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# (The) influence of Teutonic dialects on the Spanish language

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BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

THE INFLUENCE OF TEUTONIC DIALECTS

ON THE

SPANISH LANGUAGE

by

Irving Rydell Johnson

(A.B., Michigan, 1927)

submitted in partial fulfilment of the

requirements ~~for~~ the degree of

Master of Arts

1932


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## Introduction

### A. The Purpose of this Study.

When one considers the history of Spain, it becomes apparent that the language of this country should indeed offer a rich field for the philologist. Iberian and Celt; Carthaginian and Greek; Roman, Goth, and Arab, have all, in the confused struggle that history records, contributed to the development of the modern Spanish nation. And their languages have all resounded in the peninsula; some only to vanish with little trace, others to remain as essential elements in that language which finally came to be designated as Spanish. Philologists have, to be sure, studied the fascinating development of the Spanish language in great detail, but have limited their investigation chiefly (and for obvious reasons) to the Latin aspect of Spanish, and in a less degree to the Arabic influence. But the Teutonic element in Spanish has not been subjected to the thorough analysis which it properly deserves. It is the purpose, therefore, of this dissertation to examine in detail the Teutonic influence on the Spanish language. Since history indicates that such influence occurs essentially in the early history of Spain, the examination is limited chiefly to the early Spanish period up to 400 A.D.

### B. The Procedure of this Study.

For such a study a definite method of investigation must be followed. The procedure must properly involve a careful study (I) of the early (and to a less extent, the later) history of Spain; of the various Teutonic dialects within the period and all the conditions under which Teutonic influence



was exerted,(II);and of the language spoken in Spain at the time of such influence. The results must then be summarized succinctly. The various steps in the procedure are outlined in the "Contents". The material for the disquisition,which material has been gathered eclectically,consists of the works of those scholars who have contributed to the subject,and whose findings are available to the writer of this thesis. Such material is given in the bibliography. The manner in which the works have been employed is stated at the proper point in the dissertation.

## I

### The Early History of Spain

#### A. Primitive Spain.

The first inhabitants of Spain,as far as our present knowledge extends,seem to have been the Iberians,who probably came from Northern Africa. There came in upon these Iberians at an uncertain date the Celts,who,originating in the North, had passed over the Pyrenees and gradually pressed southward through Spain. These Celts were tall and blond (I),in contrast to the Iberians,who were short and dark. In time these two races fused into a new race,the Celtiberians.Many Celtic tribes, including the Cantabrians,Asturians,Vascones,Lusitanians,and

(1) Romera-Navarro: Historia,page 10.

(2) Hale: Story,page 11.



Galicians,settled permanently in Northern Spain and gave to their regions their names,which are still found on the map of modern Spain. In addition,another race settled in the Pyrenees,bringing with them their problematical language, the written records of which date not earlier than the fifteenth century. This race is the Basques,who probably came not from the North but rather from the South,and who are possibly related most closely to the Iberians. But nothing certain is known of them (1). Some scholars identify the Basques with the Celtic Vascones,perhaps wrongly. But the Basque problem is a field in itself and will not be further discussed here.

The next people to visit the Spanish Peninsula were the Carthaginians,Phoenicians by origin,who established trading ports along the Spanish coast at various points,chiefly however,in the South and in what is now known as Catalonia. In Catalonia,too,Rhodian Greeks had settled in 900 B.C. (2). The Carthaginians gave names to several cities,including 'Cartagena','Córdoba'('Kartah-tuba'meaning 'great city'),and 'Barcelona'(city of the Barca,a powerful family of Carthage to which Hannibal belonged). Under Hannibal much of Spain fell under Carthaginian rule.

#### B. Spain under the Romans.

It was the activity of Hannibal which for the first time attracted the serious attention of Rome to Spain. In 218 B.C. Hannibal had destroyed the wealthy city of Saguntum

(1) Hale:Story,page 11.

(2) Harrison:Spain,page xxvii,Introduction.



in Spain (the modern town is Mur Viedro). This city, although an ally of Rome, had not received the protection against Carthage which had been asked for. Rome felt there was no great danger and accordingly neglected the fated Saguntum. But the destruction of the city by Hannibal aroused the fury of Rome and led immediately to the Second Punic War (218-201 B.C.). From this time on for many centuries Spain was to be under the yoke of Rome.

The first commanding figure in the Roman occupation of Spain is the great Scipio Africanus, whose story is well known. After him the most important Roman in Spain seems to have been Quintus Sertorius. Sertorius had revolted against the rule of his native Rome and had planned to establish a kingdom of his own in Spain with himself as ruler. He had banded together in orderly manner the wild tribes of Spain and had built a powerful army. He soon ruled Spain. He established a university at Osca (modern Huesca) and accomplished much which entitles him to be called the first "civilizer of Spain" (1). He ruled Spain for ten years, and was assassinated in 72 B.C. The next great figure is Julius Caesar, who came to Spain in 62 B.C. At Munda (near Córdoba) Caesar defeated the younger Pompey in a memorable battle. Caesar was followed by Augustus Caesar, who governed Spain for many years in peace. There followed many officials sent from Rome to govern Spain throughout the period of Roman occupation, but a

(1) Hale: Story, page 48.



discussion of these events is beyond the scope of this thesis. It is to be noted that the Roman power endured in Spain from the time of the Second Punic War (218-201 B.C.) to the expulsion of the Romans by the Visigoth Euric in 401 A.D. Fifteen years later (476 A.D.) the Western Empire ceased to exist, and for Spain as well as for the rest of the world that had known the hand of Rome, "Roma fuit".

### C. Spain under the Teutonic Tribes.

Previous to 400 A.D. many Teutonic tribes had settled in the region of North Germany. Among these tribes were the Sueves, Vandals, Lombards, and Burgundians. Another Teutonic folk, the Goths, had begun to leave their northern home (Göta-land in Sweden, not the island Gotland) about the end of the last century before Christ and to move chiefly in a southeasterly direction into southern Russia. They finally settled in the region of the Dnieper Basin, where the Goths divided into two great bodies, the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths. The division was probably determined by the order of the arrival of the successive migrating bands (1). It was from this region that the Goths launched the great Gothic attack on the Roman Empire that began about 247 A.D. Thus at an early time the Goths came into collision with the Romans, probably at first in the Roman provinces of Dacia and Moesia. But it was not until about 400 A.D. that Rome was to feel in a dangerous manner the increasing pressure of these northern tribes in the Empire.

(1) Kendrick: Vikings, pages 54, 64, 65.



The sudden new force which caused the great Teutonic migrations southward and westward was the westerly advance of the Huns, a Mongolian race from central Asia. These Huns now forced the Goths into the Empire (about the fifth century) and also those other tribes which had settled in North Germany. Thus began the great barbarian invasions of the Empire (1). In 409 A.D. the Sueves entered Spain and became established in the northeast part of the country (including part of modern Portugal); the Vandals in the same year passed into Spain, some settling in the southern part of the land, but most of them pressing on into northern Africa, where they became established in 429 A.D., and later crossed from Africa to Rome in 455 A.D. (2). In 410 A.D. the Goths under Alaric captured Rome, and Gothic power was dominant in Italy until Justinian destroyed the Italian kingdoms of the Vandals and East Goths in the year 553 A.D. (3). But immediately after the death of Justinian Italy experienced the last of the great Teutonic invasions. The Lombards rushed into Italy from the North (565 A.D.) and conquered the region north of the Po ("Lombardy"). But they never gained southern Italy. Their kingdom in Italy lasted over two hundred years, until it was conquered in 774 A.D. by Charlemagne.

The Visigoths had pressed rapidly westward, and in 414 A.D., five years after the Sueves and Vandals had invaded Spain, they

(1) Robinson: Medieval, Chapter II.

(2) Robinson: Medieval, page 24 (map), and Romera-Navarro's Historia, page 37.

