

LATIN AND ROMANCE LOANWORDS IN ENGLISH

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In this study the author provides a survey on the interaction between English and the Latin and Romance languages throughout the centuries. The lexical impact of Latin, French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese is analysed chronologically, with a special regard to the phonological modifications of loan-words.

1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to survey the history of contacts between English and the Latin daughter languages as reflected by the English word stock. The lexical impact of Latin will also be included in the discussion. This decision is justified by two facts. One is that contact with Latin cannot be separated from contact with Romance in terms of periods. Latin continued to exert its influence on English or its ancestor ever since the first centuries of Christianity until modern times. It thus overlaps with the influence of the individual Romance languages, which is more strictly confined to certain periods, though that of French has been almost continuous since the eleventh-twelfth centuries. The other, more compelling reason for the inclusion of Latin is that many Romance loanwords in English were borrowed – or refashioned after borrowing – in a hybrid form on the basis of both the Romance original and the Latin original of the Romance reflex. For instance, *bankrupt* is a sixteenth-century adaptation of Italian *banca rotta* influenced also by the French form *banqueroute*, but the established English form owes its *-p-* to the Latin etymon *rupta* ‘broken’. It is further to be noted that in many cases it is not possible to tell whether a word was borrowed directly from Latin or from one of its daughter languages, e.g. *corrupt* (fourteenth c.), which occurred in French, a lan-

guage well known and widely used in England at that time, but may just as well have been borrowed directly from Latin (similarly well known and widely used, though for different purposes). From the point of view of English it is, of course, immaterial that *corrupt* was a Latin loan in French too.

The paper is organised in the following manner. By way of introduction, the outlines of the major periods in the history of English are explained. Then the lexical impact of each language is discussed in decreasing order of importance (and consequently in decreasing length): Latin, French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese. The discussion of the individual languages is given in a chronological order, with phonological modifications of the loans suffered in English also pointed out.

1.1 The periods of the history of English

Speakers of the dialects that historically underlie English were geographically and linguistically separated decisively from other Germanic tribes in the course of the fifth century, when they invaded Britain. The time between the settlement and the first non-runic textual records (c. 700 AD) is referred to as Pre-OE (or pre-literary or prehistoric OE, to which some extend the cover-term OE). Linguistically its importance lies in that many of the principal OE sound changes (palatalisation, breaking, perhaps umlaut) took place in those centuries. The OE of the period ending in the first decades of the tenth century is called early OE. The variety associated mainly with the works of Ælfric (c. 1000), which influenced the whole of the English-speaking (or, more properly, English-writing) territory, is called late OE (actually the same as late West Saxon). The last hundred years (mid-eleventh to mid-twelfth centuries) that saw the demise of the standard established by Ælfric are often referred to as transitional OE, but frequently the term late OE is used to cover both the classical and the transitional periods.

Middle English begins in terms of historical dates with the Norman Conquest (1066). The linguistic effect of the replacement of the aristocracy by a French-speaking military and ecclesiastical élite was, of course, much delayed, and it was also not the only reason why the OE period is regarded as having come to an end. In properly linguistic terms, the ME period begins in the twelfth century and ends around 1500. The two symbolic dates that are often referred to as marking the beginning of Modern English are 1476, when William Caxton established his printing press in London (the first in England), or 1485, the ascension to the throne of the first Tudor king (Henry VII). Linguistically, Modern English is distinguished from Middle English mainly by the inception of the Great Vowel Shift (the overall restructuring of the long vowel system), the loss of verbal inflection, the rise of *do*-support in negative and interrogative sen-

tences and the spread and regularisation of the progressive verb forms. The period before 1750-1800 is distinguished as Early Modern English.

2. *LATIN*

On the basis of the nature of contact between the two languages, the Latin loanwords found in English can be conveniently assigned to the following periods:

- (I) Continental (before 5th c. AD)
- (II) Insular pre-Christian (5th - 6th c.)
- (III) Early Medieval (Christian, 7th - 11th c.)
- (IV) Late Medieval (12th - 15th c.)
- (V) Renaissance and Modern (16th c. and after)

It is in terms of these periods that we will now discuss them.

