

THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

SEVENTH EDITION

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Based on the original work of
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Foreign Elements in the English Word Stock

CHAPTER 12



Great Britain, settled early by an unknown people, underwent waves of invasion by Celts, Romans, Anglo-Saxons, Danes, and Norman French, each contributing to the life and language of the islands. Similarly, the American population, although basically British in origin, is a combination of genes, cultures, and speechways. Then, as English has spread over the world, it has continuously influenced and been influenced by the world's other languages. The result is that our vocabulary, like our culture, is mongrelized.

Some people think of mixtures as degenerative. Amy Chua, a law professor at Yale and herself an instance of cultural mixture, believes they are regenerative. She argues that the most successful world societies have been pluralistic, inclusive, and protective of diversity. She points to the Persian Empire under the Achaemenids from Cyrus the Great to Darius III, the Mughal Empire of India under Akbar the Great, and the Tang Dynasty of China, among other cultures that succeeded because they valued and exploited the differences of the peoples they embraced. If Chua is correct, the mongrelization of English is actually a strength.

So far we have dealt only incidentally with the diverse non-English elements in the English lexicon. In the present chapter, we survey these elements and consider the circumstances—cultural, religious, military, and political—surrounding their adoption into and absorption by English.

To be sure, the core vocabulary of English is, and has always been, native English. The words we use to talk about everyday things (*earth, tree, stone, sea, hill, dog, bird, house, land, roof, sun, moon, time*), relationships (*friend, foe, mother, father, son, daughter, wife, husband*), and responses and actions (*hate, love, fear, greedy, help, harm, rest, walk, ride, speak*), as well as the basic numbers and directions (*one, two, three, ten, top, bottom, north, south, up, down*) and grammatical words (*I, you, he, to, for, from, be, have, after, but, and*) are all native English. The Oxford English Corpus has quantified this fact in new, up-to-the-minute ways, analyzing its vast collection of texts

to reveal that 15 of the 25 most common nouns, 20 of the top 25 verbs, and 17 out of the top 25 adjectives are all from Old English, or 70 percent total in these grammatical categories, indicating that most (including *most*) of the commonest words in modern English come from its earliest, native roots. Nevertheless, an overwhelming majority of the words in any large dictionary, as well as many we use every day, either came from other languages or were coined from elements of foreign words. So the foreign component in our word stock is of great importance.

When speakers imitate a word from a foreign language, they are said to borrow it, and their imitation is called a **borrowing** or **loanword**. The history of a loanword may be quite complex because such words have often passed through a series of languages before reaching English. For example, *chess* was borrowed in the fourteenth century from Middle French *eschés*. The French word had been, in turn, borrowed from Medieval Latin, which got it from Arabic, which had borrowed it from Persian *shāh* 'king.' The direct or immediate source of *chess* is Middle French, but its ultimate source (as far back as we can trace its history) is Persian. Similarly, the etymon of *chess*, that is, the word from which it has been derived, is immediately *eschés* but ultimately *shāh*. Loanwords have, as it were, a life of their own that cuts across the boundaries between languages.

POPULAR AND LEARNED LOANWORDS

It is useful to make a distinction between popular and learned loanwords. Popular loanwords are transmitted orally and are part of everyday talk. For the most part, we do not think of them as different from other English words; in fact, most people who use them are not aware that their origin is foreign. Learned loanwords, on the other hand, owe their adoption to scholarly, scientific, or literary influences.



Originally, learned words may in time become part of the ordinary, popular vocabulary, as did *clerk* (OE *cleric* or *clerc* from Lat. *clēricus* or OF *clerc*). The Old English meaning, 'clergyman,' has survived in British legal usage, which still designates a priest of the Church of England as a "clerk in holy orders." But over time, that meaning was generally superseded by others: 'scholar, secretary, record keeper, bookkeeper.' So in the seventeenth century, *cleric* was borrowed again from the Latin source as a learned word to denote a clergyman. *Clerk* continued its popularization in American English, denoting since the eighteenth century 'one who waits on customers in a retail store,' the equivalent of British *shop assistant*, and since the nineteenth century 'a hotel employee who registers guests.'

The approximate time at which a word was borrowed is often indicated by its form: thus, as Mary Serjeantson (13) points out, Old English *scōl* 'school' (Lat. *schola*, ultimately Greek) is obviously a later borrowing than *scrin* 'shrine' (Lat. *scrinium*), which must have come into Old English before the change of [sk-] to [ʃ-] since it has the later sound. At the time when *scōl* was borrowed, this sound change no longer applied. Had the word been borrowed earlier, it would have developed into Modern English **shool*.

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LATIN AND GREEK LOANWORDS

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Latin influence on English can be seen in every period of the language's history, though its influence has varied in kind from one period to the next.

LATIN INFLUENCE IN THE GERMANIC PERIOD

PODEL
12.5, 12.7

Long before English began its separate existence when English speakers had migrated to the British Isles, those who spoke it as a regional type of Continental Germanic had acquired some Latin words. Unlike most of the later borrowings, early loanwords are concerned mainly with military affairs, commerce, agriculture, or refinements of living that the Germanic peoples had acquired through a fairly close contact with the Romans since at least the beginning of the Christian era. Roman merchants had penetrated into the Germania of those early centuries, Roman farmers had settled in the Rhineland and the valley of the Moselle, and Germanic soldiers had marched with the Roman legions (Pribsch and Collinson 264–5).

PODEL
12.6

Those early borrowings are still widely shared by our Germanic cousins. *Wine* (Lat. *vīnum*), for instance, is to be found in one form or another in all the Germanic languages—as *win* in Old English, Old Frisian, and Old Saxon, *Wein* in Modern German, *wijn* in Modern Dutch, *vin* in Danish and Swedish. The Baltic, Slavic, and Celtic peoples also acquired the same word from Latin. It was brought to Britain by English warrior-adventurers in the fifth century. They also knew malt drinks very well—*beer* and *ale* are both Germanic words, and *mead* ‘fermented honey’ was known to the Indo-Europeans—but apparently the principle of fermentation of fruit juices was a specialty of the Mediterranean peoples.

There are about 175 early loanwords from Latin (Serjeantson 271–7). Many of those words have survived into Modern English. They include *ancor* ‘anchor’ (Lat. *ancora*), *butere* ‘butter’ (Lat. *būtyrum*), *cealc* ‘chalk’ (Lat. *calx*), *cēse* ‘cheese’ (Lat. *cāseus*), *cetel* ‘kettle’ (Lat. *catillus* ‘little pot’), *cycene* ‘kitchen’ (Vul. Lat. *cucīna*, var. of *coquīna*), *disc* ‘dish’ (Lat. *discus*), *mangere* ‘monger, trader’ (Lat. *mangō*), *mīl* ‘mile’ (Lat. *mīlia* [*passuum*] ‘a thousand [paces]’), *mynet* ‘coin, coinage,’ Modern English *mint* (Lat. *monēta*), *piper* ‘pepper’ (Lat. *piper*), *pund* ‘pound’ (Lat. *pondō* ‘measure of weight’), *sacc* ‘sack’ (Lat. *saccus*), *sicol* ‘sickle’ (Lat. *secula*), *stræt* ‘paved road, street’ (Lat. [*via*] *strata* ‘paved [road]’), and *weall* ‘wall’ (Lat. *vallum*).

Cēap ‘marketplace, wares, price’ (Lat. *caupo* ‘tradesman, innkeeper’) is now obsolete as a noun except in the idiom *on the cheap* and proper names such as *Chapman*, *Cheapside*, *Eastcheap*, and *Chepstow*. The adjectival and adverbial use of *cheap* is of early Modern English origin and is, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), a shortening of *good cheap* ‘what can be purchased on advantageous terms.’ *To cheapen* is likewise of early Modern English origin and used to mean ‘to bargain for, ask the price of’ as when Defoe’s Moll Flanders went out to “cheapen some laces.”

Since all the early borrowings from Latin were popular loanwords, they have gone through all phonological developments that occurred subsequent to

their adoption in the various Germanic languages. *Chalk*, *dish*, and *kitchen*, for instance, in their respective initial (*ch-*), final (*-sh*), and medial (*-tch-*) consonants show the Old English palatalization of *k*. *Kitchen* in its Old English form *cycene* also shows mutation of Vulgar Latin *u* in the vowel of its stressed syllable. German *Küche* shows the same mutation. In *cetel* 'kettle' (by way of West Germanic **katil*), an earlier *a* has likewise been mutated by *i* in a following syllable (compare Ger. *Kessel*). The fact that none of these early loanwords has been affected by the First Sound Shift (76–80) indicates that they were borrowed after that shift had been completed.

