

Early Latin loan-words in Old English

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It is a well-known fact that Old English is rich in Latin loan-words. Although the precise number is not yet known, it is a fairly safe assumption that there are at least 600 to 700 loan-words in Old English.¹ This compares with 800 Latin loan-words borrowed in different periods in the Brittonic languages (Welsh, Cornish, Breton),² and at least 500 early Latin loan-words common to the West Germanic languages.³ These rather vague overall numbers do not lend

¹ The following abbreviations are used: CIL = Classical Latin; D = Dutch; Gmc. = Germanic; L = Latin; OFr = Old French; OHG = Old High German; VL = Vulgar Latin; W = Welsh. The number of Latin loan-words in Old English will finally be ascertained only with completion of the Toronto-based *Dictionary of Old English* [= DOE] on the basis of *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English*, compiled by A. di Paolo Healey and R. L. Venezky (Toronto, 1980) and of the *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altenglischen* by Professor Alfred Bammesberger at Eichstätt; see also H. Gneuss, 'Some Problems and Principles of the Lexicography of Old English', *Festschrift für Karl Schneider*, ed. K. R. Jankowsky and E. S. Dick (Amsterdam, 1982), pp. 153–66, at 154. There are quite a few estimates of the quantity of Latin loans in Old English which are mainly based upon the substantial but far from complete lists supplied by M. S. Serjeantson, *A History of Foreign Words in English* (London, 1935). The list given there in Appendix A (pp. 271–88) comprises approximately 540 loan-words and is arranged by semantic fields assigned to three chronological strata (A, B and C, respectively). According to M. Scheler, *Der englische Wortschatz*, Grundlagen der Anglistik und Amerikanistik 9 (Berlin, 1977), 38, n. 23, there are some 600 Latin loans in Old English, including some 50 loans adopted during the late Old English period after the Norman Conquest. With respect to the quantity of Latin loans in Old English, Barbara Strang, *A History of English* (London, 1970), depends heavily upon Serjeantson, although she gives no overall number. The number of early Latin loan-words in Germanic is estimated at some 400 (*ibid.* p. 388). A relatively comprehensive list of loan-words is provided by W. W. Skeat, *Principles of English Etymology. First Series*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1892), §§ 398–9. For a preliminary list of early loan-words borrowed before AD 600 arranged on the basis of the sound changes of Latin tonic vowels, see A. Wollmann, *Untersuchungen zu den frühen Lehnwörtern im Altenglischen. Phonologie und Datierung*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur englischen Philologie 15 (Munich, 1990), 152–80.

² K. H. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain. A Chronological Survey of the Brittonic Languages First to Twelfth Century A.D.* (Edinburgh, 1953) [hereafter LHEB], p. 76 including n. 3; H. Haarmann, *Der lateinische Lehnwortschatz im Kymrischen*, Romanistische Versuche und Vorarbeiten 36 (Bonn, 1970), 8–10, estimates the number of Latin loan-words in Welsh at some 700. See also below, n. 31.

³ A comprehensive but far from inclusive list of Latin loan-words in the Germanic languages was provided by F. Kluge, 'Vorgeschichte der altgermanischen Dialekte. Mit einem Anhang: Geschichte der gotischen Sprache', *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, ed. H. Paul, 2nd ed. (Strassburg, 1899) I, 333–54 ('Die lateinischen Lehnworte der altgermanischen Sprachen').

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themselves, however, to a serious analysis of Latin influence on the Germanic and Celtic languages, because they include different periods of borrowing which are not really comparable to each other. The basis of these estimates, moreover, is often not stated very clearly. Although the establishment of a complete list of Latin loan-words in the various Germanic languages is a *desideratum*, it can only be achieved in a later stage of our studies.

Earlier introductory histories of the English language sometimes maintain that the number of Latin loan-words in Old English is not very significant due to the predominance of loan-formations.⁴ The low frequency of many loan-words in Old English texts does not, however, support the argument that Latin influence on Old English generally was of minor importance. Many loan-words which presumably had a high currency and acceptability in Old English, for example, words belonging to the agricultural vocabulary, are often attested only rarely in Old English texts. This can easily be explained by the nature and vicissitudes of the tradition of literary texts which generally is not dominated by matters of everyday life.

