	kontóra		
Kaper	kaper	Kaper	káper		
kaperować					

Polish	Dutch	German	Russian	English	Other
Kaperski					
Kaperstwo	kaperij				
Kausza	kous	Kausch	kous, kouš		No. kause
Kil	kiel	Kiel	kiel'		
Kilwater	kielwater	Kielwasser	kiel'váter		
Kipa	kuip				Sw. kyp
Klamp	klamp	Klampe	klámpa		
Klinkier	klinker	Klinker	klinker		
Kliwer	kluiver	Klüver	kliver		
Kliwerbom	kluiverboom		kliverbom		
Kliwerfał	kluiverval		kliverval		
kluza	k Luis	Klüse			
Koga	koog	Koog			
Koja	kooi	Koje	kojka		
Kok	kok		kok		
Kontrafał	val		val		
Kordzik	kort mes		kortik		
Korfbal	korfbal	Korbball	korfbol	kofball	
Kraal	kraal	Kral		kraal	Afr.
Kran	kraan	Kran (crane)	kran		
Kubryk	koebrug		kubrík		
Kufa	kof	Kuff	kof		
Lak	lak	Lack	lak		
Lakmus	lakmoes	Lackmus	lákmus		
Lejdejski	Leids				
Lichtować	lichten	Lichten			
Lichtuga	lichter	Leichter	lichter		
Lik	lijk		lik		Sw. lik
Liklina					
Lindan	lindaan	Lindan		lindane	
Lizel	lijzeil		lisel'		
Lobelia	lobelia	Lobelie	lobelija		
Lobelina					
Locja	loods(dienst)		locija		
Lollard	lollard(en/s)	Lollarden			
Lorenc	lorentzkracht				
Loteria	loterij	Lotterie	lotereja		

Polish	Dutch	German	Russian	English	Other
Ludolfina	Ludolfiaans getal	Ludolfine			
Lugier	logger	Logger			Da. lugger, No. lugger
luk	luik	Luke	ljuk		
Luwers	leuwers		ljuvers		
Majtek	maatje				
Makler	makelaar	Makler	makler		
Makrela	makreel	Makrele	makrel'		
Manekin	manneke				Fr. mannequin
Marlinka	marlijn		marlin		
mars (crow's nest)	mars	Mars			
Marsel	marszeil		marsel'		
marspikiel					
Marsreja					
marszagieli	marszeil		marsel'		
Maszop					
maszoperia	maatschappij	Maskopei			
Maszt	mast	Mast	mačta		
Mat	maat	Maat			
matiasy, matiesy	maatje, maatjesharing	Matjeshering			
Matros	matroos	Matrose	matróš		
Merk	merk				
Mops	mops	Mops	mops		
Minóg	negenooġ		minoga		
Mozazaur		Mosasaurus			
nagiel	nagel	Nagel	nagel'		
Naktuz	nachthuis		naktóuz		Sw. nakter- hus
Neta	net				
Nok	nok	Nock	nok		
Olędrzy	Hollanders				
Orangutan	orang-oetang	Orang-Utang	orangutang		
Orkan	orkaan	Orkan	orkán		
Orlog	oorlogsschip	Orlogschiff			
Owersztąg	overstag		overštąg		
Pacht	pacht	Pacht			

Polish	Dutch	German	Russian	English	Other
Pak	pek		pek		
Parduna	pardoen	Pardun, Pardune	pardún		
Pasat	passaat	Passat	passát		
Pawian	baviaan	Pavian	pavián (through Ge.)		
Peklować	pekelen	pökeln			
Peleng	peiling		peleng		
Pik	piek	Pike			Da. pik, Est. piik
Pikfat	piekenval				
Pikling	bokking	Bückling			
Pinka	pink	Pink	pinka		
Plakat	plakkaat	Plakat			
Plichta					
Polder	polder	polder			
Pompela	pompelmoes	Pampelmuse	pómpelmús	pompel- moose	
Potas				potassium	
Potaż	potas	Pottasche	potaš		
Prymka	pruim	Priem			
Rabata	rabat	Rabatte	rabatka		
Raks	rak				
Raksa	rak				
Rakslot	rakkloot		raksklot		
Rand	rand	Rand			Afr. rand
Ref	reef	Reff, Reef	rif, ref		
Refbant	reefband		rifbant		
Refhals					
Reflina	reeflijn				
refsejzingi	reefseizing				
reja	ra, ree		rej		
Rejs	reis	Reise	rejs		
Reling	reling	Reling			
rembrand- towski	rembrandt...				
rotang, rattan	rotan, rotting				
Rufa	roef		rubka		

Polish	Dutch	German	Russian	English	Other
Rumple	roerpen		ru'pen', rumpel'		
Sejzing	seizing				
spinozizm	spinozisme	Spinozismus			
stapelia	stapelia	Stapelia			
Stelaż	stellage	Stellage	stelaži		
Stenga	steng	Steng	stenga		
ster (and words containing it, such as sterówka)	stuur	Steuer	štur		
sterburta	stuurboord	Steuerbord	šturbort		
stewanta					
Strop	strop		strop		Sw., Da.
Szelak	schellak	Schellack	shellak		
skipper	schipper	Skipper		skipper	
szkuner	schoener	Schoner	škuna		
Szkuta					
szkutnictwo					
szkutnik					
szlupbelka	sloepbalk		šljupbalka		
szpadel					
Szpigat					
Szpil					
Sztag	stag	Stag	štag		
sztaksel	stagzeil		štaksel		
Sztorm	storm	Sturm	štorm		
sztormfok	stormfok				
sztormtrap	stormtrap				
szturman	stuurman	Steuermann	šturman		
szwabra	zwabber	Schwabber	švabra		
Szyper	schipper	Skipper			
Śluza	sluis	Schleuse	šljuz, sljuz		
takielunek					
Takle					
taklować	takelen				
Talrep	talreep		talrep		
Teksle	texelaar				
terpentyna	terpentijn	Terpentin	terpentin		

Polish	Dutch	German	Russian	English	Other
Top	top	Topp	top		
topenanta/ topenant	toppenant	Toppenant	topenant		
Topsel	topzeil		topsel'		
topsztag					
Tralka	tralie	Tralje			
trap (trapik)	trap		trap		
Wachta	wacht	Wacht	vachta		
Wanta	want	Want	vanta		
Wał	wal	Wall ahd.			
waterbaksztag	waterbakstag		vaterbakštag		
waterlinia	waterlijn	Wasserlinie	vaterlinija		
watersaling					
watersztag	waterstag		vaterštag		
Werp	werp		werp		
wimpel	wimpel	Wimpel	vympel'		
wyblinka	weeflijn	Webeleinen			
zydwestka	zuidwester	Südwester	zjudvestka		
Żak	zak	Sack			

The data in the table for the most part come from Van der Sijs (2010); if a given word was not included in the monograph, this is indicated by the grey font colour. The data are supplemented with particulars included in other sources, already cited above.

This tabular review will be the basis of further considerations. I will first present words that have/had a Dutch form; the second part will discuss words for which Dutch was an intermediary language with respect to Polish. The third part consists of words of foreign origin that have gained their meaning thanks to Dutch. The last, fourth, part includes borrowings from Afrikaans, that is words that, while having an original Dutch form, obtained a new meaning in Afrikaans that was then borrowed into Polish.

Let us, therefore, move on to a discussion of the borrowings.

3.3.1. Direct Borrowings

3.3.1.1. Evidently Dutch

Many words in the table have the same form in Polish as in Dutch. However, in many cases it clearly cannot be simply concluded that the words were

borrowed directly from Dutch. Firstly, other languages, relevant to this research, in many cases also borrowed exactly the same form of a given word. Secondly, frequently the form that exists is the very same as in Low German. The claim that the word was borrowed directly from Dutch can be regarded as reasonable if one of the following conditions is met:

- the Dutch and the Polish forms are identical;
- there is no Low German equivalent with the same meaning;
- there is no identical-sounding equivalent in German or in Russian;
- it can be assumed with fair probability that the word was brought to Polish by Polish immigrants; and further
- the Polish form is a transformation of the Dutch original that does not occur in other languages.

Below is a list of words that meet these criteria. The first column contains the Polish words, the second one their Dutch equivalents, and the third one an explanation of both the meaning and the reason why direct borrowing seems to be the most likely.

Polish word	Dutch word	Comment
arden	Ardens paard	a horse breed probably brought by immigrants from Flanders, not used in other languages
bejdewind	bij de wind	a Polonized Dutch phrase, unknown in other languages
dryf	drijv(en)	this appears to be a written loanword; none of the languages taken into account has such a far-reaching phonetic change, and the similarity is based on the visual form of the source and the target
fokker	Fokker	a plane name, from the name of the designer
fordewind	voor de wind	a Polonized Dutch phrase, known only in Polish
fryz	Fries paard	a horse breed brought to Poland probably by Dutch immigrants; other languages know the name of this breed but not in a similar form
halfwind	halfwind	no comparable form in other languages
holender	Hollander	many meanings in other semantic fields than the pure meaning of the original word (in Polish, a type of brick, a skating figure, and many others), unknown in other languages; an unquestionably Dutch form
holenderka	Hollandse	the same case as <i>holender</i> (e.g. cattle breed)
klamp	klamp	Polish is the only language that uses this word in the same form as Dutch
lorenc	lorentzkracht	a physical term derived from the surname of its discoverer; in Polish, reduced to the form of the surname alone.

Polish word	Dutch word	Comment
majtek	maatje	a seaman's helper; no other language has a similar form; the change from [tj] to [jt] will be discussed below
merk	merk	in other languages, the target word acquired different forms
maszoperia	maatschappij	there is a German form, <i>Maskopei</i> , but two factors are in favour of direct borrowing from Dutch: firstly, historically, the area where the word is used was at some point settled by the Dutch; secondly, in phonetic terms, the similarities between the Polish and the Dutch forms is greater than between the Polish and the German forms
Olędrzy	Hollanders	the Polonized form of the name of an ethnic group, used mostly to name settlements of immigrants; direct borrowing appears indisputable here
polder	polder	the Dutch word <i>polder</i> refers to a phenomenon typical of the Netherlands, and it can be assumed that this word was borrowed from Dutch immigrants who settled in depression areas; for this reason the word is included in this group; as far as its form is concerned, it may equally well have been an indirect borrowing (through German)
sztormfok	stormfok	each of the components of the compound exists in other languages, but the compound is not mentioned anywhere outside Dutch and Polish
sztormtrap	stormtrap	each of the components of the compound exists in other languages, but the compound is not mentioned anywhere outside Dutch and Polish
teksel	texelaar	a breed of sheep, brought to Poland by immigrants; used in a shortened form in Polish

3.3.1.2. Dutch/ Low German

This group contains most words in the corpus. It includes words that, in view of their form, can be either Dutch or, equally, Low German; the origin cannot be guessed from the base form. Meanings do not clearly indicate which language the words come from either. The dictionaries do not provide reliable answers in this regard.⁸⁹ The *WNT* states, for a given word, that Low

⁸⁹ While attempts have been made to distinguish between Dutch and Low German, in many cases it is impossible to tell them apart because of their great similarity. If the Germanic language area is treated as a continuum, there are areas where Dutch and Low German were in fact one and the same language. The greater the distance between the Low Rhine area and Low Franconia on the one hand and the territories inside present-day Germany on the other hand, the greater the differences between the languages spoken there. However, scholars admit that frequently it is impossible to draw confident conclusions.

German has an identical form, but it does not resolve which of the words (Dutch or Low German) was signalled first. Therefore, these words form a single group.

Still, some of these words may also be assigned to yet another language. Thus, the presence of these words in the table below is not any direct indication that Polish actually borrowed them directly from Dutch or Low German.

This group will also be presented in the following table. The first column contains Polish words, the one in the middle, their Dutch equivalents, and the right one, the Low German words.

The following is the group of Dutch/ Low German words:

Polish	Dutch	Low German
achterdek	achterdek	achterdek
achterpik	achterpiek	achterpiek
achtersztag	achterstag	achterstag
bak	bak	bak
bakan	baken	baken
bakburta	bakboord	bakboord
baksztag	bakstag	bakstag
balast	ballast	ballast
blindgafel	-blind/gaffel	blindgaffel
blok	blok	block
bojrep	boeireep	boeireep
bom	boom	baum
bombramreja	boom+bram+ra	boom +bram+reê
bomkliwer	boom+kluiver	baum+klüver
bosak	bootshaak	bootshaken
bramreja	bram+ra	bram+reê
bramstenga	bramsteng	bramsteng
bras	bras	brasse
dek	dek	decke
farwater	vaarwater	vārwater
flader	fladder	vlander
flaga	vlag	vlag(ge)
flaglinka	vlag+lijn	vlag+linie
flagsztok	vlagstok	vlagstok
flota	vlote/vloot	vlote
fokreja	Fok+ra	fokreê

Polish	Dutch	Low German
forluk	voorluik	forlûk
forpik	voorpiek	forpiek
forsztag	voorstag	forstag
gaf/gafel	gaffel	gaffel(e)
gafelfał	gaffelval	gaffelval
grot	groot	grôt
grotmaszt	grootmast	grôtmast
grotreja	grootra	grôtree
handreling	handreling	handreling
kilwater	kielwater	kielwäter
kiprować	kieperen	keperen
kliwer	kluiver	klüwer
kliwerbom	kluiverboom	klüwerbaum
kliwerfał	kluiverval	klüwerfalle
kok	kok	kok
kruża	kroes	croese
kubryk	koebryg	kōbrugge
lizel	lijzeil	lêseil
mars	mars	mars
marsel	marszeil	marsseil
marsreja	marsra	marsree
minóg	negenooog	negen-ōg(e)
neta	Net	net
owersztag	overstag	overstag
pik	piek	piek
pikfał	piekval	piekfalle
raks	Rak	rack
sejzing	seizing	seising
szlupbelka	sloepbalk	slopebalk
sztaksel	stagzeil	stagseil
sztorm	storm	storm
sztormfok	stormfok	stormfok
szyper	schipper	skipper
śluza	sluis	sluse
talrep	talreep	talrep

Polish	Dutch	Low German
topsel	topzeil	topsel
wanta	want	wand
waterbaksztag	waterbakstag	waterbackstag
waterlinia	waterlijn	waterlinie
watersaling	water + eng sailing	water + eng
watersztag	waterstag	waterstag
werp	werp	werp

3.3.1.3. Direct Borrowings – Conclusions

As can be seen from the data above, there are words that Polish probably borrowed directly from Dutch. There are many words that have the same forms and meanings in Dutch as they do in Polish, but this does not always warrant the conclusion that they are direct borrowings from Dutch. There are additionally numerous words that may have been borrowed either from Dutch or from Low German. In view of the form of a given word in the two languages (Dutch/ Low German), which is almost the same as in Polish, an opinion cannot be given here. Even more than that: other possible intermediary languages once had exactly the same form of the word. In many cases, it cannot be determined unequivocally which exact language had contact with Polish and loaned the word to Polish.

In any case, the first working hypothesis can be considered confirmed. There are indeed not many words indisputably borrowed directly from Dutch. We can talk about such words only if it is impossible to find an intermediary language that has the same word with the same meaning and with a comparable form and only when direct contacts between Polish and Dutch were more pronounced, i.e. it can be shown that there was a chance for such a borrowing.

3.3.2. Indirect Borrowings (NI → A → PI)

3.3.2.0. Introduction

Here, I will discuss borrowings that can be presumed to have passed through another language on their way to Polish. Sometimes, they still have the same form as the original word in Dutch, which was borrowed into Polish. However, because of other arguments, we can presume that such words, with their special meanings, hardly had a chance to be borrowed directly from Dutch, through direct contacts between the languages.

The presentation starts with German words (3.2.1.), followed by Russian words (3.2.2.). As there are relatively many words that may have been borrowed either from Russian or from German, they will be discussed separately (3.2.3.). Subsequently, I will present borrowings from French (3.2.4.) and English (3.2.5.), followed by possible borrowings from other languages (3.2.6.). Finally, I will turn my attention to geonyms, of which there are five in the research corpus. Readers will find these deliberations in 3.2.7. I will sum up this part of the chapter and draw conclusions in 3.2.8.

3.3.2.1. German

Features warranting the conclusion that an original Dutch word came to Polish through German are as follows:

- 1) the word is very similar to the original Dutch word; but
- 2) it has undergone a number of changes (especially as far as phonetics and spelling are concerned) and is more similar to a German word in terms of its form; and/or
- 3) the semantic fields are more suggestive of a contact through German.

Below, I present these words, also in a table. The left column contains Polish words, the one in the middle, their Dutch equivalents, and the right one, German words that probably were borrowed. However, it has to be stressed again that it cannot be ruled out that in some cases we are dealing with direct borrowings.