LATIN WORDS IN OLD ENGLISH

Among early English loanwords from Latin, some of which came by way of the British Celts, are *candel* 'candle' (Lat. *candēla*), *cest* 'chest' (Lat. *cista*, later *cesta*), *crisp* 'curly' (Lat. *crispus*), *earc* 'ark' (Lat. *arca*), *mægester* 'master' (Lat. *magister*), *mynster* 'monastery' (Lat. *monastērium*), *peru* 'pear' (Lat. *pirum*), *port* 'harbor' (Lat. *portus*), *sealm* 'psalm' (Lat. *psalmus*, from Gr.), and *tigle* 'tile' (Lat. *tēgula*). *Ceaster* 'city' (Lat. *castra* 'camp') survives in the town names *Chester*, *Castor*, *Caister* and as an element in the names of a good many English places, many of which were once in fact Roman military stations—for instance, *Casterton*, *Chesterfield*, *Exeter* (earlier *Execestre*), *Gloucester*, *Lancaster*, *Manchester*, and *Worcester*. The differences in form are mostly dialectal.

Somewhat later borrowings with an English form close to their Latin etyma were *alter* 'altar' (Lat. *altar*), (*a*)*postol* 'apostle' (Lat. *apostolus*), *balsam* (Lat. *balsamum*), *circul* 'circle' (Lat. *circulus*), *comēta* 'comet,' *cristalla* 'crystal' (Lat. *crystallum*), *dēmon* (Lat. *daemon*), *fers* 'verse' (Lat. *versus*), *mæsse*, *messe* 'mass' (Lat. *missa*, later *messa*), *martir* 'martyr' (Lat. *martyr*), *plaster* (medical) (Lat. *emplastrum*), and *templ* 'temple' (Lat. *templum*). Since Latin borrowed freely from Greek, it is not surprising that some of the loans cited are of Greek origin; examples (to cite their Modern English forms) include *apostle*, *balsam*, *comet*, *crystal*, and *demon*. This is the merest sampling of Latin loanwords in Old English. Somewhat more than 500 in all occur in the entire Old English period up to the Conquest. Serjeantson (277–88) lists, aside from the words from the Continental period, 111 from approximately the years 450 to 650, and 242 from approximately the year 650 to the time of the Norman Conquest. These numbers, of course, are not large compared with the Latin borrowings in later times, but they are significant.

Many Latin loanwords into Old English, particularly those from the later period, were never widely used, or even known. Some occur only a single time, or in only a single manuscript. Many were subsequently lost, some to be reborrowed at a later period from French or from Classical Latin, often with different meanings. For instance, our words *sign* and *giant* are not from the Old English loanwords *segn* and *gigant* but are later borrowings from Old French *signe* and *geant*. In addition, a learned and a popular form of the same word might coexist in Old English—for instance, *Latin* and *Læden*, the second of which might also mean 'any foreign language.'

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All these loanwords were usually made to conform to Old English declensional patterns, though occasionally, in translations from Latin into Old English, Latin case forms, particularly of proper names, may be retained (for example, "fram Agustō þām cāsere" in the translation of Bede's account of the departure of the Romans from Britain: 'from Augustus the emperor,' with the Latin ending *-ō* in close apposition to the Old English dative endings in *-m* and *-e*). As with earlier borrowings, there came into being a good many hybrid formations: that is, native endings were affixed to foreign words—for example, *-isc* in *mechanisc* 'mechanical,' *-dōm* in *pāpdōm* 'papacy,' and *-ere* in *grammaticere* 'grammarian'—and hybrid compounds arose, such as *sealmscop* 'psalmist' (Lat. *psalma* and OE *scop* 'singer, bard'). Infinitives took the Old English ending *-ian*, as in the grammatical term *declīnian* 'to decline.'

LATIN WORDS BORROWED IN MIDDLE ENGLISH TIMES

Many borrowings from Latin occurred during the Middle English period. Frequently, it is impossible to tell whether such words are from French or Latin by their form alone—for instance, *miserable*, *nature*, *register*, *relation*, and *rubric*, which are from French but are close to their original Latin etyma. Depending on its meaning, the single form *port* may come from Latin *portus* 'harbor,' French *porter* 'to carry,' Latin *porta* 'gate,' or Portuguese *Oporto* (that is, *o porto* 'the port,' the city where port wine came from originally)—not to mention its use for one side of a ship, so called probably because it is next to the harbor port or place of loading cargo.

In the period between the Norman Conquest and 1500, many Latin words having to do with religion appeared in English (some by way of French), among them *collect* 'short prayer,' *dirge*, *mediator*, and *Redeemer* (first used with reference to Christ). To these might be added legal terms—for instance, *client*, *conviction*, and *subpoena*; words having to do with scholastic activities—for instance, *folio*, *library*, *scribe*, and *simile*; and words having to do with science—for instance, *dissolve*, *equal*, *essence*, *medicine*, *mercury*, and *quadrant*. These are only a few out of hundreds of Latin words that were adopted before 1500: a longer list would include verbs (for example, *admit*, *commit*, *discuss*, *seclude*) and adjectives (for example, *complete*, *imaginary*, *instant*, *legitimate*, *obdurate*, *populous*, *querulous*, *strict*).

LATIN WORDS BORROWED IN MODERN ENGLISH TIMES

The great period of borrowings from Latin and from Greek by way of Latin is the Modern English period. The century or so after 1500 saw the introduction of many words, such as *abdomen*, *anorexia*, *area*, *compensate*, *data*, *decorum*, *delirium*, *digress*, *editor*, *fictitious*, *gradual*, *imitate*, *janitor*, *jocose*, *lapse*, *medium*, *notorious*, *orbit*, *peninsula*, *polyglot*, *quota*, *resuscitate*, *series*, *sinecure*, *superintendent*, *transient*, *ultimate*, *urban*, *urge*, and *vindicate*.

In earlier periods, Latin was the language of literature, science, and religion. Latin was, in fact, freely used in both written and spoken forms by the

learned all over Europe throughout the medieval and early modern periods. Petrarch translated Boccaccio's story of the patient Griselda into Latin to ensure that such a highly moral tale should have a wider circulation than it would have had in Boccaccio's Italian, and it was this Latin translation that Chaucer used as the source of his *Clerk's Tale*. More, Bacon, and Milton all wrote in Latin, just as the Venerable Bede and other learned men (and the occasional polymathic *indocte mulier*—'unlearned woman'—such as Hildegard of Bingen) had done centuries earlier.

Present-day words are often concocted from Latin morphemes but were unknown as units to the ancients. The international vocabulary of science draws heavily on such neo-Latin forms, but so do the vocabularies of other areas of modern life. Among more recent classical contributions to English (with definitions from *The Third Barnhart Dictionary of New English* [Barnhart and Steinmetz]) are *circadian* 'functioning or recurring in 24-hour cycles' (from *circā diēm* 'around the day'), *Homo habilis* 'extinct species of man believed to have been the earliest toolmaker' (literally 'skillful man'), and *Pax Americana* 'peace enforced by American power' (modeled on *Pax Romana*). Latin was the first major contributor of loanwords to English, and it remains one of our most important resources.

GREEK LOANWORDS

Even before the Conquest, a number of Greek words had entered English by way of Latin, in addition to some very early loans that may have come into Germanic directly from Greek, such as *church*. From the Middle English period on, Latin and French are the immediate sources of most ultimately Greek loanwords—for instance (from Latin), *anemia*, *anesthesia* (in its usual modern sense, 'drug-induced insensibility' first used in 1846 by Oliver Wendell Holmes, who was a physician as well as a poet), *barbarous*, *dilemma*, *drama*, *electric*, *epoch*, *history*, *homonym*, *nanotechnology*, *neurosis*, *paradox*, *pharynx*, *phenomenon*, *rhapsody*, and *theory*; (from French) *allegory*, *aristocracy*, *center*, *character*, *chronicle*, *comedy*, *cycle*, *democracy*, *diet*, *dragon*, *ecstasy*, *fantasy*, *harmony*, *lyre*, *machine*, *metaphor*, *mystery*, *nymph*, *oligarchy*, *pause*, *psychotherapy*, *rheum*, and *tyrant*; (from either Latin or French) *chaos*, *enthusiasm*, *epithet*, *rhythm*, and *zone*. Straight from Greek (though some are combinations unknown in classical times) come *acronym*, *agnostic*, *anthropoid*, *autocracy*, *chlorine*, *idiosyncrasy*, *kudos*, *pathos*, *phone*, *telegram*, and *xylophone*, among many others.

The richest foreign sources of our present English word stock are Latin, French, and (ultimately) Greek. Many of the Latin and Greek words were first confined to erudite language, and some still are; others have passed into the stock of more or less everyday speech. Although Greek had tremendous prestige as a classical language, western Europe had little first-hand knowledge of it until the advent of refugee Greek scholars from Constantinople after the conquest of that city by the Turks in 1453. Hence, most of the Greek words that appear first in early Modern English came through Latin.

CELTIC LOANWORDS

Some Celtic loanwords doubtless entered the language during the common Germanic period. Old English *rice* as a noun meaning 'kingdom' and as an adjective 'rich, powerful' (cf. Ger. *Reich* and *reich*) is of Celtic origin, borrowed before the settlement of the English in Britain. The Celtic origin of a few others (for example, OE *ambeht* 'servant,' *dūn* 'hill, down,') is likely.