THE PERIODIZATION OF LATIN LOAN-WORDS IN OLD ENGLISH

Loan-vocabulary is often the result of linguistic interference extending over a very long time-span. Old English was subject to Latin influence throughout the Old English period. If we take into account the pre-Old English period, as well, we can say that the study of Old English vocabulary means also the study of nearly a millennium of language contact between Latin and Old English. Due to changing historical and cultural settings the intensity and range of language contact varied. This leads us to the problem of the periodization of the Latin loan-vocabulary. The question appears to be a primarily chronological one, but it ultimately rests on the problem of whether we can set up distinctive groups of loan-words which differ in their linguistic appearance (phonology, morphology or semantics) and which can be tied to a specific historical situation or – in rare cases – to a geographical zone of origin.

Early and later Latin loan-words

Alistair Campbell's treatment of Latin loan-words in his *Old English Grammar*⁵ is one of the most comprehensive ones in recent times and presents a simple

⁴ Cf. e.g. G. P. Krapp, *Modern English. Its Growth and Present Use* (New York, 1910), pp. 212 and 216; S. Robertson, *The Development of Modern English* (New York, 1934), pp. 44–5. Loan-formations have been dealt with in depth by H. Gneuss, *Lehnbildungen und Lehnbedeutungen im Altenglischen* (Berlin, 1955).

⁵ A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1959) [hereafter Cpb], §§ 493 and 545.

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and useful model of the chronology of Latin loan-words in Old English which seems fully adequate for the purposes of a handbook.

Campbell distinguishes ‘early’ and ‘later’ loan-words: ‘The Latin loan-words found in Old English can be roughly classified into (1) those in which the sound-changes operate which would effect the same sound-successions in native words, and (2) those which were introduced into Old English by scholars without modification of their sounds, or at least without the indication of such modification in spelling.’⁶

The ‘early’ loan-words were borrowed in the Roman and sub-Roman period. They reflect the superiority of Roman civilization and mainly denote concrete things of everyday life adopted from the Romans. A frequently practised semantic classification of the early loan-words shows that they can be attributed mainly to the fields of agriculture, building, food, household and commerce. Not surprisingly these loan-words linguistically, or more strictly speaking, phonologically, exhibit a high degree of integration into the native languages. L *cāseus* was adopted as VL /ka:sjo/. Old English and the other Germanic languages preserve the CIL etymon while in Gallo-Romance the word was supplanted by VL *forma* (> OFr *formage*). The Old English loan-word underwent a number of early sound changes like brightening /a:/ > /æ:/, palatal diphthongization of /æ:/ > /ɛ:a/ and subsequent i-mutation /ɛ:a/ > /i:e/, to become OE *ciese*.

The ‘later loan-words’ are a quantitatively dominating sub-group of what we may call ‘Christian loan-words’ and were introduced during the later periods of Christian culture. In his account of the ‘later loan-words’ Campbell obviously did not include the early Christian loan-words borrowed in the course of Christianization since the end of the sixth century. This date is an extra-linguistic chronological criterion indicating a *terminus post quem* for most of the Christian loan-words.⁷ However, there is a small number of Christian loan-words denoting basic terms of ecclesiastical life and liturgy which must have been very common from the beginnings of Christianization or in some cases perhaps even before in heathen times, for example, OE *mæsse* ‘mass’,

⁶ Cp. § 493.

⁷ It is possible that borrowing had set in already around AD 560: ‘With the coming of Augustine and his 40 companions in 597, and possibly even at an earlier date, with the arrival of Bishop Liudhard in the retinue of Queen Bertha of Kent in the 560’s, reading and writing Latin became one of the skills offered by the young Church. How soon the use of the Latin alphabet was extended to the writing of Old English we can infer from the promulgation of Æthelbert of Kent’s written law code early in the seventh century’ (R. Derolez, ‘Runic Literacy among the Anglo-Saxons’, *Britain 400–600: Language and History*, ed. A. Bammesberger and A. Wollmann, *Anglistische Forschungen* 205 (Heidelberg, 1990), 397–436, at 399).

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dēofol ‘devil’, *engel* ‘angel’, *biscop* ‘bishop’, *almesse* ‘alms’.⁸ Even a word like *antefn* ‘antiphon’ shows that many early Christian loan-words are linguistically comparable to the early loan-words of Roman times because they reflect Latin and Old English sound-changes indicating a high degree of integration into the native vocabulary. It must be assumed that what is often vaguely called ‘Church Latin’ – at least the spoken form – was heavily influenced by, or even essentially was, Romance in its early stage but gradually gave way to the co-existing ‘book-Latin’. A convergence of ecclesiastical Latin with classical Latin was only achieved more or less successfully by the Carolingian reforms.⁹

Phonologically and morphologically early Christian loan-words belong rather more to the preceding group of ‘early’ loan-words than to the ‘later’ loan-words. On semantic grounds, however, a dividing line around AD 600 can be drawn. By a modification of Campbell’s distinction and the adoption of Skeat’s model¹⁰ all Christian loan-words could be categorized as ‘later’ loan-words.