Polish	Dutch	German
Achterdek	achterdek	Achterdeck
Arminianie	arminianen (and also arminiaan)	Arminianen
Baggier	bagger	Bagger
Bakelit	bakeliet	Bakelit
Ballast	ballast	Ballast
Blok	blok	Block
Boja	boei	Boje
Bombramżagiel	boombramzeil	Bombramsegel
Bosak	bootshaak	Bootshaken
bosko(o)p	(de schone van) boskop	Boskop
Bramżagiel	bramzeil	Bramsegel
Garnela	garnaal/garneel	Garnele
Grotżagiel	grootzeil	Grosssegel
Gulden	gulden	Gulden

Polish	Dutch	German
Hundekoja	hondenkooi	Hundekoje
Jansenizm	jansenisme	Jansenismus
Kausza	kous	Kausch
Klinkier	klinker	Klinker
Kluza	kluis	Kluse
Koja	kooi	Koje
Kran	kraan	Kran
Kufa	kof	Kufe
Liklina	lijklijn	Liekline
Lindan	lindaan	Lindan
Lolard	lollard	Lollard
Loteria	lotterij	Lotterie
Ludolfina	ludolfiaans getal	Ludolfine
Mars	mars	Mars
Marsżagiel	marszeil	Marssegel
Mat	maat	Maat
matiasy/matiesy	maatjesharing	Maatjeshering
Menonita	mennoniet	Mennonit
Orlog	oorlogschip	Orlogschiff
Pacht	pacht	Pacht
Pik	piek	Piek
Pikling	pekeling	Bückling
Prymka	pruim	Priemchen
Spinozizm	spinozisme	Spinozismus
Szpigat	spuigat	Speigatt
Sztagżagiel	stagzeil	Stagsegel
Zydwestka	zuidwester	Südwester

The above words have clear Dutch (or Low German) origins or are compounds with Dutch and German components, such as most of the compounds with the constituent *żagiel* ('sail').

The latter words also seem to be the most interesting. They are all compounds consisting of a Dutch word and German *Segel*, the counterpart of Dutch *zeil*. The first component, however, is indisputably Dutch. As German *Segel* was Polonized as *żagiel*, it appears certain that these compounds entered the Polish sailing language through German. Most of the compounds

with the constituent *żagiel* have synonyms borrowed into Polish directly from Dutch/ Low German; cf. such pairs as *marsel* – *marsżagiel* (both being Polish counterparts of Dutch *marszeil*). These terms, like all such pairs, are substitutes for each other.

The simple hyperonym *żagiel*, however, does not have a simple counterpart that would be a borrowing from Dutch. Polish does not have the word **sel*, whereas *żagiel* is an ordinary lexical item in the language.

As far as non-compound forms are concerned, the arguments for including these particular words in this group are as follows:

achterdek/Achterdeck/achterdek – apart from the spelling difference, the spoken form of the word is the same in Dutch and in German. Because it is difficult to determine with sailing terms from whom specifically a given loanword came, the conclusion that it is a direct borrowing rather than transit via German is unwarranted. The element *achter*, which does not occur in German as a separate lexical item, suggests the Dutch origin of this word.

arminianie/Arminianen/arminianen – this term refers to a religious group as do the words *mennonici/Mennoniten/mennonieten* and *loldzi/Lollarden/lollarden*. The words *jansenizm/Jansenismus/jansenisme* and *spinozizm/Spinozismus/spinozisme* refer to philosophical concepts. We know with absolute certainty, also thanks to knowledge about Dutch settlements in northern Poland, that the Dutch settlers included Mennonites, and hence the name of this religious group was probably borrowed directly from Dutch, whereas knowledge about Jansenism, Spinozism, Lollards, and Arminians got to Poland via the Germans. Therefore, these words are regarded as borrowings from German. The dictionaries of Polish consulted also confirm this position.

bagier/Bagger/bagger – the Dutch word *bagger* was the source of German *Bagger*. The passage through German is evidenced by the fact that the Dutch pronunciation with [x] did not affect the phonetic articulation of the letter <g>, usual both in German and in Polish (i.e. [g]); the spelling was decisive here. Polish additionally palatalized that phoneme to [gʲ]. In German as well, the word acquired a meaning that the Polish word *bagier* also has.

bakelit/Bakelit/bakeliet – this eponym actually comes from the surname of a Flemish scientist, Baekeland (1863–1944), but the possibility is practically non-existent that Poles had sufficiently intense contacts relating to chemical processing/technology with Dutch speakers to borrow the term for this artificial resin directly from Dutch. At the same time, Polish was in constant contact with German in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries. As in the case of other (more or less) technical notions (and, after all, *bakelit* can be regarded as an originally technical notion that only subsequently gained wider popularity as a result of a variety of objects made of Bakelite), *bakelit* also

entered Polish through another language. The spelling, with <it> (<iet> in Dutch), points to German.

balast/Ballast/ballast – both direct borrowing and borrowing through German are possible.

blok/Block/blok – the word may have been borrowed directly or via German.

boja/Boje/boei – a word originating from Old French *boie*, it was assimilated to *boei* in Dutch and assumed the meaning ‘a floating sign’. From Dutch it was then borrowed into German, where it acquired the form *Boje*, and from there it was borrowed into Polish.

bosak/Bootshaken/bootshaak – the form and the meaning spectrum could suggest that this is a direct loanword from Dutch. However, because *haak* is an old Germanic form, which occurs in older German versions, it cannot be ruled out that the word is a German loanword after all.

boskop/Boskop/[de Schone van] Boskop – indirect borrowing seems more probable, also because this kind of apple has been present on the Polish market only relatively recently.

The word *garnaal* has a counterpart in one Dutch dialect: *garneel*. In all likelihood, that form was borrowed into German and from there into Polish.⁹⁰

gulden/Gulden/gulden – the name of what was once the currency of the Netherlands was definitely not borrowed directly from Dutch. The most likely gateway seems to be German because the Polish pronunciation resembles the German one.

kausza/Kausch/kous – the original Dutch form, *kous*, was Germanized to *Kausch*, with spelling and pronunciation changes. In this form, Polish borrowed it from German and subsequently again adapted it to the Polish spelling norms. The gender of this noun in Polish, as in German, is feminine. To preserve it, the Polish form took the additional ending *-a*.

klinkier/Klinker/klinker – in the case of this word, the process was similar to that in the case of *bagier*, with the palatalization of [k] to [kj]. The meaning ‘clinking brick’ comes from the Dutch verb *klinken* ‘clink’.

kluzza/Kluse/kluis – the original Dutch word *kluis* received the German form *Klüse*. From there, the way to the Polish form, where the German [y:] was replaced with the Polish [u], was straightforward.

koja/Koje/kooi – the Dutch word *kooi* was changed to *Koje* in German, and in that form, as a two-syllable word, it was borrowed into Polish. The

⁹⁰ The brothers Grimm’s *Deutsches Wörterbuch* cross-references *Garnele* to the headword *Garnat*, where *Garnele* is shown as an equivalent form. Cf. <http://woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB/?sigle=DWB&mode=Vernetzung&lemid=GG01181>

German ending *-e* was changed to its Polish grammatical counterpart, the feminine ending *-a*.

kran ('crane') /*kraan/Kran* – in this sense (mostly used in cinematography for a crane on which a camera is placed), this Dutch word entered Polish via German: the same meaning can also be found there. In the sense of 'a tap, closing a pipe, for instance', the word came to Polish via Russian; cf. there.

kufa/Kufe/kof – this term for a boat comes from the Dutch word *kof*. The word was borrowed into German as *Kuf*, from which the Polish form derives.

liklina/Lieklina/lijklijn – the form that is the point of departure for further analyses is the Dutch word *lijk* (meaning 'a bolt rope'), Germanized as *Liek*, with a parallel Russian form, *лук*. The word is also included below, among dubious cases (cf. 3.2.3). *Liklina* is a compound where the second constituent, *lina*, is related to the German form, *Leine*; hence the decision to include the word in the group of likely German influences.

linden/Lindan/lindaan – the name of a chemical substance; an indirect route is more probable than direct borrowing from Dutch into Polish.

loteria/Lotterie/lotterij – there is much to suggest that this word can be classified as originally Dutch; it would be a hybrid derived from the word *lot*. German mediation on the route to Polish is very likely, for instance in view of the change of form, from the Dutch *loterij* through the German *Lotterie*. The double <tt> in the German form is replaced by a single <t> in Polish.

mars/Mars/mars – the term for a certain kind of mast, may be, in view of its form, either a direct loanword or a borrowing through German. The same applies to the word *mat*, the Polish counterpart of Dutch *maat* and German *Maat*.

In the case of a special type of herring, *matjesy*, also known as *matjasy*, the more likely option is that Poles got to know this type of herring and learnt the word for it thanks to Germans. It is very difficult to substantiate this claim because there is no evidence for it either in Polish or in German dictionaries. This Polish word cannot (for now) be dated, either, because of unavailability of source texts. This claim can be primarily supported by the fact that *matjes* herring are prepared in a special way and do not have a long life in this form. Therefore, it is logical to claim that *matjes* herring in Germany had more opportunities to present themselves to Polish consumers. This claim is also supported by the observation that because the herring entered the Polish market, they were not imported on a one-off basis as a delicacy but as an item in a regular trade supply, which would not have been possible in the case of *matjes* herring imported to Poland from the Netherlands.

Because of its meaning, the word *pacht* 'usufructuary lease' seems to be more appropriate for borrowing between neighbouring cultures (and languages). Precisely for semantic reasons, direct transfer appears less likely than German having served as an intermediary language.

pikling/Bückling/pekeling – this smoked fish is called *bokking* in Dutch. Germanized, the word is *Bückling*, and in Polish it has become *pikling*. Because of the change of the vowel and the suffix –ling, different than in the original language, German intermediacy seems very likely.

prymka/Priemchen/pruim – the Dutch word *pruim* ‘a portion of chewing tobacco’ became *Priem* in German, whence it came into Polish and continued to be modified: the Polish word took the diminutive -ka suffix.

rolmops/Rollmops/rolmops – this form of the preparation of herring originates from the Low Countries, where its name also arose in Dutch. Borrowing *rolmops* directly from Dutch, i.e. the direct introduction of that kind of herring into Polish cuisine by the Dutch, appears less likely than its introduction to Poland by its western neighbours. The German form of this word is spelled with a double <ll>, *Rollmops*. Van der Sijs assumes that the Polish form *rolmops* was borrowed directly from Dutch;⁹¹ however, in my opinion, this view is risky. It is equally likely that the Polish spelling is a simplification of the German one through the deletion of one <l> (the German and the Polish words are the same in pronunciation), as a result of which the spelling form reverted to its Dutch shape. It happens quite frequently, that Polish gives up consonant letter doubling even in direct Dutch loanwords, such as *flader* or *jufer*. The Polish spelling system does not have room for double consonant letters unless the letters represent separate phonemes.

zydwestka/Südwester/zuidwester – the fact that German was an intermediary language in this case is revealed by what happened to the sound originating as the Dutch diphthong spelt <ui>, which was replaced in German in the first syllable of the compound *zuidwester* with a rounded vowel, <ü> [y]; this vowel is easily Polonized in speech and in writing to <y> [i]. The German form *Südwester* underwent one more change in Polish: the Germanic -er form of the -arius suffix was replaced by the diminutive suffix -ka.⁹²

3.3.2.2. Russian

Polish borrowed the following words through Russian:

Polish	Dutch	Russian
Admirał	admiraal	admiral'
Apsel	aapzeil	apsel'
Bak	bak	bak

⁹¹ Cf. Van der Sijs (2006:77): ‘In het Pools schrijft men rolmops met enkele l ...; wellicht is dit woord direct geleend uit het Nederlands.’

⁹² Also cf. the word *prymka* discussed above.

Polish	Dutch	Russian
Bakan	baken	bakan
Bencel	bindsel	benzel', venzel'
Bojrep	boeireep	bujrep
Bramsel	bramzeil	bramsel', bramzel'
Brander	brander	brander
Braszpil	braadspil	brašpil
Bryfok	breefok	brifok
Faleń	vanglijn	falen'
Falrep	valreep	falrep
Flagsztok	vlaggenstok	flagštok
Fał	val	fal
Farwater	vaarwater	farwater
Gaftopsel	gaffeltopzeil	gaftopsel'
Jufers	juffer	jufers
Kabeltaw	kabeltouw	kabel'tov
Kambuz	kombuis	kambus, kambuz
Kaper	kaper	kaper
Kilwater	kielwater	kilvater
Kordzik	– (a hybrid based on <i>kort</i>)	kortik
kran	kraan	kran
Lichtuga	lichter	lichter
Lizel	lijzeil	lisel'
Locja	loods	locija
Luwers	leuwens	ljuvers
marlinka	marlijn	marlin
Marsel	marszeil	marsel'
Matros	matroos	matros
Nagiel	nagel	nagel'
Naktuz	nachthuis	naktouz
Peleng	peiling	peleng
Pinka	pink	pinka
rak(s)klot	rakkloot	raksklot
Rejs	reis	rejs
Rumple	roerpen	rulpen', rumpel'
Stenga	steng	stenga

Polish	Dutch	Russian
Sztaksel	stagzeil	štaksel
Sztorm	storm	štorm
Szturman	stuurman	šturman
Szwabra	zwabber	švabra
Trap	trap	trap
Wachta	wacht	vachta
Wanta	want	vanta
Waterlinia	waterlijn	vaterlinija
Watersztag	waterstag	vateršttag
Werp	werp	werp
Wimpele	wimpel	vympel'

Of the whole group, the word *kordzik* is the most interesting. Various dictionaries of Polish explain the origins of this word differently. The primary source of the corpus, *Portal PWN* on a CD-ROM, states that *kordzik* is a Russian hybrid based on the Dutch word *kort* 'short', which was then changed in Russian into *kopmuk* 'short dagger, dirk', and with this meaning it was borrowed into Polish, where it subsequently underwent phonetic and spelling changes. However, the multi-volume dictionary *Praktyczny słownik współczesnej polszczyzny*, edited by Zgółkowa, derives the word from Persian *kord* (sword); *kordzik* was a diminutive of that word; according to Zgółkowa, there is no connection between that word and Russian. Other Polish dictionaries do not pay much attention to the word *kordzik*, only explaining its meaning. I tend to take a middle position on this issue. The Russian form contains a palatalized [tʲ], which corresponds to the phoneme [t̪ ɕ] existing in Polish. Thus, it seems rather unlikely that Poles borrowed the word directly from Russian, in which case they would have also used that phoneme. In place of the voiceless [t̪ ɕ], Polish uses the voiced [d̪ z]. The Polish word *kordzik* seems to be a diminutive, formed by means of the suffix -ik causing the palatalization of the final /d/ of the noun; the same happens in such a pair of words as *samochód-samochodzík*. Therefore, with regard to the form *kordzik*, it seems more likely to be a diminutive of the Persian loanword *kord*. In terms of meaning, however, *kordzik* is closer to the Russian word; *kordzik* is a short dagger, not a small sword. Therefore, in my opinion, it can be assumed that the Russian word *kortik* was borrowed into Polish, where it adopted its final form on account of its similarity to the existing word *kord*.⁹³

⁹³ Also cf. Bańkowski (2000(II): 796 f).

The history of the word admiral is also interesting. Polish dictionaries usually say that it is a French word that got into Polish via German, Dutch, or English. However, the Russian route seems more likely. Van der Meulen classifies *admiral* as a Dutch loanword in Russian, borrowed at the time of Tsar Peter the Great.⁹⁴ It is not impossible because a senior officer rank in the navy is involved. Russian borrowed the Dutch pronunciation in whole, including the dark [ɫ] at the end. In my opinion, *admiral* got into Polish from Dutch through Russian; this is evidenced in the first instance by the pronunciation of that word (leaving aside the shift of stress to the penultimate syllable in Polish; in Russian, as in Dutch, the stress falls on the last syllable). A direct loan from Dutch seems unlikely because Poles had no contact with the Dutch navy, whereas Russians did have such contact.⁹⁵

The word *apsel* matches the loanwords discussed in 3.2.1. in terms of form, i.e. borrowings with the constituent *zeil*. However, *apsel* was probably not borrowed through German because German does not have a counterpart. At the same time, there is a Russian form of this word, which may have been borrowed into Polish just as well as the Dutch original. The same applies to the word *bramsel*, also included in the above group.

In the case of the word *baja*, thick woollen cloth is involved. The Dutch form *baai* became *байка* in Russian. Both forms can be taken into account in the case of the Polish loanword.

Polish, just like Dutch, knows the word *bak* in two meanings. It may be either (1) a tank (in particular, especially in Polish, a fuel tank in cars and other vehicles) or (2) a ship deck. Polish dictionaries specify that the word in the first meaning came to Polish from Russian. This theory seems fully acceptable. The second meaning, a nautical term, appears to be a direct borrowing from Dutch. Let us again refer to contacts between sailors; most borrowings from their language should be primarily related to direct contacts between Polish and Dutch sailors. The word *bak* was certainly used frequently aboard a ship; hence, it was easily borrowed by another language.

The word *bakan* is used in Polish also in the alternative form, *baken*. According to Polish sources, it is a loanword borrowed from Dutch through Russian. However, it may just as well be a direct borrowing.

The Polish form *bencel* is more similar to the Russian word *бензель* than the Dutch original, *bindsel*; hence the decision to regard it as a loanword borrowed through Russian.

⁹⁴ Cf. R. van der Meulen, *De Hollandse Zee- en Scheepstermen in het Russisch*, Amsterdam 1909, pp. 18–19.

⁹⁵ Cf. Serczyk (2003).

The word *bojrep* is the Polish counterpart of a Dutch compound consisting of the words *boei* and *reep*. German knows both these words, but a comparable compound does not occur in German. Hence, it appears acceptable to assume that in this case it is a borrowing mediated by Russian after all, despite the form of this word, slightly deviating from the form deeply rooted in Russian.

Polish *brander* has exactly the same form and meaning as its counterparts in Dutch and in Russian. Hence, both borrowing routes, directly and through Russian as the intermediary language, are equally acceptable possibilities. The same applies to *kaper*, *trap* and *werp*.

The Dutch word *braadspil* lost a phoneme in Russian as a result of assimilation processes, becoming *брауниль*. That form was then borrowed into Polish.

A different assimilation process took place in the case of the word *breefok*, where [e.] became a tense [i] in Russian; the Polish form *bryfok* is closer to the Russian loanword, so it can be assumed that this word was borrowed through Russian as well.

The Dutch word *vanglijn* was also largely adapted to the Russian system in that language. The Russian form *фалень* was then borrowed into Polish.