(3) Robinson: Medieval, page 30.



began to pour into Spain in great numbers. The first Visigothic king whom history records is Athanaric (366-381 A.D.) (1). The Visigoths were in continuous conflict with the Sueves and Vandals who had arrived in Spain before them, and it was not until 584 A.D. that the kingdom of the Sueves in northwestern Spain was conquered by the Visigoths, and the two peoples amalgamated. It must be pointed out here that the Visigoths who entered Spain were already Christians, as a result of the teachings of Ulfilas (born 311, died about 381 A.D.), and were also to some extent Romanized (see first paragraph, C.).

The second king of the Visigoths was Ataulphus (411-415 A.D.), brother-in-law of Alaric, with whom Ataulphus had been present at the capture of Rome (by Alaric in 410 A.D.). Ataulphus married the sister of the Roman Emperor Honorius, an event which caused him considerable trouble with Rome, as history well records. Ataulphus built his capital in Barcelona and became very much Romanized. After Ataulphus the next important king is Theodoric the Visigoth (419-451 A.D.), who with the Roman general Aetius defeated in the battle of Châlons (451 A.D.) the terrible Attila the Hun, and thus destroyed once and forever the threatening power of the Hun in Europe. Theodoric was killed in the battle.

Euric (466-485 A.D.) is the most important king next after Theodoric the Visigoth. He collected the laws of his

(1) Harrison: Spain, page 17.



people in the "Gothic Code", called in Spain the "Fuero Juzgo", which code has profoundly influenced Spanish law. But Euric's greatest deed perhaps is that he destroyed the Roman power in Spain. In 461 A.D. Euric defeated the last Roman army to stand on Spanish soil, and in this year the Roman occupation of Spain ended (see B, paragraph 2). Rome had held sway in Spain for almost 700 years.

The next great king of the Visigoths is the mighty Wamba, who was a ploughman, but, Cincinnatus-like, left his plough to become king, and to pass his last days, through a strange happening, as a monk in a monastery near Burgos. Wamba ruled from 672 to 680 A.D., and is credited with being the wisest of the kings. Under his rule the Visigoths advanced tremendously in civilization. A halo of true Spanish romanticism and a luxuriance of legend surrounds the glorious King Wamba.

After Wamba came (with a few minor rulers first) the powerful Witica (697-710 A.D.), and then King Roderick, the Last of the Visigoths. Roderick ruled but a year (710-711 A.D.), yet the wild events of his rule are well known to readers of history (1). Roderick had a trusted Count Julian, who was fighting for Roderick against the Arabs in extreme southern Spain. As the result of a quarrel with Roderick, Julian, in seeking revenge, had secretly joined the Arabs, who under the inspiration of Mohammed's teaching had left their desert solitude and were seeking conquest. Aided by Julian, the Arabian leader Tarik

(1) Lane-Poole: Spain, Chapter I, for story of Roderick.



invaded Spain, landing at "Tarik's Hill" (Gibel Tarik), the modern Gibraltar, and after a terrific battle on the Guadalete crushed utterly Roderick's army. The fate of Roderick still remains a mystery, but he is thought to have drowned in the river. The Spaniards have created an endless number of legends about Roderick and have enshrined him as a Spanish King Arthur in their great treasures of literature. With the beloved "Don Rodrigo" fell the kingdom of the Visigoths, and the domination of the Arab in Spain began.

#### D. Spain under the Moors.

After Tarik had defeated Roderick (711 A.D.), he marched at once upon the great city of Toledo, which had been for almost all the Visigothic kings (including Roderick) the capital of the kingdom, and captured it. Soon most of Spain was under Moorish rule, except the northern part known as Asturias, where the defeated Visigoths had taken refuge, and had chosen a leader, Pelayo, to defend them from the Moors. Although the Moors attacked Asturias several times, they were always defeated, and after the crushing defeat in the battle of Covadonga (718 A.D.) they retreated never to bother Asturias again. With this Spanish triumph the independence of Asturias was secure. Gradually there developed many small states in and about Asturias, and in 1469 these states became united into the two great kingdoms, Castilla and Aragón. The "Reconquista", originating in Asturias under Pelayo, was well under way. The Moors had made in 758 A.D. the city of Córdoba their intellectual and political center, and in the tenth century Moorish Spain became the most prosperous, cultured, and admired



nation of Europe. Gladly would the Moors have conquered all Europe, if a limit had not been set to their advance by Charles Martel in the battle of Tours in 732 A.D. After this defeat they directed their energy to the development of their own Spanish dominions with wonderful results.

After the founding of Castilla and Aragón in 1469, Moorish power became increasingly weak. In 1476 these two states united. Only once had the Moorish rule been threatened. That was in 777 A.D. when Charlemagne attempted to crush the Moorish power, but was himself badly defeated in the battle of Roncesvalles (777 A.D.) But now a New Spain threatened the Moors. In 1492 the "Reyes Católicos" captured Granada, last stronghold of the Moors. Boabdil, monarch of Granada, under very liberal terms of surrender, handed over the key of Granada to King Fernando, and (according to tradition) taking one last look at his lost kingdom, he sighed and departed. The hill from which Boabdil surveyed his country for the last time bears to-day the name of "El último suspiro del moro". With Boabdil went the power of the Moors. Spain, having been under the Moorish rule for about 800 years (711-1492 A.D.), now entered the "Edad Moderna".

With the conclusion of this brief history of Spain, I pass at once to the philological investigation. It must be said here, however, that the language spoken in Spain at the time concerned in this study (Introduction, A) was not the Romance language which we call 'Spanish'. The language of Spain was essentially the Vulgar Latin of the Roman Empire,



with slight modification due to local conditions. Just when Vulgar Latin ceased and the Romance languages began can not be definitely stated. But the Vulgar Latin of the various regions was gradually changing in each region, and this change, this differentiation, progressed until the dialects of distant regions became mutually unintelligible. At this point it may be said that Vulgar Latin stops and the Romance languages begin. Grandgent (1) places this time at the sixth or seventh century, and states that the Vulgar Latin period lasts from about 200 B.C. to about 600 A.D. The Vulgar Latin had been in contact with the Germanic dialects, and accordingly when this Vulgar Latin was carried into Spain it took along the Germanic words. It is the purpose of this thesis to determine what these Germanic words are in the Vulgar Latin as carried into Spain before 400 A.D. The great invasions of the Germanic tribes into Spain starting about 400 A.D. (see I,C) left very little impression on the Vulgar Latin of Spain, and this is considered in II,C. But the chief problem concerns the time up to 400 A.D. By 'influence' is meant the addition of Germanic words to the Vulgar Latin vocabulary, for no other impression seems to have been made by the Germanic dialects. In the thesis 'Teutonic' and 'Germanic' are used interchangeably.

(1) Grandgent: Intro.to Vulg.Lat., page 4.



## II

## Germanic Influence on the Vocabulary

of

## Vulgar Latin

## A. The Influence on Vocabulary.

Having given a brief history of early Spain and having explained 'Vulgar Latin' and 'influence', I pass at once to an investigation of the Germanic influence on the vocabulary of Vulgar Latin as it existed in Spain up to 400 A.D. When the Germanic dialects came into contact with the Vulgar Latin, this popular Latin was firmly established in the regions where it was spoken, including Spain, and it showed remarkable resistance to foreign influence. So deeply was it rooted that, rather than succumb to the Germanic dialects, it caused these northern tongues completely to disappear, and was influenced by them only to the extent of a comparatively few words borrowed into the Vulgar Latin vocabulary. The Romanization was complete. Vulgar Latin remained the essential element from which modern Spanish has developed. Pidal says (1):

"El fondo primitivo del idioma español, su elemento esencial, es únicamente el latín vulgar."

Pidal believes (2) that the Germanic borrowings are very few indeed, and are chiefly words concerned with military life:

"La mayoría de las voces de este origen son militares, guerra, tregua, guarda, robar, ganar, albergar, guiar,

(1) Pidal: Gramática, page 3.

(2) Pidal: Gramática, page 13.



guarecer,guarnecer."