WHERE DID THE EARLY LOAN-WORDS COME FROM?

Alois Pogatscher, the founder of Latin loan-word studies in Old English, attempted to establish chronological and geographical criteria for the dating of such loan-words. His ground-breaking and often quoted study on the phonology and chronology of the Latin loan-words in Old English was published in 1888.¹¹ Pogatscher’s *Lautlehre* centred on the question of whether it would be possible to define further strata of loan-words within the great group of early loan-words. Methodologically this attempt at a further differentiation in turn depends on the more or less precise dating of every single loan-word.

⁸ For OE *antefn*, see A. Wollmann, ‘Zur Datierung christlicher Lehnwörter im Altenglischen: ae. *antefn*’, in *Language and Civilization. A Concerted Profusion of Essays and Studies in Honour of Otto Hietzsch*, ed. C. Blank (Frankfurt and Bern, 1992), pp. 124–38; for OE *almesse*, see A. Pogatscher, *Zur Lautlehre der griechischen, lateinischen und romanischen Lehnwörter im Altenglischen*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker 64 (Strassburg, 1888), § 38; for L *episcopus* (> OE *biscop*), see M.-L. Rotsaert, ‘Vieux-Haut-Allem. *bischoff*/Gallo-Roman *(e)*bescobo*, (e)*bescobā*/Lat. *episcopus*’, *Sprachwissenschaft* 2 (1977), 181–216; for OE *messe*, see A. Wollmann, ‘Lateinisch-Altenglische Lehnbeziehungen im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert’, *Britain 400–600: Language and History*, ed. Bammesberger and Wollmann, pp. 373–96, esp. 392–4.

⁹ See A. Wollmann, ‘Early Christian Loanwords in Old English’, *Germania Latina II* (forthcoming).

¹⁰ W. W. Skeat, *Principles of English Etymology. First Series* (see n. 1). Skeat discriminates pre-Christian loan-words (‘Latin of the First Period’ up to AD 600) and Christian loan-words (‘Latin of the Second Period’).

¹¹ Pogatscher, *Lautlehre* (as cited above, n. 8).

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Continental and Insular loan-words

Within the group of early loan-words Pogatscher made a geographically based distinction between ‘continental’ loan-words borrowed by the Anglo-Saxon tribes during their different periods of settlement on the Continent and ‘Insular’ loan-words borrowed in the course of the settlement period in Britain up to the beginnings of Christianization at the end of the sixth century.¹² This view was later adopted in many introductory textbooks and language histories. According to Pogatscher, loan-words could be attributed to the continental group if the Latin etymon also exists in other West Germanic languages. However, even if there were no equivalent loan-words in other continental Germanic languages, there were phonological criteria sufficient for attributing them to the continental group: ‘Der frühen Entlehnung entsprechend müssen sie Zeichen hohen Alters im rom. oder germ. Lautstande bieten. Als ein untrügliches Zeichen kann z.B. auf rom. Seite Bewahrung der intervokalischen Tenuis, auf germ. Seite die hd. Lautverschiebung gelten. Wo in einem echt volkstümlichen Worte eines der beiden Anzeichen erscheint, liegt Entlehnung in kontinentaler Periode vor.’¹³

Nearly thirty years before the publication of Jakob Jud’s ‘Altromanische Wortgeographie’¹⁴ and long before Theodor Frings’s studies on the *Germania Romana* and Bartoli’s *linguistica spaziale*, linguistic geography played a major role in Pogatscher’s methodological approach.¹⁵ Pogatscher rightly assumed that the Anglo-Saxons adopted a significant number of Latin loan-words directly from the Romans when they were still migrating in the north-western continental coastal plains. The origin of these words must have been the Rhine

¹² *Ibid.* pp. 4–5.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 5: ‘If loan-words were borrowed early they should show signs of great age with respect to the Romance or Germanic phonological form. On the Romance side an infallible criterion is the conservation of intervocalic voiceless stops, on the Germanic side the High German consonant shift. If one of these criteria is attested in a genuinely popular word it is a continental loan-word.’