Polish *falrep* suggests Russian as the transit language in view of the form of the second syllable, the second part of the original Dutch compound *valreep*.

The word *flagsztok* also resembles Russian *флагишток*. The forms existing in other languages show a smaller similarity to the Polish word.

It cannot be unequivocally stated how the word *fal* entered Polish. Taking into account the form, it could be either a direct borrowing from Dutch or a borrowing through Russian because both forms, or really all three (Dutch, Russian, and Polish), are exactly the same (aside from the phonetic characteristics of the consonants in the original language and the target languages, but they are mutual counterparts). The same is true of the word *wimpel*.

Most dictionaries of Polish which try to provide the language of origin of each headword mention English for *farwater* and *kilwater*. This theory seems false, however, if the Dutch pronunciation is taken into account. Here, too, either a direct Dutch borrowing or a borrowing through Russian can be involved. English intermediation can, however, be excluded with certainty.

In the case of the word *gaftopsel*, the target form of the original Dutch form *gaffeltopzeil*, Russian is the evident transit language because it was there that the word changed into *зафтопсель*.

A change of form already in Russian is also involved in the case of the word *jufers*, from Dutch *juffer*. Russian intermediation appears more than likely; cf. chapter 2 'Changes of Form'. The same applies to *kabeltaw*, *kambuz*, *lizel*,

locja, luwers, marsel, naktuz, peleng, pinka, rak(s)klot, stenga, sztaksel, sz-torm, szturman szwabra, wachta, wanta, waterlinia, and watersztag.

The word *kran* has two meanings, both in Dutch and in Polish. The meaning ‘crane’ was already discussed in the section on borrowings intermediated by German. A much more frequent meaning, defined in the *WNT* as ‘naam van een gebogen buis, gewoonlijk van metaal, die door ‘t verschillend rond-draaien van een plug of sleutel meer of minder vernauwd of geheel afgesloten kan worden, i welke dient om eene vloeistof of een gas uit een vat te laten stroomen’⁹⁶ (name of a curved tube, usually of metal, which can be more or less constricted or completely locked by means of the rotation of a plug or wrench), passed through Russian as an intermediary language according to dictionaries of Polish. It also appears quite acceptable because this word, with this meaning, is also used in Russian, and it is not used in that language with the other meaning.

Lichtuga, a word coming from Dutch *lichter*, is a different case. In Russian, it has the same form as in Dutch; German replaced the vowel with a diphthong, so German intermediation is not very likely. What is more probable is either direct borrowing from Dutch or intermediation through Russian, with subsequent changes already taking place in Polish. This was already discussed in chapter 2.

Russian borrowed Dutch *matroos* as *matros*⁹⁷; *the stress pattern or the pronunciation did not change (aside from the qualitative change of the Dutch long vowel, which was replaced by its counterpart in Russian), with a slight spelling adaptation. There is also a parallel German form, Matrose, but borrowing from Russian seems much more likely in this case. For one thing, Polish did not need to eliminate the word-final schwa; for another, it is easier for Polish to take over the qualitative changes of Russian [o] than German [o.]. The word entered Polish with a slightly jocular connotation, but it functions in the contemporary language side by side with the stylistically neutral word *marynarz* in the original Dutch sense.*

The word *rejs* as a borrowing is primarily associated with German, mainly as a result of the German form *Reise* and the undoubtedly German word *Reisefieber*, borrowed into Polish from that language. However, Russian appears more likely as a transit language because of the full compatibility of the form, both in spelling and in pronunciation, and also because of a slight shift of the meaning relative to the Dutch original (‘voyage by boat or ship’) present in Russian and in Polish.

⁹⁶ Cf. www.wnt.inl.nl; the word *kraan* in the second sense

⁹⁷ It is not strictly speaking a native Dutch word, but it is derived from French *matelot*. The form *matroos* is a Dutch word, however.

The word *rumpel* in turn represents significant phonetic changes. The original form is Dutch *roerpen*, which first became *рульпень* in Russian and then took on the present form. In Russian, the word has two alternative forms: *румпель* and *рульпень*. Polish borrowed the former.

3.3.2.3. Borderline Cases: Russian and German

The table below presents cases where it cannot be determined based on the forms in the two most likely intermediary languages through which one the loanword got into Polish.

The first column contains the Polish word and the following ones Dutch, German, and Russian words, in this order.

Polish	Dutch	German	Russian
akcja	actie	Aktie	Ákcija
bakburta	bakboord	Backbord	Bakbórt
bramstenga	bramsteng	Bramstenge	bramstenga
buchta	bocht	Bucht	Buchta
bukzpryt	boegspriet	Bugspriet	Búgšprit
burta	boord	Bord	Bort
dek	dek	Deck	Dek
diuna	duin	Düne	Djuna
dok	dok	Dock	Dok
flaga	vlag	Flagge	Flag
fok	fok	Fock	Fok
fracht	vracht	Fracht	Fracht
gaf/gafel	gaffel	Gaffel	gafel'
gaz	gas	Gas	Gaz
gik	giek	Giek	Gik
kabel	kabel	Kabel	kabel'
kajuta	kajuit	Kajüte	Kajuta
kaper	kaper	Kaper	Kaper
kil	kiel	Kiel	kil'
lak	lak	Lack	Lak
lakmus	lakmoes	Lackmus	Lakmus
lik	lijk	Liek	Lik
makler	makelaar	Makler	Makler
makrela	makreel	Makrele	makrel'

Polish	Dutch	German	Russian
nok	nok	Nock	Nok
parduna	pardoen	Pardun, Pardune	Pardún
potaż	potas	Pottasche	Potaš
rabata	rabat	Rabatte	Rabatka
ref	reef	Reff, Reef	rif, ref
szelak	schellak	Schellack	Šelak
szkuner	schoener	Schoner	Škuna
sztag	stag	Stag	Štag
śluza	sluis	Schleuse	Šljuz
topenanta	toppenant	Toppenant	topenant

As already mentioned, our current knowledge about the state of the matters does not enable drawing more precise conclusions concerning those words. They have the same meanings and comparable morphological and phonetic forms in all the three languages (and sometimes also in Low German, which is not shown in the table). Where the Polish form differs from the forms in the other languages in the table, a similar difference is not seen in any other language (for instance, –a at the end of *topenanta* occurs only in Polish and is not encountered in any other language). Thus, it can be concluded that the change had already occurred in Polish.

3.3.2.4. English

Words belonging to this group are, as mentioned before, unequivocally associated with British or American culture. However, they all originate from Dutch and were borrowed into English.

These words are as follows:

Polish	English	Dutch
Boss	boss	Baas
Brandy	brandy	Brandewijn
Colesław	coleslaw	Koolsla
Dollar	dollar	Daalder
Doping	doping	hybrid based on <i>dope</i>
gin/dżin	gin	Jenever
Korfbal	korfbal	Korfbal

Boss is Dutch *baas* with a changed vowel. Also, cf. chapter 2.

The form of this word in Polish suggests a borrowing from English, but in English it is a loanword from Dutch.

Dolar has roots in Low German /Dutch *daalder* and German *Thaler*, the Dutch epenthetic [d] disappearing again in English (or not occurring yet in Dutch at the time of borrowing). Because this term is strictly associated with American realities, it can be assumed that it is an English borrowing.

The word *coleslaw* has not found a place in the CD-ROM dictionaries of Polish. However, the salad is known all over Poland; it can be bought, first of all, in the KFC chain.⁹⁸ The number of hits on the Internet also fully warrants its inclusion in the corpus.⁹⁹ The English version of the spelling, <coleslaw>, is also used. The English spelling variant of the Dutch word *koolsla* has practically the same pronunciation in English as the word has in Dutch. The Polish pronunciation differs from the original one. It was already discussed in connection with the changes of borrowing forms in the Polish language system.

Regarding the word *doping*, let us quote *Etymologisch woordenboek van het Nederlands*:

‘Ontleend aan Amerikaans-English *doping* ..., teg.deelw. van het werkwoord *dope* ‘drogeren, stimulerend of verdovend middel toedienen’. Het bijbehorende zn. *dope* ‘stimulerend of verdovend middel’ is ouder, met algemene betekenissen als ‘smeermiddel’ ..., ‘dikke bereide substantie’ ..., maar ook al specifiek ‘opium’ Dit *dope* is een ontlending aan verouderd Nederlands *doop* ‘(dikke) saus’ ...; de betekenisontwikkeling in het Amerikaans-English verloopt van ‘dikke saus’ via ‘dikke substantie’ naar ‘dikke opiumbereiding’. In de uitsluitend Nederlandse betekenis ‘het stimulerend middel zelf’ is dit woord pseudo-English.’¹⁰⁰

(‘Borrowed from American English *doping* ..., a present participle derived from the verb *dope* ‘to drug, to give a stimulating or an intoxicating substance’. The derived noun, *dope*, ‘stimulant or intoxicant’, is older and has general meanings such as ‘lubricant’ ..., ‘thick brewed substance’ ..., and also more specific ones: ‘opium’ This *dope* is a borrowing from the obsolete Dutch form *doop* ‘(thick) sauce’ through ‘thick substance’ to ‘thick opium brew’. In the exclusively Dutch meaning ‘a stimulant itself’, this word is pseudo-English.’)

It is interesting, however, that Polish has developed an additional meaning dimension for this word. In addition to ‘the use of stimulants to achieve better

⁹⁸ What is involved here is a relatively recent loan into Polish, which has not been included in available dictionaries yet. *Korpus języka polskiego PWN* contains three quotations with this word.

⁹⁹ The reasons why a particular word is or is not included in the corpus are stated in the introduction.

¹⁰⁰ <http://gtb.inl.nl/iWNTLINKS/DATADIR/paginazy.html?EWN+Doping+EWN-doping.htm>

results', Polish uses another sports meaning, 'actively supporting one's favourite sports team/competitor'. This meaning is absent from Dutch or English.

Another Dutch 'latent export' is *gin*, from Dutch *jenever*. This liquor is automatically associated with English-language cultures, and nowhere in Polish sources are there references to the Dutch origin of this word. *EWB* (van Dale) explains that Middle Dutch borrowed the word from Old French, where it was a loanword from Latin *juniperus*, and Latin in turn had borrowed the word from a Celtic language. Still, it was the English form, borrowed from Dutch, that entered Polish.

Korfball is a ball game whose name and origins (Dutch) are the precursor of later *basketbal*. The word underwent a small modification in Polish under the influence of English and the spelling of the names of other ball games. The addition of another <|> at the end of the word should undoubtedly be attributed to English influences.

3.3.2.5. French

The set of French borrowings from Dutch consists of six words:

Polish	Dutch	French
bukinista	hybrid based on <i>boek</i>	Bouquiniste
elzewir	elzevier	Elzévir
flibustier	vrijbuitter	Flibustier
manekin	manneken, mannekijn	Mannequin
plakat	plakkaart	Placard

The word *bukinista* is a French hybrid based on Dutch *boek*. French formed a diminutive from *boek*, *bouquin*,¹⁰¹ and a book lover became a *bouquiniste*. The latter form was subsequently borrowed into Polish, possibly through German (German form: *Bouquinist*) or Russian (Russian form: *букинист*).

The font name *elzewir* comes from the surname of a well-known 16th/17th-century family of printers. German has the form *Elzevir*, which may have been borrowed into Polish. The decision to indicate French as the more likely transit language was made based on the assumption that the printing art (although Dutch and Flemish people were real masters of it) was a part of the general culture, and French society dominated European Culture in the 18th and the 19th centuries.

One word, *flibustier*, is a francized description of a person known in the Low Countries as a 'vrijbuitter'. This word originally meant 'pirate'. The

¹⁰¹ It is not impossible, in fact, that French borrowed the Dutch diminutive *boekkinj*.

specific Polish meaning limits the use of the name as a historical reference to robbers sailing along the Spanish coast in South America. The *WNT* has the original word, *vrijbuitter*, with a general meaning, ‘pirate’. Russian intermediation cannot be excluded here either (Russian form: *флибустьер*).

Polish *manekin* comes from French *mannequin*, which is a francized form of Dutch *manneken*. Polish uses this word mostly in the sense of a ‘tailor’s dummy or shop display dummy’, whereas Dutch uses a francized spelling of the word, i.e. a back-borrowing, meaning a ‘model; person displaying articles of clothing at fashion shows’;¹⁰² this meaning is not shared by the Polish semantic profile of this word. Polish has also developed another meaning, ‘automaton, robot’; the extension of meaning from ‘display dummy’ to ‘person who does not behave autonomously’ is transparent.

The last word, *plakat*, comes from Dutch *plakkaat*. Through French, it spread to other languages; it also returned to Dutch, where it has the modern form *plakkaat* (= ‘poster’). German *Plakat* may have been the proper source of this borrowing as well. The reason why it is included in the group of French borrowings is because the role of French in creating this form cannot be overestimated and because its borrowing from French cannot be ruled out.

3.3.2.6. Other languages

Scandinavian languages played some part in the borrowing of Dutch words into Polish. **Swedish** knows the word *fockmast*, the Swedish form of the Dutch noun *fokkemast*. That form is more similar to the form existing in Polish, *fokmaszt*. Another Swedish word is *kyp* ← Du. *kuip*, which resembles the Polish form *kipa* (counterparts have not been found in other languages).

Danish and **Norwegian** have the form *lugger* ← Du. *logger*. Polish uses the form *lugier*. In this case, Scandinavian languages may have intermediated in the borrowing from Dutch into Polish.

3.3.2.7. Geonyms

There are five geonyms in the corpus. They are as follows:

- brukselka* (← *Brusselse spruit*),
- edamski* (← *Edammer, Edamse kaas*),
- gouda* (← *Goudse kaas*),

¹⁰² In fact, the word also has this meaning in Russian.

lejdejski (← *Leids*, in *butelka lejdejska* ← *Leidse fles*, a Leyden jar, an early type of battery, invented in the mid-18th century by Pieter van Musschenbroek),

mazdamer (← *Maasdammer kaas*).

These words were not analyzed for their possible borrowing routes because they exist in most European languages. Therefore, it cannot be determined which language contributed to the borrowing of those words into Polish. In the case of geonyms, I limit myself to stating that they ultimately come from Dutch.

3.3.2.8. Conclusions

This part of my work was devoted to a comparative analysis of the forms of originally Dutch words in Dutch, Polish, and languages indicated in the preliminaries as potential intermediary languages. The corpus contains cases where we can clearly conclude that a given word was borrowed indirectly because the Polish form is identical with the form of the word in another language but different from the original Dutch form. However, there are cases in which the investigation of the forms and meanings of the words involved does not lead to conclusions regarding the language that was the direct contributor into Polish. This mostly applies to words that have the same forms and meanings in Dutch and Low German. The assumption is that the primary intermediary languages have been German and Russian. This hypothesis has been borne out. I must say with some surprise that Russian has intermediated more often than German in this context. This conclusion is astonishing because German, unlike Russian, neighbours Dutch. I stick by the claim that the smaller the geographical distance between two languages, the more likely direct borrowings are. Contacts between neighbouring languages, in this case German and Dutch, are by definition more intense and vibrant, which should result in more Dutch loanwords in German and more possibilities of intermediation in borrowing by other languages, such as Polish. At the same time, German and Dutch are more closely related as West Germanic languages than Dutch and Russian. Polish, however -- closer to Russian, another Slavic language, than to German -- may accept borrowings from a related language more easily. The situation may also be an indirect consequence of German and Russian language policies during the time when Poland was partitioned; German was imposed on Poles and, consequently, it aroused a greater opposition than Russian. This issue could be the subject of further research.

3.4. Words of Foreign Origin with New Dutch Meanings (V → NI_B → PI)

This part of my work contains an overview of words that originated in languages other than Dutch, but which gained new meanings in Dutch.

3.4.1. Latin/Greek

There are several words going back to Latin or Greek or based on Latin words that gained their existing meanings in the Low Countries. Either the only meaning or one or more of the meanings of such words may be involved. In any case, all these words are subject to the claim that a given semantic dimension could not have developed without Dutch/Flemish influences. This claim is true both for pure Latin or Greek words and for neo-Latin formations (which are new forms based on the Latin linguistic system).

I will now present these words.

All Polish dictionaries state that the word *akcja* is borrowed from Latin. The original Latin form is *actio* meaning ‘action’. However, the meaning ‘security traded on the stock market’ arose in Dutch. It spread from Dutch to other languages, for instance German (*Aktie*).

The origin of the word *atlas* goes back to the name of a Greek god who carried the Earth on his arms. In the 16th century, this name was given to a set of geographical maps published by the Flemish cartographer Gerardus Mercator under the title ‘Atlas’.¹⁰³ From 1595, such a set of maps was called precisely *atlas*. The meaning of this word was subsequently extended to ‘a set of images’: there are atlases of birds, animals, mushrooms, and dozens of other entities.

The neo-Latin term *lobelia* refers to a plant described and categorized in the taxonomy of plants by the Flemish botanist M. de Lobel (1538–1616). The Dutch Wikipedia includes the following information under the *lobelia* headword:

¹⁰³ The Dutch Wikipedia, http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gerardus_Mercator, provides a different view: ‘Overigens was de Titaan Atlas als werelddrager al eerder gebruikt voor de titelpagina die Lafreri omstreeks 1570 aan zijn IATO-atlassen toevoegde. Aan Mercators originaliteit in dezen kan dus getwijfeld worden.’ (‘Incidentally, the Titan Atlas, the one who carried the world, had been used before on the title page that Lafreri put on his IATO atlases around 1570. Therefore, Mercator’s originality may be doubted.’) Yet, it is assumed that it was precisely Mercator who established the new meaning of the word *atlas*. Lafreri exclusively used the image of Atlas, a Greek Titan; Mercator used his name for the name of a set of maps.