Again,Don Gregorio Mayáns i Siscár in his book (1) dated 1737 gives twenty-nine Spanish words which he claims are of Gothic origin,but he makes no attempt to prove the point of contact with the Gothic language,and his conclusions seem to be guess-work. But,though he is inaccurate,the paucity of Germanic borrowings which he has noted is no doubt a true reflection of the failure of the Germanic languages to effect the Vulgar Latin to any great extent.

Also,Naphegyi (2) states in his album on languages:

"It is worthy of remark,however,that but fourteen Gothic and six Punic words have been incorporated with the language of Spain."

But Naphegyi does not give these Gothic words,nor does he explain how he determined them. He believes furthermore that the Burgundians brought into Spain a nasal pronunciation which Spanish has rejected but which Portuguese has retained. But he offers no proof (3). In short,careful examination of all the books in the bibliography (which see) confirms the belief that the influence of the Germanic dialects on Vulgar Latin is indeed very weak. Neither the earliest invasions of Germanic tribes nor the subsequent conquest of Spain by the Visigoths produced any great effect on the Vulgar Latin (4,5).

It is evident from the above that more accurate and thorough sources of information must be sought,if the Germanic

(1)Mayáns i Siscár:Vocables,page 223. (4) Bradley:Hist.,last

(2) Naphegyi: Album,page 111. chapter.

(3) Naphegyi: Album,page 116. (5) Tucker:Introduction, page 205.



elements in the Vulgar Latin vocabulary are to be determined specifically. Criteria must be established by which to judge the words under investigation. And then these criteria must be applied accurately. Such a procedure has been employed with marked success by W. Meyer-Lübke, G. Gröber, H. Paul, and Pogatscher, in their studies of Romance philology (1). But by far the most concise source of knowledge in regard to the Germanic loan-words in the Vulgar Latin is the excellent work by Josef Brück under the title: "Der Einfluss der Germanischen Sprachen auf das Vulgärlatein". Brück has drawn his material chiefly from Meyer-Lübke, Gröber, and Pogatscher, and to a less extent from Paul. He has carried out a critical study of the problem as presented and solved by these scholars, and has summarized their work and his own conclusions, which often differ from those of these philologists, in his accurate book. Brück seems to be reliable.

For the determination of Germanic loan-words, Brück has employed the criteria set up by the above scholars, with modifications to suit his own requirements. He follows three criteria to decide which Germanic words influenced the Vulgar Latin up to 400 A.D. Latin texts are of enormous value, and examination of such texts constitutes his first criterion. On this point Brück says (2):

„Die Entlehnung ins Vlt. vor 400 n. Chr. ist natürlich für diejenigen germ. Wörter an

(1) Meyer-Lübke: Grammatik; Gröber: Grundriss; Paul: Grundriss; Pogatscher: Zeitschrift.

(2) Brück: Einfluss, page 14.



sichersten, die in lat. Texten begegnen,  
welche vor diesem Zeitpunkt geschrieben sind.  
Diese Texte sind Inschriften und Werke von  
Schriftstellern."

The second criterion he follows is the character of the ancient Romance languages, specifically, the occurrence and nature of those words in these languages which seem to indicate a Germanic origin. His third and last criterion is phonology. The Germanic, Vulgar Latin, and Romance phonetic systems, with their definite laws, are used as means for determining loan-words. It is a test resting on "lautliche Gründe" (1). On such a basis Brück enters into a "Bestimmung der germanischen Lehnwörter" in a manner too elaborate and too detailed to be followed in this dissertation, except when specific reference to Brück is given. For full details of the process the reader is referred to the entire "Einfluss". But the results of Brück's analysis are here of greatest importance. He has found about one hundred Germanic words which became embodied in the Vulgar Latin vocabulary up to 400 A.D. His list of words summarizes the findings of the philologists already mentioned and of his own researches, so that it is the best source of the Germanic loan-words at present available. The following list, then, presents the words of known Germanic origin which had entered into the vocabulary of Vulgar Latin up to 400 A.D., the time with which this disquisition is chiefly concerned.

(1) Brück: Einfluss, page 82.

The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the asymptotic behavior of the solutions of the system (1) as  $t \rightarrow \infty$ . It is shown that the solutions of the system (1) tend to zero as  $t \rightarrow \infty$  if and only if the matrix  $A$  is stable. The second part of the paper is devoted to the study of the asymptotic behavior of the solutions of the system (1) as  $t \rightarrow \infty$  if the matrix  $A$  is not stable. It is shown that the solutions of the system (1) tend to infinity as  $t \rightarrow \infty$  if and only if the matrix  $A$  is not stable. The third part of the paper is devoted to the study of the asymptotic behavior of the solutions of the system (1) as  $t \rightarrow \infty$  if the matrix  $A$  is stable and the matrix  $B$  is not stable. It is shown that the solutions of the system (1) tend to zero as  $t \rightarrow \infty$  if and only if the matrix  $A$  is stable and the matrix  $B$  is not stable.

alisna	*ferst	līsta	trippōn
bakko	*filtir	magan	þahs
balk	flaska	makjo	þreskan
balla	frisk	marka	þūfa
*banda	frumjan	marrjan	þwahlja
bank	furbjan	marþ	urgōli
baro	ganta	marþr	wad
bastjan	*gelda	nuska	wai
(beber)	gram	*papþa	walda
binda	grīs	raustjan	*wanga
blank	halla	rīban	wardōn
*blund	hanka	saipa	warjan
bord	hardjan	sinn	warnōn
brakk	haribergōn	skalja	wērōn
brammōn	harpa	skirnjan	werra
brand	helm	skūn	wīsa
*brasa	hnapp	slinb	
brekan	hosa	snell	
brūn	kamarling	sparōn	
*brupiz	kanna	spelta	
būkōn	kasto	sporo	
burg	kotta	sturm	
drūd	krattōn	sunja	
falda	kripja	suppa	
falw	krukja	tappo	
fani	leþþa	tappōn	
*felto	likkōn	titta	
*feltir	liska	trappa	



These words, taken from Brück (1), exhibit the influence of the Germanic dialects on the Vulgar Latin; and, as already stated, such influence is limited to vocabulary. No doubt some words of Germanic origin remained in the Latin for a short time only, and did not pass into the Romance languages upon their development, but rather disappeared entirely (2). After an analysis of the listed words, I shall proceed to a discussion of the later borrowings (after 400 A.D.) and of the conditions and paths of "Entlehnung". For the present, then, I turn to the individual words.

#### B. Analysis of the Words.

**Alisna:** The word has the same meaning in the Germanic as in the Vulgar Latin, namely 'Ahle'. Its form is Westgermanic. It occurs in Provençal as 'alesna', and in the modern French dialect developed from Provençal it appears as 'alzeno', an interesting metathesis (3). Modern French 'alene', Italian (4) 'lesina', and the Spanish 'alesna', 'lesna', 'lezna' (5). In form and meaning it has suffered little change.

**Bakko:** A Westgermanic form, signifying 'Schinken', as in Old High German 'bahho' and Middle High German 'bache'. The Vulgar Latin at first had this meaning also for 'bakko', but gradually the word assumed the additional meaning of 'living pig', and in Portuguese it became narrowed to mean 'first born or first-year swine' in the form 'bácoro' (6). Old French and Provençal 'bacon', but not kept by modern French. From a Spanish

(1) Brück: Einfluss, page 87.

(4) Edgren: Ital. Dict., page 227.

(2) Brück: Einfluss, page 19.

(5) Cuyás: Dict., 'alesna'

(3) Anglade: Grammaire, page 90.

(6) Brück: Einfluss, page 160.



\*bacon comes the Spanish 'baconar' (pökeln), the only form preserved by the language (1).

Balk: The Vulgar Latin and Westgermanic meanings are practically the same, 'Balken'. The modern Romance languages apparently received the word by way of the Provençal 'balcon' (with Latin 'one' rather than any relation with Germanic \*balkon), as Meyer-Lübke claims (2). Modern Spanish has 'balcón'.

