

of our era are *hose* (> Italian *uosa* 'legging'; cf. above, § 24.3), *soap* (> Latin *sāpō*), *['θwahljo:] 'towel' (> French *touaille*, whence, in turn, English *towel*), *roast* (> French *rôtir*, whence, in turn, English *roast*), *helmet* (> French *heaume*), *crib* (> French *crèche*), *flask* (> Italian *fiasca*), *harp* (> French *harpe*). An example of a loan-translation is Latin *compāniō* 'companion,' a synthetic compound of *con-* 'with, along' and *pānis* 'bread,' on the model of Germanic *[ga-'hlajbo:], Gothic [ga'hlajba] 'companion,' a characteristically Germanic formation containing the prefix *[ga-] 'along, with' and *['hlajbaz] 'bread' (> English *loaf*).

CHAPTER 26

INTIMATE BORROWING

26. 1. Cultural borrowing of speech-forms is ordinarily mutual; it is one-sided only to the extent that one nation has more to give than the other. Thus, in the missionary period, from the seventh century onward, Old English borrowed Latin terms relating to Christianity, such as *church*, *minister*, *angel*, *devil*, *apostle*, *bishop*, *priest*, *monk*, *nun*, *shrine*, *cowl*, *mass*, and imitated Latin semantics in the way of loan-translation, but Old English gave nothing, at this time, in return. The Scandinavian languages contain a range of commercial and nautical terms from Low German, which date from the trading supremacy of the Hanseatic cities in the late Middle Ages; similarly, Russian contains many nautical terms from Low German and Dutch.

In spite of cases like these, we can usually distinguish between ordinary cultural borrowing and the *intimate borrowing* which occurs when two languages are spoken in what is topographically and politically a single community. This situation arises for the most part by conquest, less often in the way of peaceful migration. Intimate borrowing is one-sided: we distinguish between the *upper* or *dominant* language, spoken by the conquering or otherwise more privileged group, and the *lower* language, spoken by the subject people, or, as in the United States, by humble immigrants. The borrowing goes predominantly from the upper language to the lower, and it very often extends to speech-forms that are not connected with cultural novelties.

We see an extreme type of intimate borrowing in the contact of immigrants' languages with English in the United States. English, the upper language, makes only the most obvious cultural loans from the languages of immigrants, as *spaghetti* from Italian, *delicatessen*, *hamburger*, and so on (or, by way of loan-translation, *liver-sausage*) from German. The immigrant, to begin with, makes far more cultural loans. In speaking his native language, he has occasion to designate by their English names any number of things which he has learned to know since coming

to America: *baseball, alderman, boss, ticket*, and so on. At the very least, he makes loan-translations, such as German *erste Papiere* 'first papers' (for naturalization). The cultural reason is less evident in cases like *policeman, conductor, street-car, depot, road, fence, saloon*, but we can say at least that the American varieties of these things are somewhat different from the European. In very many cases, however, not even this explanation will hold. Soon after the German gets here, we find him using in his German speech, a host of English forms, such as *coat, bottle, kick, change*. He will say, for instance, *ich hoffe, Sie werden's enjoyen* [ix 'hofs, zi: 'verden s en'tsojen] 'I hope you'll enjoy it,' or *ich hab' einen kalt gecatched* [ix ha:p ajnen 'kalt ge'ketšt] 'I've caught a cold.' He makes loan-translations, such as *ich gleich' das nicht* [ix 'glajx das 'nixt] 'I don't like that,' where, on the model of English *like*, a verb with the meaning 'be fond of' is derived from the adjective *gleich* 'equal, resemblant.' Some of these locutions, like this last, have become conventionally established in American immigrant German. The phonetic, grammatical, and lexical phases of these borrowings deserve far more study than they have received. The assignment of genders to English words in German or Scandinavian has proved a fruitful topic of observation.

The practical background of this process is evident. The upper language is spoken by the dominant and privileged group; many kinds of pressure drive the speaker of the lower language to use the upper language. Ridicule and serious disadvantages punish his imperfections. In speaking the lower language to his fellows, he may go so far as to take pride in garnishing it with borrowings from the dominant speech.