‘Het geslacht is genoemd naar Matthias de Lobel (ook wel gespeld als *Matthias de L’Obel*) (Rijssel, 1538 – Highgate, 1616)’ (The genus is named after Matthias de Lobel (also spelled Matthias de L’Obel) (Rijssel, 1538 – Highgate, 1616)).¹⁰⁴

So it was a Flemish person whose name was used to create a neo-Latin term.

A case similar to *lobelia* involves *stapelia*, a plant discovered and described by a Dutch person, J. B. Stapel, who lived in the 17th century. Interestingly, *stapelia* is not included in the *WNT*, while *lobelia* is. It is possible that *stapelia* functioned in the language for too short a time (or appeared too rarely in sources from which the authors derived the dictionary entries) at the time of the compilation of the relevant volume of the *WNT* to provide a basis for the evaluation of its role and durability in the language.

Palaeontologists found the skeleton of a dinosaur near the Meuse. This extinct species was named *Mosasaurus* (*Mosa* being the Latin name of the Meuse). The Latin name was Polonized in accordance with the paradigm existing for other Cretaceous reptiles to yield *mozazaur*. Thus, there is a Latin name of an animal that lived in the Low Countries.

The Polish name of the chemical element denoted by the symbol K is *potas*. In its structure and pronunciation, the word is similar to the Dutch term for ‘potassium carbonate’, but it is not a direct loanword. The word may be derived from neo-Latin *potassium*, a term invented by Humphry Davy in 1807, when he abstracted that element from *potassium carbonate*.¹⁰⁵

3.4.2. French/Italian

The activities of the Walloon Lambert de Begue, who was a priest in Liège, led to the emergence of a Christian movement both for men and for women. The communities of Beguines and Beghards are regarded as a typical Flemish phenomenon. There have continued to be many beguinages in Flanders to this day, even though most of them are no longer inhabited by Beguines. As such, beguinages are a part of the Flemish culture.

Dictionaries derive *begaard* from Old Dutch *beggaert* (‘beggar’), which was then francized and reborrowed into Dutch. The semantic spectrums of *begard* and *beginka* are very similar. However, their origins cannot be pinpointed with absolute certainty.

¹⁰⁴ <http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lobelia>

¹⁰⁵ After Van der Sijs (1998:145–146).

The word *dalba* is derived from Dutch *dukdalf*, which in turn originated from French *Duc d'Albe*. The Spanish governor of the Netherlands, Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, is said to have lent his appellation to poles mounted in water, and a shortened form of the name became a part of the Polish terminology; it is not unlikely that this happened though German, where the semantic equivalent of this term, *Dalbe*, exists.

Before the introduction of the euro, the currency used in the Netherlands was known in Polish as *gulden*. The term is among the words borrowed through German. What is interesting, however, is the full name of the currency itself: the official designation has for time immemorial been *gouden florijn* [golden florin]. As a remainder, the sign for this currency is *f*, a derivative of the second part of that name. Although the word *floren* is of Italian origin, coming from the flowers in the coat of arms of Florence, the notion of the florin refers to the Dutch realities. In this sense, Polish *floren* is also a Dutch borrowing.

During the wars of the Dutch against the Spaniards in the 16th century, there existed a resistance movement of the so-called Geuzen. The meaning of the Dutch word *Geuzen* became extended during the Second World War to include resistance movement fighters. The meaning of this word is derived from French *les geux* 'beggars', but other languages use it mostly with reference to the Dutch political and sociological contexts, and the Dutch form is the basis of those borrowings.

3.5. Words Borrowed through Dutch (V → NI → PI) or (V → NI → A → PI)

The Dutch have been known as merchants for ages. As a marine superpower, they had access to remote countries, from which they brought exotic goods to Europe and sold them there. Polish dictionaries sometimes contain surprising information on the origins of the names of plant and animal species, natural phenomena, and exotic goods; in many cases, it can be read that the loanwords come from Dutch. What is more, some entries also list other European languages in addition to Dutch (usually English, Spanish, or Portuguese). This is hardly surprising if one recalls that not only the Dutch dealt with cross-ocean trade.

The aim of this part of the work is to present words that probably got into Polish directly or indirectly through Dutch. Where possible, information is also provided as to which language the discussed word originally comes

from. In some cases, it is possible to indicate why Dutch appears more likely as a transit language than others.

Loanwords in this group are presented in the following table.

Polish word	Dutch word	Other information
bambus	Bamboo	Malay; it may have spread through Dutch or Portuguese
batik	Batik	Malay; in many European languages in the same form
herbata	Thee	a compound consisting of Latin <i>herba</i> and Chinese <i>ta</i> ; probably brought to Poland under that name by Dutch merchants
juta	Jute	Bengali; got to Europe through English, but the pronunciation is not English
kakadu	Kaketoe	Indonesian
kanarek	kanarie(vogel)	the name comes from the Canary Islands; it got into European languages through Spanish or Dutch
mops	Mops	originally a Tibetan word; similar forms in many languages
orangutan	orang-oetang	Malay
orkan	Orkaan	the Caribbean and one of the languages there
pawian	Baviaan	originally Persian or Turkish
pompela	Pompelmoes	a fruit growing on Java
ratan/rotang	Rotang	country of origin: India; the name also from there

3.6. Words with Dutch Forms but Meanings Originating Elsewhere (NI → A_B → PI)

The last group that I will discuss does not, strictly speaking, belong to the research area of this work. It consists of words that have not been borrowed from Dutch but from Afrikaans, a language originating from Dutch. Thus, they are borrowings from a different language. However, in terms of form, these words are originally Dutch. We owe the Polish sense of those words to Afrikaans. It can, therefore, be assumed that these words are also Dutch loanwords, borrowed through another language, Afrikaans in this case. The difference relative to the other loanwords following the formula NI → V → PI, discussed above in Section 3.2, mostly consists in the fact

that the original Dutch form first acquired a meaning in the intermediary language and then was borrowed into Polish. Whereas both the forms and the meanings of the words listed in 3.2 emerged (mostly) in Dutch and were borrowed into Polish through another language, the words in this section also arose in Dutch but did not obtain their final meanings before Afrikaans. Thus, this special group can be schematically represented as follows: NI → A_B → Pl.

The table below contains borrowings from Afrikaans.

Polish	Afrikaans
Afrikaans (language in South Africa)	Afrikaans
Afrykaner	Afrikaner
Apartheid	apartheid
Bur	Boer
Dujker	duiker
Kraal	kraal
Rand	rand

All these words have exactly the same form in Dutch, which is also regarded as a borrowing from Afrikaans. With one exception (*kraal*), original Dutch words were the bases for the Afrikaans words. *Kraal* comes from Portuguese (*curral*).

3.7. Summary and Concluding Remarks

The aim of this chapter was to describe the routes of borrowings from originally Dutch words to Polish. For the purposes of this research, the word forms, and where necessary meanings, in different languages were compared. The key question asked was in which language(s) the forms and meanings of the words are sufficiently similar to warrant the conclusion that borrowing occurred between those languages. The working hypotheses put forward at the beginning of the chapter were as follows:

- (1) A word can relatively infrequently be determined to have been borrowed directly from Dutch. This is indirectly related to the fact that Polish and Dutch were in durable contact with each other relatively seldom. However, there are cases where direct borrowings can be proposed.
- (2) Polish borrowed most loanwords from one of the languages of its neighbours, (Low) German or Russian, as the intermediary language.

Further in this chapter, I also looked at borrowings for which Dutch was an intermediary language, but such words are a small part of the corpus. Finally, I paid attention to a few Polish words that have a Dutch form but whose meanings evolved in another language. In all cases, the other language was Afrikaans.

The research confirmed both of the working hypotheses. While specific numbers cannot be quoted (the corpus contains many cases that do not allow a final resolution as to where the borrowing came from, so the loanword cannot be assigned to one specific language), words probably borrowed directly from Dutch are much less numerous than those that needed the intermediation of another language to enter Polish. The intermediary language in the vast majority of cases was Russian.

Thematic Division of Loanwords

4.0. Introduction

This chapter is devoted to a thematic division of loanwords, which, as shown in the previous chapters, either come from Dutch or were influenced by Dutch, one way or another, on their way to Polish. Thus, Polish either borrowed them from Dutch, either directly or indirectly, or Dutch was an intermediary language that borrowed some lexical items from foreign languages and then loaned, or helped to loan, them to Polish. The previous analysis was devoted to the origins of the loanwords, whereas here I will devote attention to the meanings of the words that have been demonstrated to meet formal criteria and, thus, can actually be regarded as Dutch borrowings.

What should be emphasized again here is that, as regards borrowings, their content is involved in most cases. It is almost unthinkable that any word could be borrowed only because of its phonetic or morphological form. What is essential is meaning, what a word stands for, and what the target language had no equivalent for at the time of borrowing (because the content was unknown or had features that made it necessary to distinguish the new notion from existing concepts). To put it differently, words are borrowed because the need to name something that already exists but does not have a name yet emerges in the target language. A new name is not invented, but the name existing in another language is borrowed at the same time when the ‘something’ becomes a concept in the world of the target language users.

4.0.1. Issue and Hypothesis

The questions at the centre of our interest in this chapter are as follows: What were the reasons? What were the purposes of borrowing the words? What content do they express?

The working hypothesis of this chapter is as follows: As has been said, accidental, sporadic borrowings are a relatively rare phenomenon; if a borrowing occurs, there is a practical benefit. This is also the case with words making up the corpus. All the borrowings have a special role to play in the vocabulary of Polish. With a few exceptions, the language had no direct equivalents of the borrowed concepts with exactly the same semantic fields. In all these cases, Polish needed new words with the required meanings. Either the object to which a given word relates was introduced to the Polish realities at the same moment and required a name as something new, or we are dealing with something that had been nameless and obtained a name in Polish thanks to Dutch. It is rare that a word is borrowed because of its prestige or because it is fashionable.

4.0.2. Work Method

The purpose of the analysis is to determine the thematic areas present (at present) in contacts between the Low Countries and Poland; the more intensive the contacts between two languages/two cultures are, the more mutual influences, and so the more borrowings, there are. It is obvious that two languages that have few contacts between them do not influence each other in all respects. However, there are tangent planes where the contacts (including indirect ones) between Polish and Dutch native speakers were more intensive than in other domains. To put it differently, because neither the Dutch nor the Poles are famous in the world for their cuisines, hardly any culinary terms, such as names of dishes and so on, have been borrowed in either direction. Sailing, in contrast, is an area in which there was a great deal to borrow, because contacts between Polish and Dutch sailors both at sea and on the coasts were relatively intensive. Thus, I will in the first instance determine where, in what thematic realms, Dutch borrowings are likely. This is the subject of section 4.1. Then (4.2.), I will look at borrowings in the areas identified in 4.1. The main question here is what domains are represented and to what extent; to put it differently, which semantic fields have had the most borrowings. Section 4.3. is a summary of the conclusions of the whole chapter.

4.1. Domains

This section will present the semantic categories represented by the Dutch borrowings. First, I will focus on responding to the question why they are

important in my opinion. Then, I will explain what specifically is represented by the category.

4.1.0. Introduction

The categories themselves require some explanation. The question I asked myself was not a question about the category represented by a given word in the Polish language corpus. The borrowings were divided based on the function of the loanword. Example: *garnela* (← *garnaal*) is a biological creature and could be assigned to the Living Organisms category, as is *dujker* (← *duiker*) (a mammal from the *Cephalophus* family). These words were borrowed with a specific aim, however.¹⁰⁶ In the above-cited case of the word *garnela* (← *garnaal*), it is not necessarily recognized by Poles as a natural food item or exotic good. Thus, the division below is a pragmatic and semantic classification.

It is sometimes difficult, as will be seen in section 4.2., to assign a word to a single category, because it is on the borderline between two different categories. *Herbata* (← *thee*), for instance, may be regarded within this research as a beverage name, because the nature of the product is that it will be drunk after some processing; however, *herbata* could just as well represent the Exotic Trading Goods category, because tea comes from China, so in terms of its origins and distribution it is related to such things as *batik* (← *batik*) and *orangutan* (← *orang-oetang*). Thus, it should be made clear up front that the domains sometimes overlap.

4.1.1. Category Descriptions

Below are the descriptions of the categories presented in alphabetical order.

4.1.1.1. Agriculture

The category of agricultural words mostly contains the names of animals that apparently were brought to Poland from the Low Countries. This undoubtedly relates to immigrants from the west who settled in Poland. When they needed horses, for instance, they trusted the breed they knew from

¹⁰⁶ An accidental borrowing is in fact unusual. What a language borrows from another language is apparently needed there, regardless of the reason for the need. Cf. more on this in section 1.4 Reasons for Borrowings.

home and brought with them. *Fryz* ‘Friesan’, a term for a breed of horses, is a good example here. The same applies to other kinds of animals.

4.1.1.2. Art/ Living Pleasures

Words in the Art category all relate to the artistic side of life. It is a category for artists, sensitive individuals, and art lovers. Most words in this category are of a foreign origin. Dutch is an intermediary language on the way to Polish, as the final destination. Two representative examples of this category are *rembrandtowski* (← *Rembrandtesk*) and *delikatesy* (← *delicatessen*). Others will be discussed when this category is described in detail. Either the Low Countries are the birthplace of a particular form of art or Dutch is the language from which the word spread elsewhere.

4.1.1.3. Economy/Trade

This category contains concepts relating to earning incomes in a broad sense. The higher concept, ‘economy’, contains names of economic institutions, monetary units and economic instruments. This category also contains words relating to trade. Words relating to the stock exchange also belong to this category. Examples may be such words as *dydek* (← *duitje*) ‘money’ or *akcja* (← *actie*) ‘share, security’. These notions have for the most part become established in numerous languages, not just in Dutch, but Dutch is the source of their spread.

4.1.1.4. Exotic Trading Goods

This category is interesting in the sense that it contains words used to designate objects brought to other countries (including Poland) by Dutch merchants, who wanted to sell them or show them as exotic curiosities. As was demonstrated in the previous section, the role of Dutch in transferring the names of such goods from exotic areas to Poland is not always unquestionable. With reference to some of these objects, however, there are no reasons for disputes. Examples include the words *kanarek* (← *kanarievogel*) or *batik* (← *batik*).

The whole category is related to the Food and Beverages category because of the fact that certain exotic goods were offered as foodstuffs, and, conversely, certain foodstuffs were (and sometimes still are) regarded as exotic.

4.1.1.5. Food and Beverages

Members of this category of course include various foodstuffs. In this sense, this category is sometimes difficult to set apart from others. *Boskop* (in some

parts of Poland, also *boskoop*), for instance, is an apple cultivar (← *Schone van Boskoop*), so it could just as well be included in the Agriculture category. The concepts in this category are primarily associated with foods in the Poles' mental lexicons. *Bosko(o)p* is just a delicious variety of apples that one buys at a fair without thinking what the apple tree that bears *bosko(o)p* apples looks like, what the biological features of the fruit are or where it was originally cultivated.¹⁰⁷ Hence, the decision was made to include such words in the Food and Beverages category.

This category has room for all kinds of beverages (including alcoholic drinks), as well. Members of this category share the fact that they were cultivated or developed in the Low Countries or became known elsewhere thanks to Dutch/Flemish people and got to Poland one way or another.

4.1.1.6. Geography/Geology

This category includes words that directly relate to geographical or anthropological data or phenomena. The list does not contain items that are used solely to name cities or rivers. Here, too, the principle of pragmatism will apply. *Gouda* is not included in this category, even though it is an extension of the geonym; *edamski [ser]* (← *Edammer*) and *holender* (← *Hollander*) (in all senses other than 'an inhabitant of the Netherlands') are not, either. As mentioned above, direct geonyms (names of areas, ethnic groups, or regional phenomena/goods) are excluded from these considerations. This is because they relate to concrete extralinguistic realities and are, thus, regarded as some kinds of proper names. Therefore, they are in principle not borrowings, just as such geographical terms as *Europa* or *Azjata* cannot be thought of as borrowings. Thus, I will not talk about them. What will be considered are notions relating to broadly defined geographical phenomena or objects, such as *diuna* (← *duin*), or (representatives) of ethnicities, such as *Afrykaner* (← *Afrikaner*) 'a white farmer in South Africa'. These concepts relate to people/phenomena characteristic of the Dutch landscape and human communities; hence the need to consider them.

4.1.1.7. Religion/Politics/Philosophy

This relatively small group presents a cross-section of the political and religious trends that arose in the Low Countries or had their followers there

¹⁰⁷ Of course, it is imaginable that people professionally dealing with (fruit) trees would consider the above questions key. However, in view of the fact that the aim of the monograph is to analyse loanwords linguistically, I feel excused, being a linguist, to remain at the just presented position. Also consider the introductory considerations when establishing the categories.

and gradually, over time, also became known in Poland. A word that may be an example, i.e. *spinozizm* (← *spinozisme*), refers to the Dutch philosopher Baruch Spinoza and a philosophical trend that stems from his views. Thus, this group involves mostly trends developed or propagated by the inhabitants of the Low Countries. They are mostly the products of Low Countries' spirituality.

4.1.1.8. Sailing/Fishing/Sea

As expected, this borrowing category is the largest, containing most of the vocabulary in the research corpus. It contains all words relating to the sea, in the broadest sense of the word, including words relating to weather conditions at sea and signalling on ships. It also includes words denoting ship activities and parts of the ship (ship crew members are found in the Titles/Occupations category). Additionally there are names of different types of nets and everything needed in a fishery. What is characteristic of that category is that over 80% of the words there are still used in Dutch in the same form and with the same meaning.