Balla: Westgermanic word meaning 'Warenballen' with the same significance in Vulgar Latin. Old French 'bale' and modern English 'bale' retain the original sense, as does modern French 'balle' and Spanish 'bala'. Brück believes the word came into Spanish through the Provençal or possibly the French (3).

\*Banda: The word corresponds to Gothic 'bandwa' with the disappearance of 'w' after a long syllable in Westgermanic. It is a Westgermanic form (4). Portuguese 'bandeira', Spanish 'bandera'. The Germanic signification is 'Zeichen', but the Vulgar Latin had narrowed the meaning to 'Feldzeichen' or 'Fahne', and to those who stood under a 'Fahne', that is, a band of men. This is an example of the specialization of a Germanic word in the popular Latin, a frequent process.

Bank: A Westgermanic word, which Kluge (5) traces to Germanic \*banki. Vulgar Latin '\*banco', Provençal 'bancs' (6), Spanish 'banca'. The word appears as a masculine in the first

(1) Brück: Einfluss, page 160.

(4) Kluge: Grundriss, I, 423.

(2) Meyer-Lübke: Wbuch, page 907.

(5) Kluge: Wbuch, 'Bank'.

(3) Brück: Einfluss, pages 157;

(6) Diez: Prov. Dict., 'Bancs'.



Spanish edition of the "Libro de Alexandre" (ascribed to Gonzalo de Berceo, died about 1246) by Sanchez in 1752, as 'bancos de plata'(1). As the word in the Germanic exhibited both masculine and feminine gender, it seems very probable that the occurrence of the word in two genders in Vulgar Latin can be referred to the Germanic dual gender. But Brück doubts this explanation, and believes the Vulgar Latin has the word in both genders simply "aus Einfluss anderer Wörter", and nothing more (2). Compare modern Spanish 'banca', 'banco'.

Baro: A Westgermanic form denoting a 'streitbarer Mann', which meaning the popular Latin accepted, and also extended to mean a vassal, fighter. But Ford thinks that possibly the word is connected with the Latin 'baro', a stupid person, therefore a servant, one doing service, as in the Old French 'baron', accusative case of 'ber' equivalent to the Germanic 'bero', a bearer, a man. It is of uncertain source (3). Compare Spanish 'varón'. Provençal 'baron' exhibits the meanings, fighter, man (not woman), ruler, feudal lord, human being (Mensch) (4).

Bastjan: Westgermanic word 'flechten'. Vulgar Latin, however, gave the word the meaning 'Wände des geflochtenen Hauses herstellen' (5), another instance of specialization, as in \*banda. The idea of 'flechten' and 'bauen' appears in the Old French and Provençal 'bastir', the Italian 'bastire' and 'imbastire' (sew with long stitches), the Portuguese

(1) Ford: Old Sp., page 31,  
paragraph 12; page 133.

(2) Brück: Einfluss, pages 147, 148.

(3) Ford: Old Sp., page 190.

(4) Appel: Pr. Chrest.,  
page 217.

(5) Brück: Einfluss, page  
173.



'bastir' (stitch lining in a hat), the French 'bâtir', and the Spanish 'bastidor' (embroidery frame), 'basta' (a coarse stitch), and the verb 'bastear'. Compare English 'baste'.

(Beber): Westgermanic form from Germanic \*beber.

The word occurs in Old French as 'beivre', Provençal 'befre', and 'beure' (verb) (1), and Vulgar Latin '\*bibru'. Modern Spanish 'beber' seems to have come through the Provençal (2). Beber is placed in parentheses as a word of doubtful Germanic origin, perhaps being related to Latin 'fiber' (3). Italian 'bevere' and 'bere'.

Binda: Both in popular Latin and Westgermanic the word denotes 'Binde'. It was carried into the Vulgar Latin by Roman merchants who had traded in Germany and then returned home. The term then spread from the language of business into the daily popular Latin (4). Modern Spanish 'venda', 'vendar'.

Blank: The Vulgar Latin took over the meaning of the Westgermanic word, namely, 'weiss'. The form appears in Portuguese as 'branco', French 'blanc', Italian 'bianco', and Spanish 'blanco' (5). Compare English 'blank', 'blanch', 'bleach'.

\*Blund: The Vulgar Latin and Westgermanic meaning is 'blond', and probably referred to the hair of the Germans. Kluge states that the form '\*blund', which died out in historical German, is the German "Bezeichnung der von den Römern 'rutilus' genannten Haarfarbe der Germanen." (6). Brück points

(1) Kitchen: Provençal, page 56.

(4) Brück: Einfluss, page 93.

(2) Brück: Einfluss, page 201.

(5) Diez: Etym. Wbuck, 'Blanc'.

(3) Brück: Einfluss, page 67.

(6) Kluge: Grundriss, I, 2, 330.



out that the '\*blund' has not been retained in any German dialect, which fact he considers "freilich höchst auffällig" and this might well lead to "manche Bedenken" as to its source (1).

**Bord:** Vulgar Latin received the Westgermanic form and meaning of this word, namely, 'Rand'. Spanish 'bordo', according to Meyer-Lübke (2), came into the Spanish through the Portuguese. The Italian 'bordo' refers to ships only, the meaning of 'border' being obsolete (3), except in a few dialects including Veneziano and Piemontese (4). Spanish has 'borde' and 'bordo'.

**Brakk:** A Westgermanic word meaning 'Bracke', which sense the Vulgar Latin preserved. Provençal shows 'brac', modern French 'braque'. The word was brought into the Vulgar Latin by Roman merchants dealing with the Germans (5). Spanish has 'braco', as in 'perro braco', (perro perdiguero).

**Brammōn:** This Westgermanic word means in both its German dialect and in popular Latin 'in Brunst brüllen'. In Vulgar Latin it was applied to 'Hirsche' at first (6) and then transferred to other animals, and finally it was used for 'Brüllen ohne Brunst', as in reference to the sea and to thunder. Old French has 'brame', modern French 'bramer' (said of deer, in original sense, therefore), and Italian exhibits 'bramare' (meaning, however, to desire strongly, to wish for, and apparently not applied at present to animals), and

(1) Brück: Einfluss, page 69.

(4) Brück: Einfluss, page 63.

(2) Meyer-Lübke, Rom. Wb. Buch, 1215.

(5) Brück: Einfluss, page 93.

(3) Edgren: Dict., page 68.

(6) Brück: Einfluss, page 170.



the obsolete 'bramito' (animal cry or howl). Curiously, Edgren (1) seems ignorant of the source of these Italian words. Modern Spanish has 'bramar', 'bramido'.

Brand: This Westgermanic word originally signified 'Das Blinken', then 'Feuer', and finally 'Klinge des Schwertes', and in this sense it appears in Provençal 'bronha'; and at last the word came to be applied to the entire sword, as in modern Italian 'brando'. French 'brandir', and Spanish 'blandir' (note exchange of 'l' for 'r') retain the root, but refer to the act of waving the weapon. Compare English 'brandish'.

\*Brasa: The Westgermanic wbrasa means 'Feuer', 'Glut!'. But the Vulgar Latin has specialized the word to 'glühende Kohle'(2). Provençal 'brasa'; French 'brase', 'brasier'; Italian 'bragia'(obsolete, meaning 'smoldering coals')(3). Spanish has 'brasa' and 'brasero'(4).

Brekan: In Old French and Provençal, cognates of this word had the meaning 'zermalmen', 'zerreißen', thus strengthening the original Westgermanic sense of 'brechen', which the Vulgar Latin had. Later Vulgar Latin assumed the meaning of 'zermalmen' also, and the sense 'Hanf brechen', which survives in the modern Portuguese and in the French 'broyer du chanvre'(5). Italian offers 'breccia', French 'brèche', and Spanish 'brecha'.

Brūn: In Vulgar Latin and in Westgermanic this word signified 'braun'. Provençal 'brun', Italian 'bruno'. The

(1) Edgren: Dict., page 70.

(4) Cabrera: Dicc., 'Brasa'.

(2) Meyer-Lübke: Rom. Wbuch, 1276.