In most instances of intimate contact, the lower language is indigenous and the upper language is introduced by a body of conquerors. The latter are often in a minority; the borrowing rarely goes on at such headlong speed as in our American instance. Its speed seems to depend upon a number of factors. If the speakers of the lower language stay in touch with speech-fellows in an unconquered region, their language will change less rapidly. The fewer the invaders, the slower the pace of borrowing. Another retarding factor is cultural superiority, real or conventionally asserted, of the dominated people. Even among our immigrants, educated families may keep their language for generations with little admixture of English.

The same factors, apparently, but with some difference of weight, may finally lead to the *disuse* (extinction) of one or the other language. Numbers count for more here than in the matter of borrowing. Among immigrants in America, extinction, like borrowing, goes on at great speed. If the immigrant is linguistically isolated, if his cultural level is low, and, above all, if he marries a person of different speech, he may cease entirely to use his native language and even lose the power of speaking it intelligibly. English becomes his only language, though he may speak it very imperfectly; it becomes the native language of his children. They may speak it at first with foreign features, but outside contacts soon bring about a complete or nearly complete correction. In other cases the immigrant continues to speak his native language in the home; it is the native language of his children, but at school age, or even earlier, they cease using it, and English becomes their only adult language. Even if their English keeps some foreign coloring, they have little or no command of the parental language; bilingualism is not frequent. In the situation of conquest the process of extinction may be long delayed. One or more generations of bilingual speakers may intervene; then, at some point, there may come a generation which does not use the lower language in adult life and transmits only the upper language to its children.

The lower language may survive and the upper language die out. If the conquerors are not numerous, or, especially, if they do not bring their own women, this outcome is likely. In less extreme cases the conquerors continue, for generations, to speak their own language, but find it more and more necessary to use also that of the conquered. Once they form merely a bilingual upper class, the loss of the less useful upper language can easily take place; this was the end of Norman-French in England.

26. 2. The conflict of languages, then, may take many different turns. The whole territory may end by speaking the upper language: Latin, brought into Gaul round the beginning of the Christian era by the Roman conquerors, in a few centuries crowded out the Celtic speech of the Gauls. The whole territory may end by speaking the lower language: Norman-French, brought into England by the Conquest (1066), was crowded out by English in three hundred years. There may be a territorial distribution: when English was brought into Britain in the fifth century of our

era, it crowded the native Celtic speech into the remoter parts of the island. In such cases there follows a geographic struggle along the border. In England, Cornish died out round the year 1800, and Welsh, until quite recently, was losing ground.

In all cases, however, *it is the lower language which borrows predominantly from the upper*. Accordingly, if the upper language survives, it remains as it was, except for a few cultural loans, such as it might take from any neighbor. The Romance languages contain only a few cultural loan-words from the languages that were spoken in their territory before the Roman conquest; English has only a few cultural loan-words from the Celtic languages of Britain, and American English only a few from American Indian languages or from the languages of nineteenth-century immigrants. In the case of conquest, the cultural loans which remain in the surviving upper language are chiefly place-names; witness, for example, American Indian place-names such as *Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Chicago, Milwaukee, Oshkosh, Sheboygan, Waukegan, Muskegon*. It is interesting to see that where English in North America has superseded Dutch, French, or Spanish as a colonial language, the latter has left much the same traces as any other lower language. Thus, from Dutch we have cultural loan-words like *cold-slaw, cookie, cruller, spree, scow, boss*, and, especially, place-names, such as *Schuylkill, Catskill, Harlem, the Bowery*. Place-names give valuable testimony of extinct languages. Thus, a broad band of Celtic place-names stretches across Europe from Bohemia to England; *Vienna, Paris, London* are Celtic names. Slavic place-names cover eastern Germany: *Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden, Breslau*.