The following figure presents the standard sails of a ship with the names of each in Dutch, German, and Polish. It makes it possible to get a quick understanding of the concepts that constitute a part of the research corpus and to compare the relevant terms with their equivalents in other European languages.¹⁰⁸

Number	Dutch	German	Polish
1–9	<i>Masten (masts)</i>	<i>Masten</i>	<i>Maszty</i>
1	Boegspriet en kluiverboom	Bugspriet mit Klüverbaum	Bukszpryt i kliwerbom
2	Fokke(onder)mast	Fockuntermast	Fokmaszt
3	Voormarssteng	Vorstenge	Forstenga
4	Voorbramsteng	Vorbramstenge	Bramstenga
5	Grote ondermast / Grootmast	Großuntermast	Grot / Grotmaszt
6	Grootmarssteng	Großstenge	Grotstenga
7	Grootbramsteng	Großbramstenge	Grotbramstenga
8	Bezaanmast	Besanmast	Bezanmaszt

¹⁰⁸ The three pictures in the figure come from: *Wolters' Beeld-woordenboek Duits en Nederlands*. Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1986, pp. 384–385, in comparison with J.-C. Corbeil and A. Archambault, *Słownik wizualny – leksykon tematyczny* (Visual dictionary: thematic glossary). Warsaw: Przegląd Reader's Digest 2001, pp. 480–485.

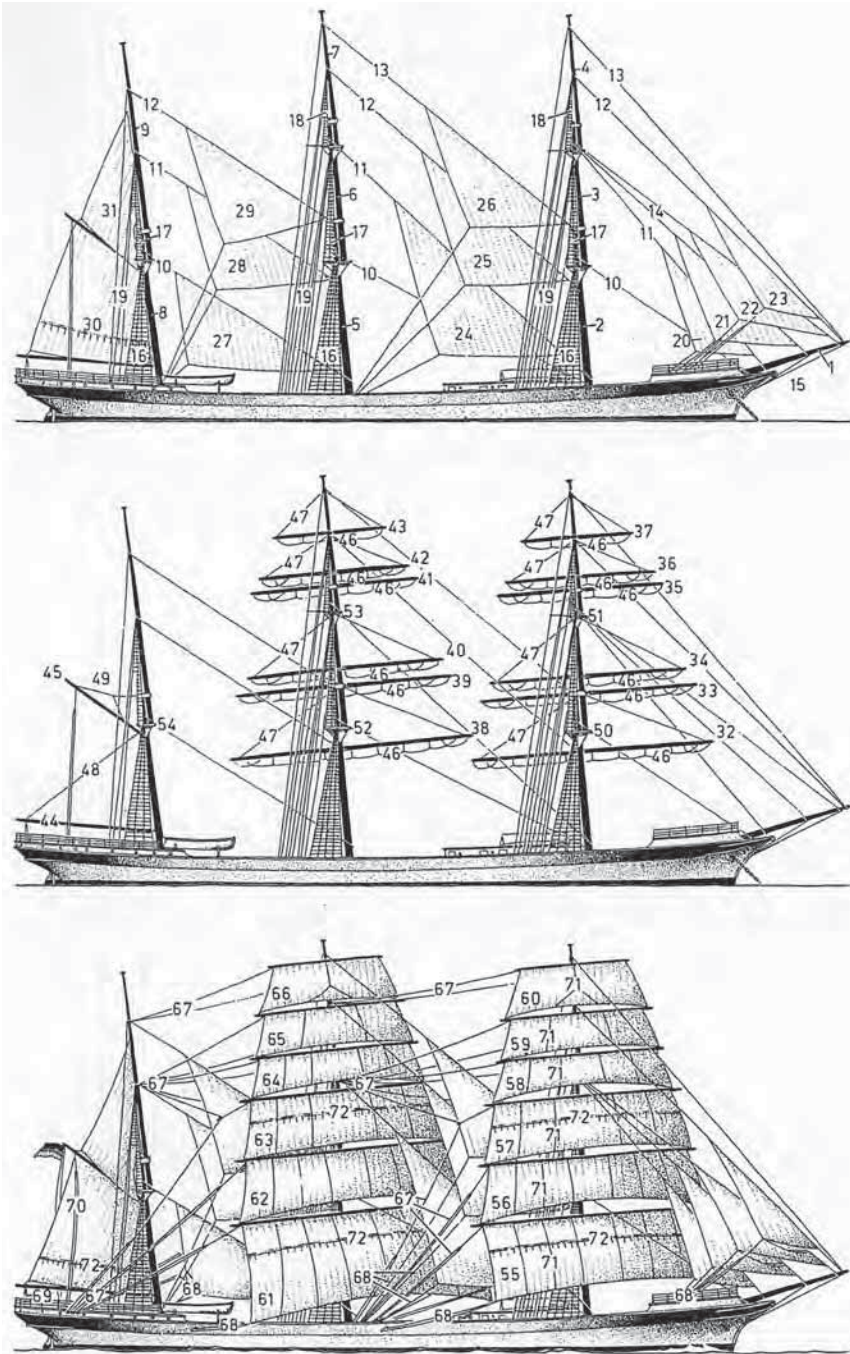


Figure 9. Masts, riggings and sails

Number	Dutch	German	Polish
9	Bezaanondermast	Besanuntermast	--
10–19	<i>Want (rigging)</i>	<i>Stehendes Gut</i>	<i>Wanta</i>
10	Stag	Stag	Sztag
11	Stengestag	Stengestag	Stenga
12	Bramstag	Bramstengestag	Bramsztag
13	Royalstag	Royalstengestag	Topsztag
14	Kluiverstag	Klüverleiter	Kliwersztag
15	Waterstag	Wasserstag	Watersztag
16	Want	Wanten	Wanta
17	Stengewant	Stengewanten	Stenwanta
18	Bramstengewant	Bramstengewanten	Bramstenwanta
19	Pardoen	Pardunen	Parduna
20–31	<i>Stagzeilen (fore-and-aft sails)</i>	<i>Schratsegel</i>	<i>Sztaksle</i>
20	Vorstengestagzeil	Vor-Stengestagsegel	Forstensztaksel
21	Binnenkluiver	Binnenklüver	Kliwer
22	Buitenkluiver	Klüver	Bomkliwer
23	Jager	Außenklüver	Latacz
24	Grootstengestagzeil / Dekzwabber	Groß-Stengestagsegel	Grotstensztaksel
25	Grootbramstagzeil	Groß-Bramstagsegel	Grotbramsztaksel
26	Grootbovenbramstagzeil	Bramstengestagsegel	Grotsztaksel górna
27	Bezaanstagzeil / Aap	Besanstagsegel	Apsel
28	Vlieger	Besan-Stengestagsegel	Bezanstensztaksel
29	Bovenvlieger	Besan-Bramstagsegel	Bezanbramsztaksel
30	Bezaan	Besansegel	Bezan
31	Gaffeltopzeil	Gaffeltopsegel	Gaftopsel
32–45	<i>Rondhouten (spars)</i>	<i>Rundhölzer</i>	<i>Bomy</i>
32	Fokkera	Fockrah	Fokreja
33	Voorondermarsra	Vor-Untermarsrah	Marsreja dolna
34	Voorbovenmarsra	Vor-Obermarsrah	Marsreja górna
35	Vooronderbramra	Vor-Unterbramrah	Bramreja dolna
36	Voorbovenbramra	Vor-Oberbramrah	Bramreja górna
37	Voorroyalra	Vor-Royalrah	Bombramreja
38	Grootra	Großrah	Grotreja

39	Grootondermarsra	Groß-Untermarsrah	Marsreja dolna
40	Grootbovenmarsra	Groß-Obermarsrah	Marsreja górna
41	Grootonderbramra	Groß-Unterbramrah	Bramreja dolna
42	Grootbovenbramra	Groß-Oberbramrah	Bramreja górna
43	Grootroyalra	Groß-Royalrah	Bombramreja
44	Bezaangiek	Besanbaum	Bezangik
45	Gaffel	Gaffel	Gaf / Gafel
46	Paarden	Fußpferd	Perta
47	Toppenend	Toppnanten	Topenanta
48	Dirk	Besandirk	Dirka
49	Piekeval / Nokkeval	Gaffelstander	Pikfał
50	Voormars	Vor-Marssaling	Formars
51	Voorbrammars	Vor-Bramsaling	--
52	Grootmars	Groß-Marssaling	Grotmars
53	Grootbrammars	Groß-Bramsaling	Bramsaling
54	Bezaanmars	Besansaling	Bezanmars
55–66	<i>Razeilen</i> (square sails)	<i>Rahsegel</i>	<i>Żagle rejowe</i>
55	Fok	Focksegel	Fok
56	Voorondermarszeil	Vor-Untermarssegel	Formarsel, marszałiel
57	Voorbovenmarszeil	Vor-Obermarssegel	Formarsel, marszałiel górny
58	Vooronderbramzeil	Vor-Unterbramsegel	Forbramsel, forbram- załiel
59	Voormiddenbramzeil	Vor-Oberbramsegel	Forbramsel, forbram- załiel górny
60	Voorbovenbramzeil	Vor-Royalsegel	Fortopsel
61	Grootzeil	Großsegel	Grotzałiel
62	Grootondermarszeil	Groß-Untermarssegel	Marsel, marszałiel
63	Grootbovenmarszeil	Groß-Obermarssegel	Marsel, marszałiel górnny
64	Grootonderbramzeil	Groß-Unterbramsegel	Bramsel, bramzałiel
65	Grootmiddenbramzeil	Groß-Oberbramsegel	Bramsel, bramzałiel
66	Grootbovenbramzeil	Groß-Royalsegel	Grottopsel
67–71	<i>Lopend want</i> (running rigging)	<i>Laufendes Gut</i>	<i>Liny biegnące</i>
67	Brassen	Brassen	Brasy
68	Schoten	Schoten	Szoty

69	Bezaanschoot	Besanschot	Bezanszot
70	Gaffelgeerde	Gaffelgeer	Gara
71	Buikgording	Gordings	Gording
72	Rif	Reff	Reflina

4.1.1.9. Sciences

Here, we deal with a group of words that have become a part of the chemical, physical, or mathematical vocabulary. This category also includes names of minerals or various substances used when practicing the sciences. Here again, direct borrowings are rare; all these names appear in multiple languages.

This is one of the most interesting categories, for the following reason: although many of the words have undoubtedly Dutch backgrounds, most of them can hardly be found in Dutch dictionaries (anymore). To put it differently, the lexemes involved emerged in the Dutch linguistic area but persist mostly OUTSIDE the boundaries of that area. An apt example is the word *ludolfina* ‘ π , Ludolphian number’, which, as demonstrated in the introductory considerations, is not included in the *WNT* or in modern Dutch dictionaries but can be found in specialized publications, such as *Van Dale Etymologisch woordenboek* by Van Veen and Van der Sijs (1997) or *Eponiemenwoordenboek* by Sanders (1993). Of course, the above statement does not apply to the whole group; there are also words that continue to thrive in Dutch (and in other languages), as, for instance, *gas* (→ Pl *gaz*) or, to a lesser extent, *bakeliet* (→ Pl *bakelit*).

4.1.1.10. Technology

Technological terms that Polish owes to Dutch range from water engineering (*śluz* (← *sluis*)) to surgery (*klamp* (← *klamp*)). Some come directly from Dutch; others are neologisms based on a Dutch word. What the objects have in common is that they have been made by man and are used for various ‘technological’ purposes, where ‘technological’ is to be understood broadly. In any case, the objects/inventions/materials that the borrowings name have contributed to the development of the technological instrumentation or to the facilitation of daily life, also in Poland. The words were borrowed in part directly from Dutch and in part through another language.

4.1.1.11. Titles/Occupations

It turns out that Dutch has left its mark on Polish vocabulary regarding titles and occupations. The scale of skills here is quite broad as well. This category

includes occupations readily associated with sailing, such as *kok* ‘chief cook on a ship’¹⁰⁹ and *matros* ‘seaman’. These terms in Polish are in part a result of direct contacts between the specific occupational groups of Dutch and Polish speakers and in part words that have become international.

4.1.1.12. Various

What has been impossible to assign to any of the categories above is placed in the Various category.

4.1.2. Division – Summary

Eleven categories were formed to include the borrowings. What is certainly important is that they represent a wide variety of meaning spectra, which indicates that the contacts (direct and indirect) between Dutch and Polish were not one-sided. There are still areas that partly overlap; it is sometimes difficult to set a definite boundary between technology and the sciences or between foodstuffs and exotic goods. However, it is worthwhile to aim for such distinctions.

4.2. Analysis of Borrowings

Below is an exhaustive review of borrowings broken down into categories. The presentation starts with the most numerous group, sailing and fishing vocabulary, followed by categories with fewer members. The review ends with the Various category.

4.2.1. Sailing/Fishing/Sea

Representatives of this category can be further divided into the following groups:

– ship equipment elements:

achtersztg (← *achterstag*), *ankier* (← *anker*), *baksztg* (← *bakstag*), *ben-cel* (← *bindsel*), *bojrep* (← *boeireep*), *bras* (← *bras*), *braszpil* (← *braadspil*), *buchta* (← *bocht*), *dirka* (← *dirk*), *faleń* (← *vanglijn*), *falrep* (← *valreep*), *fał* (← *val*), *flaglinka* (← *vlaglijn*), *forluk* (← *voorluik*), *gafelfał*

¹⁰⁹ The meaning of *kok* in Polish is restricted to a chief cook on a ship. The ordinary Dutch word *kok* has a different semantic equivalent in Polish, *kucharz*.

(← *gaffelval*), *gara* (← *geer*), *gording* (← *gording*), *halslina* (← *halslijn*), *handreling* (← *handreling*), *jufer* (← *juffer*), *jufers* (← *juffer*), *kabelgarn* (← *kabelgaren*), *kabeltaw* (← *kabeltouw*), *kausza* (← *kous*), *kliwerfal* (← *kluiverfal*), *kluza* (← *kluis*), *koja* (← *kooi*), *kontrafal* (← *contra-val*), *lik* (← *lijk*), *liklina* (← *lijklijn*), *marlinka* (← *marlijn*), *nagiel* (← *nagel*), *owersztag* (← *overstag*), *parduna* (← *pardune*), *pikfal* (← *piekval*), *poler* (← *polder*), *raks* (← *raks*), *raksa* (← *raks*), *raks(k)lot* (← *raakkloot*), *reflina* (← *reeflijn*), *refsejzing* (← *reefseizing*), *reling* (← *reling*), *saling* (← *zaling*), *segarsy* (← *segers*), *sejzing* (← *seizing*), *stewa* (← *steven*), *strop* (← *strop*), *suwklapa* (← *schuifklep*), *szlupbelka* (← *sluipbalk*), *szot* (← *schot*), *szpil* (← *spil*), *szpring* (← *spring*), *sztag* (← *stag*), *sztramp* (← *stormtrap*), *szturwał* (← *stuurval*), *szwabra* (← *zwabber*), *talia* (← *talie*), *talrep* (← *talreep*), *topenanta* (← *toppenant*), *topsztag* (← *topstag*), *trap* (← *trap*), *wanta* (← *want*), *waterbaksztag* (← *waterbakstag*), *watersztag* (← *waterstag*), *werp* (← *werp*), *wimpel* (← *wimpel*), *wyblinka* (← *weeflijn*)

As can be seen, most parts of the equipment consist of various ropes and cords as well as small mechanical parts that ensure that the ship runs efficiently (when sailing).

– ship parts:

achterdek (← *achterdek*), *achterpik* (← *achterpiek*), *bak* (← *bak*), *bakburta* (← *bakboord*), *burta* (← *boort*), *dek* (← *dek*), *finkil* (← *vinkiel*), *hundevoja* (← *hondekooi*), *kajuta* (← *kajuit*), *kambuz* (← *kombuis*), *kubryk* (← *koebrug*), *luk* (← *luik*), *mars* (← *mars*), *naktuz* (← *nachthuis*), *plichta* (← *plicht*), *rufa* (← *roef*), *rumpel* (← *roerpen*), *ster* (← *stuur*), *sterówka* (← *stuurhuis*), *sterburta* (← *stuurboord*), *szpigat* (← *spuigat*)

Polish sailing language borrowed most of its vocabulary from Dutch/Low German. Thus, it is not surprising that the terminology concerning shipbuilding and major ship parts also appears in both languages.

– ship types, ship formations:

bagier (← *bagger*), *bojer* (← *boeier*), *brander* (← *brander*), *bryg* (← *brik*), *flota* (← *vlot*), *jacht* (← *jacht*), *jol* (← *jol*), *jola* (← *jol*), *karawela* (← *karweel*), *koga* (← *kog*), *kufa* (← *kof*), *kuter* (← *kotter*), *lichtuga* (← *lichter*), *lugier/luger* (← *logger*), *orlog* (← *oorlog*)¹¹⁰, *pinasa* (← *pink*), *pinka* (← *pink*), *szkuner* (← *schoener*), *szkuta* (← *schuit*),

The Netherlands have for ages been known as a country with splendidly developed sailing. Small wonder, then, that it has had a multitude of types of ships. Because in different epochs they were used for various purposes, they

¹¹⁰ We have a narrowing of meaning in this case as well. The Polish word *orlog* only means a kind of warship with practically no connection to the first meaning of the Dutch word *oorlog* ‘war’.

also have different names. Polish borrowed ship names from other languages through Dutch. This was already mentioned in the part devoted to word origins (3.2).