As already pointed out, some of the Latin loans of the period up to approximately A.D. 650 were acquired by the English indirectly through the Celts. It is likely that *ceaster* and *-coln*, as in *Lincoln* (Lat. *colōnia*), were so acquired. Phonology is not much help to us as far as such words are concerned because they underwent the same prehistoric Old English sound changes as the words that the English brought with them from the Continent.

There are, however, a number of genuinely Celtic words acquired during the early years of the English settlement. We should not expect to find many, for the British Celts were a subject people, and a conquering people are unlikely to adopt many words from those whom they have supplanted. The very insignificant number of words from American Indian languages that have found a permanent place in American English strikingly illustrates this fact. The Normans are exceptional in that they ultimately gave up their own language altogether and became English, in a way in which the English never became Celts. Probably, no more than a dozen or so Celtic words other than place-names were adopted by the English up to the time of the Conquest. These include *bannuc* 'a bit,' *bratt* 'cloak,' *brocc* 'badger,' *cumb* 'combe, valley,' and *torr* 'peak.' However, just as many American place-names are of Indian origin, so many English place-names are of Celtic provenience: *Avon*, *Carlisle*, *Cornwall*, *Devon*, *Dover*, *London*, *Usk*, and scores more.

In more recent times, a few more Celtic words have been introduced into English. From Irish Gaelic come *banshee*, *blarney*, *brogue*, *colleen*, *galore*, *leprechaun*, *shamrock*, *shillelagh*, and *tory*. From Scottish Gaelic come *bog*, *cairn*, *clan*, *loch*, *plaid*, *slogan*, and *whiskey* (Gaelic *usquebaugh* 'water of life'). From Welsh, the best known is *crag*, occurring first in Middle English; others of more recent introduction include *cromlech* 'circle of large stones' and *eisteddfod* 'Welsh festival.'

SCANDINAVIAN LOANWORDS

OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH BORROWINGS

Most of the Scandinavian words in Old English do not actually occur in written records until the Middle English period, though undoubtedly they were current long before the beginning of that period. Practically all of the extant documents of the late Old English period come from the south of England, specifically from Wessex. Scandinavian words would have been more common in the Danelaw—Northumbria, East Anglia, and half of Mercia—where Alfred the Great, by force of arms and diplomacy, had persuaded the Scandinavians to confine themselves.

In the later part of the eleventh century, the Scandinavians became gradually assimilated to English ways, bringing Scandinavian words with them, although some Scandinavian words had come in earlier. As we have seen, many Scandinavian words closely resembled their English cognates; sometimes, indeed, they were so nearly identical that it is difficult to tell whether a given word was Scandinavian or English.

If the meanings of obviously related words differed, semantic contamination might result, as when Old English *drēam* 'joy' acquired the meaning of the related Scandinavian *draumr* 'vision in sleep.' A similar example is *brēad* 'crumb' (ModE *bread*); the usual Old English word for the food made from flour or meal was *hlāf* (ModE *loaf*) as in "Ūrne gedæghwāmlican hlāf syle ūs tō dæg" 'Our daily bread give us today.' Others are *blōma* 'lump of metal' (ModE *bloom* 'flower') and poetic *eorl* 'warrior, noble' (ModE *earl*), which acquired the meaning of the related Scandinavian *jarl* 'governor.' Similarly, the later meanings of *dwell* (OE *dwellan*, *dwelian*), *holm* 'islet' (same form in Old English), and *plow* (OE *plōg*) coincide precisely with the Scandinavian meanings, though in Old English, these words meant, respectively, 'to lead astray, hinder,' 'ocean,' and 'measure of land.'

Late Old English and early Middle English loans from Scandinavian were made to conform wholly or partly with the English sound and inflectional system. These include (in modern form) *by* 'town, homestead' (as in *bylaw* 'town ordinance' and in place-names, such as *Derby*, *Grimsby*, and *Rigsby*), *carl* 'man' (cognate with OE *ceorl*, the source of *churl*), *fellow*, *hit* (first 'meet with,' later 'strike'), *law*, *ragged* and *rag*, *sly*, *swain*, *take* (completely displacing *nim*, from OE *niman*), *thrall*, and *want*. The Scandinavian provenience of *sister* is noted in Chapter 5 (91).

A good many words with [sk] are of Scandinavian origin, for, as we have seen, early Old English [sk], written *sc*, came to be pronounced [ʃ]. Such words as *scathe*, *scorch*, *score*, *scot* 'tax' (as in *scot-free* and *scot and lot*), *scowl*, *scrape*, *scrub* 'shrub,' *skill*, *skin*, *skirt* (compare native *shirt*), and *sky* thus show by their initial consonant sequence that they entered the language after this change had ceased to be operative. All are from Scandinavian.

Similarly, the [g] and [k] before front vowels in *gear*, *geld* 'castrate,' *gill* (of a fish) and *keel*, *kilt*, *kindle* point to Scandinavian origins for these words because Old English velar stops in that position became [y] and [č], respectively. The very common verbs *get* and *give* come to us not from Old English *gitan* and *gifan*, which began with [y], but instead from cognate Scandinavian forms without palatalization of [g] in the neighborhood of front vowels. Native forms of these verbs with [y-] occur throughout the Middle English period side by side with the Scandinavian forms with [g-], which ultimately supplanted them. Chaucer consistently used *yive*, *yeve*, and preterit *yaf*.

As a rule, the Scandinavian loans involve little more than the substitution of one word for another, such as *window*, from *vindauga*, literally 'wind-eye,' replacing *eyethurl*, literally 'eyehole,' from Old English *ægpyrl*. Some new words denoted new concepts or things, such as certain Scandinavian legal terms or words for various kinds of warships with which the Scandinavians acquainted the English. Others only slightly modified the form of an English

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word, like *sister*. More important and more fundamental is what happened to the Old English pronominal forms of the third person plural: all the *th-* forms, as we have seen (132, 143), are of Scandinavian origin. Of the native forms in *b-* (109), only *'em* (ME *hem*, OE *him*) survives, and it is commonly but mistakenly thought of as a reduced form of *them*.

MODERN ENGLISH BORROWINGS

A number of Scandinavian words have entered English during the modern period, among them *rug* and *ski*. *Skoal* (British *skol*, from Danish *skål*) 'a toast' had a 1970s alcoholic vogue, though it first appears in English, mainly in Scotland, as early as 1600. The *OED* reasonably suggests that it may have been introduced through the visit of James VI of Scotland (afterward James I of England) to Denmark, whither he journeyed in 1589 to meet his bride. *Geyser*, *rune*, *saga*, and *skald* are all from Old Norse, although introduced in the eighteenth century. *Smorgasbord* entered English from Swedish in the late nineteenth century. *Ombudsman* 'official who looks into complaints and helps to achieve settlements' is also from Swedish, but in the twentieth century.

FRENCH LOANWORDS

MIDDLE ENGLISH BORROWINGS

PODEL
12.8, 12.10

Few loanwords unquestionably of French origin occur in English earlier than 1066. Some of the earliest are (to cite their Modern English forms) *capon*, *castle*, *juggler*, and *prison*.

The Norman Conquest made French the language of the official class in England. Hence, it is not surprising that many words having to do with government and administration, both lay and spiritual, are of French origin: the word *government* itself, along with Middle English *amynistre*, later replaced by the Latin-derived *administer* with its derivative *administration*. Others include *attorney*, *chancellor*, *country*, *court*, *crime* (replacing English *sin*, which thereafter came to designate the proper business of the Church, though the State has from time to time tried to take it over), *(e)state*, *judge*, *jury*, *mayor*, *noble*, and *royal*. *State* is partly an aphetic form from Old French and partly directly from Latin *status*. In the religious sphere, loans include *clergy*, *preach*, *sacrament*, and *vestment*, among a good many others.

Words designating English titles of nobility except for *king*, *queen*, *earl*, *lord*, and *lady*—namely, *prince*, *duke*, *marquess*, *viscount*, *baron*, and their feminine equivalents—date from the period when England was in the hands of a Norman French ruling class. Even the earl's wife is a *countess*, and the peer immediately below him in rank is a *viscount* (that is, 'vice-count'), indicating that the earl corresponds in rank with the Continental count. In military usage, *army*, *captain*, *lieutenant* (literally 'place holding'), *sergeant* (originally a serving man or attendant), and *soldier* are all of French origin. *Colonel* and *corporal* do not occur in English until the sixteenth century (the former as *cor-onnel*, whence the pronunciation). French *brigade* and its derivative *brigadier*

were introduced in the seventeenth century. *Major* as a general adjective is Middle English from Latin, but as a military noun, it is late sixteenth century from French, originally a shortening of *sergeant major*, then a commissioned officer and only later a noncommissioned one.