¹⁴ J. Jud, ‘Probleme der altromanischen Wortgeographie’, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 38 (1917), 1–75.

¹⁵ Pogatscher, *Lautlehre*, p. 1: ‘Unter diesen Bedingungen sind für den Grammatiker wieder zwei von besonderer Wichtigkeit, nämlich die *Art* der Vermittlung fremder Sachen und Worte, und falls ein grösseres Gebiet hierbei in Frage kommt, die geographische Lage der *Berührungsstellen* oder *Berührungslinien*, an welchen jene Vermittlung sich vollzogen hat. In allen Fällen wird die Beantwortung der Frage nach den Berührungslinien zugleich auch wesentliche Hilfsmittel zur Erkenntnis der Art der Vermittlung bieten, während in vielen Fällen die Art der Vermittlung zwischen verschiedenen Völkern eine ähnliche oder gleiche sein wird; die Feststellung der Berührungslinien wird daher ein erhöhtes Interesse für sich in Anspruch nehmen können.’

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area and Gaul.¹⁶ Consequently, the Gallo-Romance variety of Latin was the ultimate linguistic source of all early Latin loan-words. This seems to be a valid assumption even if there was a separate variety of British Latin which Pogatscher assumed to have been a major source of Insular loan-words.¹⁷ Luick tried to describe more precisely the possible areas of origin of early loan-words. The earliest loan-words might have been transmitted by Roman merchants in Schleswig-Holstein and the coastal regions around the Elbe. Names for vessels, commercial, naval and perhaps some military terms might have reached the Anglo-Saxon tribes still distant from the *imperium*.¹⁸ Direct contacts between the Anglo-Saxons and the Romans came about by the migrations of the former along the North Sea coastal regions down to the Schelde estuary and the Channel coast. Close contacts especially with Roman Gaul occasioned the adoption of numerous terms of vini- and horticulture, of building and road construction.¹⁹ Luick also states a third, at least theoretical, possibility of a transmission of Latin loan-words through linguistically related Germanic tribes which had a closer contact with the Romans.²⁰

The dichotomy of ‘continental’ vs ‘Insular’ loan-words implied a linking of the geographical to the chronological dimension. According to Pogatscher, the ‘Insular’ loan-words must have been borrowed roughly between AD 450 and 600. The geographical criterion is supplemented by historical dates giving an absolute chronology. Pogatscher adopts the date of the invasion of the Anglo-Saxon tribes evidenced by the historical sources as a *terminus post quem* and the beginnings of Christianization at the end of the sixth century as a *terminus ante quem*.²¹ Pogatscher’s assumption that the Anglo-Saxons bor-

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 7.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 13. It may be noted that Pogatscher sees no significant difference between the Latin of Roman Gaul and the variety of Latin spoken in Britain: ‘. . . im Allgemeinen mag hier bemerkt werden, dass die grammatische Form der Æ. Lehnworte für das britannische Volkslatein ein so enges Zusammengehen mit dem gallischen erweist, . . . dass wenn die Angelsachsen nicht nach Britannien gekommen wären, England wohl eine dem Französischen sehr nahestehende Sprach erhalten hätte, natürlich vorausgesetzt, dass die Romanisierung Britanniens ausgedehnt genug gewesen war. Daher bin ich bei dem Ansatz der Substrate auch unbedenklich überall von gallorom. Grundformen ausgegangen.’

¹⁸ K. Luick, *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache I* (Leipzig, 1921–40) [hereafter Lck], p. 63. Luick’s account goes back to J. Hoops.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* W. Jungandreas, *Geschichte der deutschen und englischen Sprache. Teil III: Geschichte der englischen Sprache* (Göttingen, 1949), p. 312, even sets up a period of a ‘nordwestdeutschen Sprachgemeinschaft zwischen Somme, Weser und Nordsee im 4. Jh.’, which would imply an approximately simultaneous adoption of a certain set of Latin words into Old English, Old Frisian and Old Saxon.

²⁰ Lck, § 208, n.: ‘Eine Feststellung ist jedoch nicht möglich, da bisher an keinem Lehnwort Spuren des Durchgangs durch einen anderen germanischen Dialekt unmittelbar, d.h. in seiner Lautgebung, nachgewiesen werden konnte.’