On the other hand, if the lower language survives, it bears the marks of the struggle in the shape of copious borrowings. English, with its loan-words from Norman-French and its enormous layer of semi-learned (Latin-French) vocabulary, is the classical instance of this. The Battle of Hastings, in 1066, marks the beginning. The first appearances of French words in written records of English fall predominantly into the period from 1250 to 1400; this means probably that the actual borrowing in each case occurred some decades earlier. Round 1300 the upper-class Englishman, whatever his descent, was either bilingual or had at least a good foreign-speaker's command of French. The mass of the people spoke only English. In 1362 the use of English was prescribed for law-courts;

in the same year Parliament was opened in English. The conflict between the two languages, lasting, say, from 1100 to 1350, seems not to have affected the phonetic or grammatical structure of English, except in the sense that a few phonemic features, such as the initials [v-, z-, j-], and many features of the morphologic system of French were kept in the borrowed forms. The lexical effect, however, was tremendous. English borrowed terms of government (*state, crown, reign, power, country, people, prince, duke, duchess, peer, court*), of law (*judge, jury, just, sue, plea, cause, accuse, crime, marry, prove, false, heir*), of warfare (*war, battle, arms, soldier, officer, navy, siege, danger, enemy, march, force, guard*), of religion and morals (*religion, virgin, angel, saint, preach, pray, rule, save, tempt, blame, order, nature, virtue, vice, science, grace, cruel, pity, mercy*), of hunting and sport (*leash, falcon, quarry, scent, track, sport, cards, dice, ace, suit, trump, partner*), many terms of general cultural import (*honor, glory, fine, noble, art, beauty, color, figure, paint, arch, tower, column, palace, castle*), and terms relating to the household, such as servants might learn from master and mistress (*chair, table, furniture, serve, soup, fruit, jelly, boil, fry, roast, toast*); in this last sphere we find the oft-cited contrast between the native English names of animals on the hoof (*ox, calf, swine, sheep*), and the French loan-word names for their flesh (*beef, veal, pork, mutton*). It is worth noting that our personal names are largely French, as *John, James, Frances, Helen*, including even those which ultimately are of Germanic origin, such as *Richard, Roger, Henry*.

26. 3. The presence of loan-words in a wider semantic sphere than that of cultural novelties enables us to recognize a surviving lower language, and this recognition throws light not only upon historical situations, but also, thanks to the evidence of the loan-words themselves, upon the linguistic features of an ancient time. Much of our information about older stages of Germanic speech comes from loan-words in languages that once were under the domination of Germanic-speaking tribes.

Finnish, Lappish, and Esthonian contain hundreds of words that are plainly Germanic in origin, such as, Finnish *kuningas* 'king,' *lammas* 'sheep,' *rengas* 'ring,' *niekla* 'needle,' *napakaira* 'auger,' *pello* 'field' (§ 18.6). These loan-words occur not only in such semantic spheres as political institutions, weapons, tools, and garments, but also in such as animals, plants, parts of the body, minerals, abstract relations, and adjective qualities. Since the

sound-changes which have occurred in Finnish differ from those which have occurred in the Germanic languages, these loan-words supplement the results of the comparative method, especially as the oldest of these borrowings must have been made round the beginning of the Christian era, centuries before our earliest written records of Germanic speech.

In all the Slavic languages we find a set of Germanic loan-words that must have been taken, accordingly, into pre-Slavic. There is an older layer which resembles the Germanic loan-words in Finnish, as, Old Bulgarian [kuneⁿdzi] 'prince' < *['kuninga-], Old Bulgarian [xlē:bu] 'grain, bread' < *['hlajba-] (Gothic *hlaifs* 'bread,' English *loaf*), Old Bohemian [neboze:z] 'sugar' < *['nabagajza-]. A later stratum, which includes cultural terms of Greco-Roman origin, shows some specifically Gothic traits; to this layer belong terms like Old Bulgarian [kotilū] 'kettle' < *['katila-], Old Bulgarian [myto] 'toll' < *['mo:ta], Old Bulgarian [tse:sari] 'emperor' < *['kajso:rja-] (§ 25.5), Old Bulgarian [usereⁿdzi] 'earring' < *['awsa-bringa-]. We infer that the earlier stratum is pre-Gothic and dates from the beginning of the Christian Era, and that the later stratum comes from the stage of Gothic that is represented in our written documents of the fourth century.