(5) Clifton: Fr. Dict., page

(3) Edgren: Dict., page 70.



Spanish form 'bruno' probably entered Spanish and also Portuguese by way of France (1). Kluge (2) points out that the 'brun', and also other colors, was brought into popular Latin by the Germanic soldiers with whom the Romans came in contact. The Romans, excited by the gay colors of the Germanic fighters, called the colors by the names they learned from the Germans.

\*Brupiz: This is a Gothic word meaning usually 'jungverheiratete Frau'. But the Vulgar Latin 'brutis' denoted 'jungverheiratete Tochter'. The meaning often varies, but this seems to be the most usual usage (3). French 'bru'. It seems that the word does not occur in modern Spanish. The Gothic form is derived from the theoretical \*brupiz. It is the only loan-word up to 400 A.D. in the Vulgar Latin that is of Gothic origin (4).

Būkōn: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin meaning is 'in Lauge waschen'. It survives in Spanish and Italian in the following forms: Italian 'bucato' (lye) and its derivatives; Spanish 'bugada', and 'bogada' (bucking of clothes in lye).

Burg: This Westgermanic word denotes a 'Stadt' in the German, but became narrowed to 'kleine Stadt' in the Vulgar Latin, probably because the Germans had only 'oppida' but no 'urbes' (5). Originally the word denotes a 'fortified place'. Italian has 'borgo', French 'bourg', and Spanish 'burgués' and 'Burgos' (6).

(1) Brūch: Einfluss, page 68.

(4) Brūch: Einfluss, page 114.

(2) Kluge: Grundriss, Paul, I, 2, 329.

(5) Kluge: Etym. Wbuch, 'Burg'.

(3) Brūch: Einfluss, page 180.

(6) Ford: Old Sp., page 193.



**Drūd:** A Westgermanic word signifying in German and in Vulgar Latin 'Liebhaber', 'Geliebter Freund'. In this sense it occurs in the Portuguese 'drut' (obsolete). Provençal has the phrase 'faire de drut', 'einen Lügen nehmen' (1). Modern Italian 'druda'. Spanish has the doubtful 'drope' (colloquial for 'vile man').

**Falda:** The Vulgar Latin meaning is 'Rockschoß'. In the modern Romance the word has extended its signification to 'Schürze', and to the 'base of a mountain', as in Italian 'falda'. Spanish shows 'falda', 'halda', 'haldada', 'haldear', and a few other derivatives. French 'faude' (parc à brebis) is in no way connected with 'falda' (2). Provençal 'falda'. The word is Westgermanic.

**Falw:** Westgermanic word meaning, also in the Vulgar Latin, 'fahl'. It was probably brought into the popular Latin by German soldiers, as in the instance of 'brun' (which see). French 'fauve', Portuguese 'fouveiro', Spanish 'flavo', related to Latin 'flavus'. Italian 'pallido', Spanish 'pálido' are related to 'falw' through the Latin 'pallidus'. 'Falw' goes back to a Sanskrit 'palita'. Compare English 'fallow deer' (3).

**Fani:** 'Kot' (Latin 'lutum') is the meaning of this word in the Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin. 'Fani' seems to have been used to cover walls in the construction of houses by the Germans, and so also had the meaning of 'Lehm'. Italian 'fanga', French 'fange', Spanish 'fango', 'fangoso'. Pro-

(1) Appel: Pr. Chrest., page 242.

(2) Brück: Einfluss, page 164.

(3) Skeat: Etym. Dict. 'Fallow'.



vencal 'fanc' and 'fanha'.

\*Fello: This Westgermanic term was carried into the Vulgar Latin by the German slaves of the Romans (1). It signifies 'Peitscher' and then, when the beating of slaves ceased, it came to mean merely 'bösaartig'. Italian 'fello' French 'félon', Spanish 'felonia'. Provençal exhibits 'felneyar' (treulos handeln), 'felnia' (Dösheit), 'felon' (Bösewicht, Arglistiger) (2): and apparently the sense of 'peitschen' has not been preserved by the Romance languages. Compare OHG. 'fillen'.

\*Feltir: A Westgermanic word, Suebian dialect (3), meaning in the German and Vulgar Latin 'Filz'. Possibly the form should be \*filtir, and this became \*feltir as a result of crossing with the Vulgar Latin 'feltar' of Spain, this 'feltar' being another form of the Germanic word (4). Portuguese and Italian 'feltro', Old French and Provençal 'feutre', modern French 'feutre', and Spanish 'fieltro'. Also French 'filtrer' (originally, to strain through felt), Spanish 'filtrar', and English 'filter'. All these words are related to the German 'falzen', to groove or join together (5).

\*Ferst: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin gave this word the meaning 'First'. The Vulgar Latin signification is found in the Old French 'frest' and modern Portuguese 'festo'. Spanish has 'enhiesto' (upright), and 'enhestar'.

\*Filtir: The same as '\*feltir'.

Flaska: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin gave the word the

(1) Brück: Einfluss, page 133.

(2) Appel: Pr. Chrest., page 254.

(3) Brück: Einfluss, page 19.

(4) Meyer-Lübke: Rom. Wbuch, 3305, and Brück: Einfluss, page 27.

(5) Skeat: Etym. Dict. of 'Flask'.



meaning 'unflochtene Flasche'. The term was probably introduced into the Vulgar Latin by German soldiers (1). The meaning 'unflochtene Flasche' still survives in the Italian 'fiasco'. Spanish 'frasco' (note 'r' for 'l'). French 'flacon', and Old French 'flasche'. Skeat states that 'flaska' is hardly a Teutonic word, but is in source related possibly to the Gaelic 'flaig' (2).

Frisch: The Vulgar Latin and Westgermanic denotation is 'frisch'. Old French 'fres' (feminine 'fresche', our 'fresh'), and modern French 'frais'. Italian and Spanish 'fresco'. The word was probably brought into Vulgar Latin by Roman traders, and then spread from commercial usage to general usage (3). It apparently referred to the freshness of their wares. Compare Lithuanian 'preskas' meaning 'sweet, unsoured'.

Frumjan: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin meaning is "hervorbringen". Old Italian 'frumiare', and modern Italian 'fornire'. Spanish 'fornir' possibly came from France (4). French 'fournir', Provençal 'fornir'. Also Spanish 'fornitura'. Compare German 'furniren', and English 'veneer', 'furnish'.

Furbjan: 'Metalle putzen' is the meaning of the word in Germanic (West) and Vulgar Latin. Provençal 'forbir'. Italian 'forbire', French 'fourbir'. Spanish seems to have lost the word. Compare English 'furbish'.

Ganta: The Westgermanic denotation is 'Gans', but the

(1) Brück: Einfluss, page 99. (3) Brück: Einfluss, page 93.

(2) Skeat: Etym. Dict., 'Flask' (4) Brück: Einfluss, page 71.



Vulgar Latin specialized the word to 'wilde Gans'. Provençal 'ganta'. Cognate words are Spanish 'ánsar', 'ganso'. Compare English 'goose'. The word is the Sanskrit 'hansa', and the Indogermanic \*ghans (1).

\*Gelda: The Westgermanic meaning is 'Opferversammlung', but the Vulgar Latin gave the word the designation 'Kultusvereinigung von Soldaten' (2). Old French 'jaude' from '\*jealde'. Italian 'geldra' (obsolete). It seems Spanish lost '\*gelda'.

Gram: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin meaning is 'braunig'. Italian 'grinta' (sinister face). French 'grinacer'. Spanish 'grina'. Italian 'gramo'. Compare English 'grim', 'grin'.

Grīs: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin meaning is 'grau'. As with the other words of color, 'gris' was introduced by German soldiers. Provençal 'gris', French 'gris', Italian 'grigio', Spanish 'gris'. The Teutonic root word is \*graegwoz (3). Compare Swedish 'grå', English 'gray', 'grey'.