²¹ Although AD 450 can no longer be seen as the historical date of the *adventus Saxonum*, it still is suitable as a useful date for a working model, if we take into account a transitional period of

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rowed 'significant' numbers of loan-words especially during the fifth century²² was based not primarily on linguistic considerations but on then-current archaeological and historical views revising the earlier received opinion that the decline of Roman culture in the wake of the withdrawal of Roman troops after AD 407/408 entailed the extinction of Latin as a spoken language.²³ Britain was now regarded as a deeply romanized province. Consequently the use of Latin was no longer supposed to have been strictly restricted to the Roman army and administrative apparatus. A more widespread use of Latin especially in the towns and to some extent in the countryside could not have disappeared suddenly with the dissolution of Roman military and administrative structures. Pogatscher's conclusion, seemingly corroborated by archaeological evidence, was that 'eine längere Fortdauer des Lateinischen in Britannien ebenso natürlich wie das Gegenteil befremdlich erscheinen [muss]. Die Heimat der nach 450 ins AE. eingedrungenen lat. bez. rom. Lehnworte ist daher Britannien.'²⁴

some decades during the first half of the fifth century. For a concise survey of the historical background of the settlement period, see Wollmann, 'Lehnbeziehungen im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert', pp. 377–80 and especially J. Hines, 'Philology, Archaeology and the *adventus Saxonum vel Anglorum*', *Britain 400–600: Language and History*, ed. Bammesberger and Wollmann, pp. 17–36. The integration of historical dates into a relative chronology was one of Pogatscher's aims: 'Insbesondere habe ich – wenn ich nicht irre – hier zum ersten Male den Versuch gewagt, mit Hilfe der ältesten Lehnworte neben und an Stelle der bisher zumeist *relativen* einige in sich zusammenhängende Grundlinien einer *absoluten* Chronologie gewisser Erscheinungen des vorliterarischen Lautstandes der beiden hier in Frage kommenden Sprachgebiete [i.e. Old English and Gallo-Romance] zu ziehen' (*Lautlebre*, p. ix).

²² Pogatscher, *Lautlebre*, p. 12: 'Für die Kulturentwicklung der Angelsachsen war diese zweite Periode, welche sich von 450 bis 600 erstreckt, von der grössten Bedeutung. Die beträchtliche Zahl der innerhalb dieser Zeit aufgenommenen Lehnworte zeigt, welche neuen Anschauungen der neue Boden, der von römischer Bildung durchdrungen war, den Ankömmlingen erschlossen hat.'

²³ Pogatscher, *Lautlebre*, pp. 2–4, citing T. Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, 4th ed. (London, 1885) and E. Winkelmann, *Geschichte der Angelsachsen bis zum Tode König Alfreds*, Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen, 2. Hauptabtheilung, 3. Theil (Berlin, 1883). See also Wollmann, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 9–11 and 15.

²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 4: 'The natural consequence appears to be the continued existence of Latin in Britain for a longer period. Hence the source of the Latin and Romance loan-words borrowed after AD 450 is Britain.' Although Pogatscher's book was the first relatively comprehensive linguistic study of the Latin loan-words, Pogatscher naturally did have precursors (see Wollmann, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 4–11). Earlier remarks in historical works and shorter studies on Latin loan-words in Old English, however, were frequently marred by the presupposition that the Anglo-Saxons could have adopted originally Latin loan-words only through the mediation of romanized Celts in Britain; cf. E. Guest, 'On Certain Foreign Terms, adopted by our Ancestors prior to their Settlement in the British Islands', *Proc. of the Philol. Soc.* 5 (1852), 169–74 and 185–9. No date is normally given for the final extinction of British Latin, but it becomes sufficiently clear that Latin was supposed to have been a spoken language at least during the fifth and sixth centuries. Surprisingly, direct borrowing due to contacts with the Romans on the Continent was regarded as a possibility only from the middle of the nineteenth century.