French names were given not only to various animals when served up as food at Norman tables—*beef*, *mutton*, *pork*, and *veal*, for instance—but also to the culinary processes by which the English cow, sheep, pig, and calf were prepared for human consumption, for instance, *boil*, *broil*, *fry*, *roast*, and *stew*. Native English *seethe* ‘boil, stew; soak, steep’ is now used mostly metaphorically, as in “to seethe with rage” and “sodden in drink” (*sodden* being the old past participle of *seethe*). Other French loans from the Middle English period, chosen more or less at random, are *dignity*, *enamor*, *feign*, *fool*, *fruit*, *horrible*, *letter*, *literature*, *magic*, *male*, *marvel*, *mirror*, *oppose*, *question*, *regard*, *remember*, *sacrifice*, *safe*, *salary*, *search*, *second* (replacing OE *ōðer* as an ordinal number), *secret*, *seize*, *sentence*, *single*, *sober*, and *solace*.

French words have come into English from two dialects of French: the Norman spoken in England (Anglo-Norman) and the Central French (that of Paris, later standard French). We can frequently tell by the form of a word whether it is of Norman or of Central French provenience. For instance, Latin *c* [k] before *a* developed into *ch* [ç] in Central French, but remained in the Norman dialect; hence *chapter*, from Middle English *chapitre* (from Old French), ultimately going back to Latin *capitulum* ‘little head,’ a diminutive of *caput*, is from the Central dialect. Compare also the doublets *chattel* and *cattle*, from Central French and Norman, respectively, both going back to Latin *capitale* ‘possession, stock.’ Similarly, Old French *w* was retained in Norman French, but elsewhere became [gw] and then [g]: this development is shown in such doublets as *wage*–*gage* and *warranty*–*guarantee* (the last perhaps also indebted to Spanish).

Let us pause to examine the opening lines of the *Canterbury Tales*, written toward the end of a period of intense borrowing from French. The italicized words are of French origin:

- Whan that Aprille with hise shoures soote
 The droghte of *March* hath *perced* to the roote
 And bathed every *veyne* in swich *licour*
 Of which *vertu* engendred is the *flour*;
 5 Whan Zephirus eek with his sweete breeth
Inspired hath in every holt and heeth
 The *tendre* croppes, and the yonge sonne
 Hath in the Ram his half[e] *cours* yronne,
 And smale foweles maken *melodye*,
 10 That slepen al the nyght with open eye—
 So priketh hem *nature* in hir *corages*—
 Thanne longen folk to goon on *pilgrimages*,
 And *Palmeres* for to seken *straunge* strondes,
 To ferne halwes kowthe in sondry londes
 15 And *specially* fram every shires ende
 Of Engelond to Caunterbury they wende

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- The hooly blisful martir for to seke
That hem hath holpen when hat they were seeke.
Bifil that in that *seson* on a day,
20 In Southwerk at the *Tabard* as I lay
Redy to wenden on my *pilgrimage*
To Caunterbury with ful *devout corage*,
At nyght were come in to that *hostelrye*
Wel nyne and twenty in a *compaignye*
25 Of sondry folk by *aventure* yfalle
In felaweshipe, and *pilgrimes* were they alle
That toward Caunterbury wolden ryde.

[Ellesmere MS]

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In these twenty-seven lines, there are 189 words. Counting *pilgrimage* and *corage* only once, 24 of these words come from French. Such a percentage is doubtless also fairly typical of cultivated London usage in Chaucer's time. According to Serjeantson (151), between 10 and 15 percent of the words Chaucer used were of French origin. It will be noted, as has been pointed out before, that the indispensable everyday words—auxiliary verbs, pronouns, and particles—are of native origin, from the Old English. To the fourteenth century, as Serjeantson points out (136), we owe most of the large number of still current abstract terms from French ending with *-ance*, *-ant*, *-ence*, *-ent*, *-ity*, *-ment*, *-tion* and those beginning with *con-*, *de-*, *dis-*, *ex-*, *pre-*, though some of them do not actually show up in writing for another century or so.

LATER FRENCH LOANWORDS

Borrowing from French has gone on ever since the Middle Ages, though never on so large a scale. It is interesting to note that the same French word may be borrowed at various periods in the history of English, like *gentle* (thirteenth century), *genteel* (sixteenth century), and *jaunty* (seventeenth century), all from French *gentil*. (*Gentile*, however, was taken straight from Latin *gentilis*, meaning 'foreign' in post-Classical Latin.) It is similar with *chief*, first occurring in English in the fourteenth century, and *chef*, in the nineteenth—the doublets show by their pronunciation the approximate time of their adoption: the Old French affricate [č] survives in *chief*, in which the vowel has undergone the expected Great Vowel Shift from [e:] to [i:]; *chef* shows the Modern French shift of the affricate to the fricative [š]. In words of French origin spelled with *ch*, the pronunciation is usually indicative of the time of adoption: thus *chamber*, *champion*, *chance*, *change*, *chant*, *charge*, *chase*, *chaste*, *chattel*, *check*, and *choice* were borrowed in Middle English times, whereas *chamois*, *chauffeur*, *chevron*, *chic*, *chiffon*, *chignon*, *douche*, and *machine* have been taken over in Modern English times. Since *chivalry* was widely current in Middle English, one would expect it to begin in Modern English with [č]; the word has, as it were, been re-Frenchified, perhaps because with the decay of the institution, it became more of an eye word than an ear word. As late as 1977, Daniel Jones and A. C. Gimson recorded [č] as current but labeled it old-fashioned. In 1990, John C. Wells did not record it at all, nor, obviously, does the 2011 edition of

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the *Cambridge English Pronouncing Dictionary* edited by Roach, Setter, and Esling.

Carriage, courage, language, savage, voyage, and village came into English in Middle English times and have come to have initial stress in accordance with English patterns. Chaucer and his contemporaries could have it both ways in their poetry—for instance, either *courage* or *courage*, as also with other French loans—for instance, *colour, figure, honour, pitee, valour, and vertu*. This variable stress is still evidenced by such doublets as *divers* and *diverse*. The position of the stress is frequently evidence of the period of borrowing: compare, for instance, older *cárrriage* with newer *garáge*, *válour* with *velóur*, or *véstige* with *prestíge*.

More recent loans from French are, as we should expect, by and large less completely naturalized than older ones, though some, like *cigarette, picnic, and police*, seem commonplace enough. These later loans also include (omitting French accents except where they are usual in English) *aide-de-camp, amateur, ballet, baton, beau, bouillon, boulevard, brochure, brunette, bureau, café, camoufla*ge, *chaise longue, champagne, chaperon* (early, a hood or cap worn by women; later reborrowed as a married woman who shields a young girl as a hood shields the face), *chi-chi* 'chic gone haywire,' *chiffonier, chute, cliché, commandant, communiqué, connoisseur, coupe* ('cut off,' past participle of *couper*, used of a closed car with short body and practically always pronounced [kup] in American English), *coupon, crepe, crochet, debris, debut(ante), decor, deluxe, denouement, detour, elite, embonpoint* 'in good condition, plumpness' (compare the loan translation *in good point*, which occurs much earlier, as in Chaucer's description of the non-fasting, non-*ora-et-labora* Monk in the General Prologue of the *Canterbury Tales*: "He was a lord ful fat and in good poynt"), *encore, ensemble, entree, envoy, etiquette, fiancé(e), flair, foyer* (British ['fɔɪe] or ['fweɪe]; American also ['fɔɪər]), *fuselage, genre, glacier, grippe, hangar, hors d'oeuvre, impasse, invalid, laissez faire, liaison, limousine, lingerie, massage, matinee* (earlier, as its derivation from *matin* implies, a morning performance), *melee, ménage, menu, morale, morgue, naive, negligee, nuance, passé, penchant, plateau, premiere, protégé, rapport, ration* (the traditional pronunciation, rhyming with *fashion*, indicates its Modern French origin; the newer one, rhyming with *nation* and *station*, is by analogy with those much older words), *ravine, repartee, repertoire, reservoir, restaurant, reveille* (British [rɪ'væli]; American ['revəli]), *revue, risqué, roué, rouge, saloon* (and its less thoroughly Anglicized variant *salon*), *savant, savoir faire, souvenir, suede, surveillance, svelte, tête-à-tête, vignette, and vis-à-vis*.

There are also a good many loan translations from French, such as *mariage of convenience* (*mariage de conveyance*), *that goes without saying* (*ça va sans dire*), and *trial balloon* (*ballon d'essai*). In loan translation, the parts of a foreign expression are translated, thus producing a new idiom in the native language, as in (to cite another French example) *reason of state* from *raison d'état*. Such forms are a kind of calque.