In what is known as the Great Migrations, Germanic tribes conquered various parts of the Roman Empire. At this time Latin already contained a number of old cultural loan-words from Germanic (§ 25.8); the new loans of the Migration Period can be distinguished, in part, either by their geographic distribution, or by formal characteristics that point to the dialect of the conquerors. Thus, the vowel of Italian *elmo* ['elmo] 'helmet' reflects an old [i], and the Germanic [e] of a word like *['helmaz] (Old English *helm*) appears as [i] only in Gothic; the Goths ruled Italy in the sixth century. On the other hand, a layer of Germanic words with a consonant-shift like that of South German, represents the Lombard invasion and rule. Thus, Italian *tattera* ['tattera] 'trash' is presumably a loan from Gothic, but *zazzera* ['tsattsera] 'long hair' represents the Lombard form of the same Germanic word. Italian *ricco* 'rich,' *elso* 'hilt,' *tuffare* 'to plunge' are similarly marked as loans from Lombard.

The most extensive borrowing in Romance from Germanic appears in French. The French borrowings from the Frankish rulers, beginning with the name of the country *France*, pervade

the vocabulary. Examples are Frankish *['helm] 'helmet' > Old French *helme* (modern *heaume* [o:m]); Frankish *['falda₁sto:li] 'folding-stool' > Old French *faldestoel* (modern *fauteuil* [fotœ:j]); Frankish *[bru:n] 'brown' > French *brun*; Frankish *['bla:w] 'blue' > French *bleu*; Frankish *['hatjan] 'to hate' > French *hair*; Frankish *['wajdano:n] 'to gain' > Old French *gaagner* (modern *gagner*; English *gain* from French). This last example illustrates the fact that many of the French loan-words in English are ultimately of Germanic origin. Thus, English *ward* is a native form and represents Old English ['weardjan]; the cognate Frankish *['wardo:n] appears in French as *garder* [garde], whence English has borrowed *guard*.

It is not surprising that personal names in the Romance languages are largely of Germanic origin, as French *Louis, Charles, Henri, Robert, Roger, Richard*, or Spanish *Alfonso* (presumably < Gothic *['haðu-funs] 'eager for fray'), *Adolfo* (presumably < Gothic *['aðal-ulfs] 'wolf of the land'). The upper-class style of name-giving survives even when the upper language is otherwise extinct.

Repeated domination may swamp a language with loan-words. Albanese is said to contain a ground-stock of only a few hundred native words; all the rest are dominance-loans from Latin, Romance, Greek, Slavic, and Turkish. The European Gypsies speak an Indo-Aryan language: it seems that in their various abodes they have been sufficiently segregated to keep their language, but that this language figured always as a lower language and taker of loan-words. All the Gypsy dialects, in particular, contain loan-words from Greek. F. N. Finck defines German Gipsy simply as that dialect of the Gipsy language in which "any expression lacking in the vocabulary" is replaced by a German word, as ['fikerwa:wa] 'I patch' from German *flicken* 'to patch,' or ['štu:lo] 'chair' from German *Stuhl*. The inflectional system, however, is intact, and the phonetics apparently differ from those of German.

The model of the upper language may affect even the grammatical forms of the lower. The anglicisms, say, in the American German of immigrants, find many a parallel in the languages of dominated peoples; thus, Ladin is said to have largely the syntax of the neighboring German, though the morphemes are Latin. In English we have not only Latin-French affixes, as in *eatable, murderous*, (§ 25.6), but also a few foreign features of phonetic

pattern, as in *zoom*, *jounce*. Non-distinctive traits of phonemes do not seem to be borrowed. When we observe the American of German parentage (whose English, at the same time, may show some German traits) using an American-English [l] or [r] in his German, we may account for this by saying that German is for him a foreign language.