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BRITISH LATIN – A SOURCE OF LATIN LOAN-WORDS IN OLD
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The problem of continuity of British Latin

Pogatscher's basic assumption was that the 'Insular' period depended on the continuing existence of British Latin²⁵ as the source language of Latin loan-words in Old English after the final withdrawal of the Roman troops and the breakdown of Roman power. The invading Anglo-Saxon tribes were supposed to have had close contacts with romanized Celts still residing in urban settlements and speaking Vulgar Latin. Because what may be called the 'continuity theory' is the precondition of the constitution of an Insular layer of loan-words it deserves to be discussed in a wider context. This scenario of linguistic contact is roughly comparable to the situation in the Balkans in the second half of the sixth century, when the Slavs began to spread southwards. Besides speakers of native Indo-European languages (Thracian, Illyrian, Dacian) they encountered a partially romanized population speaking some sort of Vulgar Latin or Romance. Under favourable geographical and historical conditions, the linguistic differentiation of a (probably never uniform) Balkan variety of Latin ultimately led to distinct Romance languages of which Rumanian and Dalmatian are clearly discernible. At the time of the Slavic invasions there were certainly no uniform, contiguous and adjacent language areas, but rather a medley of interspersed speech communities of different origin.

The Latin speaking population was not blotted out by the Slavs nor was it deromanized in its language, but it was greatly dispersed. The major result of the Sl[avic] incursions was the destruction of the national and linguistic boundaries. If an ethnographic or linguistic map of the Balkans of that time existed, it would not have any uniformly colored large surfaces, but instead its character would be that of a mosaic inlaid with tiny pieces. Sl[avic] speaking people lived side by side with Rom[ance] speaking (as well as the remnants of those who spoke the pre-Romance languages of the area). It took several centuries for centers to crystallize, where one particular language would prevail.²⁶

²⁵ 'British Latin' is a term used by Jackson, *LHEB*, p. 5, as representing 'the variety of Vulgar Latin spoken in Britain during and for some time after the Roman occupation'; in an earlier essay Jackson used the term 'Vulgar Latin of Roman Britain': 'On the Vulgar Latin of Roman Britain', *Medieval Studies in Honor of J. D. M. Ford*, ed. U. T. Holmes and A. J. Denomy (Cambridge, MA, 1948), pp. 83–103. The sociolinguistic aspect is stressed by Pogatscher's usage of 'britannisches Volkslatein' vs. 'Schriftlatein' (*Lautlebre*, pp. 9 and 13) and especially by E. P. Hamp's 'British spoken Latin' ('Social Gradience in British spoken Latin', *Britannia* 6 (1975), 150–62, at 160–1). Although 'British Latin' tends to suggest a uniform language, it seems to be the most satisfactory term available.

²⁶ G. Y. Shevelov, *A Prehistory of Slavic: the Historical Phonology of Common Slavic* (Heidelberg, 1964), pp. 159–60.

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There are striking similarities between the Balkans of the sixth century and fifth-century Britain. Recent archaeological evidence suggests that in fifth-century Britain there was more continuity of settlement than was formerly thought. While Jackson still assumed that after the Anglo-Saxon invasions a great part of the Celtic inhabitants of the Lowland zone fled to the Highland Zone,²⁷ we can now presume on good grounds that institutional and social continuity was considerable and that there was not a catastrophic breakdown of Roman civilisation but what could be best described as a fading away.²⁸ The linguistic development in Britain and in the Balkans had the same initial settings in the sense that there was 'a development from co-territorial languages, through the crystallization of nations, to adjacent languages.'²⁹ The degree of interference and bilingualism in the Balkans, however, must have been much higher than in Britain. This is clearly shown by the fact that the Slavic element in Rumanian vocabulary accounts for twenty to thirty per cent.³⁰ The percentage of Latin loans in Old English and Welsh is much lower, the latter having a higher number of Latin loan-words than the former.³¹ If we

²⁷ Jackson, *LHEB*, pp. 119–20. The Lowland Zone comprises the fertile and relatively densely populated plains 'roughly south and east of a line drawn from the Vale of York past the southern end of the Pennines and along the Welsh border to the fringes of the hilly country of Devon and Cornwall' (*ibid.* p. 96). In this area the majority of Latin loan-words were borrowed into Celtic (see also below, n. 96), while the Highland Zone became an area of retreat for the Celtic population of the Lowland Zone. According to Jackson (*ibid.* p. 120), the Highland Zone 'from having been the home of semi-barbarous hillmen kept in subjection by the Roman garrison, had now become the last refuge of Roman life in Britain, and the sphere of powerful half-Romanized Christian chiefs. Many of the inhabitants of the Lowlands had fled here, bringing with them no doubt some remnants of their Roman civilization, and very likely now introducing to the West many of the Latin words borrowed centuries before into their British speech, so that in this way they survived into medieval Welsh, Cornish, and Breton.'