1.1 *Continental*

Borrowings proper to this period are common to the Germanic languages (though often with the exception of Gothic, since Goths belonged in the orbit of Byzantium, not of Rome). The frame of contact between speakers of Germanic and Latin was the Roman Empire, which was often battered by the „Barbarian” tribes, but often accepted and settled them within its boundaries in exchange for service in its army. Germanic peoples thus came into contact with all aspects of the Roman and Mediterranean world and took over many words that in large part denoted entities previously unknown to them. This involved the vocabulary of warfare, names of superior goods they bought from Roman merchants (household vessels, plant products, dresses, ornaments, jewels and other luxury items). With Latin-speaking settlers arriving into pacified Germanic territories and speakers of Germanic dialects settling within the confines of the Empire, the former Barbarians from the north also got acquainted with building terminology. English words dating from this period include:

(1) Latin	→	Old English	>	Modern English
<i>pisum</i>		<i>piſe</i>		<i>peas</i>
<i>planta</i>		<i>plante</i>		<i>plant</i>
<i>vinum</i>		<i>win</i>		<i>wine</i>
<i>pavo</i>		<i>pea</i>		<i>pea(cock)</i>
<i>butyrum</i>		<i>butere</i>		<i>butter</i>
<i>discus</i>		<i>disc</i>		<i>dish</i>
<i>molinus</i>		<i>mylen</i>		<i>mill</i>
<i>balteus</i>		<i>belt</i>		<i>belt</i>

<i>tegula</i>	<i>tigle</i>	<i>tile</i>
<i>vallum</i>	<i>weall</i>	<i>wall</i>
<i>uncia</i>	<i>ynce</i>	<i>inch</i>
<i>castra</i>	<i>ceaster</i> 'city'	<i>-c(h)ester</i> (in names of towns etc.)
<i>coquina</i>	<i>cycene</i>	<i>kitchen</i>
<i>strata (via)</i>	<i>stræt</i>	<i>street</i>

1.2 *Insular pre-Christian*

The borrowings of this period are presumed to have been acquired by the Germanic population of Britain with the mediation of the Celtic inhabitants. Since the lag between the end of Roman presence (410) and the traditional date for the arrival of Angles, Saxons and Jutes (449) spans only a generation or so, it is conceivable that there could indeed be some such form of indirect contact between Latin and (Pre-)Old English. An argument against this is that the impact of the Celtic languages themselves on English verges on zero, so it is questionable how a language could transmit foreign words to another languages but not transmit any element of its own vocabulary at least to a comparable extent. Some suppose that Latin may have been used as an official language in Britain until the middle of the fifth century.

Words assigned to this category include the following:

(2) Latin	→	Old English	>	Modern English
<i>cista</i>		<i>cest</i>		<i>chest</i>
<i>furca</i>		<i>forc</i>		<i>fork</i>
<i>nonna</i>		<i>nunne</i>		<i>nun</i>
<i>praepositus</i>		<i>prafost</i> 'officer'		<i>provost</i>

1.3 *Early Medieval (Christian)*

After the large-scale conversion of the English by Romans began around 600¹ and literacy as well as the church organisation was established, the Latin borrowings appear somewhat different from those of the previous two periods. In the third period it was the Church that served as the major vehicle of Latin, as opposed to earlier contact, which was through spoken language. Borrowings of this period are more learned and many of them were probably confined to the written medium. They concern mostly notions pertaining to the organisation of the Church, ranks, functions and related objects, places (but not notions of faith or doctrine –

¹ Irish missionaries had been active before that date in the north.

these were translated into Old English). Some horticultural terms also belong here. A sample list of these words:

(3) Latin	→	Old English	>	Modern English
<i>altar</i>		<i>alter</i>		<i>altar</i>
<i>missa</i>		<i>messe/mæsse</i>		<i>mass</i>
<i>offerre</i>		<i>offrian</i>		<i>offer</i>
<i>versus</i>		<i>fers</i> 'verse' ²		–
<i>calendae</i>		<i>calend</i> 'month'		–
<i>schola</i>		<i>scol</i>		<i>school</i>
<i>rosa</i>		<i>rose</i>		<i>rose</i>
<i>picus</i>		<i>pic</i>		<i>pike</i>

1.4 Late Medieval

After the Norman conquest (1066) English ceased to function as the official language of the kingdom and as the language of scholarship. As the language of the internal organisation of the Church as well as of its liturgy and also of scholarship, law and administration, Latin exercised a continuous and growing influence on ME as indeed on all the languages of Europe. This influence becomes marked in the second half of the ME period due to an increasing preoccupation with Antiquity, ideals of elevated diction and a fresh impetus in the investigation of nature. (Of course these tendencies achieve their peak in the Renaissance period.) Since, however, Latin was a language known only by a relatively small literate élite (as opposed to Scandinavian or Norman French), the contact between Latin and English was confined to the learned and professional spheres. In the fields of administration and law, there appear words such as those in (4):