With a change of political or cultural conditions, the speakers of the lower language may make an effort to cease and even to undo the borrowing. Thus, the Germans have waged a long and largely successful campaign against Latin-French loan-words, and the Slavic nations against German. In Bohemian one avoids even loan-translations; thus, [zana:ška] 'entry (as, in a ledger),' abstract of a verb meaning 'to carry in,' a loan-translation of German *Eintragung* 'a carrying in, an entry,' is being replaced by a genuinely native [za:pis] 'writing in, notation.'

26. 4. Beside the normal conflict, with the upper language, if it survives, remaining intact, and the lower language, if it survives, bearing off a mass of loan-words and loan-translations, or even syntactic habits, we find a number of cases where something else must have occurred. Theoretically, there would seem to be many possibilities of an eccentric outcome. Aside from the mystic version of the substratum theory (§ 21.9), it seems possible that a large population, having imperfectly acquired an upper language, might perpetuate its version and even crowd out the more original type spoken by the upper class. On the other hand, we do not know the limit to which a lower language may be altered and yet survive. Finally, it is conceivable that a conflict might end in the survival of a mixture so evenly balanced that the historian could not decide which phase to regard as the main stock of habit and which as the borrowed admixture. However, we do not know which of these or of other imaginable complications have actually occurred, and no one, apparently, has succeeded in explaining the concrete cases of aberrant mixture.

From the end of the eighth century on, Danish and Norwegian Vikings raided and settled in England; from 1013 to 1042 England was ruled by Danish kings. The Scandinavian elements in English, however, do not conform to the type which an upper language leaves behind. They are restricted to the intimate part of the vocabulary: *egg*, *sky*, *oar*, *skin*, *gate*, *bull*, *bait*, *skirt*, *fellow*, *husband*, *sister*, *law*, *wrong*, *loose*, *low*, *mEEK*, *weak*, *give*, *take*, *call*,

cast, *hit*. The adverb and conjunction *though* is Scandinavian, and so are the pronoun forms *they*, *their*, *them*; the native form [m], as in *I saw 'em* (< Old English *him*, dative plural), is now treated as an unstressed variant of the loan-form *them*. Scandinavian place-names abound in northern England. We do not know what circumstances led to this peculiar result. The languages at the time of contact were in all likelihood mutually intelligible. Perhaps their relation as to number of speakers and as to dominance differed in different localities and shifted variously in the course of time.

Most instances of aberrant borrowing look as though an upper language had been affected by a lower. The clearest case is that of Chilean Spanish. In Chile, the prowess of the natives led to an unusually great influx of Spanish soldiers, who settled in the country and married native women. In contrast with the rest of Latin America, Chile has lost its Indian languages and speaks only Spanish, and this Spanish differs phonetically from the Spanish that is spoken (by the dominant upper class) in the rest of Spanish America. The differences run in the direction of the indigenous languages that were replaced by Spanish; it has been surmised that the children of the first mixed marriages acquired the phonetic imperfections of their mothers.

Some features of the normal type of the Romance languages have been explained as reflections of the languages that were superseded by Latin. It would have to be shown that the features in question actually date from the time when speakers of the earlier languages, having imperfectly acquired Latin, transmitted it in this shape to their children. If this were granted, we should have to suppose that the official and colonizing class of native Latin-speakers was not large enough to provide an ever-present model, such as would have led to the leveling out of these imperfections. Actually, the peculiar traits of the Romance languages appear at so late a date that this explanation seems improbable, unless one resorts to the mystical (atavistic) version of the substratum theory (§ 21.9).

Indo-Aryan speech must have been brought into India by a relatively small group of invaders and imposed, in a long progression of dominance, by a ruling caste. Some, at least, of the languages which were superseded must have been kin to the present-day non-Aryan linguistic stocks of India. The principal one

of these stocks, Dravidian, uses a domal series of stops [t, d, n] alongside the dental [t, d, n]; among the Indo-European languages, only the Indo-Aryan have the two series, and in their history the domals have become more numerous in the course of time. The Indo-Aryan languages exhibit also an ancient confusion of [l] and [r] which has been explained as due to substrata that possessed only one or neither of these sounds. The noun-declension of later Indo-Aryan shows a re-formation, by which the same case-endings are added to distinct stems for the singular and plural, as in Dravidian; this replaced the characteristic Indo-European habit of different sets of case-endings, as the sole distinction between singular and plural, added to one and the same stem.