The suffix *-ville* in the names of so many American towns is, of course, of French origin. Of the American love for this terminal element, Matthew Arnold declared: "The mere nomenclature of the country acts upon a cultivated person

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like the incessant pricking of pins. What people in whom the sense of beauty and fitness was quick could have invented, or could tolerate, the hideous names ending in *ville*, the Briggsvilles, Higginsvilles, Jacksonvilles, rife from Maine to Florida; the jumble of unnatural and inappropriate names everywhere?" *Chowder*, *depot* 'railway station,' *levee* 'embankment,' *picayune*, *prairie*, *praline*, *shivaree* (*charivari*), and *voyageur* are other Americanisms of French origin.

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE LOANWORDS

English has taken words from various other European languages as well—through travel, trade, exploration, and colonization. A good many Spanish and a smaller number of Portuguese loanwords entered English between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, quite a few of which are ultimately non-European, some coming from the New World. Spanish borrowings include *adobe* (from Egyptian via Arabic), *alligator* (*el lagarto* 'the lizard'), *anchovy*, *armada*, *armadillo* (literally 'little armed one'), *avocado* (from Nahuatl *ahuācatl* 'testicle'), *barbecue* (probably from Taíno), *barracuda*, *bolero*, *calaboose* (*calabozo*), *cannibal* (Sp. *Canibal*, recorded by Columbus as a name of the Carib people), *cargo*, *cask*, *castanet*, *chili* (Br. *chilli*, from Nahuatl), *chocolate* (from Nahuatl), *cigar* (probably from Maya), *cockroach*, *cocoa* (from Nahuatl), *cordovan* (leather; an older form, *cordwain*, comes through French), *corral*, *desperado*, *domino* 'cloak or mask,' *embargo*, *fandango* (the dance), *flotilla*, *frijoles*, *galleon*, *guitar*, *hacienda*, *hurricane*, *junta*, *key* 'reef' (*cayo*), *lasso*, *llama* (from Quechua), *maize* (from Taíno), *mantilla*, *mesa*, *mescal* (from Nahuatl), *mesquite* (from Nahuatl), *mosquito* 'little fly,' *mulatto*, *negro*, *palmetto*, *patio*, *peccadillo*, *plaza* (ultimately from Latin *plātēa*, as are also *place*, which occurs in Old English times, and the Italian loanword *piazza*), *poncho*, *potato* (from Taíno), *punctilio* (perhaps Italian), *savannah* (from Taíno), *sherry*, *sierra*, *siesta*, *silo*, *sombrero*, *stevedore* (*estivador* 'packer'), *tamale* (from Nahuatl), *tomato* (from Nahuatl), *tornado* (a blend of *tronada* 'thunderstorm' and *tornar* 'to turn'), *tortilla*, and *vanilla*.

A number of words were adopted from Spanish in the nineteenth century, especially by Americans: *bonanza*, *bronco*, *buckaroo* (*vaquero*), *canyon*, *chaparral* 'scrub oak' (whence *chaps*, 'leather pants worn by cowboys as protection against such vegetation'), *cinch*, *fandango* ('tomfoolery'), *lariat* (*la reata* 'the rope'), *loco*, *mustang*, *pinto*, *pueblo*, *ranch*, *rodeo*, *salsa* (referring to the spicy sauce), *stampede* (*estampida*), *tango* (perhaps ultimately African), and *vamoose* (*vamos* 'let's go'). It is likely, as Mitford M. Mathews (*Some Sources of Southernisms* 18) points out for *chili*, that some of the early Spanish loans were reborrowed by American English in the nineteenth century—"at the time we began to make first hand acquaintance with the Spanish speakers on our South-western border"—so are not continuations of the earlier forms.

Twentieth-century borrowings include another food term—*frijoles refritos* and its loan translation, *refried beans*, also *fajitas*, *nacho*, *relleno*, and *taco*—as well as terms for drinks, such as *margarita* and *sangria*. *Chicano* and *Chicana*, *macho*, and *machismo* reflect social phenomena. Also entering English

in the twentieth century is *salsa*, referring to the Latin American music and dance. *Hoosegow* is from *juzgao* 'jail,' a Mexican Spanish form of *juzgado* 'legal court.' *Moment of truth* 'critical time for reaching a decision or taking action' is a translation of *el momento de la verdad*, referring to the moment of the kill, when a matador faces the charging bull; this idiomatic phrase was popularized by Hemingway's 1932 classic study of bullfighting, *Death in the Afternoon*. Persons who use the expression now may be unaware of its origin in bullfighting.

No words came into English directly from Portuguese until the Modern English period; those that have been adopted include *albino*, *bossa nova*, *Madeira* (from the place), *molasses*, *pagoda*, *palaver*, and *pickaninny* (*pequeno* 'very small'), the last two through African pidgins. There are a few others considerably less familiar.

ITALIAN LOANWORDS

From yet another Romance language, Italian, English has acquired a good many words, including much of our musical terminology. As early as the sixteenth century, *alto*, *duo*, *fugue*, *madrigal*, *presto*, *viola da gamba* 'viol for the leg,' and *violin* appear in English. From the seventeenth century, we have *adagio*, *allegro*, *largo*, *maestro*, *opera*, *piano* 'soft' (as the name of the instrument, a clipped form of eighteenth-century *pianoforte*), *recitative*, *solo*, *sonata*, and *tempo*. In the eighteenth century, interest in Italian music reached its apogee in England with *andante*, *aria*, *cadenza*, *cantata*, *concerto*, *contralto*, *crescendo*, *diminuendo*, *duet*, *falsetto*, *finale*, *forte* 'loud' (the identically written word pronounced with final *e* silent and meaning 'strong point' is from French), *legato*, *libretto*, *obbligato*, *oratorio*, *prima donna*, *rondo*, *soprano*, *staccato*, *trio*, *trombone*, *viola*, and *violoncello*; and in the nineteenth, *diva*, *piccolo*, *pizzicato*, and *vibrato*.

Other loanwords from Italian include *artichoke*, *balcony*, *balloon*, *bandit*, *bravo*, *broccoli*, *canto*, *carnival*, *cartoon*, *casino*, *cupola*, *dilettante* (frequently pronounced as if French, by analogy with *debutante*), *firm* 'business association,' *fresco*, *ghetto*, *gondola*, *grotto*, *incognito*, *inferno*, *influenza*, *lagoon*, *lava*, *malaria* (*mala aria* 'bad air'), *maraschino*, *miniature*, *motto*, *pergola*, *piazza*, *portico*, *regatta*, *replica*, *scope*, *stanza*, *stiletto*, *studio*, *torso*, *umbrella*, *vendetta*, and *volcano*, not to mention those words of ultimate Italian origin, like *corridor*, *gazette*, and *porcelain*, which came by way of French. An expression of farewell, *ciao* [čau], enjoyed a period of great, although brief, popularity in trendy circles. The term *la dolce vita* was popularized by an Italian motion picture of that name; *paparazzi* are freelance photographers who specialize in candid shots of beautiful people indulging in *la dolce vita*. Another kind of influence is attested by *Cosa Nostra* and *Mafioso*, as well as the translation *godfather* for the head of a crime syndicate.

Macaroni (Mod. Italian *maccheroni*) came into English in the seventeenth century (its doublet *macaroon*, though designating quite a different food, is also from Italian, but by way of French), *vermicelli* in the seventeenth, and *spaghetti* and *gorgonzola* (from the town) in the nineteenth. *Ravioli* (as *rafiol*)

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occurs in English in the fifteenth century, and later as *raviol* in the seventeenth century. Both forms are rare; the modern form is a new borrowing in the nineteenth century. *Pizza*, *ziti*, and *lasagna* are also nineteenth century, and *al dente*, *linguine*, *manicotti*, *orecchiette* 'little ears,' and *scampi* are twentieth-century introductions into English.

GERMANIC LOANWORDS

LOANWORDS FROM LOW GERMAN

Dutch and other forms of Low German have contributed a number of words to English, to a large extent via the commercial relationships existing between the English and the Dutch and Flemish-speaking peoples from the Middle Ages on. Because the Low German languages are quite similar, it is often difficult to determine which one was the source of an early loanword.

It is not surprising in view of their eminence in seafaring activities that the Dutch should have contributed a number of nautical terms: *boom* 'spar,' *bowline*, *bowsprit*, *buoy*, *commodore*, *cruise*, *deck* (Dutch *dec* 'roof,' then in English 'roof of a ship,' a meaning that later got into Dutch), *dock*, *freight*, *lighter* 'flat-bottomed boat,' *rover* 'pirate,' *scow*, *skipper* (*schipper* 'shipper,' that is, 'master of a ship'), *sloop*, *smuggle*, *split* (in early use, 'break a ship on a rock'), *taffrail*, *yacht*, and *yawl*.