(4) Latin	→	ME (=MoE)	First attested
<i>executor</i>		<i>executor</i>	(1290)
<i>cliens</i>		<i>client</i>	(1320)
<i>arbitrator</i>		<i>arbitrator</i>	(1424)
<i>memorandum</i>		<i>memorandum</i>	(1435)
<i>convictio</i>		<i>conviction</i>	(1437)
<i>gratis</i>		<i>gratis</i>	(1440)
<i>implementa</i>		<i>implement</i>	(1445)
<i>legitimus</i>		<i>legitimate</i>	(1464)

In education, learning and religion words such as in (5) appear:

(5) Latin	→	ME (=MoE)	First attested
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² The MoE word *verse* is not a continuation of OE *fers*, but a later reborrowing of the same word from French.

<i>et cetera</i>	<i>et cetera</i>	(1150)
<i>scriba</i>	<i>scribe</i>	(1200)
<i>causa</i>	<i>cause</i>	(1225)
<i>desca</i>	<i>desk</i>	(1363, ultimately based on <i>discus</i>)
<i>contradictio</i>	<i>contradiction</i>	(1382)
<i>allegoria</i>	<i>allegory</i>	(1384, ultimately from Greek)
<i>mediator</i>	<i>mediator</i>	(1384)
<i>lector</i>	<i>lector</i>	(1387)
<i>requiem</i>	<i>requiem</i>	(1389)
<i>maior</i>	<i>major</i>	(1390)
<i>formalis</i>	<i>formal</i>	(1393)
<i>in limbo</i>	<i>limbo</i>	(1400)
<i>minor</i>	<i>minor</i>	(1410)
<i>redemptor</i>	<i>redemptor</i>	(1483)

Many words of Latin (or Greek) origin were given endings that properly belonged to the morphology of French, e.g. *allegory* (← *allegoria*). Furthermore, French itself had a fair number of Latin borrowings (also reshaped slightly in accordance with French morphology) which were, in many cases, borrowed by English. In such cases it is often impossible to tell whether the English word was actually borrowed from French or from medieval Latin (e.g. *abstract*, *interpret*, both fourteenth century). The reason for the confusion in the suffixes is probably that even Latin was taught with the mediation of French in England while French was the language of education.

1.5 Renaissance and Modern

The first part of the early modern period (especially 1530-1660) saw the most rapid increase in the English word stock in the history of the language. The forces behind this enlargement were manifold. English continued to encroach upon territories earlier reserved for or dominated by Latin (theology, philosophy, natural sciences); some of the sciences themselves as well as crafts and technology underwent significant expansion and development and this inevitably led to the creation of the necessary specialised vocabulary. Furthermore, as a feature of the Reformation and the Renaissance, there was a growing awareness of the vernacular languages in various parts of Europe and a desire for them to replace Latin, but this was accompanied by a deeper knowledge of Classical Latin itself. Finally, the sixteenth-century predilection for rhetoric embellishment also had its effect on the language.

Latin (and of course Greek) borrowings in the EMoE period number in the thousands. Among those that have proved a permanent part of the English language, one may cite the nouns *allusion*, *anachronism*, *antipathy*, *atmosphere*, *capsule*, *chaos*, *denunciation*, *dexterity*, *disrespect*, *emanation*, *excrescence*, *excursion*, *expectation*, *halo*, *inclemency*, *jurisprudence*, *system*, the adjectives *abject*, *agile*, *appropriate*, *conspicuous*, *dexterous*, *expensive*, *habitual*, *impersonal*, *insane*, *jocular*, *malignant*, the verbs *adapt*, *alienate*, *consolidate*, *emancipate*, *eradicate*, *erupt*, *excavate*, *exist*, *meditate*, *recollect*.

Interestingly, many of these verbs were in fact not verbs but passive participles in Latin. Since in the ME period there had been a clear tendency to borrow Latin verbs (or their French adaptations, it is often difficult to tell) in their imperfective forms, there is a typical contrast between LME *calcule* (← La *calcula[re]*) and EMoE *calculate* (← La *calculatus*), LME *dissimule* (← La *dissimula[re]*) and EMoE *dissimulate* (← La *dissimulatus*), LME *encorpore* (← La *incorpora[re]*) and EMoE *incorporate* (← La *incorporatus*). This regularity is obscured by two facts. One is that borrowings based on Latin participles existed in LME too, but were used mainly as adjectives and not verbs. However, Chaucer himself shows some variety in this: he used words like *determinate* and *preparate* both as verbs and as adjectives. The other is that a distinction between a verb form based on the present stem vs. on the participial stem often indicated French vs. Latin as the source of the borrowing, as is evident in the case of LME and EMoE pairs of coexisting variants: *corrige-correct*, *possede-possess*. In EMoE the form based on the present stem was usually dispensed with for the sake of the participial form (see *correct* and *possess*), but in some cases both forms survived with a difference in their meanings, see the PrDE pairs *conduce-conduct*, *confound-confuse*, *convince-convict*, *esteem-estimate*, *repel-repulse*.