Halla: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'Halle'. Pogatscher claims the Romance 'sala' is derived from 'sal' plus 'halla' (4), but this is decidedly questionable. 'Halla' does not survive in Portuguese and Spanish. French 'halle' (market place with open roof). The word comes from a Germanic \*hellan (to cover). Compare English 'hall', 'hell', 'hole'.

Hanka: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'Häfte'. The Vulgar Latin meaning is preserved in French 'hanche', Portuguese and

(1) Skeat: Etym. Dict., 'Goose'

(3) Skeat: Etym. Dict., page 221.

(2) Brück: Einfluss, page 176.

(4) Pogatscher: Zeitschrift,



Italian 'anca'; but Spanish has applied the word to 'Hinterbacken' ('anca', which does not mean 'hin'). Skeat claims that 'hanka' is Frankish (1).

Hardjan: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'hardig rachen'. Italian 'ardire' (be bold), 'arditezza'. French 'hardi'. Spanish 'ardor' (hotness, boldness) evidently has its source in Latin 'ardēre', Spanish 'arder', although Ford points out that the word may be regarded possibly as derived from 'Hardjan' through Old Spanish 'fardido', 'fardida', 'ardida', meaning 'bold', 'hardy'. 'Ardida' in this sense occurs in the Poema del Cid in the phrase 'ardida lanza', to which Ford refers (2). Indogermanic '\*kartus'.

Haribergōn: 'Ein Heer unterbringen' in Westgermanic, but 'beherbergen' in the popular Latin. Provençal 'albergar', 'arbergar'. Italian 'albergo' (inn). French 'auberge'. Spanish 'abrigar'. These forms preserve the Vulgar Latin meaning. The 'h' tends to be dropped in Romance derivatives, although it appears a few times in earlier French and Provençal. Note the change of 'l' and 'r'. German retains the 'h'.

Harpa: 'Harfe' of Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin. The Provençal 'arpa' meaning 'Griff' or 'Krallen' (3) apparently has the earlier sense of 'Haken', also 'Klaue' (4), as does also French 'happer' (lay hold of), Italian 'arpicare' (climb by grasping), Spanish 'arpado' (hooked, serrated), 'arpeo' (nautical

(1) Skeat: Etym. Dict., page 234. (3) Appel: Pr. Chrest., page 213.

(2) Ford: Old Sp., page 186. (4) Brück: Einfluss, page 158.



term for a grappling iron) (1). Harp in Spanish is 'arpa'.

Helm: 'Helm' in Vulgar Latin and Westgermanic. Provençal 'elm'. French 'heaume'. Italian 'elmo'. Spanish 'yelmo'. The Germanic 'helm', according to Skeat, can be traced to \*helan (to cover). Compare 'halla' above (1).

Hnapp: 'Trinkgefäß' in Vulgar Latin and Westgermanic. Italian shows 'nappo', but it seems the word does not occur in French and Spanish.

Hosa: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'Beinkleidung vom Knie abwärts'. Old French 'hose'. Apparently the Romance languages have no living derivatives of 'hosa'. Compare English 'hose'.

Kamarling: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'Kammervorsteher'. It is the Latin 'cubicularius'. Also, in Germanic it meant 'Kämmerling'. Provençal has 'chamberere' (Kammerfrau) (3). Spanish 'camarlengo'. Compare Latin 'camera', English 'chamber', and 'chamberlain'.

Kanna: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'Kanne'. Old French 'chane', Provençal 'cana'. But the Provençal meaning became broader than the Vulgar Latin 'Kanne'; namely, 'une mesure de capacité' (4). Modern Romance languages have lost the word.

Kasto: Vulgar Latin and Westgermanic 'Einfassung eines Edelsteins' (5). The Germans no doubt learned this art from the Romans, and applied the term 'kasto', which was then taken up by the Romans, to the setting. Italian 'castone' (bezel of a ring

(1) Cuyás: Sp. Dict., page 44,  
in Sp.-Eng. part.

(4) Brück: Einfluss, page  
164.

(2) Skeat: Etym. Dict., page 237.

(5) Brück: Einfluss, page  
159.

(3) Appel: Pr. Chrest., page 221.



to hold the gem). French 'chaton'(bezel).Spanish 'engaste'.

Kotta: Westgermanic 'Überwurf', 'wollener Rock', and the same in the Vulgar Latin. French 'cotte'(de mailles), Italian 'cotta', and Spanish 'cota'(de malla). Compare our 'coat'.

Krattōn: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'kratzen'. In Italian it is retained as 'grattare'. French 'gratter', Spanish 'gratar'. Compare English, 'grate', Swedish 'kratta'.

Kripja: Vulgar Latin and Westgermanic 'Krippe'. The Italian has 'greppia', French 'crèche'. Apparently Spanish has lost the word.

Krukja: In Vulgar Latin and Westgermanic it signifies a 'Stock mit gekrümmtem Ende'. Italian 'gruccia'. Spanish seems to have lost the word. French 'crochu'(crooked). Compare 'crook'.

Lappa: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'Latte'. Italian 'latta', French 'latte', Spanish 'lata'. Compare English 'lath', possibly showing Welch influence (llath, a rod), and the German 'Laden'(1).

Likkōn: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'lecken'. Italian 'leccare', French 'lécher'. Not in modern Spanish.

Liska: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'Lieschgras'. French 'laiche'(sedge), Italian 'lesca'(piemontese), absent in modern Spanish.

Līsta: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'Streifen'. Italian and Spanish 'lista'. French 'liste'. English 'list'.

Magan: This word meant in Vulgar Latin (\*exmagare) 'to rob of physical strength'. Provençal 'esmaiar', Old Spanish

(1) Skeat: Etym. Dict. 'Lath'.



'desmayar', and the modern Spanish 'desmayar', 'desmayo'.

Old French '\*desmayer'. Italian 'smagare'. English 'dismay'.

The Romance meanings carry over the Vulgar Latin meaning into the psychical side of man's life. Portuguese 'esmagarse', 'to feel oppressed'.

Makjo: 'Maurer in Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin.

Low Latin 'macio'. French 'magon'. Italian 'massone'. Spanish 'masón'. From a base \*mat (cut, hack), as in English 'mattock', Old High German 'mezzo', and German 'Steinmetz' (1). Spanish 'marrazo'.

Marka: 'Grenzgebiet' in Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin.

Related to the Latin 'margo', Gothic 'marka', Persian 'marz', Old Irish 'mruig'. French 'marge'. Italian 'margo' (obsolete or poetical). Spanish 'muga', 'comarca'. Compare English 'mark' and 'march'.

Marrjan: Westgermanic 'aufhalten', but in Vulgar Latin-

'vom rechten Wege abbringen', as in the Old French 'marrir'. The term applies both to physical and ~~non~~-psychical 'going astray'. Modern French 'marri' (grieved), Italian 'smarrirsi', Spanish 'marrar'. Compare the Gothic 'marzjan' (ärgern).

Mar: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'Edelmarder'.

Provençal 'marto', Italian 'matora', French 'martre', Old French 'martrin', Low Latin 'martures' (pl.), Spanish 'marta'. Compare Swedish 'mård', Danish 'maar', English 'marten'.

Marþr: This word is a variant of 'mar'.

(1) Skeat: Etym. Dict., page 317.



Nuska: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'Spange', which meaning is found in the Old French 'nosche'. Provençal 'nosca'(collier). Italian 'nusca'('Halskette'). Middle High German 'nusche'('Schnalle').

\*Pappa: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'Pfote'. Old French 'poe', modern French 'patte', Provençal 'pauta', Catalan 'pota', Portuguese and Spanish 'pata'. Compare the Low German 'pote', Dutch 'poot', English 'paw' (1).

Raustjan: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'rösten'. Italian 'arrosto', 'arrostire'. French 'rôtir'. Spanish (Old)'rostar'. Compare Irish 'rost'(roast meat), and the Welch 'rhostio' (2).

Rīban: Westgermanic 'reissen', but Vulgar Latin 'raufen'(beim Streit). Provençal 'riotejar', Old French 'rioter', Vulgar Latin \*ribottare', Italian 'riotta'(dispute). Not present in Spanish. Compare English 'riot'.