²⁸ S. Johnson, *Later Roman Britain* (London, 1980), pp. 150–76; A. C. Thomas, *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500* (London, 1981), pp. 75–6. The same applies to the abandonment of Dacia by Aurelian in AD 271. As in Britain roughly one hundred and fifty years later, the urban settlements were affected most seriously by the retreat of the Romans.

²⁹ Shevelov, *A Prehistory of Slavic*, p. 160.

³⁰ *Ibid.*; this percentage does not take into account the medieval and modern loans from Latin and only refers to the size of the lexicon, not the frequency of the lexemes. Figures vary depending on the basis of computation. Haarmann quotes a study by D. Macrea who estimated the share of original Latin words including derivations at some twenty per cent, compared with sixteen per cent of Slavic loan-words, twenty-nine per cent of French loan-words and thirty-three per cent of words of other origin (including modern Latinisms). Haarmann's corpus comprises 1771 Daco-Rumanian lexemes; see H. Haarmann, *Balkanlinguistik (1) Areallinguistik und Lexikostatistik des balkanlateinischen Wortschatzes*, *Tübinger Beiträge zur Linguistik* 93 (Tübingen, 1978), 16–17 and 150–2.

³¹ See above, p. 1, nn. 2 and 3. A comparison of the number of Latin loan-words in languages situated on the periphery of the Romania reveals that Welsh includes some 700 Latin loan-words, compared with 674 in Basque, 636 in Albanian, 483 in the Germanic languages and 471 in Breton; see H. Haarmann, *Der lateinische Einfluß in den Interferenzzonen am Rande der*

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take into account the qualitative semantic composition of the loan vocabulary in Welsh and Old English, respectively, it is obvious that in nearly four hundred years of Roman occupation Welsh was exposed to a more far-reaching and intensive influence of Latin than Old English. Even if we pay due regard to this, a comparison between Roman Britain and the Balkans shows that the romanization of the former province was relatively superficial or less intensive. As in Britain, in Dacia the usage of Latin as a colloquial standard (*Umgangssprache*) was certainly confined to the urban centres. The main prop for the survival of Latin in the Balkans was, however, its function as a *lingua franca* (*Verkehrssprache*) for the very heterogeneous native population otherwise adhering to their autochthonous languages, and the migrating 'barbarous' tribes, as well. In this function Latin survived the abandonment of Dacia in AD 271 and the ensuing disappearance of urban life for a long span of time until the end of the sixth century when in the areas north of the Danube a revival of romanization set in.³² The discussion on the continuity of settlement in the regions north of the Danube after the retreat of the Romans seems to be settled in favour of continuity. With the collapse of urban life the Daco-Roman population was completely ruralized but with the exception of the military and administrative apparatus there was no retreat of the whole romanized population to the regions south of the Danube. Romanization probably differed from region to region. Certain highly romanized 'core areas' formed the basis of the later northward expansion of the Romance language area following the Slavic invasion in AD 602.³³ In Roman Britain the use of Latin cannot have been as widespread as in the Balkans. Although both regions shared the collapse of urban life after the retreat of Roman power and thereby lost the main centres of Latinity and their *Kulturträger* (culturally trend-setting social groups) – probably with the exception of the Church – in the Balkans Latin managed to survive in some regions despite the Slavic

Romania. Vergleichende Studien zur Sprachkontaktforschung, Romanistik in Geschichte und Gegenwart 5 (Hamburg, 1979), 35. K. Jackson, 'The British Language during the Period of the English Settlements', *Studies in Early British History*, ed. N. K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 61–82, at 62, estimates the number of Latin loan-words in British at roughly one thousand. I believe that the number of loan-words, especially in the Germanic languages, is somewhat higher, but nevertheless the general proportions become sufficiently clear; see also above, p. 1.

³² Cf. the illuminating account of G. Reichenkron, *Historische Latein-Altromanische Grammatik. I. Teil* (Wiesbaden, 1965), pp. 347–54. The distinction of *Verkehrssprache* and *Heimssprache* (the native languages like Dacian, Thracian or Illyrian) goes back to E. Gamillscheg (see below, n. 70).

³³ For a convenient summary of the discussion on romanization and continuity in Dacia, see V. Arvinte, 'Die Entstehung der rumänischen Sprache und des rumänischen Volkes im Lichte der jüngsten Forschung', in his *Die Rumänen. Ursprung, Volks- und Landesnamen*, Tübinger Beiträge zur Linguistik 114 (Tübingen, 1980), 11–36, esp. 20–31.