2. French

Contact between England and the French-speaking territories (Normandy in the first place) becomes important first with the religious revival of the late tenth and eleventh centuries, whose prime movers were monks who had spent some time in French monasteries. Edward the Confessor had been brought up in Normandy, and when he came to the throne in 1042, he brought several of his French companions and friends to England and tried to secure appropriate positions for them. Nevertheless, the linguistic impact of French on English is negligible in the OE period. The word *castle* may come from Old French, but it may also represent Latin *castellum*. Two OE words that are certainly of OFr provenance are (OFr *prud* →) *prud* 'arrogant' (> MoE *proud*) and (Norman French *capun* →) *capun* (> MoE *capon* 'castrated cock', cf. Hu. *kappan*). The phonological shape of the second word clearly shows Norman features: [u] for [o] and [k] for [tʃ] (cf. Central French *chapon*).

Great change came with the Norman Conquest (1066). Within about twenty or thirty years, virtually all the great landowners were Normans (with Flemings and Bretons among them), and all the bishops and abbots were also from the continent. The first two Archbishops of Canterbury after the conquest (Lanfranc and St Anselm), for instance, had been both born in Italy and had been teachers at the Abbey of Bec in Normandy before they were called to England. Such a large-scale replacement of the élite was fatal for Anglo-Saxon literacy, though not for the English language. Speakers of French only constituted a small minority in terms of numbers. Their exact proportion within post-conquest English society is unknown, but may have been only 5%; the language spoken by the vast majority of the inhabitants was still (Old) English.

Naturally, there developed points of contact between English and Anglo-Norman, as the dialect of French that the Norman invaders of England spoke is referred to. Norman landowners had English tenants and peasants working their fields with whom they had to communicate (if first with the help of interpreters) to keep their economy going and to come to terms on the various sorts of service they expected. Norman traders (besides those from the Low Countries and Italy) were found in great numbers in the cities, exchanging goods with English locals. The English who came into contact with the aristocracy and the court learned French to be accepted in the higher circles. The Church was also a very important medium between speakers of the two languages (in spite of the fact that the language of liturgy and administration was, of course, Latin). The top ranks of the clergy were French-speaking, but they had to preach to a population that only understood English; at the same time, many of those entering a clerical career or monastic life were from the local English population, who had to learn the language of the higher sections of the Church if they aspired to promotion. With the influx of monks trained in France several monasteries too became bilingual.

It is not known for certain how long Anglo-Norman remained the native spoken language of the aristocracy. There are signs that its use was already declining towards the end of the twelfth century and it was in all likelihood nobody's first language by the end of the thirteenth. The loss of Normandy in 1204 accelerated the process because after that all landowners who had estates on both sides of the Channel had to choose one national allegiance. An important indication of the demise of the Anglo-Norman vernacular is that from the mid-thirteenth century on teachers were hired from the area of Paris (Île de France) to teach French to the children of aristocratic families – an obvious sign that they no longer spoke it themselves.

In the most serious kinds of written language, administration and science, Latin was the language generally used after the Conquest (much like in early Anglo-Saxon times). From the middle of the thirteenth cen-

tury, French gradually replaced it in secular and less formal spheres of administration. In the next century, however, English already reasserted itself enough to be considered as a language of serious business. It was restored as the language of teaching at schools first by John of Cornwall in 1349; in 1356 the mayor and aldermen of London ordered that proceedings in their courts should be conducted in English; in 1362 Parliament enacted the Statute of Pleading in which the King ordained that English be used in all law courts (but pleas and debates were to be entered in writing in Latin). The debates of the Parliament were written in English (besides French) after 1386. All these developments in favour of English took place in the face of vigorous opposition on the part of lawyers and civil servants as well as the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. French continued to be used next to English as an important language of commerce and many household accounts and inventories were written in it well into the fifteenth century. In correspondence, English became the norm only after 1450, and English letters before 1400 are extremely rare. The records of towns and guilds also came to be written in English in the fifteenth century.