Saipa: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'Seife'. Latin 'sāpo'. The word early in Vulgar Latin meant an 'agent for coloring the hair', and then later 'any agent for washing'. French 'savon', Portuguese 'sabao', Italian 'sapone', Spanish 'jabon'. From Germanic 'seipan'(trickle). Compare Middle High German 'sifen'. Latin 'sāpo' is a Germanic borrowing.

Sinn: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'Sinn'. Italian 'senno'(3). Italian alone retains this 'sinn'.

(1) Skeat: Etym. Dict., 377.

(3) Edgren: It. Dict.,

(2) Skeat: Etym. Dict., page 452

page 402.



Skalja: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'Schuppe'. Old French 'escale', modern French 'échelle'. Italian 'scaglia'(scale of fish or snail). Spanish 'escala' and 'escama' are of Latin origin. OHG.'scala'. German 'Schale'. Swedish 'skal'. English 'scale'. From \*skelan meaning 'to cut, divide'. Lithuanian 'skelti'(cleave) (1).

Skirmjan: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin "beim Kampfe schützen". Italian 'scherma', 'schermire'. French 'escrimer'. Provençal 'escrima'. Spanish 'esgrimir', 'esgrima'. French 'écran'.

Skūm: 'Schaum' in Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin. Italian 'schiuma', French 'écume'. Spanish 'espuma', 'espumar'.

Slimb: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'schief'. This meaning is present in the Old French 'esclamba', modern French (southern dialect from Provençal) 'esclambo'. The word later developed the meaning 'schräg machen'. French 'écharde'. Vulgar Latin '\*esclembare(2).

Snell: 'Flink' in Vulgar Latin and Westgermanic. Old French 'esnel', Italian 'snello'. Apparently the word is lost in modern French and Spanish.

Sparōn: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'sparen'. Vulgar Latin '\*sparmire', Provençal 'espar<sup>r</sup>har', French 'épargner', Italian 'risparmiare'. Not in Spanish.

Spelta: 'Spelt' in Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin. Italian 'spelda'(spelt, small brown wheat), French 'épeautre'.

(1) Skeat: Etym. Dict., page 465. (2) Brück: Einfluss, page 75.



But for the plant Spanish employs 'escanda'.

Sporo: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'Sporn'. In French 'éperon', Italian 'sprone', Spanish 'espuela'. The word is derived from '\*speran' (to kick). Compare the Lithuanian 'spiūti' (to kick).

Sturm: 'Kampf' in Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin. West Saxon 'styrian'. Derivatives absent in Romance,

Sunja: Westgermanic 'Hot', but Vulgar Latin 'Gorge'. Romance languages have not preserved the word.

Suppa: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin; 'Brotsuppe'. Italian 'zuppa', French 'soupe', Spanish 'sopa'.

Tappo: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'Zapfen'. Italian 'tappino', 'tappare'. Spanish 'tapón' (bung).

Tappōn: The verb of 'tappo'. It signifies 'to close with a bung'. But Spanish 'tapar' (to cover) has a generalized meaning.

Titta: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'Zitze'. Italian 'tetta', French 'tétin', Spanish 'teta'. Compare the Welch 'did' (teat).

Trappa: 'Falle' in Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin. Italian 'trappola', Spanish 'trampa', French 'trappe'.

ḡahs: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'Dachs'. Italian 'tasso' (badger) (1). Spanish 'tejón' (badger).

ḡreskan: Vulgar Latin and Westgermanic 'to stamp with the feet'. Provençal 'treper', French 'trépigner'.

(1) Edgren: It. Dict., 'tasso'.



**tufa:** 'Tuft' in Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin. Also 'Haarbüschel'. French 'touffe'. Italian 'ciuffetto', Spanish 'tufo' (locks of hair) (1).

**þwahlja:** Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'Handtuch'. Old Saxon 'thwahan' (wash), French 'touaille', Italian 'tovaglia' Spanish 'toalla'. Compare English 'towel'.

**Urgōli:** Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'stolz'. Italian 'orgoglioso', French 'orgueilleux', Spanish 'orgulloso'.

**Wad:** Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'Furt'. Spanish has 'vadear'.

**Wai:** Vulgar Latin and Westgermanic 'wehe'. Italian 'guaio', 'guai'. Spanish 'ay!'.

**Walda:** Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'Wau'. Portuguese 'gualdo' (yellow); Spanish 'gualdo' (yellow), 'gualda' (the weld plant, Reseda luteola, which yields the dye). Compare English 'weld' and 'woald'.

**\*Wanga:** Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'Spaten'. The Italian has 'vanga'.

**Wardōn:** Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'to be on guard'. Italian 'guardia', 'guardare'. French 'garder', Spanish 'guardar'.

**Warjan:** Vulgar Latin and Westgermanic 'to shelter, protect in defensive war, save'. Spanish 'guarecer'.

**Warnōn:** Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'mit etwas versehen'. Spanish 'guarnecer'. Italian 'guarnire'.

(1) Cuyás: Sp. Dict., 'tufo'.



French 'garnir'.

Wērōn: Vulgar Latin and Westgermanic 'Schnuck-  
sachen aus silberdraht herstellen'. Italian 'ghirlanda',  
Spanish 'guirnalda' (Kranz). Compare English 'wire'.

Werra: Vulgar Latin and Westgermanic; 'Krieg'.  
Italian 'guerra', French 'guerre', Spanish 'guerra'.

Wīsa: Westgermanic and Vulgar Latin 'Weise'.  
Italian 'guidare', Old French 'guise', modern French 'guider',  
Spanish 'guía'. Compare the English 'wise', 'in this wise'.

It is well at this point to add a few comments on  
the above analysis of the words. For the purpose of com-  
parison the presence of each word in the various Romance  
languages (except Roumanian) is given. No attempt is made  
to place the Westgermanic words in their proper dialects,  
as the form of the word or its 'Verbreitung' in the Ger-  
manic can be of little value in any determination of the  
dialects for this early period. Accordingly the usage of  
Brüch (1) is followed, and all the words of Westgermanic  
source are classified simply as 'Westgermanic'. It will be  
noted that all the words are Westgermanic except the Gothic  
'\*brupiz'. Note also that but one Suebian word occurs,  
'\*feltir'. The forms which the words took in Vulgar Latin  
can not be given, for the Germanic assumed a great variety  
of forms in the Vulgar Latin, as Brüch states in the 'Vor-  
wort' of his 'Einfluss' (VIII), with considerable confusion.

(1) Brüch: Einfluss, page 115.



Moreover, the written records of Vulgar Latin are very scanty, and it is chiefly through a comparative study of the Romance languages that the Vulgar Latin forms can be learned (1). This is another reason for giving the words in their various forms in the ancient and modern Romance languages. Further investigation of the writer, which is beyond the scope of this thesis, indicates that these Germanic words were thoroughly Romanized upon entering the Vulgar Latin in respect to phonology, syntax, and accent. Usually, the Vulgar Latin kept the regular Germanic meaning of a word at the time of borrowing.

### C. Later Borrowing.

Although the determination of the earliest borrowings is the purpose of this dissertation, yet it seems desirable to add here some 'Lehnwörter' from the German in the Spanish which entered after 400 A.D. The following list gives the modern Spanish word with the Germanic source. The borrowing can not be dated. In summary, it may be said that, even in mediaeval and modern times, the Germanic influence is decidedly weak.