The Dutch and the Flemish were also famed for their cloth making. Terms like *cambric*, *duck* (a kind of cloth), *duffel* or *duffle* (from the name of a place), *nap*, *pea jacket*, and *spool* suggest the cloth-making trade, which merchants carried to England, along with such commercial terms as *dollar*, *groat*, *guilder*, and *mart*. England was also involved militarily with Holland, a connection reflected in a number of loanwords: *beleaguer*, *forlorn hope* (a remodeling by folk etymology from *verloren hoop* 'lost troop,' Dutch *hoop* being cognate with English *heap*, as of men), *furlough*, *kit* (originally a vessel for carrying a soldier's equipment), *knapsack*, *onslaught*, and *tattoo* 'drum signal, military entertainment' (from an evening signal that the tavern was closed: Dutch *taptoe* 'the tap of the cask is to [= shut]').

The reputation of the Dutch for eating and especially drinking well is attested by *booze*, *brandy(wine)*, *gherkin*, *gin* (short for *genever*—borrowed by the Dutch from Old French, ultimately Latin *juniperus* 'juniper,' confused in English with the name of the city Geneva), *hop* (a plant whose cones are used as a flavoring in malt liquors), *limburger*, *log(g)y*, and *pickle*. Perhaps as a result of indulgence in such Dutch pleasures, we have *frolic* (*vrolijk* 'joyful,' cognate with German *fröhlich*) and *rant* (earlier 'be boisterously merry').

Dutch painting was also valued in England, and consequently, we have as loanwords *easel*, *etch*, *landscape* (the last element of which has given rise to a large number of derivatives, including *moonscape* and *earthscape* as space travel allowed us to take a larger view of our surroundings), *maulstick*, and *sketch*.

Miscellaneous loans from Low German include *boor* (*boer*), *gimp*, *hanker*, *isinglass* (a folk-etymologized form of *huysenblas*), *luck*, *plunder*, *skate* (Dutch *schaats*, with the final -s mistaken for a plural ending), *snap*, *wagon* (the related

OE *wægn* gives modern *wain*), and *wiseacre* (Middle Dutch *wijsseggher* 'sooth-sayer'). From South African Dutch (Afrikaans) have come *apartheid*, *commandeer*, *commando*, *kraal* (borrowed by Dutch from Portuguese and related to the Spanish loanword *corral*), *spoor*, *trek*, and *veld(t)*.

A number of loanwords have entered English through the contact of Americans with Dutch settlers, especially in the New York area. There are Dutch-American food terms like *coleslaw* (*koolsla* 'cabbage salad'), *cookie*, *cranberry*, *cruller*, *pit* 'fruit stone,' and *waffle*. The diversity of other loanwords reflects the variety of cultural contacts English and Dutch speakers had in the New World: *boodle*, *boss*, *bowery*, *caboose*, *dope*, *Santa Claus* (*Sante Klaas* 'Saint Nicholas'), *sleigh*, *snoop*, *spook*, and *stoop* 'small porch.'

LOANWORDS FROM HIGH GERMAN

High German has had comparatively little impact on English. Much of the vernacular of geology and mineralogy is of German origin—for instance, *cobalt*, *feldspar* (a half-translation of *Feldspath*), *gneiss*, *loess*, *meerscham*, *nickel* (1755, originally *Kupfernickel*, 'copper demon,' so called because the ore was copper-colored but yielded no copper), *quartz*, *seltzer* (ultimately a derivative of Selters, near Wiesbaden), and *zinc*. *Carouse* occurs in English as early as the sixteenth century, from the German *gar aus* 'all out,' meaning the same as *bottoms up*. Originally adverbial, it almost immediately came to be used as a verb, and shortly afterward as a noun.

Other words taken from German include such culinary terms as *bratwurst*, *braunschweiger*, *delicatessen*, *knockwurst* (or *knackwurst*), *noodle* (*Nudel*), *pretzel*, *pumpernickel*, *sauerbraten*, *sauerkraut* (occurring first in British English, but the English never particularly cared for the dish, and the word may to all intents and purposes be considered an Americanism, independently reborrowed), *schnitzel*, *wienerwurst*, and *zwieback*. *Liederkrantz* is an American type of limburger cheese, apparently called after a New York German singing society whose name meant 'Wreath of Song.' *Liverwurst* is a half-translation of *Leberwurst*. *Hamburger*, *frankfurter*, and *wiener* (from *wienerwurst*) are doubtless the most popular of all German loans (although now the first is usually abbreviated to *burger*, and the latter two have been supplanted by *hot dog*). The vernacular of drinking includes *bock* (from *Einbecker Bier* 'beer of Einbeck,' shortened in German to *Bockbier*, a strong brew with a name that puns on *Bock* 'billy goat' perhaps because of its kick), *katzenjammer* 'hang-over' (literally 'cat lament'), *kirsch(wasser)*, *lager*, and *schnapps*.

Other words from German include *angst*, *hamster*, *landau* (from the place of that name), *waltz*, and the dog names *dachshund*, *Doberman(n) pinscher*, *poodle* (*Pudel*), and *spitz*. We also have *Doppelgänger*, *edelweiss*, *ersatz*, *Gestalt* (especially in *Gestalt psychology*), *hinterland*, *leitmotiv*, *poltergeist* (especially popularized by the 1980s American *Poltergeist* horror films), *rucksack*, *Schadenfreude*, *schottische* 'round dance like a slow polka,' *Weltanschauung* and its loan translation *worldview*, *wunderkind*, *yodel* (*jodeln*), *Zeitgeist*, and the not yet thoroughly naturalized *gemütlich* and *Sitzfleisch* 'perseverance.' *Ablaut*, *umlaut*, and *schwa* (ultimately Hebrew) have been used

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as technical terms in this book. *Blitz(krieg)* attained infamy in 1940 and 1941, but it has since receded, although *blitz* has reincarnated with other metaphorical uses, as in American football, where it signifies that the passer is being rushed by a defensive linebacker, back, or end.

Seminar and *semester* are, of course, ultimately Latin, but they entered American English by way of German. *Seminar* is probably an independent borrowing in both British and American about the same time, the late nineteenth century, when many American and English scholars went to Germany in pursuit of their doctorates. *Semester* is known in England, but the English have little use for it save in reference to foreign universities. *Academic freedom* is a loan translation of *akademische Freiheit*. *Bummeln* is used by German students to mean 'to loiter, waste time,' and it may be the source of American English *to bum* and the noun in the sense 'loafer,' though this need not be an academic importation.

On a less elevated level, American English uses such expressions as (*on the fritz*, *gesundheit* ('Good health!'—when someone has sneezed), *hex*, *kaffee-klatsch* and its anglicization as *coffee clutch*, *kaput*, and *nix (nichts)*. German-Americans have doubtless been responsible for adapting the German suffix *-fest* to English uses, as in *songfest* and *gabfest*. *Biergarten* has undergone translation in *beer garden*; *kindergarten* is frequently pronounced as though the last element were English *garden*. By way of the Germans from the Palatinate who settled in southern Pennsylvania in the early part of the eighteenth century come a number of terms of German origin little known in other parts of the United States, such as *smearcase* 'cottage cheese' (*Schmierkäse*), *snits* 'fruit cut for drying,' and *sots* 'yeast.' *Kriss Kingle* or *Kriss Kringle* (*Christkindl* 'Christ child') and *to dunk* have become nationally known.

Yiddish (that is, *Jüdisch* 'Jewish') has been responsible for introducing a number of originally German or Hebrew words, among them *kibitz*, *schlemiel*, *schmaltz*, *schnozzle*, *shmo*, *shnook*, *shtick*, and others less widely known to non-Jews. Other contributions of Yiddish are *chutzpah*, *klutz*, *kvetch*, *mavin*, *mensch*, *nebbish*, *nosh*, *schlep*, *schlock*, *schmear*, *yenta*, and *zoftig*—distinctly ethnic in tone, although several have become characteristic of New York. Some Yiddishisms are indelicate: *tokus* 'buttocks' (from a Hebrew word meaning 'beneath') and *fakakta* or *verkakte* (cf. OE *bescítan*) 'beshitted,' hence, 'useless, stupid, crazy.' The suffix *-nik*, ultimately of Slavic origin and popularized by the Soviet *sputnik*, has also been disseminated by Yiddish through such forms as *nudnik*; it has been extended to forms like *beatnik*, *filmmik*, *neatnik*, *nogoodnik*, *peacenik*, and, as mentioned in Chapter 11, also *Wordnik.com*.

LOANWORDS FROM THE EAST

NEAR EAST

As early as Old English times, words from the East doubtless trickled into the language, then always by way of other languages. A number of words ultimately Arabic, most of them having to do in one way or another with science or with commerce, came in during the Middle English period, usually by way of French or Latin. These include *amber*, *camphor*, *cipher* (from Arabic *ṣifr* by

way of Medieval Latin; the Italian modification of the same Arabic word as zero entered English in the early Modern period), *cotton*, *lute*, *mattress*, *orange*, *saffron*, *sugar*, *syrup*, and *zenith*.