Although French ceased to be a spoken language in England in the course of the thirteenth century and even in writing it was largely replaced by English in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, France and the „standard“ (=Île de France) variety of French continued to exert great influence on England and the English language. Politically speaking, France was the prime concern of English kings and barons between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries. The difficulties culminating in the Hundred Years War stemmed from the fact that English kings after the Conquest, as dukes of Normandy, were nominally vassals of the French king along with all the English barons. The political separation of the two kingdoms was a very long and painful process. Culturally, however, France was the model for the English in many ways. Much of literature, whether in the form of translations or new genres, techniques of versification, along with the cult of chivalry with all its literary, artistic and practical manifestations, was borrowed from French-speaking territories, the court of Burgundy in the first place. The relative isolation of Anglo-Saxon England was now the distant past and the literate were eagerly absorbing what came from France. Though a foreign language by that time, French was cultivated and learned as the language of culture. This supremacy of France and the protracted political enmity between the two kingdoms thus resulted in a highly ambiguous attitude towards the French.³

³ It is worth quoting at this point a modern description of a typical French conversation manual for English travellers from the fourteenth century, by which time the other side of the Channel was hostile territory: „It unconsciously gives the English racial view of the French: how to instruct lazy, incompetent and venal French hostlers in their duties; how to tell French innkeepers to clean up their filthy and ver-

Through the translation and imitation of French literature and through the scientific work done mainly at the universities, which was based on Latin materials in the first place, as indeed all over Europe, the number of French and Latin loanwords rose steeply in the second half of the ME period. The nature of these borrowings will be discussed in more detail below; suffice it to say here that the French loans of this period come from Central French (= the dialect of Île de France) instead of Norman French, and there is a great deal of intermingling between French and Latin words as regards their morphological composition. It is probably true that the generally „Latinated” character of English as opposed to other Germanic languages is due not so much to the appearance of an aristocracy whose native language was French for three or four generations but to the strong cultural impact of France and the expansion and institutionalisation of science – and its language, Latin – through the establishment of universities, as well as to the use of French as the language of teaching at schools well into the 1300s.

2.1 French loanwords in Middle English

For reasons explained above, ME absorbed a huge amount of French loanwords coming from two different dialects. Borrowings from the dialect of the invaders, Anglo-Norman, appear earlier. Their attestation in written sources begins mainly in the twelfth century, and they include political and legal terms: *werre* (> *war*), *pais* (> *peace*), *iustise* (> *justice*), *acorden* ‘come to agreement’ (> *accord*), *curt* (> *court*), *prisun* ‘arrest’ (> *prison*), *rente* ‘income’ (> *rent*); religious vocabulary: *pasches* ‘Easter’, *miracle* (> *miracle*), *canonie* ‘canon’, *capitele* ‘chapter’, *clerc* ‘scholar’ (> *clerk*); words relating to titles and concerns of the aristocracy: *duc* (> *duke*), *cuntesse* (> *countess*), *emperice* (> *empress*), *tresor* (> *treasure*), *dubbian* (> *dub* [knight]).⁴ Such words continue to be integrated and in thirteenth-century documents one finds many more, including such common words as *push* and *people*.

The French borrowings of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries are increasingly Central French and more learned in character. This has to do with the fact that Anglo-Norman was no longer spoken and loanwords entered

min-ridden bedrooms and serve food which is wholesome and not messed-about; how to take advantage of the lascivious French habit of supplying girls to travellers, and how to avoid being cheated in consequence... The English were beginning to attribute to the French all kinds of undesirable habits and attitudes and, with more justice, political customs which the English found abhorrent.” Paul Johnson (1992) *The Offshore Islanders. A History of the English People*. London: Phoenix, p. 110.

⁴ This last word appears in the Chronicles at the year 1085 and is categorised by some as a late OE borrowing. Interestingly, the word *adober*, adopted in English as *dub*, is itself of Germanic (Franconian) origin.

the English language not as the natural result of a partly bilingual coexistence but through the medium of scholarly activities, translation and teaching at schools and the two universities. A large number of abstract terms with the typical Latin-French endings *-ance/-ence*, *-ant/ent*, *-ion*, *-ity*, *-ment*, *-able/ible*, *-age* and the prefixes *con/com-*, *de-*, *dis*, *en/in-*, *ex-*, *pre-*, *pro-*, *trans-* make their appearance in this period: *common*, *comaunde* (> *command*), *demand*, *envy*, *nation*, *person* and *traitor* are first documented in the thirteenth century; *aparaunce* (> *appearance*), *esteem*, *estimation*, *commence*, *compleigne* (> *complain*), *diligent*, *diligence*, *province*, *enclose*, *prose*, *trance* and many others in the fourteenth, *combine*, *provoke*, *disappoint*, *discourage*, *pejured*, *premier* 'first in rank', *prune* 'cut' etc. in the fifteenth century. Some of the suffixes and prefixes occurring in these words became relatively productive derivational morphemes in English too and were added to native stems (the word *unknowable* is attested in 1347, *barnage* 'infancy' from OE *beorn* 'child' in 1325). This process was parallel to the disappearance of many of the OE prefixes and suffixes.