– types and parts of masts:

bezanmaszt (← *bezaanmast*), *bom* (← *boom*), *bombramreja* (← *boombramra*), *bramreja* (← *bramra*), *bombramstenga* (← *boombramsteng*), *bukszpir* (← *boegspier*), *bukszpryt* (← *boegspriet*), *fokmaszt* (← *fokmast*), *fokreja* (← *fokra*), *fokstenga* (← *foksteng*), *gik* (← *giek*), *grotmaszt* (← *grootmast*), *grotreja* (← *grootra*), *kliwerbom* (← *kluiverboom*), *marsreja* (← *marsra*), *maszt* (← *mast*), *nok* (← *nok*), *reja* (← *ra*), *stenga* (← *steng*), *top* (← *top*)

The Polish names of the key masts on a ship have clearly Dutch origins. Their classification also arose on ships with Dutch-speaking crews, and Polish mariners simply borrowed the classification.

– types and parts of sails:

apsel (← *aapzeil*), *balonfok* (← *ballonfok*), *balonkliwer* (← *ballonkluiver*), *bant* (← *bant*), *bezan* (← *bezaan*), *blindgafel* (← *blindgaffel*), *bombramżagiel* (← *boombramzeil*), *bomkliwer* (← *boomkluiver*), *bramsel* (← *bramzeil*), *bramżagiel* (← *bramzeil*), *bryfok* (← *breefok*), *fok* (← *fok*), *fokmarsel* (← *fokmarszeil*), *foktopsel* (← *foktopzeil*), *forpik* (← *voorpiek*), *fortopsel* (← *voortopzeil*), *gaf* (← *gaffel*), *gafel* (← *gaffel*), *gaftopsel* (← *gaftopzeil*), *grot* (← *groot*), *grottopsel* (← *groottopzeil*), *grotżagiel* (← *grootzeil*), *lizel* (← *lijzeil*), *luwers* (← *luwer*), *marsel* (← *marszeil*), *marsżagiel* (← *marszeil*), *pik* (← *piek*), *ref* (← *reef*), *refbant* (← *reefband*), *sztagżagiel* (← *stagzeil*), *sztaksel* (← *stagzeil*), *sztormfok* (← *stormfok*), *topsel* (← *topzeil*), *watersaling* (← *waterzeiling*), *żagiel* (← *zeil*)

The names of sails and their parts are also represented in large numbers in the corpus. This category contains relatively many hybrids, both in comparison with other subcategories in this category and with other categories.

– navigation, beacons, port equipment:

bakan (← *baken*), *boja* (← *boei*), *dalba* (← *dukdalf*), *dok* (← *dok*), *dryf* (← *drijf*), *farwater* (← *vaarwater*), *flader* (← *fladder*), *flaga* (← *vlag*), *heiling* (← *heiling*), *kabel* (← *kabel*), *kilwater* (← *kielwater*), *locja* (← *loods*), *peleng* (← *peiling*), *trym* (← *triem*), *waterlinia* (← *waterlijn*)

Polish borrowed a few important Dutch terms in the field of terminology related to navigation. It should be mentioned that some of the terms are relevant not only to sailing but also to aviation.

This category contains one word with a special nature: *flaga*. Borrowed as a term for an identification sign on a ship, over time it broadened its meaning ‘an identification sign in the form of a scarf with a coat of arms on it’.

– weather conditions:

sztorm (← *storm*), *pasat* (← *passat*), *orkan* (← *orkaan*)

Polish also owes these three names of (strong) winds to the language of sailors. They are used for the descriptions of the nature and strength of winds, and hence key weather conditions for sailing.

– the manner of sailing:

bejdwind (← *bij de wind*), *fordewind* (← *voor de wind*), *halfwind* (← *halfwind*), *hals* (← *hals*), *lichtować* (← *lichten*), *rejs* (← *reis*)

This category in half consists of lexemes originating from Dutch terms associated with weather. Polish subjected these words to morphological transformations discussed above, in the section devoted to morphological changes.

– types of fishing nets:

lik (← *liek*), *neta* (← *net*), *takle* (← *takkel*)

Sea contacts partially involved fishing. Hence, terms connected with such activities were also included in the ‘marine’ category, although they could be part of a category called ‘technology’, as well. Our assumption, however, is that they would not have been borrowed without marine contacts between Dutch and Polish speakers. That is why I made a decision to include these terms here.

– other:

hisować (← *hijzen*), *szkutnictwo* (← *schuitbouw*), *szkutnik* (← *schuitbouwer*), *takielunek* (← *takeling*), *taklować* (← *takelen*), *wachta* (← *wacht*), *zydwestka* (← *zuidwester*)

Assigned to this category are further words that belong to none of the above categories but are involved in the marine, sailing, fishing, ship construction, and water life world. The most interesting word is *zydwestka* (← *zuidwester*), meaning a kind of hat worn by sailors and fishers. Looking at the name, one would much sooner think about a kind of wind than a kind of cap. However, the meaning of that word was already changed in Dutch in this way: the Dutch name probably referred to the kind of cap that was worn when the strongest wind on the North Sea, the south-westerly, blew. Polish borrowed this word with this meaning.

4.2.2. Sciences

The next large category comprises terms related to science. The theory that specialist terminology is often borrowed from one language to another is corroborated here. A further division is also possible in this category. As a result we obtain the following subcategories:

– minerals, chemical substances, and elements:

bakelit (← *bakeliet*), *bort* (← *boort*), *gaz* (← *gas*), *lak* (← *lak*), *lakmus* (← *lakmoes*), *lindan* (← *lindaan*), *lobelina* (← *lobeline*), *pak* (← *pak*), *potas* (← *kalium*), *potaż* (← *potas*), *szelak* (← *schellak*)

This category shows a clear diversity. *Bort* (← *boort*) is a mineral; *bakelit* (← *bakeliet*), *lak* (← *lak*), and *szelak* (← *schellak*) are also hard solids. *Potaż* (← *potas*) and *lobelina* (← *lobeline*) are chemicals prepared from, respectively, *potas* ‘potassium’ (the only chemical element in this category) and an extract from the plant *lobelia* ‘lobelia’. *Pak* (← *pak*) and *lakmus* (← *lakmoes*) are specially abstracted substances; the former is used for the production of an insulation material, the other for the determination of the acidity of chemical substances. *Lindan* (← *lindaan*) is a pesticide named after an Amsterdam-based chemist, Van der Linden, who developed the formula. Finally, there is the word *gaz* (← *gas*) ‘gas’. The Dutch word was invented by a Brussels-based chemist, Van Helmont (1579–1644), inspired by Greek $\chi\alpha\omicron\varsigma$; this word was borrowed in writing by many languages.

The most interesting pair of words in this category is *potas*–*potaż*. These words originate from the same Dutch word, but their Polish forms are slightly different, and their meanings are different too (though related). *Potaż* keeps the meaning of today’s Dutch *potas* (‘potassium carbonate’), whereas Polish *potas* stands for the chemical element that Dutch names with the Latin term *kalium*. The various pathways that the two words followed entering Polish were already mentioned in the previous chapter. What is worth emphasizing again is that the form of the borrowing to a large extent depends on the route of its migration.

– measures and units:

lorenc ‘Lorentz force’, *ludolfina* ‘the letter π ’

Both these words were derived from the names of the persons who invented the units. *Lorenc* is a measure in physics, and *ludolfina* is the same as ‘ π ’, primarily used in geometry.

What is interesting in the context of these borrowings is that these terms are not used in Dutch nowadays. *Lorenc* is expressed in Dutch texts as *lorentzkracht* ‘Lorentz force’, and the concept of *Ludolfiaans getal* ‘Ludolphian number’, the origin of Polish *ludolfina*, is not used in contemporary Dutch at all.

– laboratory equipment:

[*butelka*] *lejdejska* (← *Leidse fles*).

The adjective *lejdejski* is used more widely in Polish than only in this idiomatic expression; if used elsewhere, it refers to people/things associated with Leiden. In the idiom, however, the adjective contributes to the meaning of the whole as a special kind of capacitor.

4.2.3. Technology

Within technology-related vocabulary coming from Dutch, the following categories can be distinguished:

– water engineering:

bosak (← *bootshaak*), *holender* (← *hollander*) ‘a specific type of wind-mill’, *kran* (← *kraan*), *polder* (← *polder*), *śluzą* (← *sluis*), *wal* (← *val*)

Water engineering came to Poland together with the Dutch. The specialists who came to reclaim the low-lying areas in the delta of the Vistula brought specialist skills with them. We find traces of their presence and work in the above words.

– construction:

blok (← *blok*), *holenderka* ‘a kind of roofing tile’, *klinkier* (← *klinker*), *stelaż* (← *stellage*). This category also includes a borrowing from Afrikaans, *kraal*, ‘rodzaj budowy’.¹¹¹

The remaining representatives of this category have more general meanings. *Klamp* (← *klamp*) is the name of a surgical instrument. The category also includes the name of the aeroplane *fokker* (← *Fokker*).

4.2.4. Food and Beverages

The category of food and beverages is very interesting because of a wide array of words gathered here. The category can be seen to consist of the following subcategories:

– fruit and vegetables:

The plant world is represented here by two products of nature, *brukselka* (← *Brusselse spruit*) ‘Brussels sprout’ and *bosko(o)p* (← *schone van Boskoop*) ‘Belle de Boskoop apple’. Both these names are geonyms.

– hard cheese: Poles know three kinds of Dutch cheese: *edamski*, *gouda* and *mazdamer*. The three names come from the geographical names of two towns (Edam and Gouda) and one village (Maasdam). Two words, *Gouda* and *mazdamer*, function on their own, as nouns, whereas the third one, an adjective, must be supplemented with the word *ser* (‘cheese’) to form a complete semantic unit. One says: *Kupilem goudę/mazdamera* ‘I bought Gouda/Maasdammer’, but *Kupilem ser edamski*

¹¹¹ *Van Dale Groot woordenboek der Nederlandse taal*, ed. 14, defines *kraal* as follows: ‘omsloten, afgeperkte ruimte voor vee’ [fenced enclosure for cattle].

‘I bought Edam cheese’. Such structures as **Kupilem edamski* are incorrect. It is, however, possible to say: *Kupilem 20 deka edamskiego* ‘I bought half a pound of Edam’].

The Food and Beverage category contains a substantial group of sea animal words, for what has been caught and ready to be processed or eaten. Seafood is represented by *garnela* (← *garnaal*), and there are also words for fish species and products: *makrela* (← *makreel*), *matiasy/matiesy* (← *maatjesharingen*), *minóg* (← *negenooog*), *pikling* (← *pikling*), or *rolmopsy* (← *rolmops*).

The last food item that has not been mentioned yet is the American salad *coleslaw* (← *koolsla*), which is becoming a more and more popular cabbage-based salad in Poland.

The Food and Beverages category also contains two kinds of drinks. On the one hand, there are various alcoholic beverages, and, on the other, one of the two best-known hot drinks in Europe: *herbata* (← *thee*) ‘tea’. *Herbata* could in principle also be included in the Exotic Trading Goods category. Here, however, a pragmatic choice was made, as mentioned in the preliminary discussion. Other exotic trading goods, as will become apparent in a moment, when this category is discussed, were brought (as were their names), and it was not quite well known how to specifically use these goods. In the case of tea, it was brought as a beverage; hence its place in the Food and Beverages category. Alcoholic drinks include *gin* (← *jenever*), *brandy* (← *brandewijn*), and *adwokat* (← *advocaat*).

4.2.5. Titles/Occupations

Dutch culture has also introduced a number of title/occupation words into Polish. Some of them are titles/occupations aboard ships: *admiral* (← *admiraal*), *bosman* (← *bootsman*), *kok* (← *scheepkok*), *majtek* (← *maatje*), *mat* (← *maat*), *matros* (← *matroos*), *skipper* (← *schipper*), *szturman* (← *stuurman*), *szyper* (← *schipper*). Three other words are also associated with water, but they are not terms for regular crew members. *Kaper* (← *kaper*) is a pirate, like *flibustier* (← *vrijbuiter*) in its first sense; the meaning more widely known to Polish speakers is, figuratively, ‘a pauper or outcast’. *Maszop* is the head of a fishery partnership; a derivative from *maszoperia* (← *maatschappij*) ‘society, company’, the word gained the specific meaning of fishery partnership in the Kashubia area.

The remaining three terms have broad semantic spectra. *Adiutant* (← *adjutant*) is an assistant to a dignitary (primarily in the armed forces). *Boss* (←

boss, baas) is a widely known, apparently English borrowing in Polish (the Dutch origin of this word is described in the previous chapter), meaning a boss or superior. The last borrowing in this category is *makler* (← *makelaar*) ‘stock broker’, which is a borderline case between two categories: on the one hand, it is the name of an occupation; on the other hand, it is a designation of a stock market worker and, as such, it falls into the Economy/Trade category.

4.2.6. Economy/Trade

Many terms in this category have to do with money. Let us start with the still-used South African currency, the *rand*. The names of the currency that had been used in the Netherlands before it was displaced by the euro are undoubtedly Dutch: *gulden* (← *gulden*); *floren* (← *florijn*), originally the currency of Florence, in bankers’ official speech. The word *dydek*, a jocular term for a coin or a sum of money, has also Dutch/Low German roots (← *duit*). The last monetary unit, whose name is used worldwide, and which also comes from Dutch, is *dolar* (← *dollar, daalder*). I have already discussed the word at length in chapter 2.

Several loanwords have much to do with trade. *Merk* (← *merk*) is an artisan’s trademark. *Fracht* (← *vracht*) is the payment for the freight of goods. The term *pacht* (← *pacht*) continues to be used in Polish as a synonym of *dzierżawa* meaning ‘usufructuary lease’, and it is mostly used in a few fixed phrases, such as *oddać coś/kogoś w pacht* ‘make sth/sb available and not have an influence on what happens to that thing/person’. This category also includes *maszoperia* ‘a fishing partnership’, a word originating, as mentioned before, from the Dutch term *maatschappij*, but specialized in Polish, where *maszoperia* is not just any company or partnership but that of Kashubian fishers. Talking of companies, the last word in this category is *akcja* (← *actie*) ‘a share of a public company’. This word, used from time immemorial in various European languages with the meaning ‘action’, gained a new semantic dimension thanks to Dutch.

4.2.7. Politics/Religion/Philosophy

Polish borrowed a number of names relating to religious communities, religions, philosophies, or authorities from Dutch. As many as eight words gathered here, *arminianie* (← *arminianen*), *begardzi* (← *begaards*), *beginki* (← *begijnen*), *gezowie* (← *geuzen*), *jansenizm* (← *jansenisme*), *lollard(owie)* (← *lollaard(s)*), *me(n)nonici* (← *mennonieten*), and *spinozizm* (← *spinozisme*),

are names for religious or philosophical trends (*jansenizm*, *spinozyzm*) or groups of people with specific religious or social/political views based on certain principles.

The last word in this category is *apartheid*, a borrowing from Afrikaans with an evidently Dutch form. The meaning, which arose in South Africa, is the name of racist policies, equivalent to racial segregation. In the first instance, the word relates/related to the situation in South Africa itself, but it is also used in the context of a group of people being excluded from a community or deliberately prevented from enjoying specific benefits that are reserved for the privileged class.

4.2.8. Agriculture

This category only includes names for breeds of animals. They include horses: *arden* (← *Ardens paard*) and *fryz* (← *Fries paard*). *Fryz* is also a breed of cattle, as is *holenderka* (← *Hollandse koe*) and its masculine counterpart, *holender* (← *Hollands stier*). There is also a breed of sheep: *teksel* (← *Texels schaaap*) – this name is primarily used in plural, as *teksle*.

The fact that agricultural loanwords are restricted to zoological names indicates that the farming activities of immigrants from the Low Countries were primarily focused on animal husbandry.

4.2.9. Exotic Trading Goods / Things Worth Seeing

This category relates to such items as objects/living creatures/fruits and plants that were unknown in Europe and were brought and introduced by merchants. I will start with animals. *Mops* (← *mopshond*), a dog coming from Tibet and brought to Europe by the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, VOC),¹¹² was named by the Dutch. Other animals, *fretka* (← *fret*), *kakadu* (← *kaketoe*), *kanarek* (← *kanarievogel*), *orangutan* (← *orang-oetang*), and *pawian* (← *baviaan*), also come from exotic areas and are very likely to have been brought to Europe by Dutch merchants. The antelope *dujker* (← *duiker*) lives exclusively in Africa. Its name was borrowed with the Dutch morphological form from Afrikaans (with certain phonetic and spelling assimilations obviously occurring in Polish); it can be presumed that the name of the animal was known earlier than the animal itself.

¹¹² <http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mopshond>

Bambus (← *bamboe*) and *pompela* (← *pompelmoes*) also had contact with Dutch before they entered Polish. However, the most interesting among all the plant names in this category is *rotang* (← *rottang*), for the reason that it also has a parallel form in Polish that arrived through a different pathway (via Spanish): *ra(t)tan*. It is even more interesting that the latter form seems to have existed in Polish for a shorter time than the former one, and it is still absent from electronic Polish dictionaries, although it is used in everyday life relatively commonly.

4.2.10. Art

As shown in the previous chapter, Dutch has been more of a transit language than the source for a number of concepts in the broad area of fine art. The adjective *rembrandtowski*, meaning ‘resembling Rembrandt’s painting style’ and the noun *elzewir* (← *Elzevier*), the designation of a certain kind of print, are undoubtedly of Dutch origin. Also Germanic, very probably Dutch, are the origins of *blik*, a certain optical effect on canvas. *Kruża* (← *kroes*) is also an applied art object.

Other words in this category are of foreign origin, Dutch being the intermediary language. Dutch was the transit language in borrowing the word *delikatesy* from French (← *delicatessen*), on the one hand as a designation of ‘gourmet foodstuffs’, and by extension as the name of a shop where such foodstuffs can be bought. This category in our set is also represented by the word *plakat* (← *plakkaat*), a borrowing from French *placard*, with is a hybrid based on the originally Dutch verbal root *plakken* ‘to paste’.