In Slavic, especially in Russian and Polish, the impersonal and partitive constructions closely parallel the Finnish habit. The languages of the Balkan peninsula show various resemblances, although they represent four branches of Indo-European: Greek, Albanese, Slavic (Bulgarian, Serbian), and Latin (Roumanian). Thus, Albanese, Bulgarian, and Roumanian, all use a definite article that is placed after the noun; the Balkan languages generally lack an infinitive. In other parts of the world, too, we find phonetic or grammatical features prevailing in unrelated languages. This is the case with some phonetic features in the Caucasus, which are common both to the several non-Indo-European stocks and to Armenian and to the Iranian Ossete. On the Northwest Coast of North America, phonetic and morphologic peculiarities appear in similar extensions. Thus, Quilleute, Kwakiutl, and Tsimshian all have different articles for common nouns and for names, and distinguish between visibility and invisibility in demonstrative pronouns; the latter peculiarity appears also in the neighboring Chinook and Salish dialects, but not in those of the interior. The suggestion has been made that different tribes captured women from one another, who transmitted their speech, with traces of their native idiom, to the next generation.

Where we can observe the historical process, we occasionally find phonetic and grammatical habits passing from language to language without actual dominance. In the modern period the uvular-trill [r] has spread over large parts of western Europe as a replacement of the tongue-tip [r]; today, in France and in the Dutch-German area the former is citified and the latter rustic or old-fashioned. At the end of the Middle Ages, large parts of the

English, Dutch, and German areas, including the socially favored dialects, diphthongized the long high vowels. The rise of the articles and of phrasal verb-forms consisting of 'have,' 'be,' or 'become' plus past participle, in perfectic and passive values, took place in both the Latin and the Germanic areas during the early Middle Ages.

26. 5. There remains a type of aberrant borrowing in which we have at least the assurance that an upper language has been modified, though the details of the process are no less obscure.

The English (now largely American) Gipsies have lost their language and speak a phonetically and grammatically normal variety of sub-standard English; among themselves, however, they use anywhere from a few dozen to several hundred words of the old Gipsy language. These words are spoken with English phonemes and English inflection and syntax. They are terms for the very commonest things, and include grammatical words, such as pronouns. They are used interchangeably with the English equivalents. Older recordings show great numbers of these words; apparently a long speech could be made almost entirely in Gipsy words with English phonetics and grammar. Modern examples are: ['mendi] 'I,' ['ledi] 'you,' [sə] 'all,' [kejk] 'not,' [pon] 'say,' ['grajr] 'horse,' [aj 'dow nt 'kam tu 'dik e 'muš e-'čumr̩n e 'gruv̩n] 'I don't like to see a man a-kissin' a cow.' Occasionally one hears a Gipsy inflection, such as ['rukjr], plural of [ruk] 'tree.' The phonetics and grammar of the Gipsy words mark them unmistakably as borrowings by native speakers of English from a foreign language. Presumably they passed from native speakers of the Gipsy language, or from bilinguals, into the English of their children or other persons for whom Gipsy was no longer a native language. It is remarkable, however, that speakers of the latter sort should have interlarded their English with borrowings from the senescent lower language. Under the general circumstances of segregation, these borrowings had perhaps a facetious value; certainly they had the merit of making one's speech unintelligible to outsiders. Americans of non-English parentage who do not speak their parents' language, sometimes, by way of jest, use words of this language, speaking them with English sounds and inflections. Thus, German-Americans will occasionally use forms like [šwits] 'to sweat' (from German *schwitzen*), or [klač] 'to gossip' (from German *klatschen*). This trick seems to be com-