Besides belonging to different periods (at least on average), Middle English borrowings from Norman vs. Central French also show certain phonological differences. For instance, in Central French, but not in Norman French, [k] was palatalised to [tʃ] before [a]. Thus the Vulgar Latin verb **captiare* 'try to catch' developed into *chacier* [tʃasjer] in Central French but *cachier* [katʃjer] in Norman French. Both forms were borrowed by English in the thirteenth century at the latest and have survived until now in the forms *chase* and *catch*, respectively. Some such ME doublets are listed below with the first recorded occurrence of the individual examples in English documents. Words marked with † have died out by Modern English times.

(6)	(Anglo-)Norman	Central French	
	[k]	[tʃ]	
	† <i>canchelers</i> (1066)	<i>chancelers</i> (1300)	(> <i>chancellors</i>)
	† <i>calange</i> (1225)	<i>challenge</i> (1300)	
	[w]	[gw]	
	<i>warden</i> (1225)	<i>guardian</i> (1466)	
	<i>reward</i> (1315)	<i>regard</i> (1430)	
	[e, ei]	[oi]	
	<i>conveie</i> (1375)	<i>convoye</i> (1425)	(> <i>convey</i> and <i>convoy</i>)
	† <i>lealte</i> (1300)	<i>loialte</i> (1400)	(> <i>loyalty</i>)
	[ʃ]	[s]	
	<i>finissbed</i> (1375)	† <i>finissed</i> (1421)	

2.2 French loanwords in Modern English

French was the language which, next to Latin, provided the second largest number of new words in English. Its significance did not diminish

with the Middle English period for several reasons. One was that the prestige of French culture remained high and France was still very much in the focus of English interests. Another reason was that towards the end of the sixteenth century, French Protestants (called Huguenots) arrived in England in considerable numbers, and many of them opened schools there. Thus the presence of the French language in England was reassured in spite of the fact that it was no longer found in the curricula of English grammar schools. French literature (and antique literature in French translation) was widely read among the ranks of the nobility and the literati. Preoccupation with French culture and fashion reached its peak when royalists returned after 1660. Quite a few borrowings in EMoE date from the following decades (*minuet, naïveté, ridicule, suite* first attested in 1673, *faux pas, routine* in 1676, *bijou, bureau, tableau* in 1699). Further borrowings in the post-1650 period include *ballet, boulevard, canteen, cartoon, champagne, coterie, dentist, patrol, pique, routine* and *syndicate*. Characteristically, the French loans of the (E)MoE period conform to the English phonological and orthographical system much less than the earlier (ME) borrowings.

It is to be remembered that in the EMoE period, as indeed in LME times, Latin and French words interfered with each other extensively in English. The verb *allure*, for instance, was borrowed from French in the fifteenth century. In the sixteenth, a common Latin nominal suffix was added to it and thus the noun *allurement* was formed. Similarly, the EMoE coinage *disregard* exhibits a Latin prefix attached to a French stem (for *regard* see above).

2.3 The phonology of French loanwords

The phonological shape of the French borrowings in English depends on three factors:

- (I.) the phonological shape of the word in French in the period of borrowing;
- (II.) the extent to which the word conformed to English phonological constraints prevailing at the time of borrowing;
- (III.) the sound changes English has undergone since the time of borrowing.

Let us take an early example. The MoE word *treason* goes back to Anglo-Norman *treisoun* (OFr *traison* < La *traditio*[n-]), and appears in English written sources in the thirteenth century. Phonetically the ANo word was [trei'zu:n]. In (Early Middle) English, the word appears to have varied stress between the two syllables (since English at the time was a strictly stem-initial stress language), and consequently in the initially stressed variant, which ultimately prevailed, the second vowel was prone to wea-

ken. By the end of the Middle English period, the word in all likelihood sounded [ˈtreːzən]. In the course of the Great Vowel Shift, which shifted all long vowels to more close positions, the word acquired its modern shape, [ˈtriːzən].