4.2.11. Geography/Geology

This category, too, has several examples. Let us start with proper names: *Afrykaner* (← *Afrikaner*) and *Bur* (← *Boer*), a white inhabitant of South Africa’ (in Polish mostly used in plural as *Burowie*). Clearly Dutch in form, but borrowed from Afrikaans, the former applies to white inhabitants of South Africa; the latter too, but in historical contexts.

This category also includes two other words. One is *diuna* (← *duin*) ‘dune’ and stands for a natural phenomenon in sandy areas. The other one, *atlas* (← *atlas*) meaning ‘a set of geographical maps’, has enriched its original Latin form with a semantic dimension originating in the Low Countries.

4.2.12. Various

Other Dutch loanwords are also very interesting as far as their meanings are concerned, but they cannot be assigned to any of the categories identified above. Because a meaning connection between the various words cannot be found, they will be presented one by one, alphabetically.

The word *bakier* ‘at a rakish angle, at odds’ is only used in the fixed phrase *na bakier*. It comes from *bak keren* (originally a sailing term meaning ‘to turn around’), and its meaning has been shifted towards ‘at odds, not in accordance with the rules’. Polish also has hybrids containing the element *bakier*.

The Poles mostly associate the word *doping* (← *doping*) with English, and they are partially right, as shown in the previous chapter. The term is associated with sports and relates to the use of illegal substances to improve one’s performance. Polish has added a further dimension to this word: *doping*, and its verbal hybrid form, *dopingować*, stands for ‘supporting one’s favourite sports team/competitor, encouraging them with shouts to compete more staunchly’. The purpose is in both cases the same: better results are to be achieved; chemical doping is, however, what sportspeople use themselves to improve their performance, whereas supporters’ behaviour has an influence on the mental condition of the sportsperson. In this context, it is also worth noting that the verb *dopingować* only concerns the second sense and has nothing to do with forbidden pharmaceuticals.

The word *flader* (← *fladder*), meaning ‘rope’ does not fall into the ‘marine’ category: its semantic spectrum has shifted from the original ‘ship rope’ to ‘rope with small flags used in hunting’.

The word *holender* (← *Hollander*) has one more sense in addition to those specified above: it also means a skating figure. Because of the varied meanings, we treat this as a polysemic item, i.e. separate words that should be assigned to separate categories. *Holender* is also a type of windmill, and in this sense it is included under 4.2.3. Technology.

The name of the only one sports discipline in the corpus, *korfball* (← *korfbal*), is clearly of Dutch origin. Features of this word other than its meaning have already been discussed above, in chapter 2.

The word *loterij* has two main meanings in Dutch, defined by *Van Dale online* as follows: 1) opportunity to compete for prizes, where the winners are chosen by lot; 2) uncertain affair (<http://www.vandale.nl/opzoeken?pattern=loterij&lang=nn>). The same two senses can be found in the meaning of Polish *loteria*. The Polish equivalent of Dutch *lot* has a different form,

however, namely *los*; a link between the two forms cannot be excluded, but it is not so certain.

Manekin (← *mannekijn*) (meaning ‘shop display dummy’) is definitely the most interesting word in this group: for one thing, it is a secondary borrowing (it was already discussed in the previous chapter), but also the Polish meaning is limited to that indicated above. In Dutch, *mannekijn* is currently usually used in the sense corresponding to the Polish words *model/modelka*. The Polish word *manekin* does not have this semantic aspect.

The Polish borrowed word *oleńdrzy* (← *Hollanders*), usually spelt with a lower-case letter, has a historical background, indicating a group of immigrants from Frisia, Holland, and Flanders who settled in Poland.

The gradually forgotten word *prymka* (← *tabakspruim*) is an example of a loanword on the borderline between different categories. It is a stimulant, and as such it could be included in the Food and Beverages category. At the same time, sailors have been known for their predilection to chew tobacco. This in fact also explains how this word entered Polish. In any case, it does not fit into any of the categories specified above. Therefore, a decision has been made to include it among the various words.

4.3. Summary and Concluding Remarks

The aim of this chapter has been to arrange the borrowings in thematic order. I looked for areas for the purposes of which Polish borrowed words from Dutch. The first step was to select potential domains, or areas, where borrowings are easy to justify. Then, the whole corpus was reviewed, and it appears that with just a handful of exceptions the loanwords can be placed inside the proposed domains. This confirmed the claim that a word is borrowed if it is required. The material also provides further evidence of one of the main hypotheses of the theory of loanwords: it is easier for a language community to borrow the name of an object or phenomenon used in another community together with that object or phenomenon, than it is to invent its own, new name.

The above discussion shows that there are a number of domains where Dutch words have found a place in the Polish vocabulary. Although the semantic spectrum of the loanwords is quite broad, there are clearly several important contact areas that can be explained in light of the history of mutual contacts between Dutch and Polish speakers. The marine area is of prime importance, which is not surprising considering that Dutch is known to have influenced a number of (European) languages in this respect. The presence

of exotic trading goods does not come as a surprise either, given the well-known trade routes and the activities of Dutch merchants.

What is surprising, however, is the very small representation of borrowings concerning fine arts. Considering the role of especially painters from the Low Countries, I would have guessed that the influence of Dutch painting on the specialist vocabulary in other parts of our continent would be greater. It could have been expected that there would be many borrowings in the fields of science and technology, but the representation of the Food and Beverages category is larger than could have been presumed at first sight. While there are not too many dishes characteristic of the population of the Low Countries or of Slavic peoples (although, in the era of globalization, Dutch has started to feature *zapiekanika* <https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zapiekanika>, whereas Polish is starting to include items such as *kapsalon* <https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kapsalon>);¹¹³ some traces of Dutch culinary terminology can be found in Polish cuisine.

¹¹³ The word *kapsalon* is not included in the broad research corpus because it has not been stabilized in the language yet. It is a new notion in Dutch culture, or rather the extension of an existing concept, which has only recently emerged in the Polish fast-food world. I have come across it only in written form, so there is not enough evidence to carry out a solid inquiry into, for instance, assimilation processes that will take place if this word takes hold in Polish for good.

Final Considerations

5.0. Introduction

This work is devoted to Dutch lexical borrowings in Polish as they existed in the early 21st century. The corpus was drawn from the dictionaries of Polish that came out around the year 2000 and from Internet data. The point of departure was this: if a word is included in a dictionary, it is regularly used, and thus is a component of active Polish vocabulary. The same principle has been applied to words that are not (yet) in dictionaries, but which are widely represented in Internet search engines. The lead criterion was that entering it as the search term should return at least 1000 hits. The right to include a word in the corpus was then verified mainly using Dutch sources (*WNT* or *Etymologisch Woordenboek* or other, secondary lexicological sources). The first step was in principle demonstrating that the Polish word in fact has Dutch roots or came from a different language (usually an exotic one) and became a part of Polish via Dutch.

Subsequently, the corpus was subjected to three mutually independent analyses.

This chapter is a brief summary of the results of these analyses supplemented with conclusions flowing from the research as a whole. Section 5.1. will again concentrate on the changes of the borrowings to the Dutch forms. Section 5.2. will return to the issue of the path followed by the borrowings on their way to Polish. Section 5.3. will be devoted to semantic fields containing the Dutch borrowings.

The whole will be closed (5.4.) with final conclusions and suggestions concerning further research on Dutch borrowings in Polish and, perhaps, in other (European) languages.

5.1. Changes of Form

The first step presents a brief history of contacts between Dutch and Polish. It is used, based on the words in the corpus, their forms and meanings, to attempt to determine whether the words are direct borrowings from Dutch or whether they have been borrowed via a different language. The borrowing forms and the meanings of the loanwords have been investigated, mostly in Dutch and Polish and also in the other languages that, according to the analysis in chapter 2, may have been transit languages between Dutch and Polish.

As can be seen from the history of mutual contacts, there have been four waves of intensive Dutch-Polish contacts, as follows:

- the Middle Ages (the 14th and the 15th centuries) via the Hanseatic League; while the contacts were multilingual, the Polish and Dutch components were undeniable;
- the same juncture between and 14th and the 15th centuries with the period of Dutch/Flemish migration eastwards, settlement in the Żuławy Vistula delta region, the establishment of New Holland (Paśłęka); the emergence of Wilamowice;
- the end of the 17th century was in turn the time of Peter I the Great and his conscious drawing on Dutch culture (as well as the Dutch lexicon): quite important for Polish because of the approaching partitions of Poland and the imposition of Russian as the dominant language in the public life of a large part of the Polish territory;
- the 17th and the 18th centuries as the period of rich trade contacts and so-called *peregrinationes academicae*; while university student contacts did not result in too many new borrowings, trade ones certainly did.

The latest wave of contacts, caused by the opening of the Dutch labour market for people from Central Europe, cannot be evaluated yet, as there are not relevant research materials, and the Dutch borrowings are yet to be included in Polish glossaries. However, its first signs have also appeared in Polish culture (such as *woonerf* ‘an urban residential area’ in Łódź, Poland¹¹⁴) and in Dutch culture: every Polish word found in Dutch *Wikipedia* is evidence that Dutch culture is being enriched by foreigners. Thus, for instance, Dutch culture has been enriched by the Polish toasted open sandwich, *zapiékanka*.¹¹⁵

The chances of borrowings are growing with increased direct contacts.¹¹⁶ So, it can be assumed that there are more borrowings from one language

¹¹⁴ Cf. the article by Katarzyna Tatarowska in the *Gazeta Wyborcza* daily newspaper:

¹¹⁵ This may be evidenced by the following entry in the Dutch version of *Wikipedia*:

¹¹⁶ Cf., e.g., Riehl 2004.

to another during periods of more frequent contact than during periods when contact is less intensive. Consequently, it can be taken for granted that the above-mentioned periods saw the largest numbers of borrowings from Dutch into Polish.¹¹⁷ Hence, we talk about words that:

- (1) entered 15th-century Polish from 15th-century (Middle) Dutch; or
- (2) entered Polish in the form in which they existed in Dutch in the 17th/18th centuries (Early Modern Dutch).

Consequently, their Polish forms certainly do not have to correspond to their modern Dutch forms. Borrowings in the target language do not evolve in the same manner as the original words in their natural surroundings. Each word, the original one in the source language and the borrowing in the target language, behaves appropriately with regard to the rules of the source and the target languages, retaining the grammatical, morphological, and phonetic features of other words in the same language. What this means is that a Middle Dutch word in the Dutch language developed in accordance with the paradigms existing in that language and does not deviate from those paradigms today. At the same time, a Middle Dutch word loaned to Polish in the 15th century became a part of Polish at the moment of its being borrowed and accepted by Polish language users and stopped being subject to Dutch rules, becoming subject to the grammatical, morphological, and phonetic rules of Polish.¹¹⁸ Thus, necessarily, forms borrowed in previous centuries will in many cases differ from their contemporary Dutch counterparts, because they got into Polish at a different stage of the development of Dutch and have evolved in a different environment.

Some of the observed linguistic changes are a direct consequence of the fact that the Dutch material considered has not undergone specific language-change processes that occurred in Dutch between the 14th/15th century, or the 17th/18th century, and modern times. As an example, consider the word *lizeł*, whose present Dutch form is *lijzeil*. It is not necessarily a fact that the Dutch diphthong [ei] has changed into the similar vowel [i] under the influence of foreign surroundings. What may have happened is just the opposite: the vowel [i], which had not been diphthongized yet in Middle Dutch, was borrowed into Polish, where it remained (almost) unchanged; whereas in Dutch it has continued to develop and has become a diphthong. Thus, further research on the source material would require treating Dutch borrowings as ‘living fossils’ and comparing them with their Dutch counterparts from the 15th century to the modern times. In the case of indirect borrowings, it is

¹¹⁷ Borrowings from Polish into Dutch cannot be ruled out either. However, even if they have occurred, there are fewer such words remaining today. Cf. Van der Sijs 2010.

¹¹⁸ Cf. the introductory remarks in Sijs 2010 and in her earlier studies.

also worth focusing on the form of the originally Dutch word in the transit language, also at the time of the borrowing.¹¹⁹ This underscores the observation that without more detailed research, it is impossible to confirm or reject the claim that the process of the partial transformation of the source word occurred in the transit language, and thus that the Polish form comes from the Dutch form already transformed by the intermediary language. There is evidence confirming this claim: there are a number of words such as Dutch *roerpen* → Russian *румпель* → Polish *rumpel*, but to draw definitive conclusions, research would have to be conducted on the chronological placement of the borrowings in the various analysed languages.

With regard to indirect borrowings, my research shows that Russian was a transit language more often than German (as expected on a working basis). This is undoubtedly related to the semantic spectra of the borrowings, as discussed in greater detail in 5.2 above.

The next claim that was confirmed in the course of my analysis is that oral borrowings follow a different assimilation process than written ones. In the context of the entire corpus, the claim can be ventured that the vast majority of borrowings (virtually the only exceptions being certain exoticisms and words derived from Afrikaans) have adapted to the Polish morphology and phonetics and become inflected words typical of the Polish inflexion paradigms, using phonemes internal to contemporary Polish.

5.2. Geographic Analysis of Borrowings

The working hypothesis was that numerous borrowings have become part of Polish not directly but through a third language. In contrast to Dutch, with which Polish has been intensively in touch (as demonstrated above) only sporadically, German and Russian have been in contact with Polish practically on a daily basis for centuries. Permanent contacts between languages favour borrowings. Therefore, Polish has a lot of loanwords from German and Russian¹²⁰, the neighbouring languages that have

¹¹⁹ It is similar with words of German origin that have come to Polish via Czech: in some cases Czech has left significant imprints on those words. Cf. Czarnecki 2001 and Siatkowski's work on borrowings from Slavic languages.

¹²⁰ Marek Łapiński (2008:11) writes in the introduction to his *Słownik zapożyczeń niemieckich w polszczyźnie* (Dictionary of German loanwords in Polish) that the brochure publication contains about 2100 words of German origin. The collection is more than five times larger than the corpus of the present research, which provides undoubted evidence that German has had a greater influence of the Polish vocabulary than Dutch. Similar information can be found about Russian.

been dominant on the Polish territories in some periods. A greater role of German in passing on words initially borrowed from Dutch has been assumed, but an analysis of loanword forms compared with the forms in other languages that may have been potential lenders has made it possible to check that claim. Russian is a primary transit language. This is not surprising if we look at the semantic spectra¹²¹ of indirect borrowings. In many cases, however, it has been impossible to draw an unequivocal conclusion as to which language played a role in the acquisition of a particular loanword based on the comparison of forms. Such inconclusiveness can arise if more than one language has the borrowing in a form very similar to the Polish version or even identical with the form of the loanword in another language.

It was also seen in the course of the analysis that the source word may have been borrowed into the target language more than once (cf. the pairs *skipper/szyper* or *potas/potaż*). In such cases, the meaning of the borrowing is usually changed, and the form, too, depends on the influence of the intermediary language (if there was one). This undoubtedly evidences the attractiveness of the Dutch lexical material, and its usefulness.

The further part of the considerations has been devoted to words that Dutch has contributed to European languages (Dutch being an intermediate language in this case). Although these are mostly exoticisms that may be also classified as internationalisms, in contrast to strictly defined internationalisms, where the original language in which a particular word was formed is not known, here both the original language and the transit language that popularized the word in Europe and various European languages (Dutch), are known.¹²²

Attention was also paid to Afrikaans words in Polish; what they have in common is that their morphological forms are originally Dutch, whereas their meanings developed in Africa. It is an important aspect of the research: the discrepancy between the origin of the form and that of the meaning. Based on a number of examples in the corpus, it can be concluded that there are words whose form comes from one language and whose meaning is derived from a different one (this applies to Afrikaans words, but also Latin lexical forms that acquired new semantic dimensions in Dutch). What could be interesting is investigating individual languages in terms of discrepancies between the origins of the forms and the meanings of lexical items.

¹²¹ More about it in 5.3.

¹²² Not all languages share the consciousness of Dutch intermediation in the assimilation of words. Sij's (2010) does not provide information that *orangutan*, clearly a Malay borrowing, brought to Europe by Dutch merchants, passed precisely through Dutch on its way to Czech. The Czech students I asked also seemed unaware of the European roots of this word.

5.3. Thematic Division of Loanwords

The next analytical part of the work was devoted to purely semantic aspects of loanwords. The question that we asked in the first instance concerned the subject matter of the borrowings, i.e. whether there are specific semantic domains within which there are many more loanwords than in others. In other words, are there any semantic fields in which Polish needed Dutch words?

My research has shown that there are certain semantic areas within which the presence of Dutch words in Polish is significant. These primarily include maritime, sailing, and fishing terms.¹²³ In fact, this is not surprising at all: the Netherlands was considered a naval power in the 17th and the 18th centuries, and it has been present on the seas since the Middle Ages; hence, its active participation in the Hanseatic League.¹²⁴

It was at the time of the Hansa that Polish acquired a number of sailing terms. Some of them entered Polish directly (as evidenced by forms identical to Dutch ones, different from those in potential intermediate languages), whereas some came to Polish via other languages, mostly Russian. It is not surprising if one takes into account the multilingualism of Hansa cities on the one hand and the technological and linguistic revolutions carried out by Tsar Peter the Great in Russia on the other. What can be assumed tentatively (the claim would need to be checked and confirmed in further research) is that the vast majority of marine loanwords are oral borrowings. This assumption is warranted by the fact that these words are useful in specific working environments (boat work, fishing, navigation, boat construction, etc.), so they are infinitely more important as oral vocabulary than as written forms, and they are definitely used more often in direct communication.¹²⁵

Other domains in which Polish has drawn on Dutch can be logically anchored in the history of contacts between the languages and the cultures.