Spanish word	Germanic source
adrunar	rūnōn (Westger.)
airón	*haigaro (OHG.)
suroco	Auerochs (NHG.)
ascua	azgō (Gothic)
aspa	haspa (Westger.)
ayo	*hagjis (Gothic)

(1) Ford: Old Sp., Introduction, viii.



agasajar	gasaljans (Gothic Ford, page 71, (1))
adobar	dubban (Westger. F.170)
arrancar	*ranc F.160
arrear	redan (Gothic) F.186
cloque	*krok (Westger.)
carpa	karpa (Westger.)
canpear	*kampa, OHG. kampfjan. F.194.
escanciador	skankjo, MHG. 'Shenk' plus 'ano' F.220.
escarnio	skërnon (OHG.)
guante	want (Westger.)
rueca	rokka (Westger.)
randa	*randa (Gothic)
rico	reiks (Gothic) F.280
sarria	*sahrrja (Burgundian)
tregua	triggwa (Gothic)

The dictionaries of Barcia, Cabrera, and Diez (see bibliography) have been very valuable in the compilation of this list. It is to be regretted that there is not yet published any accurate and complete etymological dictionary of the Spanish language. The above list is, of course, not inclusive of all the borrowings in Spanish. It is worthy of note that many Spanish names are of Germanic origin, such as: Alfonso, Adamar, Alarico, Alfredo, Federico, Guillermo, Ramón, Rodrigo, and others.

(1) 'F' signifies Ford's 'Old.Sp.', number is the page.



#### D. Germanic Suffixes.

There are a few suffixes in the Vulgar Latin that are of Germanic origin. Brück (1), drawing from Meyer-Lübke (2), gives the following: '-ia, -ina, -one, -ard'. The '-ard' as in the Italian 'bastardo', 'tagliardo', Spanish 'gallardo'. Also '-ing' is Germanic, as in Portuguese and Spanish '-engo' (example: perrenque), and Provençal and Old French 'albenc', 'rogenc'. If the above is true, then the Germanic exerted some influence on the formation of Vulgar Latin words.

#### E. Conditions of Borrowing.

A study of the history of the Germanic invasions of France, Italy, and Spain, reveals that there was indeed plenty of opportunity for borrowing from one language into another. Quite naturally the soldiers would refer to the various parts of their equipment in their own native language, and then these terms would be taken up by the soldiers of another nation, and thus spread into the daily language of the people. Then, too, merchants came into contact with new nations and found it naturally to their great advantage to understand as well as possible the language of their new buyers and sellers. Slaves, also, would contribute new words to the language of their

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(1). Brück: Einfluss, page 86.

(2) Meyer-Lübke, Gram. der rom. Spr., II, 647.



masters, and at the same time learn terms from their masters' language. In short, it can be concluded that the 'Lehnwörter' were introduced in a given language by definite occupational classes. These classes were the 'Vermittler der Entlehnung'; and words originally introduced by them gradually found acceptance in the daily language of the people and became common property of the language. Brück, as a result of his own study and the researches of scholars to whom he refers, has placed the Germanic loan-words of II, A, in definite occupational classes. His conclusions will be followed in this discussion. In order to understand how various words might be introduced by a given class, it is well to keep in mind the meanings as given in the analysis of the words.

In the Vulgar Latin period the classes of Romans in Germany were: 1. Soldiers 2. Roman officials 3. Merchants. Of these classes the soldiers far outnumbered all the others. The officials were probably comparatively few in number (1). The classes of Germans in Roman lands were: 1. Soldiers 2. Inquillinen 3. Slaves 4. Merchants. Of these the soldiers were again present in the greatest number, then the slaves, the Inquillinen, and the few German merchants. It can be stated here that these German merchants and the Roman officials in Germany were present in too small numbers to be at all considered in the process of borrowing. German

(1) Blümmner: Die röm. Privat., 630.



slaves in Roman power were, however, decidedly numerous. According to Stäckel (1) there were at least 40,000 such slaves about 400 A.D. The words introduced by each class are as follows:

By Roman soldiers in Germany: hosa, \*filṭir (\*feltir), kotta; brammōn; drud; raustjan, \*brasa, suppa, bakko, līkkōn, skalja; būkōn, **h**wahlja.

By Roman merchants: beber, mar**br**, **h**ahs, trappa; brakko, ganta, spelta; saipa, skūn, walda; balla, frisk; \*nuska, binda, lista. In addition to the value of 'Biberfell' for clothing, 'Bibergeil' was in considerable demand for medicines.

By German soldiers in Roman lands: brand, helm, sporo, kripja; blank, \*blund, brūn, falw, grīs; warnōn, furbjan; marrjan, \*banda, **h**ufa, sturn, skirmjan, warjan; wad, haribergōn, wardōn; sparōn, wērōn, werre; flaska, hnapp, kanna, tappa, tappon; harpa; rīban, magan, urgōli, snell, harđjan, baro; gelda; wai.

By Inquilinen in Roman lands: \*wanga; balk, \*ferst, halla, \*la**pp**a, bank; bastjan, fani, krukja, liska; makjo, brekan. The Inquilinen were Germans who had entered Roman territory, had settled and constructed homes for themselves, and had turned to farming. They were under Roman rule (2).

By German slaves: kamarling, \*fello; titta, falda.

By unclassified Germans in Roman lands: trippōn, **h**reskan, **h**pp**h**a, hanka; sinn, wīsa, gram, sunja, frumjan.

(1) Stäckel: Die Germanen, 10.

(2) Eltner: Die röm. Privat., 545.



In summary, it may be said that the loan-words of Vulgar Latin were introduced in the greatest number by the German soldiers, in less number by the Roman merchants in Germany, and in a very small number by other classes. But there arises now an important question. Why were these particular words borrowed? Although no real explanation can be given, yet the following suggestions of Salverda are worthy of consideration, (1) These terms were probably borrowed because:

1. The word in question expressed an idea or named an object entirely new to the Romans.

2. The word expressed a shade of meaning which the Romans could not render by their native vocabulary.

3. The word was short and convenient in comparison with the Roman word, and it became popular. For example, 'brakko' ('canis venaticus'), 'ganta' ('anser ferus', 'auca silvatica').

4. The word was employed for euphemism. This is perhaps true of 'rīban', 'marrjan', 'drud', 'lud', 'ludje'.

#### F. Distribution of the Loan-words.

The Vulgar Latin of this period did not show uniformity in the distribution of the loan-words. For example, loan-words very commonly employed in Italy or France might be extremely rare, or even be unknown, in Spain. Then, too, many Germanic loan-words in the Romance languages were

(1) Salverda de Grave: Rom. Ph., 23, 151.



passed from one Romance language to another at a later period, so that the Romance languages can not be reliable guides in every instance of the dispersion of the loan-words in the Vulgar Latin. In view of history it is to be expected that the loan-words might occur most commonly and widely diffused in the Vulgar Latin of France, then of Italy, and finally of Spain. Brück (1) shows this to be in accordance with fact, and states that of the loan-words 30% were well distributed over all the Vulgar Latin region, 30% in France and Italy, and 20% in France (Southwest) and the Spanish Peninsula. Probably most of the words were carried into the Peninsula in the north of Spain and Portugal at the time of the rebellions against Roman rule (2).

### III

#### Summary of Results

A review of the entire dissertation leads to certain definite conclusions, which are here summarized.

1. The early history of Spain indicates that its inhabitants undoubtedly had contact with Germanic tribes. (I)
2. The influence of the Germanic tribal languages on the Vulgar Latin then spoken in Spain consists solely of Germanic additions to the Vulgar Latin vocabulary. (I, II)
3. These additions did not all take place in Spain. (II)
4. The influence was chiefly Westgermanic. (II)

(1) Brück: Einfluss, pages 117, 118.

(2) Mommsen: Röm. Geschichte, V, 59.



5. The Goths left very little impression, linguistic or otherwise, on Spain. (I,II)
  6. The additions to the Vulgar Latin vocabulary number one hundred words. (II)
  7. These additions occurred not later than 400 A.D. (II)
  8. Later Germanic influence, limited to vocabulary again, is decidedly weak. (II)
  9. The loan-words **were** introduced by occupational classes, in the greatest extent by Germanic soldiers, in less extent by Roman merchants in Germany. (II)
  10. The Vulgar Latin shows no uniformity in the distribution of loan-words. (II)
  11. The Germanic words were thoroughly Romanized in respect to phonology, syntax, accent. The Vulgar Latin usually kept the Germanic meaning of a loan-word at the time of borrowing. (II,B)
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