The Arabic definite article *al* is retained in one form or another in *alchemy*, *alembic*, *algorism*, *alkali*, *almanac*, *azimuth* (*as* [for *al*] plus *sumūt* 'the ways'), *elixir* (*el* [for *al*] plus *iksir* 'the philosopher's stone'), and *hazard* (*az* [for *al*] plus *zahr* 'the die'). In *admiral*, occurring first in Middle English, the Arabic article occurs in the final syllable: the word is an abbreviation of some such phrase as *amir-al-bahr* 'commander (of) the sea.' Through confusion with Latin *admirabilis* 'admirable,' the word has acquired a *d*; although *d*-less forms do occur as late as the sixteenth century, ultimately what prevailed was this blunder with *d* (which occurs in the first known recording of the word in Layamon's *Brut*, written around the end of the twelfth century).

Alcohol (*al-kuhl* 'the kohl, that is, powder of antimony for staining the eyelids') developed its modern meaning by generalization to 'powder' of any kind, then to 'essence' or 'spirit' as in the obsolete *alcohol of wine*, and thence to the spirituous element in beverages. *Alcove* and *algebra*, also beginning with the article *al*-, were introduced in early Modern times, along with a good many words without the article—for instance, *assassin* (originally 'hashish eater'), *caliber*, *carat*, *caraway*, *fakir*, *garble*, *giraffe*, *harem*, *hashish*, *henna*, *jinn* (plural of *jinnī*), *lemon*, *magazine* (ultimately an Arabic plural form meaning 'storehouses'), *minaret*, *mohair*, *sherbet*, and *tariff*. Some of these were transmitted through Italian, French, or other languages; very few were taken directly from Arabic. *Coffee*, ultimately from Arabic *qahwah* 'the infusion or beverage,' was taken into English by way of Turkish *kahveh* and probably Dutch *kaffe*; the OED observes that some lexicographers believe *qahwah* originally meant 'a kind of wine.'

Other Semitic languages have contributed little directly, though a number of words ultimately Hebrew have come to us by way of French or Latin. Regardless of the method of their transmission, Hebrew is the ultimate or immediate origin of *amen*, *behemoth*, *cabala* or *Kabbalah* (via medieval Latin from Rabbinical Heb. *qabbālāh* 'received [lore],' whence also, by way of French, *cabal*), *cherub*, *hallelujah*, *jubilee*, *rabbi*, *Sabbath*, *seraph*, *shekel*, and *shibboleth*. Both *Jehovah* (*Yahweh*) and *Satan* are Hebrew. Yiddish uses a very large number of Hebrew words and seems to have been the medium of transmission for *goy*, *kosher*, *matzo* (plural *matzoth*), and *mazuma*.

IRAN AND INDIA

Persian and Sanskrit are both Indo-European; yet, the regions in which they were spoken were far removed from England, and they were to all intents and purposes highly exotic. Consequently, such words as Persian *caravan* (in the nineteenth century clipped to *van*) and *bazaar* must have seemed exotic to the English in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when they first became current. *Azure*, *musk*, *paradise*, *satrap*, and *taffeta* occur in Middle English. None of these are direct loans, coming rather through Latin or Old French.

In addition to 'loin-band,' is now used to replace the marching band. o shakkar 'color,' recorded until much nowadays.

Also from Chess, as in the name of *eschec* (from Persian, as in the Persian word *eschec*). Arabic in the name of 'the king's chess' *eschekier* be reckoned. Rook 'castle.' From the 2009 American *chakra*, given in English. yoda, root meaning in German. term was a was *Haken* half of the pretty much without the

Candy through Persian. through Old English. reduced to Old English and French *chintz*, *cot*, *raja* (and *thug*, and known in *Pal* is from words having men, especially Scott, Byron. The name India have *curry*, *mar*

In addition, some Persian words were borrowed in India. *Cummerbund* 'loin-band,' first appearing (as *combarband*) in the early seventeenth century, is now used for an article of men's semiformal evening dress that frequently replaces the low-cut waistcoat and also for the broad waist sash worn in marching band uniforms. *Seersucker* is an Indian modification of Persian *shir o shakkar* 'milk and sugar,' the name of a fabric. *Khaki* 'dusty, cloth of that color,' recorded in English first in 1857 but not widely known in America until much later, was at first pronounced ['kaki], though ['kæki] is normal nowadays.

Also from Persian come *baksheesh*, *dervish*, *mogul*, *shah*, and *shawl*. *Chess*, as noted earlier, comes directly from Middle French *eschec* (the plural of *eschec*) with loss of its first syllable by apheresis, but the word is ultimately Persian, as is the cognate *check* (in all its senses) from the Middle French singular *eschec*. The words go back to Persian *shāh* 'king,' which was taken into Arabic in the specific sense 'the king in the game of chess,' whence *shāh māt* 'the king is dead,' the source of *checkmate*. The derivative *exchequer* (OF *eschequier* 'chess board') came about through the fact that accounts used to be reckoned on a table marked with squares like a chess (or *checker*) board. *Rook* 'castle, chess piece' is also ultimately derived from Persian.

From Sanskrit come, along with a few others, *avatar* (popularized by the 2009 American science fiction film *Avatar* and its blue Na'vi humanoids), *chakra*, *guru*, *karma*, *mahatma*, *mantra*, *swastika*, and *yoga* ('union,' akin to English *yoke*). *Swastika*, a sacred symbol in several Indian religions, whose root meaning is 'well-being,' is often thought of as a symbol of the Nazi party in Germany because they commandeered the shape for their own purposes. The term was actually little known in that country, where the name of the figure was *Hakenkreuz* 'hook-cross.' *Swastika* first occurs in English in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Sanskrit *dvandva*, *sandhi*, and *svarabhakti* are pretty much confined to the vernacular of linguistics; nonlinguists get along without them very well.

Candy is ultimately from Sanskrit *khanda* 'piece, fragment' but passed through Persian to Arabic *sukkar qandī* 'sugar piece, candied sugar' and thence through Old French *sucre candi* into Middle English as *sugar candy* and was reduced to simple *candy* by the seventeenth century. *Ginger*, which occurs in Old English (*gingifere*), is ultimately from Dravidian via Pali, Greek, Latin, and French. From Indic languages also come *bandanna*, *bangle*, *bungalow*, *chintz*, *cot*, *dinghy*, *dungaree*, *gunny* 'sacking,' *juggernaut*, *jungle*, *loot*, *maharaja* (and *maharani*), *nabob*, *pajamas*, *pundit*, *sahib*, *sari*, *shampoo*, *swami*, *thug*, and *tom-tom*, along with a number of other words that are much better known in England than in America (for instance, *babu*, *darbar*, and *pukka*). *Pal* is from Romany, or Gypsy, which is an Indic dialect. A good many Indic words have achieved general currency in English because of their use by literary men, especially Kipling, though he had distinguished predecessors, including Scott, Byron, and Thackeray.

The non-Indo-European languages, called Dravidian, spoken in southern India have contributed such fairly well-known words as *catamaran*, *copra*, *curry*, *mango*, *pariah*, and *teak*, some through European languages.

FAR EAST AND AUSTRALASIA

Other English words from languages spoken in the Orient are comparatively few in number, but some are quite well known. Silk fiber came from China, but the origin of the word *silk* (OE *sioloc* or *seol(e)c*) is unknown. From various dialects of Chinese come *ch'i-kung* (or *qigong*), *feng shui*, *foo yong*, *ginseng*, *gung-ho*, *I-Ching*, *ketchup*, *kowtow*, *kumquat*, *kung fu*, *litchi*, *pongee*, *t'ai chi ch'uan*, *tea* (and its informal British variant *char*), *wok*, *wonton*, and *yin-yang*. *Typhoon* is a remodeling based on a Chinese word meaning 'big wind' of an earlier form with roots in Portuguese, Urdu, Arabic, and ultimately Greek, being a word with a very mixed ancestry. Americanisms of Chinese origin are *chop suey*, *chow*, *chow mein*, and *tong* 'secret society.'

From Japanese have come *aikido*, *anime* 'cartoon film,' *banzai*, *geisha*, *ginkgo*, *go* 'a board game,' *Godzilla*, *hanafuda* (literally 'flower cards,' playing cards used in various games), *hara-kiri*, *haiku*, (*jin*)*ricksha*, *karaoke*, *karate*, *kimono*, *manga* 'comic-book graphic novel,' *miso*, *Pac-Man*, *Pokemon*, *sake* 'liquor,' *samurai*, *soy(a)*, *sudoku* (literally 'number [sū] place [doku]'), *sushi*, and even Sony's 1979 portable cassette recorder, the *Walkman* (although it is made from two English words), along with the ultimately Chinese *judo*, *jujitsu*, *tofu*, and *tycoon*. *Zen* is ultimately Sanskrit, by way of Chinese. *Kamikaze*, introduced during World War II as a term for suicide pilots, literally means 'divine wind'; it has come to be used for anything that is recklessly destructive.

From Korean come a few general terms, notably *kimchi* or *kimchee* 'spicy pickled cabbage' (the national dish of Korea) and *tae kwon do* 'a martial art emphasizing foot kicks.' Best known are probably the brand names *Hyundai* (a motor company) and *Samsung* (a conglomerate known for electronics).