What is an interesting phenomenon observed in the analysis is the specialization of the meanings of some of the borrowings in Polish relative to their meanings in Dutch. The Dutch word *trap* stands for any kind of stairs, whereas the Polish word *trap* exclusively denotes stairs leading

¹²³ It is precisely this vocabulary that constitutes the most frequently studied part of the extensive collection of Dutch loanwords in numerous European languages. However, some researchers seem to play down the role of Dutch as the source language. Cf., e.g., Karszniewicz-Mazur (1988), who sees German in this role.

¹²⁴ Cf. Seifert (1997) for comparison.

¹²⁵ This claim, if confirmed, would also provide an answer to the question why it is so difficult to find written source material allowing the chronological check of the presence of this vocabulary in Polish.

to a boat. The Dutch word *reis* means any travel; the Polish word *rejs* can only stand for a voyage by water or a flight by air with the exclusion of a trip by land. The Dutch word *kok* is a term for a cook of any specialty, whereas in Polish a *kok* exclusively prepares meals aboard a ship. This kind of narrowing of the meaning also clearly demonstrates in what contexts the words came into Polish, showing the avenue for a subsequent analysis worth conducting relative to the loanwords. What would be valuable for the development of linguistics would be determining the relationship between the source meaning of a potential borrowing and its meaning in the target language, especially in the context of its linguistic environment from which it was extracted.

5.4. Final conclusions: a preview

The study in your hands is, as mentioned at the outset, an attempt to systematize Dutch borrowings in Polish. Its primary goal was to highlight the presence of such words in Polish, because their origin is often omitted from lexical sources or attributed to a different language than Dutch. However, additional questions arose during the research, which I partly managed to answer, but which in part remain open. I hope that they will attract the interest of other researchers, who will supplement the linguistic map of Dutch borrowings in Polish with further information, causing the white spots to disappear. What would definitely be worth recommending is finding textual sources allowing the determination of the epoch when a given borrowing appeared in Polish. However, because of the special meanings of the borrowings (e.g. the entire sailing terminology) the task may turn out impossible to complete. What would then be worth doing is performing a more detailed analysis of loanwords classified as oral borrowings in the context of the Polish and the Dutch spoken languages during the periods of the most intensive contacts between them. Such research will make it possible to more specifically determine the time when a given Dutch word entered a foreign language, in this case Polish (or possibly one of the intermediate languages). What also appears interesting is making a journey inside the historical dictionaries of Polish and identifying the lexicographic sources where the borrowings appear for the first time.¹²⁶ This will make it possible to specify the details of the time when a given word was already present in Polish with sufficient magnitude to deserve a place in a dictionary. It will also make it

¹²⁶ For instance, the word *minóg* is an example of a loanword from a corpus that can already be found in Old Polish.

possible to answer the question whether the borrowing was direct or indirect and whether Polish was only the borrower in all cases or whether perhaps it has passed the loanwords on in some cases (in accordance with the applicable principle that if a borrowing has the same form and the same meaning in two languages, it is important to find out in which one the word appeared first).

The research has not considered one quite important question: the presence of Dutch in the Polish dialects in areas at one point settled by the Dutch or the Flemish. Both the local general vocabularies and proper names used in those areas should be investigated. Kashubian dialects¹²⁷, in the northern part of Poland, certainly contain a range of Dutch elements. However, there has been no research on onomastic issues in the Dutch context, which would definitely be worth carrying out because, for instance, some surnames are unquestionably of Dutch origin¹²⁸ and there are also Dutch relics remaining in some geographical names.

I do hope that my study will be treated as a contribution to a better understanding of the presence of Dutch borrowings in Polish and a point of departure for a further debate on borrowings and other (socio)linguistic aspects of contacts among languages.

¹²⁷ Cf. Sychta (1967–1976).

¹²⁸ There is a singer born in Puck, i.e. in the Kashubian area, whose name is Weronika Korthals; cf. https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Weronika_Korthals. This is just one of very numerous examples of the presence of such names.

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6.2. Main Internet Resources

Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache <http://www.dwds.de/>
Etymologisch woordenboek van het Nederlands <http://www.etymologie.nl/>
Middelnederlandsch woordenboek <http://gtb.inl.nl/?owner=MNW>
Oudnederlands woordenboek <http://gtb.inl.nl/?owner=ONW>
Słownik żeglarski: <http://www.bezan.com.pl/table/słownik-Żeglarski/>
Van Dale verklarend woordenboek Nederlands www.vandale.nl
Vroegmiddelnederlands woordenboek <http://gtb.inl.nl/?owner=VMNW>
Wörterbuch der deutschen Lehnwörter in der polnischen Schrift- und Standardsprache
http://www.bis.uni-oldenburg.de/bis-verlag/wdlp/ab_A.html
Woordenboek der Nederlandse taal (WNT) <http://gtb.inl.nl/?owner=WNT>

6.3. CD Roms

Multimedialny słownik wyrazów obcych PWN
Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego PWN
Portal Słowniki PWN

Nederlandse leenwoorden in hedendaags Pools

Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Het voorliggende onderzoek betreft Nederlandse lexicale ontleningen in het Pools zoals die taal aan het einde van de 20e en het begin van de 21e eeuw gesproken en geschreven werd en wordt. In dat hedendaagse Pools komen vrij veel woorden voor die vanwege hun semantische profiel en/of morfologische kenmerken het vermoeden wekken dat ze Nederlandse wortels hebben.. Woordenboeken van het hedendaags Pools bevestigen dit echter zelden.

Het onderzoekscorpus omvat ruim 200 woorden (en deze verzameling is zeker voor uitbreiding vatbaar) die geëxcerpeerd zijn uit de op de markt aanwezige woordenboeken van het hedendaagse Pools, uitgegeven in de laatste tien jaar van de vorige eeuw resp. aan het begin van deze eeuw. Dit “papieren” corpus werd aangevuld via de meest populaire zoekmachines op het Internet, en wel met woorden die daar vrij frequent voorkomen en waarvan de auteur dacht dat ze uit het Nederlands afkomstig kunnen zijn. De these van de herkomst ervan is vervolgens geverifieerd.

Het werk begint met een ruim theoretisch hoofdstuk, dat informatie bevat over de theorie van het ontlenen, de redenen en mechanismen ervan, gevolgd door een korte schets van bilaterale contacten tussen Polen en Nederlanders resp. Vlamingen in de loop van het afgelopen millennium. In dit hoofdstuk wordt ook het onderzoekscorpus gepresenteerd. Het volgende hoofdstuk behandelt wijzigingen van de vorm van Nederlandse ontleningen – vergeleken wordt de vorm die in het Pools bestaat, met zijn hedendaagse Nederlandse equivalent. De in de Poolse lexicale bronnen beschikbare informatie is onvolledig, soms zelfs tegenstrijdig, de toegang tot gepubliceerde bronteksten vrij beperkt, vooral tot dergelijke teksten waarin de te onderzoeken woorden zouden kunnen voorkomen (dit zijn geen woorden met algemeen hoge gebruiksfrequentie). De analyse heeft zich dan ook vooral geconcentreerd op een vergelijking van de hedendaagse morfologische vorm van Poolse

woorden met hun Nederlandse equivalenten en hun pendanten in andere talen die mogelijk indirecte ontleningsbronnen zijn geweest. Uit de analyse blijkt dat de meeste vormaanpassingen door morfologische (en/of fonetische) processen in het Nederlands zelf, in de tussentaal of in de doeltaal te verklaren zijn.

In het kader van het onderzoek is nog een andere belangrijke vraag opgedoken, nl. of ontleningen die aan een bepaalde periode kunnen worden toegeschreven, in feite fossielen van de brontaal in de gegeven periode zijn. Of dit inderdaad zo is, moet nog in een vervolgonderzoek worden geverifieerd. Een andere vraag die evenmin al sluitend beantwoord is, luidt: moet men een indirecte ontlening die bijv. via het Russisch in het Pools is terechtgekomen, als een Nederlandse of een Russische ontlening beschouwen? Naar aanleiding van de analyse is tevens het feit benadrukt dat niet altijd zowel de vorm als de betekenis van een ontleend woord overgenomen wordt – het komt niet zelden voor dat een reeds bestaand woord een betekenisuitbreiding meemaakt, d.w.z. een nieuwe, tot dan toe niet bestaande semantische dimensie krijgt. Ongeacht de herkomst van de morfologische vorm van een dergelijk woord in taal X is de nieuwe betekenis ervan die in taal X zelf is ontstaan en vervolgens in een taal Y is geïmplementeerd, in de laatste taal toch een ontlening uit taal X. (even ter illustratie: de betekenis van het woord *akcja* ‘waardepapier’ is in Nederlandse realia ontstaan, maar de morfologische vorm ervan komt uit het Latijn – zou *akcja* dus een ontlening uit het Latijn zijn, of toch uit het Nederlands?). Het tweede hoofdstuk bevat dus – behalve de voornoemde confrontatieve vormanalyse – een hele reeks suggesties die tot verder onderzoek aanleiding kunnen geven en misschien een bijdrage kunnen leveren aan de uniformiteit van etymologische woordenboeken en de wijze waarop in dergelijke woordenboeken lemmata worden beschreven.

Het derde hoofdstuk is een presentatie van de wegen waarlangs de Nederlandse ontleningen in het Pools hebben kunnen terechtkomen. Het feit zelf dat de Poolse etymologische woordenboeken de Nederlandse herkomst van slechts een handvol lexemen erkennen, bevestigt ongetwijfeld de stelling dat de meeste neerlandismen in het hedendaagse Pools indirecte ontleningen zijn. De essentie van het derde hoofdstuk is dan ook een verklaring van de opname van de ontleningen in het Pools, zij het direct uit het Nederlands of via een transitstaal.

In het vierde hoofdstuk worden de ontleningen als een complex geheel van verschijnselen/ objecten/... beschouwd. Het uitgangspunt was niet een afzonderlijk woord op zich maar het betekenisveld waarbinnen de afzonderlijke ontleningen kunnen worden geordend. De werkhypothese van dit hoofdstuk was de stelling dat het meestal dan tot een ontlening komt wanneer de ontvangende taal behoefte heeft aan het weergeven van een nieuwe tot dan toe niet bestaande of niet benoemde semantische inhoud. De auteur wijst dus in dit hoofdstuk naar domeinen waar de Nederlandse ontleningen een plaats hebben gevonden, en legt de behoefte aan woorden met een dergelijke betekenis in het Pools uit.

Het werk wordt afgesloten met een samenvatting en een vooruitblik. Daarop volgen nog een samenvatting in het Pools en in het Nederlands en een lijst van geraadpleegde literatuur.

Zapożyczenia z języka niderlandzkiego we współczesnej polszczyźnie

Streszczenie w języku polskim

Niniejsza monografia poświęcona jest niderlandzkim pożyczkom leksykalnym we współczesnej polszczyźnie. W języku używanym przez Polaków u schyłku dwudziestego i na początku dwudziestego pierwszego wieku znaleźć można liczne słowa, które czy to ze względu na swoje pole semantyczne, czy też budowę morfologiczną budzą podejrzenie, że swoimi korzeniami sięgają do języka niderlandzkiego. Jednakże w słownikach współczesnej polszczyzny rzadko można znaleźć potwierdzenie tej tezy. Obiektem analizy stało się zatem ponad dwieście słów (a z całą pewnością nie jest to zbiór skończony) pochodzących z dostępnych słowników języka polskiego wydanych w ciągu ostatnich dziesięciu lat minionego stulecia i na początku obecnego wieku oraz cieszących się wysoką frekwencją wyszukiwania w najpopularniejszych wyszukiwarkach internetowych, które zdaniem autorki mogą być pochodzenia niderlandzkiego; tezę ich pochodzenia następnie weryfikowano.

Pracę otwiera obszerny rozdział teoretyczny zawierający informacje dotyczące teorii zapożyczeń, ich przyczyn i mechanizmów nimi rządzących, a także krótki rys wzajemnych kontaktów między Polakami a Holendrami i Flamandami w ciągu minionego tysiąclecia. W rozdziale tym także przedstawiony jest materiał badawczy. Rozdział kolejny traktuje o zmianach formy zapożyczenia od niderlandzkiej formy wyjściowej po tę, która funkcjonuje we współczesnym języku polskim. Ze względu na wspomniane już niepełne lub niedokładne, a czasami wręcz sprzeczne ze sobą informacje znajdujące się w polskich źródłach leksyko-graficznych oraz bardzo ograniczony dostęp do opublikowanych tekstów źródłowych i niepowszechnie występowanie badanych słów w słownikach polszczyzny z wcześniejszych okresów w historii języka polskiego (co z kolei wynika najprawdopodobniej z ich specyfiki znaczeniowej – nie są to bowiem z reguły słowa

o wysokiej częstotliwości użycia) analiza opierała się zatem głównie na porównywaniu współczesnej formy morfologicznej wyrazów polskich z ich niderlandzkimi ekwiwalentami oraz z ich odpowiednikami w innych językach, które mogły stanowić pośrednie źródło zapożyczenia.

Przy okazji podkreślono także fakt, że forma przejęta do języka obcego we wcześniejszym okresie rozwoju języka źródłowego absolutnie nie musi być tożsama z formą tego wyrazu we współczesnym języku źródłowym; pożyczki przejęte do innego języka stanowią rodzaj „żywej skamieliny”, która w chwili wejścia do języka obcego miała formę właściwą do swojego etapu w języku źródłowym w momencie przejmowania, a dalej rozwijała się zgodnie z normami języka przyjmującego. Jak wynika z analizy, większość zmian formy da się uzasadnić morfologicznymi (lub fonologicznymi) procesami zachodzącymi w samej polszczyźnie lub w języku pośrednim. Powraca tutaj także pytanie, czy zapożyczenie pośrednie na przykład z języka niderlandzkiego, które polszczyzna przejęła z języka rosyjskiego, należy traktować jak niderlandyzm czy też jako rusycyzm. Przy okazji analizy zwrócono również uwagę na fakt, że nie zawsze zapożyczają się i formę, i znaczenie – nie jest rzadkim zjawiskiem w języku, że istniejące już słowo rozszerza swój zakres znaczeniowy o nowe, dotychczas nieznanne wartości semantyczne. Bez względu na pochodzenie morfologicznej formy takiego słowa w języku X jego nowe znaczenie, które powstało w tym języku, a następnie przechodzi do innego języka, jest pożyczką z języka X (dla przykładu: znaczenie słowa *akcja* ‘papier wartościowy’ powstało w realiach holenderskich, natomiast forma morfologiczna tego słowa pochodzi z łaciny – czy zatem *akcja* będzie zapożyczeniem z łaciny, czy też z niderlandzkiego?). Rozdział drugi zawiera zatem – oprócz wspomnianej wyżej konfrontatywnej analizy form – szereg sugestii, które być może przyczynią się do poprawienia jakości informacji umieszczanych w słownikach etymologicznych – a przynajmniej ich względnej uniformizacji.

Rozdział trzeci to prezentacja dróg, którymi zapożyczenia niderlandzkie mogły trafić do polszczyzny. Sam fakt, że słowniki etymologiczne uznają niderlandzkie pochodzenie zaledwie garści leksemów, potwierdza niewątpliwie tezę, że większość niderlandyzmów we współczesnym języku polskim to zapożyczenia pośrednie. Istotę rozdziału trzeciego stanowi zatem uzasadnienie ich przejęcia przez język polski czy to bezpośrednio z języka niderlandzkiego, czy też z jakiegoś języka pośredniego.

Rozdział czwarty jest próbą zmierzenia się ze znaczeniami zapożyczeń jako kompleksu zjawisk; punktem wyjścia nie jest pojedyncze słowo, ale pole znaczeniowe, do którego poszczególne pożyczki można przyporządkować. Hipotezę roboczą tego rozdziału stanowiło założenie, że do zapożyczeń dochodzi głównie wtedy, kiedy w języku przyjmującym powstaje potrzeba wyrażenia nowej wartości semantycznej. A zatem w rozdziale czwartym autorka wskazuje na domeny,

w których znalazło się miejsce dla niderlandyzmów, oraz uzasadnia potrzebę wprowadzenia nowych słów do języka polskiego.

Pracę zamyka zwięzłe podsumowanie, streszczenie w języku polskim i niderlandzkim i lista tytułów, z których autorka korzystała w czasie pracy nad niniejszą monografią.



Agata Kowalska-Szubert completed German studies with Dutch at the University of Wrocław (Poland), graduating with a master's degree. Then, she obtained her doctoral degree in linguistics (having written a dissertation of Dutch phrasemes) from the University of Leiden (the Netherlands). Afterwards, having presented a monograph on Dutch lexical borrowings in the contemporary Polish language, she obtained her habilitation degree from Palacký University of Olomouc (Czech Republic). Despite her scientific wanderlust, she has been working at her home University of Wrocław for over 30 years. Her research area encompasses broadly understood lexicology, where she always finds something new worthy of research. She is also a Dutch-Polish and German-Polish interpreter/translator.

The monograph "Dutch Loanwords in Contemporary Polish" is devoted to words and phrases of Dutch origin, found in Polish lexical sources from the end of the 20th century. However, dictionaries often lack information about the Dutch roots of a given word. Therefore, the author verifies their origin, thereby contributing to the discussion of the lexicographic presentation of etymological data.

The author traces the paths by which these borrowings reached the Polish language, discusses whether they have retained their meaning and presents how their form of spelling or pronunciation has changed in relation to the original Dutch forms.