If one compares the words *marriage* ([ˈmæɪdʒ], thirteenth c.) and *sabotage* ([ˈsæbətɑːʒ], twentieth c.), the contrast between their phonological shapes (especially the suffix *-age*) points to the same. Both words have initial stress; this is somewhat surprising in the case of the second word, since modern French loans tend to be end-stressed (cf. *champagne*, *patrol*, *cartoon* etc.). In segmental phonology, however, there are revealing differences. Since English did not undergo a [dʒ] > [ʒ] change like French, the final consonant of *marriage* preserves the original OFr affricate. The vowel of the suffix has undergone weakening to the extent of actually disappearing completely. The suffix in *sabotage*, by contrast, is pronounced in a completely Modern French fashion, and is thus at variance with phonological regularities of English ([ɑː] in unstressed syllable and word-final [ʒ] are highly unusual).

In some cases a (partial) spelling pronunciation prevails for recent loans. The word *foyer*, borrowed in the nineteenth c., is [fwaje] in French; in British English the French-sounding pronunciation [fwaɪeɪ] is possible, but [fɔɪeɪ] is more frequent, and in American English it is simply [fɔɪə].

3. ITALIAN

Contact with Italians was far not so extensive as that with the French, though their participation in trade is noticeable already towards the end of the Middle Ages. It was them who established the banking system in England and they had their own merchants' colonies in some of the southern towns (London in the first place). As was true of English-French relations, English-Italian relations were highly ambivalent. Popular sentiment towards them was not generally favourable (we know of several pogroms in cities where they were typically found, e.g. London in 1456, Southampton in 1460) and it is likely that popular support of the Reformation largely derived from a strong dislike of Italians. On the other hand, travelling to the continent very often involved travelling to Italy besides France and the educated were not surprisingly captured by Italian art (including the art of warfare), music, architecture and eastern goods traded by Italians. The influence of Italy in some of these fields (especially music) is remarkable in the lexicon.

Another major source of (ultimately) Italian loans is French: many lexical items came with its mediation, and are thus not to be regarded as Italian loans in the strict sense of the word. Several of these (e.g. *porcelain*

from It. *porcellana*) clearly show the influence of French in their phonetic shape ([s] instead of [ʃ], loss of final vowel). The story of *caprice* exemplifies the complexities involved well: it was borrowed directly from Italian in the sixteenth century (*capriccio*), but towards the end of the seventeenth century it was replaced by the French form of the same Italian word (*caprice*).

3.1 Italian borrowings in English

The heyday of Italian borrowings was the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth: before that one finds virtually none in English (perhaps with the exception of *ambages* ‘deceptive speeches’ in Chaucer’s *Troilus and Criseyde*). Between about 1500 and 1650, however, there appear *balcony* (← *balcone*), *cupola*, *granite* (← *granita*), *grotto*, *Madonna*, *piazza*, *portico*, *solo*, *sonata*, *stanza*, *trill* (← *trillo/triglio/trillare*), *violin* (← *violino*), *volcano*. More recent borrowings (eighteenth c. and later) include *pianoforte* (eighteenth c., ← *gravecembalo col piano e forte*; the now usual form *piano* dates from the nineteenth c.), *confetti*, *dilettante* and *vendetta*.

Italian words that entered English with the mediation of French or were adapted to French pronunciation include *battalion* (← *battaglione*), *bastion* (← *bastione*), *brigade* (← *brigata*), *cavalcade* (← *cavalcata*), *charlatan* (← *ciarlatano*), *grotesque* (← *grottesca*), *infantry* (← *infanteria*) and *rebuff* (← *ribuffare/rabbuffare*).

3.2 The phonological shape of Italian loans in English

As compared to French borrowings, Italian ones on average are usually closer in pronunciation to the forms they had in the donor language. The reason is obviously that they were borrowed later, and there were no sound changes in modern times that could radically alter their shapes. They have, however, conformed to the English phonological system in certain respects. The most conspicuous is the fate of word-final short vowels. These are not tolerated in English except for the reduced vowels [ə] and [ɪ], thus It -*a* was replaced by [ə] as in *sonata* [səˈnɑ:tə], -*o* by [əʊ] (AmE [oː]), as in *grotto* [grɒtəʊ], and -*e* by [i], as in *dilettante* and *vigilante*, pronounced [dɪləˈtænti] and [vɪdʒɪˈlænti], respectively. The length of stressed vowels was usually preserved in English, cf. *grotto* as opposed to *solo* [səʊləʊ]. The place of stress was changed only exceptionally, as in the case of *balcony*, which had stress on the second syllable in English until the nineteenth c., but then it was retracted to stem-initial position in conformity with the older English rule. Long consonants are invariably pronounced short.

4. SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE

Similarly to Italian, Spanish and Portuguese loanwords are confined to the last five hundred years of the history of English. Contacts with speakers of these two languages were mainly shaped by two factors: trade and maritime enterprises. Many of the Spanish borrowings entered the English language in the process of the North American colonisation. Several of these words derive ultimately from African, Asian and native American languages. Spanish and Portuguese also served as the vehicle of vocabulary of Levantine trade and Mediterranean civilisation (including Arabic words) – of course, French or Italian also had this function. More recent loans naturally reflect more recent cultural developments, and many of them are of currency chiefly in America.

4.1 Spanish loanwords in English

A representative sample of borrowings from Spanish includes the following:

Sixteenth c.: *caske* (← *casco* or perhaps French *casque*), *sherry* (← *Xerez/Jerez*; a town in Andalusia), *don*, *renegade* (← *renegado*), *hidalgo*, *armada*, *tornado*, *cannibal* (orig. ‘Caribbean’), *negro*, *potato*, *alligator* (← *el lagarto* ‘the lizard’), *tobacco*, *mosquito*, *canoe* (← *canoa*, from Haitian);

Seventeenth c.: *cargo*,⁵ *creole*, *toreador*, *embargo*, *junta*, *guitar* (← *guitarra*), *siesta*, *ananas*, *barbecue* (← *barbacoa*, from a Caribbean language), *tortilla*;

Eighteenth c.: *flotilla*, *mantilla*, *cigar* (← *cigarro*, perhaps with French mediation), *pampa*;

Nineteenth c.: *adobe* (ultimately from Arabic), *bonanza*, *canyon* (← *cañon*), *hacienda*, *mustang* (← *mestengo/mesteño*, perhaps blended with *mostrenco*), *stampede* (← *estampida*), *pueblo*, *stevedore* (← *estivador*);

Twentieth c.: *chicano*, *macho*, *sangria*, *tango*.

4.2 Portuguese loanwords in English

The (less numerous) Portuguese borrowings are exemplified by the following list:

Sixteenth c.: *apricot* (← *albricoque*, from Arabic), *flamingo*, *banana*, *mango*, *mandarin*, *guinea*;

Seventeenth c.: *pagoda*, *macaque*, *teak* (← *teca*, from Malayalam);

Eighteenth c.: *veranda* (← *varanda*), *palaver* (← *palavra* < La/Gr *parabola*, cf. *parable* and French *parler* ‘speak’), *albino*.

⁵ This is etymologically the same word as the ME borrowings *carry* (from Anglo-Norman) and *charge* (from Central French).

4.3 *The phonology of Spanish and Portuguese loans*

With respect to their phonological shape, the fate of Spanish and Portuguese loans is very much like that of Italian borrowings. Long consonants are shortened, word-final short vowels are replaced by reduced or long vowels (as in *pagoda* and *albino*, respectively) or dropped (as in *cigar* and *teak*, though in the former French may have interfered). In *canyon*, the palatal nasal is replaced by [nj].

5. *Bibliographical notes*

Most of the information pertaining to the history of the words proper can naturally be found in the etymological dictionaries of English. Of these, Onions (1966), Partridge (1958) and Hoad (1986), shorter than the other two, are the most useful. Klein (1966) is interesting and exciting in its depth and wealth of information that goes well beyond what is normally expected of such a work, but it is also far-fetched in some of its conclusions. The great Oxford English Dictionary (Simpson-Weiner 1989) discusses the history of words in the documented period at length.

There are many textbooks and shorter overall works on the history of English, all of them have merits and drawbacks. Pyles and Algeo (1993) makes good reading, Strang (1970) is interesting with its reverse chronology. Baugh and Cable (1993) is generally regarded as readable but it is rather dated now and obvious mistakes in details are found in it. Nevertheless, it is a book worth consulting especially on the external history of the language.

Anybody seriously interested in any aspect of the history of English must go to *The Cambridge History of the English Language* (1992-99, general editor Richard M. Hogg), a collection of monographs on all questions pertaining to the language in each period ranging from phonology through onomastics and dialectology to external history. No doubt this is going to serve as the authority in the field for decades. We have relied greatly on the chapters of volumes I-IV on external history and the lexicon (Hogg 1992, Kastovsky 1992, Blake 1992, Burnley 1992, Nevalainen 1999, Algeo 1998). These provide the best summaries on the word stock and its growth from (Pre-) Old English to the present day. They also give up-to-date and exhaustive bibliographical information. For Early Modern English, a crucial period from the point of view of Latin and Romance loans, Görlach (1991) is also indispensable.

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