From the languages spoken in the islands of the Pacific come *bamboo*, *gingham*, *launch* 'boat,' and *mangrove*, and others mostly adopted before the beginning of the nineteenth century by way of French, Portuguese, Spanish, or Dutch. *Rattan*, direct from Malay, appears first in Pepys's Diary (as *rattoon*), where it designates, not the wood, but a cane made of it: "Mr. Hawley did give me a little black rattoon, painted and gilt" (September 13, 1660).

Polynesian *taboo* and *tattoo* 'decorative permanent skin marking,' along with a few other words from the same source, appear in English around the time of Captain James Cook's voyages (1768–1779); they occur first in his journals. (This *tattoo* is not the same as *tattoo* 'drum or bugle signal [and later] military entertainment,' as noted above.) *Hula* (1825) is Hawaiian Polynesian, as are *lanai* (1823), *lei* (1843), *luau* (1853), *kahuna* (1886), *ukulele* (1896), and *wiki* (from *wikiwiki* 'very quick' for 'a web page designed so that its content can be edited by anyone who accesses it,' post-1995). Captain Cook recorded Australian *kangaroo* in 1770. *Boomerang*, another Australian word, is first attested in a native form, *womur-rāng*, in 1798 and in the English spelling in 1827. *Budgerigar*, also Australian and designating a kind of parrot, is well known in England, where it is frequently clipped to *budgie* by those who fancy the birds, usually known as *parakeets* in America.

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LOANWORDS FROM AFRICAN LANGUAGES

A few words from languages that were spoken on the west coast of Africa have entered English by way of Portuguese and Spanish, notably *banana* and *yam*, both appearing toward the end of the sixteenth century. It is likely that *yam* entered the vocabulary of American English independently. In the South, where it is used more frequently than elsewhere, it designates not just any kind of sweet potato, as in other parts, but a red sweet potato, which is precisely the meaning it has in the Gullah form *yambi*. Hence, it is likely that this word was introduced into Southern American English direct from Africa, despite its Portuguese transmission in earlier English.

Voodoo, with its variant *hoodoo*, is likewise of African origin and was introduced by way of Louisiana French. *Gorilla* is apparently African: it first occurs in English in the *Boston Journal of Natural History* in 1847, according to the *Dictionary of Americanisms*, though a Latin plural form *gorillae* occurs in 1799 in British English. *Juke* (more correctly *jook*) and *jazz* are Americanisms probably of African origin. Both were more or less disreputable when first introduced but have in the course of time lost most of their earlier sexual connotations. Other African words transmitted into American English are *banjo*, *buckra*, *cooter* 'turtle,' the synonymous *goober* and *pinder* 'peanut,' *gumbo*, *jigger* 'sand flea' (also called *chigoe*), and the currently very popular *zombie*. *Samba* and *rumba* are ultimately African, coming to English by way of Brazilian Portuguese and Cuban Spanish, respectively. *Tote* 'to carry' is also doubtless of African origin (Lorenzo Dow Turner 203).

SLAVIC, HUNGARIAN, TURKISH, AND AMERICAN INDIAN

Very minor sources of the English vocabulary are Slavic, Hungarian, Turkish, and American Indian, with few words from these sources used in English contexts without reference to the peoples or places from which they were borrowed. Most have been borrowed during the Modern English period, since 1500, and practically all by way of other languages.

Slavic *sable* comes to us in Middle English times not directly but by way of French. From Czech we later acquired, also indirectly, *polka*. *Mazurka* is from a Polish term for a dance characteristic of the Mazur community. We have borrowed the word *horde* indirectly from the Poles, ultimately from Turkish. *Mammoth* is directly from Russian, ultimately from a Siberian language. Other Russian words, variably naturalized, are *apparatchik*, *bolshevik*, *borzoi*, *czar* (ultimately Lat. *Caesar*), *glasnost*, *intelligentsia* (ultimately Latin), *kopeck*, *muzhik*, *perestroika*, *pogrom*, *ruble*, *samovar*, *soviet*, *sputnik*, *steppe*, *tovarisch*, *troika*, *tundra*, *ukase*, and *vodka*.

Goulash, *hussar*, and *paprika* have been taken directly from Hungarian. *Coach* comes to us directly from French *coche* but goes back ultimately to Hungarian *kocsi*. *Vampire* is from Serbo-Croatian, but the shortening to *vamp* is a purely native English phenomenon.

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Jackal, ultimately Persian, comes to English by way of Turkish; *khan*, ultimately Turkish, entered English as early as about 1400. Other Turkish words used in English include *fez* and the fairly recent *shish kebab*. *Tulip* is from *tulipa(nt)*, via French from Turkish *tülbend* from Persian *dulband*; a doublet of the word comes into English as *turban*. The flower was so called because it was thought to look like the headgear. *Kismet*, like *coffee*, comes to us from Arabic via Turkish.

American Indian words are sparse in the common vocabulary even in American English, although many American place-names are of Indian origin. Algonquian words that have survived owe their endurance largely to the nineteenth-century popularity of James Fenimore Cooper's novels, both in America and abroad: they include *moccasin*, *papoose*, *powwow*, *squaw*, *toboggan* (via Canadian French), *tomahawk*, and *totem*. Others with perhaps fewer literary associations are *chipmunk*, *moose*, *opossum*, *pecan* (via American French), *skunk*, *squash*, *terrapin*, and *woodchuck* (with folk etymology from a word related to Narragansett *ockqutchau*, which was more than the English settlers could manage, so they also called it a *groundhog*—the most famous being Pennsylvania's Punxsutawney Phil, portrayed in the 1993 American comedy *Groundhog Day*). Muskogean words are more or less confined to the southern American states—for instance, *bayou* (via Louisiana French) and *catalpa*. Navajo contributed *hogan*; and Siouan, *tepee*. Loans from Nahuatl, almost invariably of Spanish transmission, are mentioned above.

THE SOURCES OF RECENT LOANWORDS

English speakers continue to borrow words from almost every language spoken upon the earth, although no longer with the frequency characteristic of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. There has also been a shift in the relative importance of languages from which English borrows. A study by Garland Cannon of more than a thousand recent loanwords from eighty-four languages shows that about 25 percent are from French; 8 percent each from Japanese and Spanish; 7 percent each from Italian and Latin; 6 percent each from African languages, German, and Greek; 4 percent each from Russian and Yiddish; 3 percent from Chinese; and progressively smaller percentages from Arabic, Portuguese, Hindi, Sanskrit, Hebrew, Afrikaans, Malayo-Polynesian, Vietnamese, Amerindian languages, Swedish, Bengali, Danish, Indonesian, Korean, Persian, Amharic, Eskimo-Aleut, Irish, Norwegian, and thirty other languages.

Latin has declined as a source for loanwords perhaps because English has already borrowed so much of the Latin vocabulary that there is comparatively little left to be borrowed. Now, rather than borrow directly, we make new Latinate words out of English morphemes originally from Latin. The increase in the importance of Japanese as a source for loans came as a consequence of the increased commercial importance of Japan. French is the most important single language for borrowing, but more French loans enter through British than through American English, because of the geographical proximity of the United Kingdom to France. Conversely, Spanish loanwords are often borrowed from American Spanish into American English.

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Enough has been written to indicate the cosmopolitanism of the present English vocabulary. Yet English remains English in every essential respect. The words that all of us use over and over again and the grammatical structures in which we couch our observations upon practically everything under the sun remain as distinctively English as they were in the days of Alfred the Great. What has been acquired from other languages has not always been particularly worth gaining; no one could prove by any set of objective standards that *army* is a "better" word than *dright* or *here*, which it displaced, or that *advice* is any better than the similarly displaced *rede*, or that *to contend* is any better than *to flite*. Those who think that *manual* is a better, or more beautiful, or more intellectual word than English *handbook* are, of course, entitled to their opinion. But such esthetic preferences are purely matters of style and have nothing to do with the subtle patternings that make one language different from another. The words we choose are nonetheless of tremendous interest in themselves, and they throw a good deal of light upon our cultural history.

But with all its manifold new words from other tongues, English could never have become anything but English. And as such it has sent out to the world, among many other things, some of the best books the world has ever known. It is not unlikely, in the light of writings by English speakers in earlier times, that this would have been so even if we had never taken any words from outside the word hoard that has come down to us from those times. It is true that what we have borrowed has brought greater wealth to our word stock, but the true Englishness of our mother tongue has in no way been lessened by such loans, as those who speak and write it lovingly will always keep in mind.

It is highly unlikely that many readers will have noted that the preceding paragraph contains not a single word of foreign origin. It was perhaps not worth the slight effort involved to write it so; it does show, however, that English would not be totally impoverished without its borrowings from other languages. It also suggests that a language or a culture as pluralistic, inclusive, and diverse as English and Anglo-American culture have become still needs, and can function effectively with, a stable, native core.

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